Title

Brahmabandhab Upadhyay:

An Enigmatic Catholic Freedom Fighter

1861-1907

William Alan Firth-Smith
MB, BS(Syd), DO(Melb), GradDipTheol, MA(MCD), FRANZCO

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EPIGRAPHS

All things are interwoven with one another; a sacred bond unites them; There is scarcely one thing that is isolated from another. Everything is coordinated; Everything works together in giving form to the one universe. The world-order is a unity made up of multiplicity; God is one, pervading all things; All being is one, all law is one and all truth is one —if, as we believe, There can be but one path to perfection for beings that are alike in kind and reason.

Marcus Aurelius, Meditations

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Man proceeds in a fog. But when he looks back to judge the people of the past, He sees no fog on their path. From his present, which was their faraway future, Their path looks perfectly clear to him, good visibility all the way. Looking back, he sees the path, he sees the people proceeding, He sees their mistakes but not the fog.

Milan Kundera, Les testaments trahis

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To us he is no more a person Now but a whole climate of opinion.

Wystan Hugh Auden, In Memory of Sigmund Freud

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This thesis outlines the life and thought of Indian theologian, Brahmabandhab Upadhyay (1861-1907), a polymath whose important contributions have been largely overlooked in the western world.

The First Part is biographical, consisting of details of Brahmabandhab Upadhyay’s early life; his Christian witness; his philosophy of teaching; his journalistic dynamism; his attitude to caste; a description of his milieu; his struggles with the church hierarchy; and his political activism, sedition trial and death.

The Second Part consists of a discussion of topics central to Upadhyay’s thought and contribution, including some of his theological explorations; the ashram considered as a mode of Christian expression; and nationalism and liberation in an Indian context.

It concludes with a critical analysis of his contributions, arguing that Upadhyay’s contributions are relevant today and merit greater recognition.
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AJT</td>
<td><em>Asian Journal of Theology</em></td>
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<td>ATC</td>
<td>Asian Trading Corporation</td>
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<tr>
<td>BTF</td>
<td><em>Bangalore Theological Forum</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>CBCI</td>
<td><em>Catholic Bishops’ Conference of India</em></td>
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<td>CCA</td>
<td>Christian Conference of Asia</td>
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<tr>
<td>CDF</td>
<td>Congregation for the Doctrine of Faith</td>
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<td>CEBs</td>
<td>Basic Ecclesial Communities (<em>Comunidades Eclesias de Base</em>)</td>
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<td>CHAI</td>
<td>Church History Association of India</td>
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<td>CIO</td>
<td>Churches of Indigenous Origin</td>
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<tr>
<td>CISRS</td>
<td>Christian Institute for the Study of Religion and Society Bangalore</td>
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<td>CLS</td>
<td>Christian Literature Society</td>
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<tr>
<td>CMS</td>
<td>Church Missionary Society</td>
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<tr>
<td>CUP</td>
<td>Cambridge University Press</td>
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<tr>
<td>DLT</td>
<td>Darton, Longman and Todd</td>
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<tr>
<td>EAPI</td>
<td>East Asian Pastoral Institute</td>
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<tr>
<td>EATWOT</td>
<td>Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians</td>
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<tr>
<td>FABC</td>
<td>Federation of Asian Bishops’ Conference</td>
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<tr>
<td>GSP</td>
<td>Gujarat Sahitya Prakash</td>
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<tr>
<td>IACM</td>
<td>International Association of Catholic Missiologists</td>
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<tr>
<td>IAMS</td>
<td>International Association of Mission Studies</td>
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<tr>
<td>IBMR</td>
<td><em>International Bulletin of Missionary Research</em></td>
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<td>ICHR</td>
<td><em>India Church History Review</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
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<tr>
<td>IJFM</td>
<td><em>International Journal of Frontier Missions</em></td>
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<td>IJT</td>
<td><em>Indian Journal of Theology</em></td>
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<td>IMR</td>
<td><em>Indian Missiological Review</em></td>
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<td>IPC</td>
<td>Indian Pentecostal Church</td>
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<td>IRM</td>
<td><em>International Review of Missions</em></td>
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<td>IVP</td>
<td>Intervarsity Press</td>
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<td>ISPCK</td>
<td>Indian Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge</td>
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<td>LMS</td>
<td>London Missionary Society</td>
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<tr>
<td>NBCLC</td>
<td>National Biblical Catechetical and Liturgical Centre</td>
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<td>NCCI</td>
<td>National Council of Churches India</td>
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<tr>
<td>NCMC</td>
<td>National Consultation on the Mission of the Church</td>
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<tr>
<td>OBMR</td>
<td><em>Occasional Bulletin of Missionary Research</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>OUP</td>
<td>Oxford University Press</td>
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<tr>
<td>SPCK</td>
<td>Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge</td>
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<tr>
<td>SUNY</td>
<td>State University of New York Press</td>
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<tr>
<td>SVD</td>
<td>Divine Word Missionaries (<em>Societas Verbi Divini</em>)</td>
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<td>TPI</td>
<td>Theological Publications in India Bangalore</td>
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<tr>
<td>TTS</td>
<td>Tamilnadu Theological Seminary</td>
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<tr>
<td>UTC</td>
<td>United Theological College Bangalore</td>
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<tr>
<td>WCC</td>
<td>World Council of Churches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VJTR</td>
<td><em>Vidhyajyoti Journal of Theological Reflection</em> (originally <em>The Clergy Monthly</em>)</td>
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PREFACE

The purpose of this study is to examine the life of Brahmabandhab Upadhyay, a complex person within the context of his era in northern India, and to ascertain his relevance in the twentieth century. Church history, regardless of how it may be defined, may never plausibly be isolated from general history, or its political, social, economic, religious, cultural or ideological context.

History, like a vast river, propels logs, vegetation, rafts, and debris; It is full of live and dead things, some destined for resurrection; It mingles many waters and holds in solution invisible substances Stolen from distant soils.

Jacques Barzun (1974)

Why is it that Upadhyay’s contributions have been largely ignored in the west? Upadhyay was certainly an enigma. I will show that issues Upadhyay struggled with were relevant and continue to have relevance. Upadhyay, regarded in modern India as a pioneer of Indian Christian theology, remains virtually unknown in western countries. To my knowledge, his life and thought has not been specifically researched in Australia. Upadhyay’s insights are important because he was ahead of his time in anticipating many fundamental questions in Asian theology. Upadhyay’s own life history occurred at an historical kairos that reflected socio-political turmoil. Whatever else Upadhyay may have been he was certainly a nationalist patriot. His aim was to create an authentic order of Indian friars professing Jesus Christ as Lord within a Vedantic matrix. ¹ These ambitions were not achieved in his lifetime.

An inductive and dialectic methodology, insisting upon contextualisation, has been used to examine Upadhyay in his social, economic and political milieu. Upadhyay’s own theological method is acknowledged. ² Because culture is essentially labile my heuristic methodology attempts to lay bare what were Upadhyay’s insights into God’s work and the nature of the divine and to respectfully theologize within that context. ³

The twentieth century has been marked not only by great socio-political strife but also by altering Christian worldviews. In 1964 Vatican II had promulgated equality of spiritual, racial, socio-economic, and sexual differences. Upadhyay and his circle rejected an ethos, alien to Indian people, based upon the empiricism of the Scottish Enlightenment and the rationalism of the French Enlightenment. The imposition of western worldviews upon colonized Asian nations has proved an impediment despite the supposed benefits of industrialization.

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5 *Lumen Gentium* § 32.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Interest in this topic has arisen not only from annual ‘tent-making’ visits to the District of Champaran, Bihar between 1984 and 1991 but also as a result of profound inspiration through encountering Bede Griffiths (Swami Dayananda) (1906-1993) during an Australian visit. Efforts have been made to draw upon primary sources in English. A review of the available literature in English has been attempted. The writings of Rewachand Gyanchand (Animananda) (b.1868), Upadhyay’s close friend and his earliest biographer, have remained elusive despite travel to South Asia in 2010. The Goethals Indian Library of St. Xavier’s College, University of Kolkata, has been helpful in photocopying requested material.

Chronological ordering has been followed and a biographical chronology is included in the Appendices to minimise confusion. Appendices include maps of locations mentioned in the text. Sanskrit words and some other words appearing in the text marked by asterisks are listed in a brief glossary. Diacritic transliteration of Sanskrit words has been avoided. Devanagri script lacks capitalization therefore Sanskrit proper nouns, in the context of honorific tenses, have been arbitrarily capitalized. In recognition of the authenticity of many Third-World Catholic theologies I have intentionally avoided the epithet ‘Roman’ Catholicism. A list of abbreviations is included. For brevity the name ‘Upadhyay’ is used throughout this study whilst acknowledging that in December 1884 he adopted the name change from Bhavani Charan Banerjee to Brahmabandhab Upadhyay.

My paper certainly does not attempt to write definitively about Upadhyay, but rather to faithfully acknowledge dedication to his ideals.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Appreciation and gratitude is paid to my supervisors
Professor Dr. Ross Oliver Langmead
&
Rev. Dr. John Mansford Prior, S.V.D.

****
PREAMBLE

The longest journey is the journey inwards.
Of him who has chosen his destiny,
Who has started upon his quest for the source of his being…
Dag Hammarskjöld, Vägmärken

Upadhyay (1861-1907) was a Brahmin who converted to Catholicism. He left a large corpus of perceptive writings of crucial importance in redefining Christian theology in distinctively Indian terms. He lived at a time of much interest in Indian thought. Although his life was one of tragedy, his writings exercised remarkable influence in India in the twentieth century. They can be seen to foreshadow concerns for contextual theology. Why must we regard him as a pivotal person in Indian church history and why has this fascinating figure been so neglected, especially by the west? The reason may be due to cultural dissonance whereby the west only acknowledges Indian Christian wisdom when it is received through the writings of western interpreters such as Bede Griffiths or Abhishiktananda.

Upadhyay's biographer, Animananda, described him as the ‘first man in our political history to suggest complete independence for India.’ Independence of India from the British rule was his pervasive desire. There are resemblances to Vengal Chakkarai (1880-1958), also a prolific journalist and publisher, who was similarly committed to the swaraj * independence movement. Liberation implied the aspiration and the means whereby Indians would take fate into their own hands as part of the dynamic process of creating a new and just society in which Christ becomes both saviour and liberator. Kalarikkal Poulouse Aleaz (b. 1946) described Upadhyay as ‘pre-eminent in interpreting the teachings of Jesus in terms of redemptive suffering love in which we are invited to participate through satyagraha, * directed toward the liberation of oppressed Indian people.’ His growing commitment to Indian nationalism, the swaraj, sought the end of colonial hegemony. This common struggle became widespread throughout those parts of Asia where there had been a colonial history. Jacobin ideals became expressed as a sense of Indian belonging.

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Upadhyay’s contribution to the Triune interpretation of *Sat-Cit-Ananda*, which is later discussed under the heading of his theological contributions, to some extent foreshadowed the concept of *missio Dei*. This became an important world-view welcomed after 1952 by Catholics, Protestants and Orthodox Christians alike.  

The early Triune interpretation of *Sat-Cit-Ananda* was affirmed in his later commentaries of Sankara’s non-dualistic *Advaita*. * Sankara’s teaching enunciated a way to knowledge achieved through ‘right action’ because this purifies the mind — it is only to a mind purified from egotism that the intuition of the Divine is revealed. Upadhyay recognized the ‘personal’ God (*Isvar*) which expressed for him the ineffable divine mystery *neti neti* * (not this, not this), the reign of God *basileia* (*βασιλεία*), and *perichoresis*.  

Trinity was a central concept for him because he considered this enabled the possibility of alternative relationships with God whilst fostering meaningful dialogue with other religions. Recognition of some degree of pluralism, within an expression of faith, remains contingent upon the cultural conditioning of beliefs.  

Upadhyay helped to inspire the gospel and culture debate. His remarkable *œuvre* has inspired and provoked a whole new generation of Christian leaders wrestling with the perennial issue of the relationship between the gospel and culture by anticipating contemporary ideas of inculturation. Achilles Meersman described him as a ‘genius born before his time. The contemporary Church authorities did not accept all his expositions … nor could they.’ Upadhyay in his short lifetime was a theologian manqué.

He created a new style of journalism characterized by a directness of address, fluency and elegance of style, which made a universal impact. He also wrote many serious articles directed to the literati. His first published articles appeared in *The Interpreter* in 1888.

Pratap Chander Mozoomdar (1840-1905) was an influential theist and editor of this
journal. Mozoomdar was later to follow Keshub Chunder Sen (1838-1884) in becoming leader of *Brahmo Samaj.* 7 A wide range of editing and writing for magazines and journals followed. Upadhyay became a very successful journalist who started at least seven different publications: *The Harmony* (1890), the monthly *Sophia* (1894-1899), *The Twentieth Century* (1901-1902), the weekly *Sophia* (1900), *Swaraj* (1907), the twice-weekly *Karali* (n.d.) and the daily *Sandhya* (1904-1907). The monthly *Sophia* began publication in Karachi with the approval of the Catholic Church who later revoked consent. Upadhyay published more than one hundred articles in *Sophia* which provides an extensive and invaluable record of his intellectual development. 8 His friend Fr. Alois Hegglin (b.1850) contributed nine articles to *Sophia* between 1894 and 1895. He created a popular new style of Bangla journalism in *Sandhya,* which became the focus of his nationalist agenda. 9 He wrote many important hymns in Sanskrit, Bangla and Sindhi including Sanskrit translations of *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria.* 10 When in England in 1902 he wrote two articles for *The Tablet* after meeting Cardinal Archbishop Herbert Alfred Vaughan (1832-1903) in 1902.

Upadhyay was the seminal figure of the Christian ashram movement. Abbé Jules Monchanin (Parama Arubi Anandam) (1895-1957), a French Benedictine monk who later epitomized the Christian ashram movement, was initially inspired to visit India through the discovery of Upadhyay’s ideas. Upadhyay’s biography, published in 1908 by Animananda, was Monchanin’s probable source. Upadhyay realized that success of Christianity in India was only possible through Christian samnyasis and ashrams. From 1895 onwards he became a samnyasi * when he embraced a peripatetic and eremitic existence. As a samnyasi, Upadhyay experienced the gift of the Holy Spirit manifested as anubhava, * described as ‘interiority’ beyond mere intellectualism that led to his transforming experience of God.

Half a century later Upadhyay’s influence led to the establishment of several well-known Christian ashrams as monastic communities by western disseminators, including

Monchanin, Swami Abishiktananda (Henri Le Saux) (1910-1973) and Bede Griffiths (1906-1993). Griffiths pursued a contemplative vocation in India from 1955 until his death. In 1921 medical practitioners Savarirayan Jesudasa, an Indian, and Ernest Forrester-Paton, a Scot, founded the *Christu Kula* ashram in a rural community southwest of Chennai as the first example of a modern Protestant ashram.

For Upadhyay pedagogy was a lifelong priority. When adopting the role of a Christian *samnyasi* in 1894 he adopted the name ‘Upadhyay,’ a Bangla word meaning ‘teacher.’ His first school started as early as 1879, and he taught sporadically until 1902 at Santiniketan when he undertook European travel. His teaching syllabus was extensive and well directed. During his lifetime he taught at a variety of schools, including the *Brahmo* School in Hyderabad (Sindh), where he gave many public lectures. In the holistic experience of ashram life he was denoted *acarya* or teacher. Many of Upadhyay’s articles, considered abstruse at the time, embodied concepts of adult education that foreshadowed Paulo Freire’s pedagogy of the oppressed. Education offered a means of bringing about ‘liberation’ through the transformation of world-views; ideas that have continued to offer much relevance in India. His lectures at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge (1902-1903) persuaded Cambridge University of the necessity to establish a lectureship in Vedanta.

His importance has been neglected within the western world. Substantial primary sources of his writings have been preserved and collected throughout India, predominantly at the Goethals Library Kolkata. There has been a lack of appreciation of his contribution in western church history; an increased need for awareness of his contributions is important. Perhaps he has been considered too controversial and multifaceted to

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13 Santiniketan, now a UNESCO heritage centre, originally an ashram started by Rabindranath Tagore’s father, situated 160km north of Kolkata. (Ref. page 19 in MS).


16 Upadhyay’s contributions are ignored in all of the following references: Stephen Neill *A History of Christianity in India*; Thomas Anchukandam *Catholic Revival in India in the Nineteenth Century*; The *New Catholic Encyclopedia* ed. 2; Kenneth Scott Latourette *Christianity in a Revolutionary Age*; Ramesh Majumdar *An Advanced History of India*; Hugh Samuel Moffett; *History of Christianity in Asia*; The
categorize. Not only was he considered ‘too Indian’ for the British and the Catholic Church to accept during his lifetime but also he appeared ‘too British’ for the Hindus to accept. His advocacy of Hindu-Christian koinonia (κοινωνία) together with his swaraj * aspiration was not unique as many Indians had shared these ideas. The centenary of his death was commemorated in many journal articles. 

His influence was enhanced by the fact that he lived through a kairos (καιρός), or supreme moment in time, when the western world was becoming increasingly interested in Hindu philosophy, Sanskrit philology and Indian culture. This period coincided with the World’s Parliament of Religions (1893) and the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference (1910) — a period also marked by the divisive Catholic Modernist crisis in Europe. 

Upadhyay pioneered indigenous options for expressing Christian faith thereby contributing greatly to the growth of Indian Christianity. During his lifetime the Christian population in India was a mere three million people. By the year 2000 this number had grown to sixty million Christians, a remarkable increase despite the increased Indian population. Since Indian independence in 1947 more than 150 indigenous Hindu/Christian movements have come into being. In particular there has been a documented increase in charismatic adherents who consider bhakti the supreme source of Christian inspiration. The World Christian Encyclopedia estimates the Christian population of India to be 6.15 percent rather than the official Indian census figure of three percent. By comparison the Church of England in Britain claims a mere twenty-five million baptized adherents— ninety-five percent of whom do not attend church regularly. There has been an extraordinary increase in Christian adherence and vocation

History of Christianity in India (CHAI). Robert Eric Frykenberg, Christianity in India: From Beginnings to the Present, Oxford History of the Christian Church (Oxford OUP, 2010), 413 — dismisses Upadhyay’s participation in only 250 words.


among Indians. Indian Christians have engendered a ‘path to God’ through *seva* (service to fellow humanity) and a ‘path of works’ the *karma marga.*

Upadhyay’s contribution deserves further examination. Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941) honoured him in the following manner:

Upadhyay was a *Samnyasi*, a Roman Catholic, yet a *Vedantist.*
He was powerful, fearless, self-denying;
He wielded great influence on those who came near him
He had a deep intelligence and an extraordinary hold on spiritual matters.

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PART ONE — BIOGRAPHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

1.1 THE EARLY YEARS

Bhavani Charan Banerji (Upadhyay) was born at Khannyan, 55km north of Kolkata, the son of a high-caste *Shakta* Brahmin who was an inspector of police. Orphaned at the age of one year he was educated in the Hindu tradition by his grandmother Chanramoni. His uncle Kalicaran Banerji was a Protestant minister. At thirteen years of age he studied at the Hooghly Collegiate School, progressing after five years to the Calcutta Metropolitan College. He excelled academically and in sport and studied Sanskrit at a *pathshala* in Bhatpur. His life was admirable although also tragic.

His family circle was part of the Bengali *bhadralok* community, comprising upper and middle-class Indians and Anglo-Indians, whose attributes were eminence, wealth and respectability. Through colonial hegemony this community had gradually become alienated from their cultural roots and ancestral faith, which forebode Hinduism’s declining influence. The *bhadralok* were zealous supporters and chief beneficiaries of the ‘education revolution,’ which enabled upward mobility within the Indian Civil Service.

Kenneth Williams described demeaning missionary attitudes, similar to those existing in Bengal at that time:

> There was a real attempt to form a native clergy but this was hampered by a mentality which suspected the moral and intellectual competence of ‘the relatively weak races’ and which, if it considered an indigenous episcopacy at all, saw it as serving a useful secondary function in relieving the missionaries for more productive work.  

Upon reviewing the activities of the various Mill Hill missions in India, Cardinal Henry Edward Manning (1808-1892) wrote in 1884:

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These Oriental races are theistic; they were so from the beginning of the world, and they loudly condemn atheism, which has made culture and science — so good in themselves — the two impostures of the 19th century, because God is excluded from them. I hope that India may open its gates to the teaching of the faith; though I fear that the godless education, which England introduces, will scandalize them, and rob them of their old traditional belief in God.  

Philologist Sir William Jones (1746-1794), and others in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, considered Hinduism was degenerating. Hindus appeared to have become dismissive of their religion’s high standards of belief and practice and as a result a spiritual hiatus had arisen. Although this situation was complex, Henry Louis Vivian Derozio (1809-1831) was instrumental in the conversion of the key Brahmins Krishna Mohan Banerjee and Lal Behari Dey. Derozio was also a swaraji. Banerjee is given credit as being the one who ‘first mooted the idea that Jesus was the fulfilment of Asia’s religious expectations.’

Upon leaving school Upadhyay gave private tuition at the (Scottish) Free Church Institution in Kolkata prior to coming under the life-transforming influence of two charismatic mentors within the Hindu Renaissance — Sri Ramakrishna Paramahamsa (Gadadhar Chatterjee) (1836-1886) and Sen. Upadhyay first met Ramakrishna in 1882, four years before his death. His participation in Ramakrishna’s matha * necessitated austere Hindu ritual. As a twenty-one year old sisy * he was profoundly influenced by Ramakrishna’s intellectual emphasis and mysticism. The Dakshineswar matha was situated on the banks of the Hoogly River. Ramakrishna taught that: the ultimate Reality is ‘One’ (that may be known by different names); God is only realized through authentic struggle; God-realization is the supreme goal of life; all religions are true in so far as they serve as different paths to the same reality; and that all souls in their true nature are divine. Ramakrishna’s mysticism was symbolized by his homosexual desires; it is not surprising that Ramakrishna’s sexual orientation was assiduously omitted from English

26 Lipner and Gispert-Sauch, *Writings*, vol 1, xx.
texts. 29 One needs to speculate upon the influence this aspect may have had upon Upadhyay. Sexual imagery in world religions is not uncommon; Doctors of the Church Teresa de Ávila and Juan de la Cruz are Christian examples. Ramakrishna worshiped God as ‘Mother’: the Kalika Purana describes a ritual, within bhakti, in which the sisya becomes identified with the goddess. 30 As a student Upadhyay occasionally used bhang, an intoxicant of crushed Cannabis sativa. 31 The subsequent Rule of Upadhyay’s matha, contrasted starkly with Ramakrishna’s matha, demanding strict bramacarya * including chastity.

Narendranath Dutta (1863–1902), better known in the west by his monastic name of Swami Vivekananda, was a fellow sisya with Upadhyay at Ramakrishna’s Dakshineswar matha. Vivekananda and Upadhyay later described this time of shared discipleship as a time of deep mysticism and learning. He wrote: 32

We were for a long time in personal contact with Paramahamsa Ramakrishna. We admired him and loved him, and it is no exaggeration to say that we were loved in return. The sense of sin was very acute in him. Often and often we heard him earnestly supplicating God for forgiveness and mercy. We have heard him with our own ears repudiating most pathetically the divine honour being paid to him.

The second of his mentors was Sen who was closely associated with Brahma Samaj, * becoming its leader in 1866. Ram Mohan Roy’s (1772-1833) ideas of religious and social reform had led to the foundation of the Brahma Samaj in 1828. This cultural movement sought the revitalization of Hinduism through its ancient sources of sruti and smriti. * Upadhyay joined the Brahma Samaj in 1887. Sen initially repudiated Christianity in 1865 but later realized Christianity’s potential for revitalizing Indian culture.

Sen deplored Ramakrishna’s déshabillé and demeanour — they were quite different personalities. Ramakrishna’s saintly qualities were later acknowledged by Sen. Upadhyay was particularly impressed by Sen’s public speaking, which he found skilful, powerful and charismatic. Sen’s influential lectures (including Jesus Christ, Europe and Asia) delivered in

31 Lipner, Life and Thought, 47.
32 Lipner and Gispert-Sauich, Writings, vol 2, 418.
England in 1866 declared that ‘India would be for Christ alone… who already stalks the land.’ 33 Was Sen a crypto-Christian? Pratap Chander Mazoomdar (1840-1905), Sen’s biographer, described Sen’s devotion to Christ — including Sen’s strong belief that India had as much right to Christianity as Europe, including India’s unique interpretation of that faith. 34 Upadhyay wrote an article in Sophia (February 1895) questioning, ‘Why did not Keshub Chunder Sen Accept Christ?’ 35 Sen’s passive acceptance of the British presence in India did not sit comfortably with Upadhyay. Robin H. S. Boyd describes Upadhyay as being Sen’s ‘true spiritual successor.’ 36

Three distinct theological streams existed in India at that time — Christianity, Brahma and Hinduism. 37 Sen had re-developed Mohan Roy’s Brahma system of asceticism, rituals and sacraments that included baptism and a quasi-eucharist that utilized elements of rice and water. Sen’s ideology acted as a catalyst for the Indian renaissance, acting in harmony between Hindu philosophy and the world religions. The Sermon on the Mount was syncretized with Patanjali’s Yoga Sutras, represented as the ‘Golden Rule.’ 38 * Sen proclaimed The Church of the New Dispensation, the Nava Vidhana, in 1879 during Upadhyay’s involvement. Sen defined Saccidananda as the Supreme Reality of Brahman in the Upanisads whilst rejecting Upadhyay’s Triune interpretation. 39 Shortly after Sen’s death in 1884 Upadhyay established an ashram in Kolkata with the participation of four of Sen’s sisya, at which time he edited a handwritten newsletter, The Journal.

Vivekananda’s elucidation of karmamarga, as the ‘way of action,’ was spectacularly successful at the inaugural Chicago World’s Parliament of Religions in 1893, where he became a figurehead of the Hindu renaissance. In 1897 Vivekananda inaugurated the Ramakrishna matha, which opposed traditions of untouchability and discrimination against women. 40 The close spiritual bond Upadhyay had with Vivekananda was evidenced in

35 Lipner and Gispert-Sauch, Writings, vol 2, 368-370.
36 Robin H S Boyd, An Introduction to Indian Christian Theology (Delhi: ISPCK, 2006), 60.
37 Among the many other religions of India — including: Buddhism, Jainism, Zoroastrianism and Islam.
38 K P Aleaz, Dialogical Theologies: Hartford Papers and Other Essays (Kolkata: Punthi Pustak, 2004), ch. 3.
39 Brahma is the personal Hindu God, whereas the impersonal Absolute is Brabman.
England where he assiduously promoted Vivekananda’s ideas. Upadhyay remained faithful to Ramakrishna’s mysticism as a karmayogin. *Vivekananda insightfully observed, ‘there are two great obstacles on our path in India: the Scylla of old orthodoxy and the Charybdis of modern European civilization.’

Upadhyay was nurtured within a scenario of conflict. This was a period of great socio-political turbulence in Bengal, with many natural disasters, famine due to crop failure and epidemics. Worldwide civil strife also existed and India was burdened by oppressive British hegemony under Lord Curzon. The Church’s attitude was retrograde. In this milieu of 1910 Pius X had promulgated the Oath Against the Errors of Modernism, * to be repealed only as late as 1967. Discrimination against Indians was widespread; Werthblindheit characterized western society’s intolerance to other religions and cultures. Lipner describes these factors as the ‘crucible’ out of which Upadhyay’s defiant individuality was forged.

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41 Lipner and Gispért-Sauch, *Writings*, vol 1, xlv.
45 Lipner, *Life and Thought*, 1-29.
1.2 CHRISTIAN WITNESS

In 1888 Upadhyay was appointed lecturer in Sanskrit at the nascent Hindu Union Academy Hyderabad (Sindh) but later he resigned his lectureship because of a growing interest in Christianity. Whilst a member of *Brahmo samaj* he befriended CMS missionaries Redman and Heaton and attended their Bible study classes. In 1890 he admitted, ‘I am longing to be engrafted on the vine of which you are already the branches and the body of which you are members.’ Two years later he adopted Christianity, to the disappointment of his *Brahmo* and Hindu friends. For Upadhyay, a *swaraj* leader, to become Christian — regarded as the source of foreign *videshi* * oppression— appeared an ultimate absurdity. Upadhyay who had absconded from school when aged seventeen demanding to ‘learn the art of fighting and [to] drive out the British.’

Upadhyay was initially baptized at Hyderabad (Sindh) in 1891 by the CMS, and this led to estrangement from his Hindu and *Brahmo samaj* friends. Shortly afterwards, Fr. Theophilus Perrig rebuked Upadhyay for what he considered a precipitous CMS baptism. Seven months later in Karachi, Upadhyay was re-baptized a Catholic. He had believed the acceptance of Christ necessitated baptism, although he had confessional uncertainty. Upadhyay’s Christian conversion has been likened to the *tolle lege* (take up and read) experience of Augustine of Hippo (354-430). He had a mystical revelatory experience, entirely mental, that took place upon reading *Catholic Belief: A Simple Exposition of Catholic Doctrine* (1884) by Joseph Faa di Bruno. A further mystical revelation occurred when nursing his dying father in Multan. Similarly, Nilakantha Goreh (1825-1895) was spontaneously converted to Christianity in 1839 while reading *Mataparikshā*, an apologetic work in Sanskrit.

Upadhyay stated, ‘pride in Hindu upbringing is totally compatible with Catholic Faith, which is universal.’ His friends Khemchand Mirchandani and Parmanand Mewaram followed him into Catholicism. In 1894 he adopted a new name on becoming a *bhikṣu*

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50 Animananda cited by de Bary, ed. *Sources of Indian Tradition* vol 2, 183.
samnyasi, and by 1898 he described himself as a ‘Hindu Catholic.’  

On entering Catholicism he refused to deny his Indian cultural heritage.  

His spiritual relationship with Sen and the Brahma Samaj had engendered in him a nascent Christianity. He wrote in Sophia, ‘Keshub’s life-long aspiration was to build up an eclectic church of which Jesus Christ was to be at the centre.’ In other words, world religions are brought to the touchstone of Christ. Aloysius Pieris describes the significance of Christian samnyasa as follows:

The Hindu doctrine of renunciation allows the cross to shine as the supreme locus of Jesus’ revelation of the divine. What was a scandal to the Jews and a folly to the Greeks could be wisdom to a Hindu! In Asia today both interior freedom of the soul and structural emancipation of the socio-political order (now ideologically polarized) demand a meaningful paradigm of renunciation (opted poverty) to justify the human struggle for total human liberation in terms of a salvific encounter with the ultimate reality. 

Upadhyay’s parish priest (Fr. Salinger) objected to the saffron kavi being worn and excluded him from the mass, a decision later sanctioned by Fr. Theodore Dahloff the Archbishop of Mumbai. Appeals from missionaries mitigated this decision. Fr. Salinger later spoke of the wisdom of allowing this adaptation.

In the orthodox Hindu rite of renunciation the samnyasi kindles the sacred fire for the last time. In renouncement the samnyasi offers up his sacred thread to the fire as a symbol of being ‘twice born.’ From this time Upadhyay wore kavi with an ebony cross around his neck to mark Christian allegiance. This attire was worn until a few months before his death when he removed the cross and wore white clothes. He had changed his name and identity and lived on alms but he also attended mass regularly as a samnyasi.

I have adopted a new name. My family surname is Vandya [praised] Upadhyay [teacher or literally sub-teacher] Brahmabandhav [Theophilus]. I have abandoned the first portion of my family surname because I am a disciple of Jesus Christ, the ‘Man of Sorrows’ — the despised man. So my new name is Brahmabandhav. I hereby declare that henceforward I shall be known and addressed as Upadhyay.

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51 Lipner and Gispért-Sauch, *Writings*, vol 1, 25.
52 de Bary, ed. *Sources of Indian Tradition* vol 2, 182-183.
56 Lipner and Gispért-Sauch, *Writings*, vol 1, xxxv.
Brahmabandhav — or in short Upadhyayji; and not Banerji, which is the British corruption of the first portion of my family name, Vandyaji. 57

There is a problem of orthography — Aleaz prefers ‘Brahmabandhav Upadhyaya,’ which he considers a more accurate transliteration from the Devanagari. 58 ‘Bhabanicharan,’ a youthful Bangla patronymic, was also used. In 1891 he adopted the name Brahmandhab, a Bangla translation of Theophilus (friend of Brahma). Lipner considers he possibly chose Theophilus in deference to Theophilus the Second Century Patriarch of Antioch — who coincidentally had been the first person to use the word ‘Trinity.’ 59 Triune perspectives, as Sat-Cit-Ananda, became a predominant feature of Upadhyay’s theology. 60

Why did Upadhyay reject Anglicanism and decide to become a Catholic and furthermore staunchly remain Catholic despite humiliation from the hierarchy? There were two contrasting ecclesial aspects confronted him — the typically British Baptist (Serampore) view that regarded human nature as corrupted by the Fall, as opposed to Catholic dualism that acknowledged religious strivings beyond Christianity. 61 Upadhyay, in Our Attitude Toward Hinduism (1895), trenchantly criticized Protestant dogma. Protestant theology he wrote, ‘teaches that man’s nature is utterly corrupt.’ Protestant missionaries were ‘incapable of finding anything true and good in India and in her scriptures.’ Catholicism he concluded, ‘does not believe in the utter corruption of man.’ 62 He criticized Martin Luther’s sola fides and the doctrine of double predestination, ‘they delude themselves with the assurance that their names have been written in the book of life because of their mere faith in Jesus Christ.’ 63 His decision for Catholicism is perhaps understandable from his perspective of samnyasi celibacy; his liturgical emphasis; his authentic personal devotional spirituality; and the appeal of a Thomistic synthesis — each aspect appears complementary to his Hindu world-view.

57 Animananda cited in Jarrett-Kerr, Patterns, 213.
59 Lipner, Life and Thought, 98.
60 Lipner and Gispert-Sauch, Writings, vol 1, 125-129.
62 Baagø, Indigenous Christianity, 120-123.
63 Lipner and Gispert-Sauch, Writings, vol 2, 181.
The apophatic theology of Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) may explain Upadhyay’s predilection for Thomism. Duncan Forrester (b.1933) opines Upadhyay ought not be identified with any specific western Christian confession — because every western denomination was considered alien to Indian Christianities. 64 I find no evidence that Upadhyay had antipathy towards individual Indian Protestant Christians.

1.3 JOURNALISM & PHILOSOPHY OF TEACHING

Upadhyay embraced the ancient Indian ideal of pedagogy. His commitment was not only to teaching in general but also included the national importance teaching gave to the wider issues of nationalism and freedom. 65 This strong tradition among his friends and mentors became an aspiration for his lifelong didactic writing and journalism. Within the Brahmin hierarchy, scholars were considered a more elite sub-caste than priests. 66 In 1897 when working among plague-afflicted patients in Karachi, he envisaged establishing a National College of Hindu Culture. This concept incorporated his nationalistic ideals and hopes for Indian independence.

Resulting from his Christian conversion he experienced much opposition to Christianity in Sindh from Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj and Theosophists. He frequently travelled between Bengal and Sindh. Upadhyay strongly believed that anti-Christian, atheist and sceptic ideologies, promoted by Charles Bradlaugh (1833-1891), Robert Green Ingersoll (1833-1899) and others, needed to be opposed. This prompted him to write an apology for theism. 67

In 1875 Helena Petrovna Blavatsky (1831-1891) established the Theosophical Society as an esoteric western spiritual ideology that embodied aspects of Hindu and Buddhist religions. 68 He considered Theosophy as grossly simplistic in its interpretation of both Hinduism and Christianity. 69 Strangely, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (Gandhiji) (1869-1948) later allied Theosophy with the Indian National Congress. In 1895 he wrote an open letter to Annie Besant challenging her to a debate on the ‘nature’ of God. Because Besant avoided debate with him he wrote several critiques of Theosophy. 70 In the journal Subodh Patrika he wrote in 1896 that ‘Mrs. Besant had a powerful opponent in Upadhyay who gave lectures exposing the fallacy of the Theosophic movement.’ 71

67 Lipner and Gispért-Sauch, Writings, vol 1, 129-140.
69 Lipner and Gispért-Sauch, Writings, vol 2, 375-406.
70 Lipner and Gispért-Sauch, Writings, vol 2, 366-368.
71 Lipner and Gispért-Sauch, Writings, vol 2, 452-453.
Animananda was baptized in 1893. He was his close friend and confidant in Sindh, although seven years younger than Upadhyay. He lectured extensively during 1893, delivering a series of lectures including *The Nature of God and the End of Man* later published as a twenty-nine-page tract. 72 In 1894 he was editing the monthly journal *Sophia* in Hyderabad. A Catholic philosophic and secular library and reading room was also established. *Sophia* originally had Jesuit support but was lacking imprimatur. The *Arya Samaj* *opposed his activities, acting as a bulwark against Christianity. In 1898 Animananda adopted samnyasa, and followed Upadhyay to Kolkata. Animananda’s adopted name means ‘bliss in littleness.’ 73

The modern Catholic missionary movement in India dates only from 1830; Charles Borges describes the preceding seventy years as a ‘period of mission decadence.’ 74 Catholicism in India continued to be conservative and obstinate. In 1884 Leo XIII appointed the first Apostolic Delegate to India, Monsignor Achile Gagliardi. His autocratic secretary, Monsignor Ladislaw Michael Zaleski, had previously established a seminary in Kandy in 1893 for training indigenous priests. 75 This seminary, administered by Belgian Jesuits, later moved to Pune. 76 These two individuals became Upadhyay’s nemesis.

The French Bishop of Nagpur, Monsignor Charles-Félix Pelvat (1893-1900), tolerated Upadhyay’s plans to establish his *Kasthalik matha* at Jabalapur in central India. 77 Jabalapur was where Upadhyay had once lived as a child. 78 Zaleski protested to Pelvat in 1898 and subsequently approached the Congregation for the Doctrine of Faith (CDF) seeking to discredit Upadhyay. 79 Zaleski had ‘ignored earlier Propaganda directives that native customs of the people should be adequately respected.’ 80 Upadhyay then contemplated

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76 Lipner, ‘Hindu-Catholicism,’ 43.
77 Lipner and Gispért-Sauch, *Writings*, vol 2, 475-480.
78 Lipner, *Life and Thought*, 32.
80 Isaac Padinjarekuttu, *The Missionary Movement of the 19th and 20th Centuries and its Encounter with India* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1995), 184.
travelling to Rome in 1899 to defend himself before the Curia. Upadhyay’s determination affirmed an important principle of tenacious hopeful faith (Luke 18: 1-4). A Mysore benefactor provided funds for Upadhyay’s travel to Rome, however plans were abandoned due to illness (erysipelas). 81 Perhaps he realized the futility of travel to Rome at that time because there were no assurances of his reception there.

Although Upadhyay took care in seeking imprimatur for the journal Sophia, Gagliardi deemed it heretical. His Christian Sindhi journalistic colleague, Kemchand Amritrai Mirchandani described Gagliardi’s proscription as pre-emptive. Mirchandani assumed the ban was due to pique because Upadhyay by that time had become a significant Catholic voice in India and his readers admired his intellectual rigour. 82 He then re-visited Karachi before returning to Kolkata in 1900 where he continued writing and editing the banned weekly journal Sophia. Upadhyay explained it thus:

It [the hierarchy] has wrongly accused me of disobedience. The first interdict against Sophia was issued on the ground of my having had nothing to do with it. But as soon as I resumed its editorship the faithful were allowed to read it though not without Episcopal permission. And now be it known that since the interdict against the Twentieth Century, which is plainly directed against my writings, I have not penned a single line on theological questions, nor shall I pen any until the interdict be removed. 83

Upadhyay contributed articles to the monthly journal Twentieth Century under the pseudonym ‘Nar Haridas’ (the Servant of the God-Man) that continued dialogue between Advaita and Christianity. 84 The journal’s imprint clearly states Upadhyay’s aims:

There will be no editorial articles on theology and anything of the nature of acrimonious controversy will be rigidly excluded from the pages of this magazine. Every article on any religious question will go forth with the imprimatur of the writer’s [sic] name. 85

81 Lipner, Life and Thought, 222.
82 Lipner, Life and Thought, 261.
83 Animananda cited by Jarrett-Kerr, Patterns, 219.
84 Max Müller (1823-1900) used the term ‘henotheism’ to describe the worshiping of a single God whilst accepting the possible existence of other deities in which God can take another form, but is of the ‘same nature.’ Vivekananda referred to henotheism as ‘Vedanta.’
85 Lipner and Gispert-Sauch, Writings, vol 1, 37-38.
Zaleski banned *Twentieth Century* in the following year (1901). This impasse led him and Animananda to celebrate *prayaschitta*. Lipner insightfully comments, ‘thanks in good measure to the unwitting Zaleski, evangelization for Upadhyay would now need to be expressed more explicitly through the political liberation of his compatriots.’

From 1897, in collaboration with his friends Rabindranath Tagore and Animananda, he revived the Indian ideal of pedagogy by founding a school in Kolkata for Brahmin youth, the *Saravata Ayatam* (the Abode of Learning). He encouraged boys to worship *Saraswati*, the Hindu Goddess associated with aesthetics, art, learning, sacred speech and wisdom. A white swan is *Saraswati’s* vehicle — a symbol of purity whose high flight symbolized transcendence. This teaching complemented Christian devotional syncretism. Many Christians were critical of Upadhyay’s devotion to *Saraswati*. Disagreements between Upadhyay and Debendranath Tagore (1817-1905) (Rabindranath’s father) arose because Upadhyay was suspected of Christian proselytism. Debendranath, an insightful religious person, was a foundational figure in *Brahmoism*.

Relocated to Bolepur, on Debendranath’s estate, *Saravata Ayatam* prospered and became known as Santiniketan (*Bhubandanga*) the Abode of Peace. The school evolved into the illustrious international University the *Patha Bhavana*, the School of Ideals. O’Connell describes their educational philosophy and practice. Rabindranath was a remarkable foil for Upadhyay. George Gispért-Sauch (b.1930) cites Rabindranath’s description of Upadhyay at this time:

In *Santiniketan* I found him my best collaborator in my educational enterprises. I am amazed, even today, when I think of the many discussions that we had while walking along the precincts of the *asram*, as he elucidated and explained many deep mysteries.

Upadhyay’s influence in pedagogy and epistemology is acknowledged by leading Protestant and Catholic theological institutes throughout India by their naming buildings in his honour — for example at *Jnana Deepa Vidyapeeth* Pune and the United Theological

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87 Lipner, *Life and Thought*, 224.
College Bangalore. Upadhyay ceased teaching in 1902 when he established a refuge for the infirm in Kolkata before undertaking the new challenge of European travel.
1.4 EUROPEAN TRAVEL

Upadhyay had considered travelling to Rome in 1899 to plead his case with the Propaganda regarding the proposed Kasthalik matha. Lipner expresses uncertainty as to why Upadhyay wished to visit Rome at that juncture. My opinion is Upadhyay was seeking rapprochement and dialogue with the Curia, hoping for their understanding and sanction of his experiments of adaptation, his Advaitic interpretation of Thomist natural theology and Triune interpretation of Sat-Cit-Ananda.

Upadhyay left Mumbai by ship in October 1902 and returned to India in July 1903. He disembarked in Naples and travelled to Rome, where he stayed several days, and then proceeding to London by train via Paris. He apparently experienced symptoms of abdominal pain during the sea voyage. The source of Upadhyay’s endowment for this long-anticipated sea voyage to Europe remains unknown—as a samnyasi, he would have had no personal finances. Upadhyay’s writings relate to his impressionable but brief visit to Rome and also his wide experiences of England.

Sadly, the Church did not wish to acknowledge Upadhyay’s presence in Rome — his expectation of a Papal audience would certainly appear naïve. Leo XIII had been seriously ill and died six months later. Upadhyay wrote to Animananda from Rome expressing his hopes for a Papal audience. Upadhyay nevertheless expressed great joy in visiting Rome and wrote in Bangabasi that he wished to re-visit Rome on his return to India. Upadhyay described attending mass in St. Peter’s Basilica where a British priest was his confessor.

As soon as I got down from the train I kissed the soil of Rome … I prayed at the tomb of St. Peter, the Rock, the Holder of the Keys, for India, for you all… While kneeling down at the tomb of St. Peter, I thought of the Holy Father, the living St. Peter. Oh! How I longed to kneel at his feet and plead for India. I was shown from a distance the window of his apartments. I was tempted to procure an interview… but I restrained my desire for I felt that the time had not yet come… I am walking the streets of Rome, free and easy, full of fire of our Holy Faith.

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91 Lipner, ‘Hindu-Catholicism,’ 45.
92 Lipner, Life and Thought, 306.
93 Baago, Indigenous Christianity, 48.
94 Lipner and Gispert-Sauch, Writings, vol 2, 484.
Upadhyay arrived in England on the fourth of November 1902 with an introduction to Cardinal Vaughan written by the Archbishop of Kolkata Paul Goethals (1877-1901). A translation of this letter, from the Latin into English, prefaced Upadhyay’s first article appearing in The Tablet:

We declare that Brahmapandhav (Theophilus) Upadhyay, a Brahmin of Kolkata, is a true Catholic of good character, burning with zeal for the conversion of his countrymen. 95

In The Tablet Upadhyay revealed:

Since my conversion to the Catholic faith my mind has been occupied with the one sole thought of winning over India to the Holy Catholic Church. 96

Upadhyay’s visit to England was surprisingly successful. It is difficult to understand how Upadhyay managed on a daily basis because he was an impecunious samnyasi. He lectured widely and became personally involved in academia. He involved himself in many areas of interest— for example familiarizing himself with the life and times of Cardinal John Henry Newman (1801-1890). He avoided narrow political aims and did not lobby politicians on behalf of the swaraj movement. He grew disenchanted with discriminatory attitudes in England, causing him to become increasingly opposed to the English and to become more committed to the swaraj. Howard Thurman’s quotation, in different circumstances, seems apt: ‘Damn the English, because they think they are better than I am.’ 97 As the ‘outsider’ Upadhyay acquitted himself remarkably well among the leading academics of the day.

At Oxford University Upadhyay was invited to lecture on Vedanta by the Boden Professor of Sanskrit, Arthur Anthony Macdonell (1854-1930). Macdonell, a Sanskrit lexicographer, was familiar with Upadhyay’s articles in the Twentieth Century and his Sanskrit hymns including Vande Saccanandam. 98 Upadhyay gave three lectures at Oxford University, chaired by Macdonell, entitled: ‘Hindu Theism’, ‘Hindu Ethics’, and ‘Hindu Sociology.’

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96 Upadhyay, ‘Christianity in India,’ 7.
98 See Appendix 4 (fol. 99-101).
Edward Caird (1835-1908), Master of Balliol College (1893-1907), chaired two other Oxford lectures. Caird, an authority on philosophy of religion, delivered the 1902 Gifford Lectures entitled ‘The Evolution of Theology.’

John Henry Muirhead (1855-1940), Chair of Philosophy at Birmingham University, described Upadhyay’s Oxford lectures as extremely successful, ‘Everyone who met him was greatly impressed with the singular sincerity of his character and his intellectual ability… Sir Oliver Lodge FRS afterwards gave me some [complimentary] accounts of his interview with him.’ 99 At Trinity College Cambridge Upadhyay gave three further lectures. Upadhyay was remarkably well adapted to European intellectualism although he consciously distanced himself from it. 100

Upadhyay’s hero Cardinal John Henry Newman had died only twelve years before Upadhyay’s visit. His First Tract for The Times (1840) would have offered encouragement to Upadhyay, ‘Times are very evil, yet no one speaks against them.’ 101 Upadhyay visited Littlemore village, four kilometres south-east of Oxford, where Newman had been appointed vicar of St. Mary the Virgin (1842-1846), and where Newman’s conversion to Catholicism happened. In his first letter to Bangabasi, Upadhyay described Newman as a dbarmabir or saint who ‘brought back the path of British religious thought towards faith and devotion.’ 102

A lecture at the London Theosophical Society, On Eastern and Western Thought, deplored the widespread ignorance, paternalism and apathy of many missionaries and politicians who went to India. Upadhyay gave as an example John Marshman (1768-1837) who in 1813 wrote, ‘It is my opinion that to the very end of time, through the imbecility of character, which Christianity itself will never remove, they [the Indian people] will be dependent on some nation.’ 103 Rampant prejudice had existed since Francis Xavier’s

99 Lipner and Gispért-Sauch, Writings, vol 2, 550.
100 Lipner and Gispért-Sauch, Writings, vol 2, 485.
102 Lipner and Gispért-Sauch, Writings, vol 2, 509.
(1506-1552) description in 1543: "These Brahmins have barely a tincture of learning...but they make up for their poverty of learning by cunning and malice."  

William Thomas Stead (1849-1912) reported in the *Review of Reviews*:

Last year a penniless Brahmin, Swami Upadhyay by name, conceived the idea that our Ancient Universities would be improved by the institution of Chairs of Indian Philosophy.

So he set off like the disciples of old, without staff or scrip, without money in his wallet, to convert the Dons of Oxford and of Cambridge to a sense of their need. Strange to say, he met with a very favourable reception at Oxford. At Cambridge he succeeded in forming an influential committee which has undertaken to see to it that a three years’ course of lectures in Hindu Philosophy shall be delivered — provided a competent Hindu lecturer were forthcoming.

In *The Tablet* Upadhyay proclaimed:

It is difficult [for the British] to understand that Christianity is not a British religion. It is too much mixed up with beef and pork, spoon and fork, too tightly pantalooned and petticoated, to manifest its universality... What appears to them [the Indian people as] very strange is to be told to accept the British as their teachers... who seldom fail to bring their guns with their religion wherever they go.

To my mind the best and most congenial way of teaching theism [to Indian people], to the educated as well as the non-educated [in English], will be through Hindu thought. Hindu thought may be made to serve the cause of Christianity in the same way in India as Greek thought was made to do in Europe.

Considerable ambivalence regarding Indian spirituality existed. Upadhyay discussed the Hindu reality of *Maya*, *a contentious concept that engaged him for many years.* *Maya* encompasses the ‘Eternal Absolute,’ which is impossible to conceptualize — God’s being is beyond speech and mind. This apophatic concept of God resembles the thought of Clement of Alexandria (ca.150-ca.215) or Origen (ca.184-254), as later discussed.

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107 In Hinduism *Maya* describes how human beings become confused about the nature of the world and themselves. Such illusion keeps them enmeshed in the bondage of their desires continuing the cycle of *Samsara* (reincarnation) of which people remain oblivious.
The religious goal is to pierce the veil of Maya (through sadhana) to reveal the essential spiritual identity of the Absolute. Upadhyay’s belief was that the Incarnation represents an epicentre and he postulated Maya as a bridge between Advaita and Catholicism.

Upadhyay’s articles in The Tablet were received with occasional hostility. A subsequent anonymous letter to the editor by a Jesuit Professor of Sanskrit wrote, ‘Upadhyay’s project was hopeless … the Vedantic system is one of the saddest, if not absolutely the saddest, aberration ever perpetrated by the human mind. Therefore an attempt to use it as a philosophical foundation for Christianity was in vain.’ He was able to debate many of his ideas during his time in London, particularly the opportunity of having discussions with Cardinal Vaughan. Fr. Joseph Rickaby (1845-1932), a Thomist-Jesuit philosopher, met Upadhyay at Oxford. Rickaby was an authority on Newman and in 1914 edited An Index to the Works of John Henry Cardinal Newman. In 1908 Rickaby wrote:

I have heard him much spoken against, but he made a good impression on me… I heard him once lecture at Manchester College [Oxford]. I was particularly struck with the thorough understanding that he showed of the philosophies current in Oxford. He told me he saw no hope of the conversion of India as a country but he thought more might be done for the conversion of high caste natives. In Oxford he suffered from insufficient clothing and poverty.

Upadhyay’s lectures vigorously promoted Vivekananda’s philosophy rather than that of his friend Tagore. Vivekananda died just before he left India. Nine lengthy letters from England (and another on his return to India) sent to Bangabasi were printed between November 1902 and September 1903. These letters graphically describe Upadhyay’s travel experiences. Two of his notable sarcasms are, ‘nowadays many samnyasis visit England, harangue their audience with religious lectures, and receive much applause’ and also, ‘it is easy for us to say that the world is “illusory,” and hence unreal, when the treasury of British wealth is full to overflowing.’

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110 Letters to the Editor, ‘Christianity in India,’ The Tablet 101, no. (1903), 258.
111 Lipner, Life and Thought, 313; Lipner and Gispért-Sauch, Writings, vol 2, 551.
112 Lipner and Gispért-Sauch, Writings, vol 2, 485-537.
113 Animananda cited by Baago, Indigenous Christianity,124.
114 Lipner and Gispért-Sauch, Writings, vol 2, 509.
In conclusion, Upadhyay’s visit to Europe reaffirmed his commitment to swaraj, the belief that Indians need to be responsible for one another under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, and that a ‘truly human’ civilization for India was impossible without Christianity. Upadhyay resiled against the condescension of academe and church hierarchy, acquitting himself courageously. The way we pray determines what we believe (lex orandi, lex credendi) — this had been a feature of Christian belief for 350 years before the biblical canon was established. For Upadhyay this notion represented a useful tool that enabled adaptation, liberation and involvement of the laity as central to his theology. Upadhyay had concern for ‘memory’ that called for creation of an Indian identity in the face of colonialism. His nationalism is shaped by the need to consolidate those aspects of culture that he considered endangered.

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1.5 CASTE AS IT HAS BEEN USED IN HISTORY

To be a good Hindu a man may believe anything or nothing but he must always fulfil his caste obligations. Mason Olcott, ‘The Caste System in India,’ *American Sociological Review* (1944)

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In order to protect the universe He, the most resplendent One, assigned different occupations and duties to those who originated from his mouth, arms, thighs and feet.

*Manusmriti* I, 87

Caste is the *sine qua non* for understanding Upadhyay’s thinking, as I shall explain. A brief description of this complex subject is therefore necessary. Michael Amaladoss (b.1936) (Amal) describes ‘caste’ as a way of organizing society. Caste, known as *jati* (birth), encompasses the truism that one enters *jati* through birth. There are more than 4,000 castes existing within South Asia. Caste represents a hierarchy based on the perceived purity of each group’s occupation. The term ‘caste’ perhaps was derived from the Portuguese word for ‘chaste.’ Amal surmises this ordering of society may have happened through conquered people being reduced to slavery or impoverished people forced to survive by performing menial work. Four *varnas* exist (*Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas* and *Sudras*) as described in the *Code of Manu*. The ‘casteless’ members of Hindu society include Dalits, (scheduled castes), *Adivasi,* (scheduled tribes), Christians and Muslims.

The caste system has not always been universally accepted throughout Indian history. The Buddha, Siddhattha Gotama (fl. 563-483 BCE), 115 and the *Bhakti* movement have disregarded ‘caste’ and have proposed a liberation of all humanity. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar (1891-1956) a Dalit London Barrister and author of the Indian Constitution in 1953, encouraged several million Dalits to become Buddhists after parliamentary decree offered them *Sudra* caste status. *Lingayats*, monotheistic Shaivites, had abolished caste discrimination. Adequate discussion of ‘caste’ is beyond the scope of this paper. Samuel Rayan (b. 1920) argues that caste discrimination is not peculiar to India. Rayan

115 *Varṇa* (the four *Brahmanas*) existed at this time — but not the many complex sub-castes, the *jati* or ‘birth-groups’.
gives many examples including the feudal divisions of medieval Europe and citing Pius X, who in 1903 wrote:

In the order of human society as established by God there are rulers and ruled, employers and employees, rich and poor, learned and ignorant, nobility and proletariat.  

India remains ‘caste-ridden’ despite today’s legal prohibition of untouchability in India. Villagers and urban communities alike recognize caste, the unmentionable reality. For Upadhyay caste division represented ancient inviolable barriers. The Bhakti poet Chokhamela laments:

If you had to give me this birth,  
Why give me birth at all?  
You cast me away to be born; you were cruel.  
O God, my caste is low; how can I see you?  
When I touch anyone, they take offence.  
Chokhamela wants your mercy.  

Monsignor Pelvat, Bishop of Nagpur, demanded that Upadhyay establish Kasthalik matha in the same manner as de Nobili (1577-1656) through the retrograde perpetuation of caste distinctions. Upadhyay reminded Pelvat that de Nobili wore kavi, which the Church had embraced 200 years previously, and for Upadhyay had become forbidden. Five letters Upadhyay wrote from Jabalapur in February 1899 reveal his determination to establish the Kasthalik matha despite obvious ecclesial antagonism.

Upadhyay had been oblivious to caste during the Karachi plague in 1896, living out the Christian perspective in which Christ lives in all of us, whether Greek or Jew, slave or free (Col 3:11). This era is characterized by many disasters, which affected him profoundly and moulded his outlook. In Sindh (1897) he ‘went about looking for the deserted men and women in the hidden lanes and by-lanes of the town. He would sweep

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117 Amaladoss, Life in Freedom, 23.
118 Jarrett-Kerr, Patterns, 215.
120 Lipner and Gispét-Sauch, Writings, vol 2, 475-480.
121 Lipner, ‘Hindu-Catholicism,’ 48.
their houses, cook for them, console them and bring medical aid.' 122 Upadhyay reasoned, ‘Jesus had given his life on the Cross, for suffering mankind. How could a disciple of Jesus refuse to risk his life?’ 123 By these actions, as a samnyasin, Upadhyay had set-aside brahmavarta and his inherent ideas of untouchability.

Upadhyay nevertheless was in many ways intolerant. He derided Adivasi and Muslims, describing westerners pejoratively as phiringi. * Caste discrimination was inherent in Upadhyay's ashram. Lower caste applied to darker skinned Indians (varnam). Upadhyay was criticized for his article entitled Varnashrama Dharma in Bangadarsan (1901), defending caste separation and criticizing an essay by Krishna Mohan Banerjea written in the 1850's. 124 In 1900 Upadhyay wrote in Sophia:

The caste-system is a natural evolution of the Hindu social instinct. Far-sighted, learned men formulated it in consonance with the genius of the people. The greatness of the Hindu race was achieved largely through the regulating influence of caste. It was caste that preserved the Hindus from being transformed into hybrids of the Semitic stock. 125

Upadhyay advocated ‘Hindu unflinching fidelity to caste (varna) emulating Arjuna’s struggle for the vindication of justice (Bhagavad Gita 3:3). 126 In Sophia (1900) Upadhyay did not retreat from his defence of the caste-system in the face of Western missionaries’ criticism. He firmly believed the classical Hindu caste hierarchy was conducive to self-respect and social cohesion.

Hegglin, formerly a friend, affirmed ecclesial opposition to Upadhyay’s views on caste in 1903 in the Bombay Catholic Examiner. 127 He also criticized Upadhyay’s interpretation of Maya. Upadhyay wrote: ‘The majority of [indigenous] Christians in India advocated caste and therefore on the principle laid down [caste characteristics] could not be condemned.’ 128 This represents a facile argument that if the majority accept caste discrimination it can be justified.

122 Animananda cited by Lipner, Life and Thought, 232.
123 Lipner, Life and Thought, 232.
124 Forrester, Caste and Christianity, 131; Lipner and Gispért-Sauch, Writings, vol 2, 153-171.
125 Lipner and Gispért-Sauch, Writings, vol 2, 87.
126 Lipner and Gispért-Sauch, Writings, vol 1, 39.
127 Lipner, Life and Thought, 246; Lipner and Gispért-Sauch, Writings, vol 1, 227-229.
128 Lipner and Gispért-Sauch, Writings, vol 2, 105.
Complex realities of *varna* and *jati* have always been intractable difficulties for Christian missions. 129 Because inter-caste marriages were forbidden among Hindus many low caste (*Avarna*) sought conversion to Christianity to overcome this difficulty. Nineteenth century missionaries endeavoured to accommodate the caste system by evangelizing ‘from below,’ a radical departure from the methods used by de Nobili. 130 Propaganda Fide appointed Société des Missions Étrangères, in the wake of Jesuit suppression in India, which continued de Nobili’s regime of strict caste segregation. 131

João de Britto SJ (1647-1693) evolved a new mendicant order, the *Pandarasrami,* whose Rule permitted priests to minister directly to *Sudras* and *Atisudras* * thus tolerating Christian *dvija* and *avarna* worshiping together without loss of caste. 132 De Britto’s praxis precipitated his martyrdom in 1693 because *dvija* found his methods too confronting. 133

Mass conversion of *Adivasi* also occurred. When Tribal leaders become Christian, mass conversion of entire social groups occurred. Constant Lievens SJ (1856-1893) had been successful in Chotanagpur (1885-1892), converting *Munda* and *Oraon* Tribals through resolving issues concerning social justice and land tenure. 134 This acknowledgement of tribal identity and ‘memories’ marked an early example of Asian liberation theology in which the world is interpreted in terms of relationships.

The *Adivasi* were not originally Hindus but had an Animist spirituality. *Adivasi* worship is often directed towards a single deity with resemblance to Yahweh. Gispért-Sauch considers Wilhelm Schmidt SVD (1868-1954), an important pioneer missionary-anthropologist of the *Kulturkreislehre* School, probably influenced Upadhyay’s thinking. 135 Schmidt argued against the theory that monotheism evolved from polytheism or animism.

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130 Cyril Bruce Firth, *An Introduction to Indian Church History,* Indian Theological Library (Delhi: ISPCK, 2007), 215-232.
132 Personal communication, Lawrence Nemer, August 2010.
and postulated instead that monotheism is a primary concept. Upadhyay would have been familiar with casteless Tribal societies, including the Adivasi of Chotanagpur, who possessed a hypothetical inclination for Christian conversion.  

Protestant missionaries, many from plebeian backgrounds, bore natural repugnance for the caste system because of their antipathy to hereditary privilege within British class society. By 1850 most Protestant missionaries had declared that ecclesial caste discrimination represented an ‘unmitigated evil.’

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137 Forrester, *Caste and Christianity*, 23-47.
1.6 STRUGGLES WITH AUTHORITIES, SEDITION TRIAL AND DEATH

This section describes the events leading to Upadhyay’s death. As with Greek tragedy the conclusion seems inevitable — he bore the seeds of ruin in himself. This drama is reminiscent of the inexorable absurdity of Samuel Barclay Beckett (1906-1989) or Albert Camus (1913-1960). His trial and death was execrable because of his abandonment by the Church although his courage did inspire many swadeshi who followed him.

Upadhyay’s final resignation unto death suggests a realized eschatological hope. It is in this context that his friend Rabindranath Tagore later wrote of a ‘Heavenly Mercy, which makes all human suffering its own.’

Many Indians remember Upadhyay as a patriot. His Christianity has been either ignored or regarded as an aberration. Indian worship of Jesus Christ (Ishta Devata) exists within a broad matrix of monotheistic Hinduism and as such has grown to be an integral part of nationalist aspirations. Ishta Devata means the ‘chosen deity’ and can refer to any deity. The British colonial ideology had denied claims that India was a nation. The Indian people are extremely diverse, having many languages and beliefs. There had been more than 600 princely states ruled by a Raja or Thakur, (or if Muslim a Nawab). The British naively believed they had invented the ‘idea’ of creating India as a country. In the process of confronting colonialism, Indian nationalists like Upadhyay believed they must create a national identity based upon the Hindu heritage. C. Fonseca considered that Upadhyay always viewed politics in spiritual terms and ‘believed that the heart of India was in religion; that a religious people would not understand anything unless stated in religious terms.’

Upadhyay criticized Tagore in 1901, ‘For not being sufficiently enthusiastic over the amalgamation of politics with Hindu revivalism, and [also] for his Universalist leanings, which were felt to have a demoralizing effect.’

Finally, as a result of cultural imperialism and poverty, deep resentment erupted into anger and protest. This cycle of dissent was a feature of many Asian anti-colonial struggles. Upadhyay’s (1899) aphorism describing collusion between missionaries and

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141 Sebastian, ‘Upadhyay’s Nationalist Thought,’ 49.
their colonial masters was representative, ‘first comes the missionary, then comes the resident and lastly comes the regiment.’¹⁴² This expression of anti-colonialism became a catch cry and was censured by both Catholic and colonial hierarchies. Anti-Britishness is noted in Upadhyay’s writings following his journey to Europe when he wrote, ‘to tell the truth, I don’t like the vain display of British civilization one little bit.’¹⁴³

European missionaries undeniably had an influence on Indian society. John Moffitt describes koinonia between Christians and Hindus engendered through a ‘way of service,’ or karmamarga, that embodies ‘actions selflessly performed for the sake of the Lord [through which] the average man or woman can achieve realization of the ultimate reality, in this life, as immanent creation.’¹⁴⁴ Karmamarga emphasizes the importance of selfless action performed for the benefit of others. Both Vivekananda and Gandhi regarded the concept of karmamarga, based upon the Bhavagad Gita, as being central to their ideology. Satyagraha and Asian liberation theology would appear to have originated in karmamarga. This ideology bears similarity to the ‘Golden Rule’ that is fundamental to all religions.¹⁴⁵ Gandhi, always knowledgeable about Christian dogma, made this following observation:

If Indian Christians will simply cling to the Sermon on the Mount, which was delivered not merely to the peaceful disciples but a growing world, they would not go wrong, and they would find no religion false. Cooperation with forces of Good and non-cooperation with forces of Evil are the two things we need for a good and pure life, whether it is called Hindu, Muslim, or Christian.¹⁴⁶

Swaraj ideology was polarized between the radical garam dal (hot faction) to which Upadhyay eventually belonged and the more moderate komal dal (calm faction).¹⁴⁷ Surendranath Banerjee a member of the komal dal had actuated Upadhyay’s youthful zeal

¹⁴³ Lipner and Gispért-Sauch, Writings, vol 2, 513.
¹⁴⁷ Leonard Fernando and George Gispért-Sauch, Christianity in India: Two Thousand Years of Faith (New Delhi: Penguin/Viking, 2004), 249.
for the swaraj in the 1870’s. A break between moderates and extremists occurred at the Indian National Congress in 1906 when Upadhyay opposed Surendranath’s scheme for India gaining Dominion Status and he became the main voice in the disengagement between the Bengali Extremists and the moderates. Significantly, Upadhyay organized the very successful Shivaji Festival in June 1906 and in the following year was responsible for editing, publishing and the printing of the inflammatory newsletter Bande Mataram. In 1907 Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1856-1920) assumed leadership of the garam dal. Upadhyay I suspect neither belonged to terrorist groups nor advocated violence, although his attitude became hardened following his voyage to England. Fonseca describes Upadhyay’s contribution to the swaraj as, ‘on almost every important occasion and at every critical juncture [he was] the guiding spirit and the driving force of Bengal nationalism.’ Fonseca quotes the Indian Mirror reporting in 1907: ‘there never was a more disinterested unselfish worker, who kept himself [more] thoroughly in the background than Upadhyaya.’ I consider this journalistic licence problematical as Upadhyay had by this time become a forthright voice in Sandhya where he ‘almost single-handedly popularized the Bengal nationalist movement in the context of the 1905 partition agitation among newly-formed (Hindu) urban middle-class.’

Animananda claimed that Upadhyay was ‘the first man in our political history to suggest complete independence for India.’ When he was aged sixteen years and a student at Hooghly College, in youthful exuberance he volunteered to be a foot soldier for the Anglo-Zulu War in 1879. He was rejected because of his age. One year later he absconded from school travelling to Gwalior (1,200km from Kolkata) to ‘learn the art of war and drive away the phiringi.’ Gwalior probably represented for Upadhyay a nostalgic focus of Indian patriotism. This city has associations with Shivaji’s (1630-1680) heroic Marathi independence movement that opposed Mughal domination in India. Upadhyay never became a combatant, however in his case the ‘pen proved mightier than the sword.’ He later wrote:

We have said over and over again that we are not Swadeshi only so far as salt and sugar are concerned… our aspirations are higher than the Himalayas. Our pain is

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148 Lipner, Life and Thought, 27.
149 Fonseca, ‘Political Years,’ 26.
150 Fonseca, ‘Political Years,’ 24.
151 Lipner, Life and Thought, 389.
152 Animananda cited by Sebastian, ‘Upadhyay’s Nationalist Thought,’ 51.
153 Lipner, Life and Thought, 44-46.
as intense as if we had a volcano in us. What we want is the emancipation of India.  

In 1907 Upadhyay was impeached for seditious journalism following this impassioned Sandhya article:

Your overweening pride is due to your possessing a few cannons and guns. Just see to what plight you are reduced… We have all the advantages of the ancient India on our side. We are immortal. If you are wise, you should help towards the attainment of deliverance by India. Otherwise, come, let us descend into the arena of war. We hereby summon you to battle. See what a mighty contest presently begins over all the country. We have heard the voice and we cannot fail to see the chains of India removed before we die. It is too late to recede.

One month previously he wrote in Sandhya:

Our aim is that India may be free, that the stranger may be driven from our homes, that the continuity of learning, the civilization and the system of the Rishis may be preserved.

Sedition charges also rested upon his editorial that venerated ‘Mother India,’ which highlighted the thoughts of the samnyasa in Bankimcandra Chatterji’s (Bankim) epic Anandamath (Abbey of Bliss). He was a polymath, regarded as the ‘father figure’ of the modern Bengali novel and a figurehead in the Bengal renaissance from the late 1860’s. Bankim composed the Indian national song, Bande Mataram, sung by Tagore at the Kolkata Congress in 1896. Lipner has translated the nine stanzas of this literary work into English. Many Indians, including some Catholics rejected the ethos of this song because they considered it represented Durga puja. Timothy Craig Tennent considers Bande Mataram possessed latent veneration for Sat-Cit-Ananda. Upadhyay enjoined his readers in this way:

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154 Animananda cited by Antony Copley, Religion in Conflict: Ideology, Cultural Contact and Conversion in Late Colonial India (Delhi: OUP, 1997), 214.
155 Upadhyay, cited by Animananda, de Bary, ed. Sources of Indian Tradition vol 2, 186.
156 de Bary, ed. Sources of Indian Tradition 185.
159 Timothy Craig Tennent, Christianity at the Religious Round Table: Evangelicals in Conversation with Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islam (Grand Rapids MI: Baker, 2002), 223-228.
First free the Mother from her bondage, then seek your own deliverance. The fire of desire has been kindled within our bosom. We do not know whence. Heaven we do not want. Deliverance we seek not. O Mother! Let us be born again and again in India till your chains fall off. First let the Mother be free, and then shall come our own release from worldly bonds … Here I am with my neck outstretched — offer it up as a sacrifice… We have heard the voice and we cannot fail to see the chains of India removed before we die. It is now too late to recede. 

And also:

Rise up, rise up Bengali! Rise and stand ready at this auspicious time. Rise up, sweet Mother Bengal! Abandon the burning ground that’s become your bed, brush out your dust-greyed hair, and rise and stand ready! 

During Upadhyay’s trial he underwent herniorraphy, necessitating deferment of legal proceedings. The surgery was complicated by tetanus infection resulting in his death four days later on the 26th November 1907. He died before judgement was handed down. Upadhyay’s last recorded words were ‘Thakur, Thakur,’ his usual invocation for Christ. In court Upadhyay wore the simple white swadeshi garments with the traditional Hindu janëu, * the sacred thread, instead of the kavi of a samnyasi. Upadhyay’s eloquent statement to the court — reminiscent of the trials of Socrates or Gandhiji — was unapologetic in his own defence, thereby inviting the death penalty. At the trial he stated his indictment had followed his admission of authorship of *Ekhan theke gechi premer dai*, published in *Sandhya* in August 1907. Upadhyay stated:

I do not want to take part in this trial because I do not believe that in carrying-out my humble share of God-appointed mission of Swaraj, I am in any way accountable to the alien people who happen to rule over us and whose interest it is and must necessarily be in the way of [i.e. opposed to] our true national development.

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160 Upadhyay, cited from Animananda, de Bary, ed. *Sources of Indian Tradition* vol 2, 185-186.
162 Lipner, *Life and Thought*, 383.
163 Gispért-Sauch, ‘The Sanskrit Hymns,’ 64.
Before Upadhyay’s trial the Catholic hierarchy imposed an interdiction as they had quite wrongly concluded that Upadhyay had apostatized. Every avenue for Upadhyay’s appeals for clemency had been blocked. Upadhyay wrote:

Rest assured that for me it is impossible to go against the Holy Church. Never, for a moment, since my baptism have I been even tempted (I am not boasting) to doubt the divine authority of the Pope of Rome over my faith and morals. Moreover, I have never failed to submit to lawful ecclesiastical authorities. 166

Upadhyay was denied Christian burial by the Church, who considered him attainted. When Upadhyay’s body was being removed from Campbell Hospital his Christian friends, Fr. Berghmans and Animananda, were prevented from claiming his body. Five thousand people nephew lit his pyre. 167 Upadhyay’s friends considered his death providential as they had envisaged his hanging. 168 Upadhyay was most likely aware that the Philippine irenical reformer, physician José Protasio Rizal (1861-1896) had been executed by firing squad as a sequel to his anti-colonialist writings. 169 As Narayan Vaman Tilak (1861-1919), ironically observed: ‘The extremists of today will moderate tomorrow, just as the moderates of today are the extremists of yesterday.’ 170

Upadhyay was an early architect of Indian independence and he should be regarded as a forerunner of Gandhiji’s satyagraha movement for Indian independence. Gandhiji was arrested at Ahmedabad in 1922 and was charged with sedition as a result of articles published in Young India. Prior to sentencing, Gandhiji was permitted to address the Court, when he most aptly concluded:

Non-violence implies voluntary submission to the penalty for non-cooperation with evil. I am here, therefore, to invite and submit cheerfully to the highest penalty that can be inflicted upon me for what in law is a deliberate crime and what appears to me to be the highest duty of a citizen. The only course open to you, the judge, is either to resign your post, and thus dissociate yourself from evil if you feel the law you are called upon to administer is an evil and that in reality I am innocent, or to inflict on me the severest penalty if you believe the system

166 Animananda cited by Jarrett-Kerr, Patterns, 220.
167 Lipner, Life and Thought, 386.
169 Jarrett-Kerr, Patterns, 245-250.
and the law you are assisting to administer are good for the people of this country and that my activity is therefore injurious to the public weal. 171

The Catholic Church did not make any public recognition, or acknowledgement of regret for its pugnacious attitude. Meersman described Upadhyay’s death as, ‘being ignored with an indifference she [the Church] could not afford … [it marked] the passing of one of the greatest and most devoted of her sons in recent times.’ 172 The allegorical frame story, The Brahmin and the Mongoose (Panchatantra Book V), in which the faithful mongoose is hastily slaughtered, seems reminiscent Upadhyay’s death.

And because I love this life
I know I shall love death as well.
The child cries out when
From the right breast the mother
Takes it away, in the very next moment
To find the left one
Its consolation.
Rabindranath Tagore, Gitanjali, XCV, (1912)

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172 Meersman, ‘Indigenisation,’ 82.
PART TWO — UPADHYAY’S LEGACY

2.1 THE CHRISTIAN ASHRAM

Jesus did not call men to a new ‘religion’ but to life.
Dietrich Bonhoeffer, _Widerstand und Ergebung._

Whilst the first part of this thesis has qualified certain aspects of Upadhyay’s life; the second part will seek to consolidate Upadhyay’s thought and his legacy, particularly Upadhyay’s contribution to contextual theology, which anticipated the importance of the Christian ashram movement; his contributions to systematic theological thought; and his role in India’s Nationalist movement. The second part concludes with a critical examination of Upadhyay and his contributions.

To appreciate the significance of Upadhyay’s role as the progenitor of the Christian ashram movement it is necessary to understand and follow the evolution of this unique mode of Christian spirituality. Anticipating the significance of Christian ashrams has been Upadhyay’s most obvious and enduring ecclesiastical legacy. The development of this religious movement has had increasing relevance within Indian ecclesiology. Space precludes adequate discussion of the important concept of _asrama_ * as it is practised in classical Hinduism. 173

This section will present Upadhyay’s philosophy of Christian ashrams; definition and clarification of ashramic praxis; discussion of the centrality of meditation; and a brief historical examination of important specific examples of ashrams related to Upadhyay’s theology.

_Upadhyay’s ideas_ were engendered by the ashramic example learnt through time spent with Ramakrishna. For Upadhyay, Ramakrishna was profoundly influential; from this experience Upadhyay later envisaged a matrix enabling Indian Catholics to become trained in the monastic life. In 1898 Upadhyay wrote:

Monastic life is exceedingly congenial to the soil of India. In this age of

materialism, when contemplative life is despised, India is dotted over with monasteries. On mountain tops, in forest glades, on the banks of rivers, in the heart of ancient cities are to be found ashrams presided over by famous sannyasis whose disciples range the country, keeping alive the fervour of the Hindu race. 174

Upadhyay had also learnt a great deal through participation in Sen’s Brahmo community (1887) that contributed to his ashramic synthesis. 175 Sen’s ashram had evolved the Nava Vidhana as an apotheosis of world religions. Sen showed open-mindedness in his regard to syncretism and pluralism. Through Sen’s sat-sang * Upadhyay and Manilal Parekh (1885-1967), were introduced to Triune insights. Parekh, originally Jain, adopted Christianity through Brabmoism. Parekh’s theology was centred around bhakti, whereas for Upadhyay Advaita was always more important. 176 Parekh wrote biographical material on Gandhiji, Roy, Sen and the Brahmo Samaj. He later defined true religion as existing ‘where the human heart responds to love and total surrender to the grace of God.’ 177 Parekh appreciated the medieval Christian mystics as they inspired in him a mystical synthesis, which he later termed Bhagavata dharma. Sen profoundly inspired Upadhay — as he had been by Ramakrishna. In common with many mystics at the time they shared a profound spiritual milieu.

When Upadhyay devised the Rule for his matha he demanded strict samnyasa discipline, chastity (brahmacarya), sadhana, * the wearing of the janéu (typical of samnyasa and the later satyagrahis), including yoga and other Hindu ritual. 178

Upadhyay described his ideas for a Kasthali matha in these words:

There should be two classes of samnyasis, the one contemplative, and the other itinerant. The contemplative monks will give the lie to the prevalent notion that meditative life is idleness, show by their steady contemplation of the Infinite Goodness that it is possible to live the life of God on earth, and repair, by their self-immolation, the injury done to human nature by the ravages of sin. The itinerant monks will issue forth … to carry the torch of Catholic faith to the darkest corners of India… This matha [or monastery] should be conducted on strictly Hindu lines. There should not be the least trace of Europeanism in the

175 Lipner, Life and Thought, 64.
176 Thomas, The Indian Renaissance, 29.
177 Boyd, Indian Christian Theology, 264-273.
mode of life of the Hindu Catholic monks. The Parivrajakas [itinerants] should be well versed in the Vedanta philosophy as well as in the philosophy of St. Thomas [Aquinas].

Animananda wrote in *The Blade* (1898):

The European clothes of the Catholic religion should be removed as early as possible. It must put on the Hindu garment to be acceptable to the Hindus. This transformation can be effected only by bands of Indian missionaries preaching the Holy Faith in the Vedantic language, holding devotional meetings in the Hindu way and practicing the virtue of poverty conformably to Hindu asceticism. When the Catholic Church in India will be decorated with Hindu vestments, then will our countrymen perceive that she elevates man to the universal kingdom of truth by stooping down to adapt herself to his racial peculiarities…

They slept on the bare floor without any pillow and with but one blanket. One *chadar* [shawl] and one *dhoti* made up their dress. They were not allowed to use another till this had been quite worn out. They got up at 4.0 a.m., and retired at 10.0 p.m., passing the day in study, prayer and meditation. Each novice, after completing his course of studies, was to make a retreat and then had to roam about in the cities of India, all by himself, for 6 months, begging his way from place to place, and if he returned alive to the central *matha* he was to get the garic garb.

At Jabalapur he commenced his *Kasthalik matha* in 1899 with Animananda and two young Brahmin youths. Jabalapur had family significance for him because his father and grandmother had lived there following the death of his mother. Nostalgia may explain why he chose Jabalapur for the establishment of *Kasthalik matha*. Lipner identifies *Kasthalik matha* as the first attempted establishment of a Catholic ashram in the Hindu mode.

A *Definition* of Hindu/Catholic ashrams is elusive; there have been many attempts to elucidate the Gordian knot of Christian ashrams. The National Biblical Catechetical and Liturgical Centre (NBCLC) in 1978 experienced difficulty in reaching an acceptable definition but broadly acceded that Christian ashrams were examples of ‘inculturation in action.’ Christian ashrams generally exhibit inherent Hindu mysticism allied to a

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179 Lipner and Gispért-Sauch, *Writings*, vol 2, 203.
Christian sense of mystery within communities where perichoresis and the gift of the Holy Spirit are expressed as bhakti.\textsuperscript{183} Eli Stanley Jones (1884-1973), who established an ashram at Sat Tal in the Himalayas (1930), defined Christian ashrams as the ‘unique contribution by Indian Christianity to the universal church.’\textsuperscript{184} An ashram may be considered as a place of retreat or hermitage, often associated with a forest, where a community may come together in pursuit of a mutual spiritual quest. Sister Vandana Mataji (b. 1924), from a Parsi background, describes an ashram as, ‘before all else a place where people come [together] to experience God,’ reiterating Abhishiktananda’s far-reaching description of an ashram ‘existing wherever a holy man sits.’ Robert Pierce Beaver (1906-1987) defined Christian ashrams in this way:

An ascetic community characterized by fellowship, mutual bearing of burdens, common worship, silent meditation, intercession and study, living a close family life under a Rule of discipline to the glory of God, to the service of the most needy and to the communication of the gospel.\textsuperscript{185}

The term ‘ashram’ may therefore be loosely considered as any group of people who live together in a community, practise simplicity and offer devoted service to neighbours. Because ashrams are ‘open communities’ they may include members wishing to participate briefly in the life of the community in a similar way that Buddhist youths are expected to join the sangha. The inward journey to the ‘cave of the heart’ described by Abhishiktananda alludes to the somewhat intimidating cave-like garbha-ghar or ‘womb-house’ that characterizes mysterious ashrams manifesting a powerful divinity within.\textsuperscript{186}

Charles Murray Rogers (1917-2006), who established the Jyotiniketan ashram at Kareli, remarked upon the great importance of experiencing the ‘supernatural presence of God’ within a typical Hindu style of Christian ashram:

Men [and women] may need, they assuredly do, medicine, education, better agriculture, but that must be the task of others. Our calling is to place before


\textsuperscript{185} R Pierce Beaver, ‘Christian Ashrams in India,’ \textit{Christian Century} 82, no. (1965), 887.

them the Supernatural, to open a window on divine reality, to let the marvel of the Transfiguration of our Lord become again a living and contemporary reality in this small corner of the universe. 187

Two distinct modes of Christian ashram have been described, namely the kaviasrama and the khadiasrama. Firstly, the kaviasrama (kavi the colour of samnyamin garments implies wisdom) is characteristic of classical Hindu asrama. Kaviasrama follows scriptural and meditational emphases involving withdrawal from the world and is generally typical of Catholic ashrams. 188 Secondly, the khadiasrama, as described by Lanza del Vasto (1901-1981), inspired by ashrams of Gandhiji or Vinoba Bhave (1895-1982), focused upon medical work, human rights and alleviation of oppression. 189 Khadiasrama are considered broadly synonymous with Protestant ashrams. 190 Amal has poignantly questioned the role of Christian ashrams in social justice. 191 Both types of ashrams continue to exist. Francis Acharya’s opinion was that ashrams differ ‘according to the needs and inspiration of the community of the time.’ 192 Christian ashrams today continue to exhibit much individuality and diversity.

Meditation is the cornerstone of Christian ashram praxis. The ‘Eightfold Practice’ of Yoga (astanga yoga) * is fundamental to ashramic spirituality because it involves both an ethical preparation (yamaniyama) and the process of interiorization (samayama). Western perceptions of yoga (hathayoga) are usually simplistic as they merely entail asana (postures) and pranayama (breath control) whilst denying the more difficult ethical demands of Patanjali’s astanga yoga as described in the Yoga Sutras. 193 * The deep significance of social justice, recognized in Christian ashrams, is integral to disciplines of astanga yoga. 194 The inherent Hindu precepts of damyata, datta and dayadhvan, * demanding mercy and

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187 C Murray Rogers, ‘Hindu Ashram Heritage: God’s Gift to the Church,’ Concilium 9, no. 1 (1965), 75.
188 de Mello, Sadhana, passim.
192 Vandana, Gurus, Ashrams and Christians, 64.
193 Christopher Key Chapple, ‘Modern Yoga,’ Religious Studies Review 34, no. 2 (2008), 71-76.
compassion towards the whole of creation are an expression of the ‘Golden Rule.’ Del Vasto described the Christian ashramic ideal as:

In any nonviolent community, one must practice voluntary poverty. If you become attached to goods, you will have to defend them or have others defend them. So poverty is a crucial ornament of the spirit. Have few things, only necessary things, but make them beautifully, taking the necessary time. Keep moments for meditation. Record the reasons for our living together. Work for unity.

Upadhyay set an example for others to follow. From reading Upadhyay’s description of ashrams as a monastic community, Monchanin in 1939 was inspired to travel to Tiruchirapalli. Monchanin saw the veracity of Upadhyay’s argument that evangelization in India was only possible through the ashram movement together with the grace of the Holy Spirit. Monchanin’s circle included Frédéric Vincent Lebbe (1877-1940), Charles Eugène de Foucauld (1858-1916) and Henri de Lubac (1896-1991). Monchanin established the Saccidananda (Shantivanam) ashram with Abhishiktananda (Henri Le Saux) in 1948. This event marked the beginning of the ‘second wave’ of ashram formations. Francis Acharya (Francis Mayeu) joined their community in 1953. Monchanin wrote that no philosophy in India is separated from the ‘truth’ as it is conceived through spiritual realization.

Vandana describes Monchanin’s unpretentious ashram as ‘evidence of his extreme love of poverty.’ Griffiths in 1955 followed Monchanin’s example by establishing the Kurisumala ashram. Monchanin further developed the theology of Sat-Cit-Ananda but became critical of Upadhyay’s synthesis.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century there were a few Anglican monastic communities in India, including The Society of Saint John the Evangelist (the Cowley Fathers) at Pune in 1870 and the Oxford Brotherhood of the Epiphany at Kolkata in 1881. They lived as a community under a monastic Rule that demanded vows of

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197 My translation from the French — ‘On aux Indes, nulle philosophie n’est séparée et la vérité est conçue comme une réalisation spirielle,’ http://monchaninlesaux-lyon.cef.fr/html/peremonchanin_biographie.htm (access date 29 July 2010).
198 Vandana, Gurus, Ashrams and Christians, 84-86.
199 Firth, Indian Church History, 255.
poverty, celibacy and obedience but not styled upon *Advaita* as was perceived by Upadhyay.\(^{200}\) Griffiths considered monastic life emphasized liturgy and *lectio divina*, whereas ashrams gave centrality to contemplative prayer.\(^{201}\)

The pioneers in the Christian ashram movement were Edinburgh medical graduates — an Indian, Jesudasan, and a Scot, Forrester-Paton.\(^{202}\) In 1921 they established the *Kristukula* (Family of Christ) ashram at Tiruppattur in a rural area south-west of Madras. Madathilparampil Mamen Thomas (1916-1996) recognizes *Kristukula* as the earliest Christian ashram. Participants followed a simple communal life including regular worship, prayer, and meditation, with celibacy a part of their *Rule*.\(^{203}\) This ashram was founded upon the principle that Christianity in India should be expressed contextually whilst offering prayerful altruistic service to the downtrodden through medical work and education and by adopting Sundar Singh’s aphorism, ‘waters of life and Indian cups.’\(^{204}\) Jesudasan advocated *Chithi virthanivirthiy*, the emptying of the mind of all that hinders a realization of God’s presence, to avoid all meditative distractions. Jesudasan was a member of the Rethinking Christianity Group * whose belief was, ‘we lose something very precious in our spiritual Indian heritage by a needless and foolish fear of syncretism.’\(^{205}\)

Sara Grant (1922-2000) participated in the *Christa Seva Sangha* (near Pune) as a place for deep prayer, reconciliation, ecumenism and outreach to other faiths.\(^{206}\) Grant upheld Upadhyay’s belief that *Sankara’s* insights resembled those of Aquinas.\(^{207}\) John Copley


\(^{202}\) Thomas, *The Indian Renaissance*, 332; P O Philip, ‘The Place of Ashrams in the Life of the Church in India,’ *IRM* 35, no. (1946), 263-270.


Winslow (1882-1974) wrote the *Christa Seva Sangha Rule* in 1928 which emphasised Franciscan spirituality and *bhakti*. 208 Doraiswamy Simon Amalorpavadass (Amalor) (1932-1990) founded the *Anjali* ashram in his latter years. Amalor continued Upadhyay’s ideas to fruition. Amalor built on Upadhyay’s legacy but he rarely, if ever, acknowledges Upadhyay in his *œuvre*. Amalor reiterated Upadhyay’s belief that Christianity would only impinge upon the Indian ethos through spirituality. 209 He chose ‘Sat-Cit-Ananda’ as the motto of *Anjali* ashram — the Trinitarian apophthegm used by Upadhyay and Monchanin. The name *Anjali* (divine offering) emphasized Amalor’s commitment to Benedictine hospitality (1 Pet 2:17). 210

In summary, Jean Daniélou (1905-1974), Monchanin and Amalor embraced Upadhyay’s insight that India’s unique contribution to Christendom has been through recognizing the immanence of the Holy Spirit. 211 *Acarya* and *sisya* within ashrams are imbued with the Holy Spirit achieving coinherence. Upadhyay subscribed to the ancient belief that there is a divine principle permeating all people — a hidden ‘essence’ of Christ that has always existed in the world — the *Logos spermaticos*. * Josef Neuner (1908-2009), Vatican II *peritus*, likened this to the biblical image of a seed which ‘sprouts in different soils, in different climates in new forms and still retains the identity of its origin and nature.’ 212

Upadhyay’s unrealized vision for Christian ashrams, portrayed in his writings, reveals the deep frustration and tragedy befalling a man who was born before his time. The Christian ashram movement emerged among Indian Christians as a new way of living mission, through offering a model of the Realm of God in the here and now, as is realized through Jesus’s teaching. 213 Upadhyay’s vision was developed in those who followed him. Adaptation however, within an ashram context, must involve more than the mere societal trappings:

211 Barla, *Amalorpavadass*, 328.
The adoption of certain Indian customs — sitting on the floor, building churches in Dravidian style, etc. The Indian Church may adopt such customs and still remain a foreign body. Neither is indigenization simply the introduction of certain Sanskrit terms in Bible translations or sermons, however important this might be. Real indigenization means to cross the borderline. It means leaving, if not bodily at least spiritually, Western Christianity and the Westernized Christian Church in India, and moving into another religion, another culture, taking only Christ with oneself. Indigenization is evangelization. It is planting the gospel inside another culture, another philosophy and another religion.  

In pioneering the Christian ashram movement Upadhyay took a huge step in this direction inspiring many to follow in his footsteps.

Christian ashrams embody the ancient expression of the universality of the Triune God:

Cleave a [piece of] wood, I am there;  
Lift up the stone and you will find Me there.  
Oxyrhynchus Papyrus I (Log 77)  

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2.2 A BRIEF EXAMINATION OF UPADHYAY’S THEOLOGICAL CONTRIBUTIONS

Thou speakest mysteries: still methinks I know
To disengage the tangle of thy words:
Yet rather would I hear thy angel voice,
Than for myself be thy interpreter.


Forrester describes Upadhyay as ‘a theologian of great power and originality.’ As this MSS canvasses the broader aspects of his life, times, social context and ecclesial contributions the consideration of his many theological contributions is necessarily brief. His methodology was Thomistic (within its natural/supernatural framework) and undoubtedly relied too heavily upon philosophical constructs because he probably wished to avoid conflict with the Magisterium. Clearly, he regarded Vedanta as propædeutic for Catholic faith. Tennant considers seven theological contributions made by Upadhyay as being important; I will describe five of these contributions.

Firstly, Upadhyay’s most important theological proposition was that Trinitarian understanding should be described in terms of Hindu philosophy as Sat-Cit-Ananda. He promulgated the doctrine of Sat-Cit-Ananda in attempting to explain, in Indian terms, the mystery of the Trinity and how Brahman is perceived. This insight is directly attributable to Sen, who described this relationship sixteen years before Upadhyay. In his description of the Trinity the mystery of Advaita is invoked. His most famous hymn Vande Saccidanandam was originally composed in Sanskrit. Gispért-Sauch in deconstructing this hymn has revealed the wealth of the content and the beauty of its expression. As a religious mantra Vande Saccidanandam is used in meditation in a similar way as the mabavakyas. * The Triune concept of Sat-Cit-Ananda, as described by Nicholas Lash in The Teape Lectures of 1994, represents the classical formulation of the late Vedantins who interpreted Sat-Cit-Ananda as ‘infinity’ or ‘eternity.’ Upadhyay believed Brahman to be pervasive, illuminating and holistically unifying — yet revealing an

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216 Forrester, Caste and Christianity, 130.
218 Baagø, Indigenous Christianity, 40.
219 Lipner, Life and Thought, 191.
apophatic Christology as neti neti. 222 Many triads exist within Hinduism for example the earliest triad of the Samhita Period (Surya, Indra and Agni); the Trimurti (Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva); the trimarga (the paths of action, devotion and knowledge); and symbolically as triocama (the third eye) and Shiva’s trisula. Boyd expresses this Trinitarian synthesis as follows:

Sat as ‘being’ expresses the ‘is-ness’ of God, the I AM. Cit, ‘intelligence’, links up closely with the Biblical conceptions of Sophia and Logos, and with the ‘Word’ of the Old Testament, by which the world was created. And Ananda, joy, emphasizes one of the most characteristic aspects of the Spirit, associated as it is with love. 223

Upadhyay wrote in 1900:

Even Max Müller and M. Thibaut have failed to grasp [Vedanta’s] central meaning. It is our belief that Vedanta, rightly interpreted and brought into line with modern thought, will make the natural truths of Theism and the supernatural dogmas of Christianity more explicit and consonant with reason than was done by the scholastic philosophy. 224

For a samnyasi, receiving akhanda the ‘unbroken’ tradition, the Absolute is described as Sat (being), Cit (thought) and Ananda (blessedness). In other words, Sat-Cit-Ananda is synonymous with ‘existence,’ ‘intelligence’ and ‘happiness.’ 225 ‘Whoever realizes the Brahman attains supreme Bliss’ is the essence of Taittiriya Upanisad 2:1. Upadhyay interpreted this scripture as engendering humanity’s cosmic universality — ideas with subtle overtones of coinherence that were indistinguishable from Sat-Cit-Ananda. He believed the idea of Brahman in Advaita to be identical to that of the Trinity in Christian faith. 226

Vande Saccanandam was published in Sophia during October 1898. This hymn originally composed in simple Sanskrit was later translated by Upadhyay into English. 227 Aleaz has

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223 Boyd, Indian Christian Theology, 235-236.

224 Lipner and Gispert-Sauch, Writings, vol 1, 228.


226 Timothy Craig Tennent, ‘Trinity and Saccidananda in the Writings of Brahmabandhav Upadhyaya,’ Dharma Deepika January - June, no. (2003), 61-75.

227 See Appendix 4 (fol. 101).
objected to the Christian Trinitarian model being superimposed upon Vedanta: ‘In Upadhyaya’s view, the Vedantic conception of God and that of Christian belief are exactly the same. The Maya of Advaita Vedanta is the best available concept to explain the doctrine of creation.’ Abishiktananda strongly refuted Upadhyay’s claim that the ‘Supreme Being’ in Advaita and in Christian doctrine is identical; and also Upadhyay’s Trinitarian synthesis of Advaita, which he considered ‘too simplistic.’ Jacques Dupuis (1923-2004), Monchanin and Vandana agree with Upadhyay’s interpretation of Sat-Cit-Ananda, which they consider discloses a far deeper understanding of the Trinity.

Aleaz, a member of the Malankara confession, places great importance on Upadhyay’s interpretation of Sat-Cit-Ananda. Tennant argued however that Upadhyay ‘never claimed that his use of saccidananda was able to capture the full incomprehensible mystery of the Trinity.’ For him, God the Father was identified with Sat the Vedantic Absolute (Brabman); God the Son, the Logos, with Cit; and God the Holy Spirit with Ananda, the boundless bliss. Brabman (for him) was not an abstraction and negation of all that is in the world: ‘instead, it is the practice of realizing and affirming the presence of the Infinite in all things.’

Upadhyay expressed a hope that he may become ‘the first Indian to sing the praises of the same Triune Sachbidanandan in the sacred tongue of the rishis.’ His rationalization was that ordinary Hindus were loath to understand the subtlety and sanctity of the Christian Faith and the Trinity, ‘because of its hard coating of Europeanism.’ This is why he assiduously contextualized his theology and sought philosophical and theological parallels with Vedanta. Furthermore, Upadhyay emphasized that Hinduism as portrayed by the west was not entirely pantheistic.

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228 Aleaz, ‘Trinity as Sat-Chit-Ananda,’ 7-8.
231 Dupuis, Religious Pluralism, 274-278; Tennent, Religious Round Table, 211-229.
232 K P Aleaz, An Indian Jesus from Sankara’s Thought (Kolkata: Punthi Pustak, 1997), passim.
233 Tennent, Religious Round Table, 228.
236 Animananda cited by Jarrett-Kerr, Patterns, 212.
238 Lipner and Gispért-Sauch, Writings, vol 2, 551.
Secondly, Upadhyay’s remarkable thinking has inspired and provoked a whole new generation of Christian leaders, Catholic and Protestant, to wrestle with the perennial issue of the relationship between the gospel and culture. He was a genuine innovator of inculturation. Today, many theologians and people of good faith struggle with the possibility of multiple belonging within religious communities. Perhaps the profession of ancient creedal formulae such as Christos Kurios (Χριστός κύριος) may be apposite in contemporary India where many Christians, of various confessions, would claim to have authentic dual belonging. * Animananda recorded Upadhyay saying:

In customs and manners, in observing caste and social distinctions, in eating and drinking, in our life and living, we are genuine Hindus; but in our faith we are neither Hindus nor European, nor American, nor Chinese, but all inclusive. Our faith is universal and consequently includes all truths.

Upadhyay foreshadowed many later adaptations. Amalor described an experimental Indian-Rite mass indigenizing the Roman Catholic ritual — a concept that had led to ostracism in his day. In response to Amalor’s reforms the Vatican Congregation for Divine Worship and Discipline of the Sacraments issued its Twelve Points of Adaptation of 1963, which permitted Indian cultural aspects to be embodied in the mass. Priests were allowed to wear the saffron robes of a samnyasi and the offerings of flowers and incense were acceptable, as well as a number of other Hindu cultural features. S. M. Michael believes that saffron robes have became a liability because this colour ironically became the symbol representing increased politicization within Hindutva.

Sacrosanctum Concilium (§ 37) states, ‘Even in liturgy, the Church has no wish to impose uniformity in matters which do not implicate the faith or the good of the whole community.’ Many of these adaptations, encouraged by Paul VI’s promulgation, became

241 Animananda cited in de Bary, ed. *Sources of Indian Tradition* vol 2, 183.
243 S M Michael, ‘Cultural Diversity and Inculturation in India,’ *VJTR* 73, no. 1 (2009), 54.
Gradually neglected after Paul VI died in 1978. Amalor believed there was only one salvation history to which all people belonged — albeit in ‘different’ ways. His contextualization was ‘from below.’ Amalor’s theology, resembling Upadhyay’s, became part of an emerging Indian theology of liberation. Surprisingly retrograde, Albert Malcolm Ranjith (b. 1947), elevated to Cardinal in 2010, criticizes adaptation and seeks the re-introduction of the Tridentine Mass.

Amalor’s ecumenism was evident in his active membership of the Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians (EATWOT). Hindus had always deplored inter-denominational conflict among Christians because it opposed their ideal of *Sab bhai bhai* or brotherhood. In a dynamic eschatological framework there is no assurance that every confessional difference can be reconciled, enabling *koinonia* within a particular community; eschatology, however, is the expression of Triune spirituality. Upadhyay disagreed with Curial limitation of lay Christian involvement and their right to express their personal faith and evangelize within their own communities—an expression of *Sensus Fidelium.*

Thirdly, Upadhyay’s contribution to Indian systematic theology was his reasoning that Jesus was not an Avatar within the Hindu pantheon. M. M. Thomas denies Upadhyay ever used the word ‘Avatar’ to describe Christ’s *incarnation,* because Avatars were a lower order of divinity than *Sat* and because there were many Avatars who descended to the world to destroy wickedness and restore the established moral order. For Hindus the Christian doctrines of incarnation and grace were especially problematical. Christ as the *only* incarnation was unacceptable for most Hindus whilst Christ as an incarnation was welcome especially by *Vaisnavas.* Upadhyay rejected Avatara as a description of Jesus primarily because he considered Him unique—the *Parabrahman,* God incarnate of whom there can be none higher.

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In 1904 Upadhyay delivered a most important lecture entitled Srikrṣnatattva, emphasizing differences between Hinduism and Christianity, a presentation which Gispért-Sauch describes as 'India’s most inspiring text.'

The argument defended Kṛṣṇa (an Avatar of Viṣṇu) against western criticism and alienated many fellow Christians. 'First of all, Kṛṣṇa is a genuine descent from God, as Viṣṇu, in human shape ... he is the Lord’s graciousness made visible to us.' Kṛṣṇa, a martial god who fought with his friends the Pandavas is recounted in the Mahābhārata. Kṛṣṇa is also a ‘god of love’ having many striking parallels with Jesus.

A final and yet to come tenth incarnation of Viṣṇu represents the appearance of a warrior-like figure, Kalki, who rides a white horse ushering in an apocalyptic end of time whereby evil is conquered and good is triumphant.

The image of Kalki bears some resemblance to Revelation 19:11. In a 1904 lecture documented by Animananda, Upadhyay stated:

According to Hinduism all things, visible and invisible, are appearances of God... Whenever man sinks low in irreligion... the Lord creates himself from age to age as a human person by way of reflection. This descent, as a human person is called Avatāra ... [which is] supernatural and not subject to the painful bondage of karma...

The doctrine of the Christian incarnation is altogether different and is wholly a matter of faith. The theory that an incarnate saviour, understood in the Christian sense, is as necessary as the sunlight is to the eye, is erroneous. All Christian theologians hold that human nature cries for redemption but cannot instinctively conceive of the scheme of redemption... [This redemption] is a pure condescension, and is not a necessity of nature, though nature too is of God. [So there is] the sectarian missionary device to oust Krishna from the Gītā and bring in Christ instead, is an historical error, and also a theological blunder whether considered from the Hindu or Christian point of view.

Ramakrishna, Upadhyay’s teacher, taught that the important message of the Gītā (the Song of the Lord) was revealed by repeating the mantra ‘ta...Ga...ta...Ga...ta...Ga.’

Tyagi in Sanskrit signifies renouncement. Pandippedi Chenchiah (1886-1959) disagreed with the Barthians as promoted by Hendrik Kremer (1888-1965), that Christian
incarnation approximated Avatars in Hinduism. Chenchiah argued, ‘the Barthian view conceived Jesus Christ as only a tangential touching of history and not as full entry of God into history to create a new humanity.’

Upadhyay’s Avatar controversy was a focus of discussion in the 1920’s later culminating at the Tambaram Ecumenical Conference of 1938 held near Chennai under the cloud of impending World War II. The resulting document Rethinking Christianity in India, influenced by Alfred George Hogg (1875-1954) and his colleagues, largely rejected the concept of Christ as Avatar.

*Fourthly,* Upadhyay redefined the Hindu doctrine of Maya as being complementary to the Christian doctrine of Creation. Paul David Devanandan’s (1901-1962), son-in-law of John Nicol Farquhar (1861-1929), was Protestant Director of The Christian Institute for the Study of Religion and Society Bangalore (CISRS). Devanandan’s doctoral dissertation from Yale University was entitled Maya in Hinduism. He epitomized Maya in Advaita as the ‘philosophic exposition of mystery of the world and of life, it is essentially indemonstrable, unspeakable, and indefinite in nature. Maya has two facets — the world, negatively: and God or Reality, positively.’

Maya does possess a variety of other complex meanings. He equated Sankara’s concept of Maya with Thomistic contingent being. Space precludes detailed elucidation of Maya, a fundamental tenet of Vedanta, around which controversy rages.

Christian creation myths describe an ex nihilo occurrence whereas in Hinduism, Brahman is described as having an existence outside the world — although the external existence of the world has no existence outside Brahman. Iswara (in Advaita) is described as creating the world deliberately, caringly and responsibly.

In The Origin of Man, published in Sophia, in 1894, Upadhyay wrote:

The Hindu religion… teaches the doctrine of descent of man from one common ancestor. Manu, before whose authority all Hindus bow down with reverence and

255 Thomas, 'Indian Theology,' 211.
258 Lipner, Hindus, 283.
259 Boyd, Indian Christian Theology, 74-77.
260 Lipner, Hindus, 246.
obedience, teaches that God first created water and infused into it His life-giving energy. This energy formed itself into a shining egg and in that egg was born *Brahma*, the ancestor of all men. 261

Fifthly, Upadhyay developed a lively Indian theology of the ‘Spirit.’ His Christology perhaps suggests that *Sat-Cit-Ananda* represents *homoousios* (of one essence), where each aspect of God is *indivisible* from the other two emanations, approximating the ‘I-Thou’ relationship as manifest in Jesus’s relationship with the Father (Jn 10:30). Aiyadurai Jesudasan Appasamy (1891-1975), in a uniquely Indian Christological explanation, has described Jesus as a ‘new creation’—namely God plus man fused into a single personality. The Trinitarian work of an immanent Holy Spirit assumes overwhelming importance in popular ashramic *sat-sang*. Stanley Jeddiah Samartha (1920-2001) explains, ‘the power of the Spirit [is] to relate people to people, people to things, and the whole creation to God is rooted in the rhythm of Trinitarian life that nurtures and sustains Christians in the world.’ 262 Mark Sundar Rao (d.1980), of the Rethinking Christianity Group, *d*oubted the ‘I-Thou’ relationship and suggested instead the ‘Thou-in-me’ *koinonia* of the immanent Holy Spirit. 263 Dupuis asks, ‘could it not, in effect, be thought that, while Christians secure salvation through the economy of God’s Son incarnate in Jesus Christ, others receive it through the immediate autonomous action of the Spirit of God?’ 264 The Triune objective of missionary or other endeavours has become exemplified by *missio Dei* — whereby the Father sends the Son, and the Father and the Son send the Spirit for the redemption of humanity. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan (1888-1975) glosses *tat tvam asi* *as* an ‘indwelling of God’s Spirit’ as it is understood in Christian traditions. 265

In India at least, Upadhyay’s theological legacy has been rich. Theology developed by him has been adopted and continued by others in India, most notably by Pierre Johanns (1882-1955). 266 Johanns and George Dandoy (1882-1962) in 1922 established the journal *The Light of Asia*. The mission statement published in the first editorial declared, ‘what

263 Thomas, ‘Indian Theology,’ 205.
266 *Joseph Mattam, Land of the Trinity: A Study of Modern Christian Approaches to Hinduism* (Bangalore: St Paul’s, 1975), 17-20.
we wish to do is to help India to know and understand Jesus. We have no intention to put out the existing lights, rather we shall try to show that the best thought of the East is a bud that fully expanded blossoms into Christian thought.’ 267 Johanns believed, as Upadhyay certainly did, that Vedanta presented a natural basis for the understanding of Christian faith in India. Dandoy, Johanns and William Wallace (1863-1922) formed an intellectual focus in the ‘Calcutta School,’ which extended Upadhyay’s theology in ways similar to those of Amalor subsequently. 268

Charles Freer Andrews (1871-1940) described Upadhyay as being ‘sentient’ in his use of Sanskrit terms to express Christian theological concepts. Andrews concluded, ‘Vedantic philosophy could habituate Christian faith in India in the same way that scholastic philosophy had done in the west.’ 269 Dhanjibhai Fakirbhai (1875-1965), associated with the Christian Institute for the Study of Religion and Society Bangalore (CISRS), used the concepts of Vedanta, but used them in a popular, literary and poetic way. Enunciating Christian faith in his Kristopanisad and Hridya-Gita — in which he not only strove for deeper understanding among Christians — he sought the revelation of deeper layers of hidden spirituality for Hindus. 270 Dhanjibhai’s pre-eminent divine attribute was prema (love), which he interpreted as Saccidananda. 271

Why was Upadhyay a Thomist? Leo XIII’s encyclical Aeterni Patris (1879) had more than any other single document, promoted a revival of Thomism as the official Catholic philosophical system. 272 Aristotelian philosophy, thought to be incompatible with Christian thought, was reconciled through Thomism. 273 Aeterni Patris had obviously influenced Upadhyay as Thomism provided his peculiar methodology. M. M. Thomas considers he was ‘so much a Thomist in the deepest levels of his philosophical and theological thinking that he could think of an indigenous expression of faith only within a Thomistic framework, through Thomistic evaluation and transformation of Indian

267 Mattam, Trinity, 20.
273 Baago, Indigenous Christianity, 131.
philosophy and religion.’ 274 Upadhyay argued, ‘if Thomism utilized an Aristotelian system of philosophy to interpret Christian faith, then Vedanta should have equal veracity in interpreting Christianity within Hindu culture.’ 275 He later retreated from his earlier Thomist interpretation of Vedanta (after 1900) because of misinterpretation.

M. M. Thomas considers Upadhyay a more orthodox Christian than he was thought to be during his lifetime. 276 Upadhyay admitted in ca.1900 that ‘the more [he] studied Advaita the more [he] clung to the Cross.’ 277 Andrews nominated Upadhyay as the first person to ‘identify oppressed humanity with Christ’s suffering on the Cross.’ 278 A theology of the Cross, as exemplified by Upadhyay, later supplanted a theology of triumphalism. Dietrich Bonhoeffer (1906-1945), Kazoh Kitamori (1916-1998), Jürgen Moltman (b. 1926), M. M. Thomas and others again established similar theologies of the ‘pain of God’ in which Christ’s suffering is integral to individual suffering. 279 The cross reveals God’s purpose in his love for the whole of creation. I recognize, in Upadhyay’s life the promise of the eschaton, where the promises of ‘already’ are ‘not yet’ complete — perhaps alluding to samsara a protoan Hindu belief that ‘one sows what one must also reap.’

João Batista Libâno appears to deny the validity of a western eschatological theology of ‘hope’ within the Asian theological context — a conclusion I cannot share. 280 Hope expresses the human dilemma in the face of what confronts us, as expressed in Hamlet’s soliloquy, which refuses to accept life’s limitations and its unacceptable aspects. Felix Wilfred (b.1948) describes Asian people as people of aisha, of hope and resilience, optimistically seeking a different future. Eschatological hope, which is not merely optimism, is a fundamental attitude of Christians in this world. 281

274 Thomas, The Indian Renaissance, 109.
276 Thomas, The Indian Renaissance, 99-110.
277 Animananda cited by Jarrett-Kerr, Patterns, 215.
No people could survive without hope…
Hope — like the lotus flower— has found expression in Asia in the midst of adversities, amidst hopeless situations of poverty, malnutrition, misery and powerlessness. ²⁸²

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2.3 RENASCENT INDIA, LIBERATION AND NATIONALISM

No plough stops because a man dies. Flemish proverb

Liberation metanarratives are necessarily inclusive and must not merely be considered within a Christian context. Upadhyay’s quest was the demand that all Indians have a right to possess a national identity. There is no doubt Upadhyay was Christian in his religious faith and passionately yearned for the elusive universal desire for human freedom — for him the significance of swaraj was something different. Upadhyay saw theology as a part of social, political and ethical liberation in a similar way to M. M. Thomas in the 1930’s.

Libâno emphasizes liberation is ‘not a part of the gospel; it is the whole of it.’ As previously argued liberation was a constant and recurring aspect of Upadhyay’s life; from his schooldays when he absconded to fight against the British presence; until his writing of the One Centeredness of the Hindu Race (Hindujatir Eknisthata) under Tagore’s editorship in 1901; and to the finality of his sedition trial. Education in English had brought certain benefits to Bhadralok Bengalis, but the dilemma was that it ‘sowed the seeds for what was to become the nationalist movement and then freedom from British rule.’ Monographs describing Hindu Nationalism have pointedly ignored Upadhyay’s contribution. Tennent identifies Upadhyay as ‘the first Indian to publicly call for a complete independence from Britain.’

Upadhyay’s political involvement has been criticised as lacking Christian responsibility. An understanding of ‘meekness,’ as expressed in Matt 5:5, nevertheless does not impute spinelessness or weakness. The historical Jesus, as José Miranda noted, was in fact highly political. Meekness should rather imply strength and discipline — as could be attributed to a well-trained steed. The Hebrew equivalent of meekness is anav, and the

285 Lipner, Life and Thought, 9.
286 Bhatt, Nationalism; Ainsley Thomas Embree, Charles Grant and British Rule in India (London: Allen and Unwin, 1962); Anil Seal, The Emergence of Indian Nationalism: Competition and Collaboration in the Later Nineteenth Century, Political Change in Modern South Asia (Cambridge CUP, 1971).
287 Tennent, Religious Round Table, 213.
Greek *praos* (πράος). These words are used to describe socio-economically deprived people who are patiently accepting of their status. 289

Upadhyay’s youthful desire to fight the British was similar to his later commitment to the *swaraj*. At the conclusion of the nineteenth century, during Upadhyay’s lifetime, Hindu culture and national confidence was at a nadir because of a misconception that Hindus were a dying race. Swami Shraddhanand (1856-1926) expressed this idea in a 1924 book, as did U. N. Mukerji in a 1909 pamphlet entitled *Hindus — A Dying Race*. 290 Mukerji’s pamphlet, strongly critical of Christians and Muslims, inflamed the *Arya Samaj*. 291 Acceptance of the idea of *Hindutva* * arose among radical members of *Arya Samaj*. Robert Frykenberg described *Hindutva* as a ‘melding of Hindu fascism and Hindu fundamentalism.’ 292 Although Upadhyay was an uncompromising critic of *Arya Samaj* he delivered the Anniversary Lecture in 1898 honouring Dayanand Saraswati the founder of this movement. 293 On that opportunity for reconciliation he said, ‘all men [and women], irrespective of spiritual or intellectual or social inequalities, should adore the Infinite and Infinite alone.’ 294

British perceptions of Hindus were patronizing. Charles Grant (1746-1823) described India in 1793 as a ‘land of moral darkness and idolatry’ in a tract *Observations on the State of India among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain*. 295 British expatriates enthusiastically championed Grant’s tract, which moulded British condescension toward India and Indian people. Grant, in describing Indian society as intrinsically corrupt, simplistically attributed every evil to Hinduism. He concluded there was little likelihood of Indians governing themselves unless they became Christian adherents. Grant prioritized evangelization because he considered this to be a prerequisite for ethical government. Upadhyay’s obsession with racial preservation was so profound that most articles he wrote, between 1901 and 1907, were focussed upon Indian identity.

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293 Fonseca, ‘Prophet Disowned,’ 194.
Grant thought Indians were unlikely to endure British hegemony indefinitely unless they embraced Christianity. Because evangelization was an imperative, Grant and William Wilberforce lobbied for legal entry of missionaries into India in 1813 when the East India Company Charter was restructured. C. F. Andrews’s sympathy was with ‘Indian nationalism and Arya Samaj, [which] steadily grew at the expense of his pride, his equanimity and relations with some fellow missionaries and with the generality of British India.’

Indian nationalism was growing steadily. Frederick Hamilton-Temple Dufferin, (Viceroy 1884-1888) in 1888 published his Report on the Conditions of the Lower Classes of Population in Bengal, a report on poverty purporting to bolster British administrative claims of help provided during famine. Fonseca summarizes this political restlessness in Bengal.

Delhi was also a focus of Indian uprising against the British in 1857. Following the First War of Indian Independence in 1885 Scottish medical practitioner, naturalist and civil servant, Allan Octavian Hume (1829-1912), agitated for the creation of the Indian National Congress. Hume’s aim was to foster governance of India through the bhadralok — the Europeanized ‘class’ to which Upadhyay belonged. The Congress provided a platform for Indians to voice their resentment. Dufferin established councils (both provincial and central) providing for Indian representation as demanded by the Indian National Congress. The Indian Councils Act, an outcome of the Dufferin Report, was passed into law in 1892. George Nathaniel Curzon (1859-1925), much resented by Indians, resigned as Viceroy in 1905 after presiding over the partition of Bengal. In 1900 Curzon wrote: ‘In my belief Congress is tottering to its fall and one of my great ambitions while in India is to assist it to a peaceful demise.’ Lamin Sanneh described Curzon as the ‘catalyst for modern Indian nationalism.’ In 1906 the British Liberal Party won a huge majority in the general elections and embarked on its mandate for social reform that included changes in foreign and colonial policy.

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297 Fonseca, ‘Political Years,’ 18-29.
299 Seal, Indian Nationalism, Zacharias, Renascent India, 282-284.
300 Zacharias, Renascent India, 110-116.
302 Lamin Sanneh, Disciples of all Nations: Pillars of World Christianity (Oxford: OUP, 2008), 134.
Upadhyay, as a *samnyasi*, had chosen voluntary poverty as a way of life. Resembling Gandhiji’s voluntary poverty this made possible an appreciation of theologies ‘from below.’ Oppression and marginalization from the authorities challenged the divine perspective of human existence. Upadhyay’s ashrams could perhaps resemble Basic Ecclesial Communities (CEBs), an evangelistic phenomenon described in Latin America in the 1960’s, in which the laity supplanted the role of sacramental priesthood. Grass roots CEBs arose in anticipation of encyclicals such as *Evangelii Nuntiandi* in 1975.

Inculturation takes place somewhat spontaneously by the people themselves with little deference to priestly direction or official edict. As has often occurred over the past two millennia, a popular inculturated Catholicism is taking shape… This is what the Spirit has been quietly breathing into life.

Upadhyay’s identification with the dispossessed foreshadowed an Asian theology of liberation. EATWOT since 1976 has argued for a new method of theologizing cognisant of a changing epistemology. EATWOT hoped to deepen understanding of the socio-political and religio-cultural aspects affecting the poor and marginalized. The founders of EATWOT defined ‘Third World’ as a *social condition* rather than a strictly geographic location. Liberation theology in India assumed a more global and ecumenical outlook through EATWOT. Their object was to bring together Catholic and Protestant theologians from Latin America, Africa, Asia and include black theologians from the United States. Amalor, whom I consider Upadhyay’s true successor, was greatly influential in continuing the inculturation debate by his participation in EATWOT. Amalor believed there was only a single history of salvation that included all humanity — although this is often expressed in different ways. Amalor’s ideas directly influenced *Evangelii Nuntiandi*, by Paul VI (1975), that emphasized the eschatological and triune nature of Catholic mission. Missionary activity, the ‘kernel’ of Christian praxis, became a diachronic inspiration for ecumenism (*Redemptoris Missio*, § 2) — ‘That they may all be

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one … so that the world may believe that you have sent me’ (Jn 17:21). Sebastian Kappen (1924-1993), hugely influential in the inculturation debate emphasized that Christianity could only become relevant in India through coexistence with Hinduism:

> From the Indian tradition, we could learn to experience God as in us, rather than dominating us from ‘above.’ A fully integrated person, rooted in the inner self, freed from every outside compulsion, has always been a highly prized Indian ideal.  

Bastiaan Wielenga describes the ‘double role’ of religion in struggles for liberation. Religion plays a ‘powerful role both in justifying oppression and in inspiring and sustaining thirst and struggles for justice.’

> It is a truism that in a poor country, especially in some parts of India, theologies of liberation would be more attractive to younger theologians than a quietist spirituality resembling that of Abishiktananda. A quest for justice and the freedom from oppression is a universal human aspiration engendered from early childhood. In liberation theologies basic concerns proceed from an oppressive situation. Christians attempt to discover the liberating force of God’s revelation, interpreted as a prophetic denunciation of injustice and an appeal to action.

Aloysius Pieris (b.1934) has sought to unite liberation concerns with inter-religious dialogue. Julius Nyerere’s 1970 speech to The Maryknoll Sisters is apposite:

> The Church should accept that development of peoples’ means rebellion. Unless we participate actively in the rebellion against those social structures and economic organizations which condemn men to poverty, humiliation and degradation, then the Church will become irrelevant to men…Unless the Church — its members and organizations — express God's love for man by involvement and leadership in constructive protest against the present condition of man, then it will become identified with injustice and persecution … The development of peoples at this time in man's history must imply a divine discontent and a determination for change. What this amounts to is a call to the Church to recognize the need for social revolution and to play a leading role in it.  

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309 Michael Amaladoss, ‘Swami Abishiktananda's Challenge to Indian Theology,’ *VJTR* 74, no. 5 (2010), 338-347.
Long before Latin American theologians evolved their theology of liberation in the 1950’s, Asians had been engaging with issues of social injustice and grinding poverty. What then distinguishes an Asian theology of liberation from that of Latin America? For liberation to be meaningful to India’s impoverished non-Christians it must be inter-religious and it must take to heart the oral and written protest voices embodied in the traditions of the religious and cultural heritage. Identification with Jesus’s suffering on the cross gives meaning to the pain suffered by oppressed humanity. The Federation of Asian Bishops’ Conference (FABC) documents of thirty years ago warned:

The decisive new phenomenon for Christianity in Asia will be the emergence of genuine Christian communities in Asia — Asian in their way of thinking, praying, living, communicating their own Christ experience to others … If the Asian Churches do not discover their own identity, they will have no future.  

Upadhyay believed the Vedas, Brahmin leadership and caste are all indispensable for the Hindu. The All India Census of 1871 revealed the ‘twice born’ (dvija) comprised only fifteen percent of the Indian population. For Upadhyay liberation focussed upon perceived colonial hegemony — rather than alleviating the caste discrimination and poverty against untouchables. Amalor’s ideology differed from Upadhyay, not only because of his post-colonial locus in time and space, but also because of his inclusive attitude to caste. His main objection was Britain’s overweening colonial presence in India that created great wealth for Britain at the expense of Indians.

Exposition of the philosophy of ‘freedom’ would be useful in an understanding of Christian liberation. Vivekananda’s explanation, from Advaita, is:

We see at once that there cannot be any such thing as free-will; the very words are a contradiction, because will is what we know, and everything that we know is within our universe, and everything within our universe is moulded by conditions of time, space and causality…To acquire freedom we have to get beyond the limitations of this universe; it cannot be found here.

313 Barla, Amalorpavadass, 336.
Much political ferment existed in Bengal at the time of his trial.\textsuperscript{315} In 1901 Upadhyay had censured Tagore over his ambivalence toward political involvement.\textsuperscript{316} There was a curious conspiracy of silence concerning Upadhyay’s contribution to the swaraj movement, which I have previously commented upon. Many important historians, including R. C. Majumdar, have ignored Upadhyay in their writings but occasionally prominent leaders of the Partition deplored his omission. Shyam Sundar Chakravarthy, sub-editor of Sandhya, later deported from Bengal to Burma for sedition, wrote in 1924, ‘Upadhyay is now almost a forgotten man. In his case we find a complete justification of the adage that the world knows very little of its greatest men.’\textsuperscript{317} The founder of Bande Mataram, Bipinchandra Pal, known as the ‘Father of Revolutionary Thoughts,’ wrote of Upadhyay after his death:

\begin{quote}
The ideals of our present nationalism have been obtained from Upadhyaya Brahmabandav to a very great extent. But it seems people are forgetting about it. We are trying to keep alive the memory of so many people, but as regards Upadhyaya Brahmabandav we have not even a condolence meeting.\textsuperscript{318}
\end{quote}

There is no evidence that Upadhyay received any formal Christian theological training although it is assumed that he read widely, not only in theology, and was well versed in the Hindu philosophical traditions. Quoting from 1904 newspapers Fonseca portrayed Upadhyay, the man, as follows:

\begin{quote}
[He] looked more than any other in Bengal a real samnyasin, his appearance and carriage gave the impression of one who despised the world. He had a tremendous personality. His walk was impressive, barefoot, bare-bodied except for a chadar and saffron kapodi. He never cared to possess money, always delighting in [his] impecuniosity.\textsuperscript{319}
\end{quote}

In Fonseca’s judgement:

\begin{quote}
[Upadhyay] always viewed politics in spiritual terms, his patriotism being deeply imbued with the spirit of Vedanta. Believing that the heart of India was in religion
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{317} Fonseca, ‘Political Years,’ 22.
\textsuperscript{318} Fonseca, ‘Political Years,’ 21-22.
\textsuperscript{319} Fonseca, ‘Political Years,’ 27.
[and also] that a religious people would not understand anything unless stated in religious terms. 320

In conclusion, I have shown that Upadhyay was an early proponent of Indian nationalism and Indian liberation theology. Upadhyay’s ideology continued to grow and become indistinguishable from the satyagraha movement of Gandhiji and others.

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320 Fonseca, ‘Political Years,’ 29.
2.4 A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF UPADHYAY’S CONTRIBUTION

The human phylum did not split up into separate subspecies as has been the case with other animal species, but it did split up into different religions and cultures, each having its own particular flavour, and each separated from the rest. With the outpouring of the Holy Spirit… the scattering of man which is symbolized by the Tower of Babel comes to an end: the Church of Christ is born and the symbol of unity and union is found.

Robert Charles Zaehner Matter and Spirit (1963), 199

Gispért-Sauch asks the question of Upadhyay, ‘what kind of person was he?’ 321 Although it is understandable that he was lionized, one should be wary of unnecessarily beatifying or eulogizing him. Nor should we belittle the achievements of great men. Upadhyay, despite his intelligence and dedication, would have wanted to avoid being an object of hagiolatry; his contributions, important as they are, ought not to be dramatized, fictionalized or romanticized. His theological contributions constitute an important link in the long succession of Indian Christian theologies.

Upadhyay was his own nemesis. Fonseca describes him as ‘deliberately provocative.’ 322 He was at times an abrasive individual, not entirely free from prejudice or self-defeating flaws. Animananda wrote, ‘His strictures on European missionaries were not only offensive […] they did great harm.’ 323 He was impulsive, subject to changing moods and flights of ideas; his life was characterized by disappointments, frustrations and unfulfilled expectations. Despite this he achieved a great deal in his mere forty-six years. A newspaper article reported that, ‘there was never a more disinterested, unselfish worker who kept himself thoroughly in the background than Upadhyaya.’ 324

Upadhyay was a product of the ambiguity of his age; his life and work was situated within a cultural dualism. A self-absorbed idealization of the west existed in India during the nineteenth century. His dilemma is self-evident — as a bhadralok he received the benefits of western education, whilst stubbornly refusing to deviate from Hindu culture. Some

Indians had feared the demise of the Hindu people, becoming effete as a result of western technology. The idealized ‘noble savage’ was no longer an affront to western decadence and their misconceptions of racial and cultural superiority. Wilhelm Halbfass (1940-2000) has described this hiatus between Hindu and western ethnology. Upadhyay’s distaste for everything European, and especially the English, sits uneasily with his abject sycophantism to Rome and the Curia, his enthusiastic acceptance of Thomism and even to his veneration of Newman.

The Catholic Church, as I have shown, was critical of Upadhyay. Two early German academic missiologists, Josef Schmidlin (1876-1944) and Alfons Väth (1874-1937) supported the Catholic agenda. Schmidlin, described as the founder of Catholic missiology, a difficult and pugnacious man, who was not primarily interested in India. Schmidlin’s egregious attitude towards other religions, accompanied his opposition to indigenous episcopacy. Most surprisingly, Schmidlin did criticize Zaleski’s officiousness and lack of understanding towards Upadhyay. Schmidlin insisted that adaptation was a hindrance to mission praxis but had admiration and sympathy for Upadhyay and his writings. According to Schmidlin ‘Upadhyay achieved a synthesis of the universal [the natural] and supernatural Christianity with the uniqueness of Indian thought.’ Schmidlin saw Upadhyay’s Christianity as not merely concerned with ‘externals’ but strove for an inner synthesis of Christian and Indian thought. Thomas Ohm (1892-1962), Schmidlin’s successor, openly advocated inculturation. Western Christianity, in Ohm’s opinion, had no right to claim dominance over other forms of Christianity. Isaac Padinjarekuttu’s monograph helpfully reviews these important German sources.

Väth was familiar with India, having worked there as a church historian and missionary between 1909 and 1937. Väth whose views on accommodation were predictably euro-centric disliked syncretism. Väth described the Upanisads as ‘erroneous teaching, which

poisons the whole of the Indian philosophical system at its roots.’  

He rejected fulfilment theology, * as propounded by Farquhar, and generally was pessimistic about successful Christian evangelism in India.  

He considered it inexcusable for Indians to support the *swaraj* because they were acting against constitutional authority (*Titus 3:1*).  

Väth therefore proposed appropriate ecclesial disciplinary measures. In keeping with the late colonial ethos he considered Indians lacked the essential stature for nationhood. In 1928 Väth published the first western study of Upadhyay.  

His book, written selectively was dismissive of Animananda’s earlier biography.

Upadhyay was careful to avoid Magisterial conflict by adherence to Tridentine orthodoxy despite his many disagreements. Boyd regrets Upadhyay’s intellect did not remain focussed upon biblical insights, rather than Thomism, as this freedom may have enabled him to make an even greater contribution to systematic theology.  

Forrester, on the other hand, describes Thomism as the *key* to the ‘development of a distinctively Indian way of thinking about Christ.’

Many other Indian Christians have criticized Upadhyay’s ideas of inculturation.  

Catholics in South India took Amalor to court to halt adaptation as they considered this threatened their cultural identity, and Dalits of northern India resisted inculturation because they regarded it as ‘too Brahminical.’ Victor Kulanday vigorously opposes inculturation.  

A fear exists among conservative Christians that adoption a Hindu or *samnyasi* lifestyle represents a ‘watering-down’ of their own Christian faith. Some people consider Christian ashrams are *ecclesiola* (little churches within a big church), possessing autonomy and therefore at risk of schism.

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335 Forrester, *Caste and Christianity*, 131.
Sita Ram Goel criticizes Upadhyay’s ideas of Christian ashrams, which he describes as, ‘institutions to brainwash and convert India’s unwary masses.’ 338 Nithin Sridhar is in agreement. 339 Christian apostates have often embraced these criticisms. According to Catherine Cornille there has been ‘little or no inclination to expect or direct towards formal conversion in Catholic ashrams.’ 340 Goel revisits Upadhyay’s ecclesial acrimony with the church writing that Indian Christian evangelism has not fulfilled the spectacular success predicted, considering the great financial and other opportunities offered — in 1980 Samartha wrote that he considered the Christian ashram movement to have ‘almost dried up.’ 341 Missionaries, he considers, have suffered from the hallucination that they have a monopoly on truth and that they have a divine command to strive for the salvation of every soul. More recently Rama Ponnambalam Coomaraswamy (1929-2006), an irascible sedevacantist Catholic priest, has decried the ‘desacralisation of Hinduism for western consumption.’ 342 Aleaz draws attention to several undesirable aspects of inculturation. Aleaz describes some Christian ashrams as offering affluent people ‘short spells of mental tranquillity rather than a life of renunciation,’ which he regards as a perversion of Oriental spirituality. 343 There is also an attitude among some Hindus that Christianity as a religion is ‘under-developed.’ 344

Madhusudhan Rao complains that among modern Indian Christians, ‘there is more to learn from the errors of Brahmagandhab than from any supposed successes.’ As an Evangelical Christian, and not as a theologian, Rao quite unfairly concludes that Upadhyay’s influence upon Indian Christianity was minimal. 345 Christianity, despite its status as a minority religion in India, has huge numbers of adherents. This number has increased rapidly due to the proliferation of Churches of Indigenous Origin (CIO’s) and

340 Cornille, Gour in Catholicism, 196.
a result of more than four centuries of Christian ministry by Indians and non-Indians. Upadhyay has formed a part of the warp and weft of Indian homespun cloth or khadi. *

Upadhyay was also criticized for his journalism; the non-literati considered his writings abstruse. Charismatic Evangelical Rao describes Upadhyay’s philosophical writing in Sophia as ‘misguided intellectualism.’ On the contrary, Upadhyay, the experienced journalist, wrote clearly and succinctly, as in 1905 Sandhya drew masses into the mainstream of the political movement. Upadhyay’s theological synthesis would have evoked criticism — others vehemently disagreed with his re-interpretation of Maya and Sat-Cit-Ananda.

Rao criticizes Upadhyay’s adherence to dual belonging, which he considers illogical. The evidence suggests there are many ‘dual-belongers,’ including Paul Knitter and Amal. Although dual belonging may seem illogical to some, its existence cannot be denied through the witness of many Indians claiming to be crypto-Christians. There are some Christians who believe in inner conversion rather than external conversion.

One is not abandoning the Christian witness contained in scripture and tradition, but rather understanding it more deeply and thus preserving it, when one sublates (which does not mean leave behind!) the given Christocentric approach to other believers with one that is theocentric.

In walking a path of ‘dual belonging’ it is vitally important to be thoroughly grounded in one’s original faith. One must possess a ‘primary identity,’ which becomes blurred through inculturation. Upadhyay’s primary identity was always to remain unreservedly Hindu, which, through a ritual of dual praxis, became the essential part of his dual belonging. He described himself as, ‘a Hindu by birth, a Christian by rebirth’ — he might have said a Hindu by culture and a Christian by faith. He kept his allegiance to the samaj

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346 Stanley Samartha cited by Bühlmann, The Third Church, 241.
347 Rao, ‘Upadhyay’s Failure,’ 197.
dbarma (the cultural way) even as he took Jesus Christ for his sadhana dbarma (his way of growth). 351

Upadhyay’s writings reveal an evolution of ideas — he started with near repudiation of the conceptual world of Hinduism, then moved to building creative bridges between Hinduism and Christianity and finally a possible complete separation of them in his public and private life. 352 His belief in Catholic-Hindu dual belonging however excluded Muslims and Buddhists, whom he savagely criticized. 353

Upadhyay’s most obvious shortcoming was his attitude to caste separation. During the plague epidemic (1897) in Karachi, perhaps inappropriately, he nursed untouchables and evinced protective attitudes towards women. 354 His acceptance and Vedic justification for continuation of a caste-ridden society was anomalous and has been decried by historians. He saw the caste system as a unifying aspect of Hindu society rather than the divisive force that it became recognized as later. 355 Because of caste separation Upadhyay’s ashram would not be considered very Christian today. As a Hindu he envisaged all people metaphorically as comprising a necessary part of a single (human) body thus creating a unity of Indian people through caste. This image portrayed in Manuṣmṛti * is that the Supreme Brahmān (universal consciousness and highest reality) is like a body. From His mouth arose Brahmāna concerned with teaching and studying the Vedas, the warriors were a product of His arms, His thighs were the artisans and from His feet were born the servants. 356

Although Aleaz describes Upadhyay as ‘the first genuine Dalit theologian’ it seems an unlikely assumption in the light of his attitude to caste! 357 Aleaz describes Srampical Kuruvilla George (1900-1960) as having importance in early Dalit emancipation. 358 Dalits have welcomed Christianity because they experienced Jesus as ‘liberator’ and not through Advaita or bhakti. Although Dalits had always been oppressed their liberation

351 Fernando and Gispért-Sauch, Christianity in India, 248.
353 Lipner, Life and Thought, 248.
354 Lipner, Life and Thought, 233 and 253.
355 Lipner and Gispért-Sauch, Writings, vol 2, 84.
356 Manusmṛti 1. 87-101.
358 Aleaz, ‘S K George: A Pioneer Pluralist and Dalit Theologian,’ 91-111.
theology arose later, being influenced by Buddhist activist and revolutionary, jurist and
dstatesman Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar (1891-1956) who campaigned widely against
\textit{varnasrama dharma} and untouchability. Following lapsed promises by the British to abolish
‘untouchability’ Ambedkar encouraged Dalits to become Buddhists. Ambedkar, in 1927,
publicly burned copies of the \textit{Manusmrti} as a protest against ‘untouchability’ — this action
would have offended Upadhyay. \footnote{Christophe Jaffrelot, \textit{Dr. Ambedkar and Untouchability: Analysing and Fighting Caste} (New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2005), 48.} Unfortunately his ideas for liberation and
independence of India did not include social liberation of Dalits. Western missionaries
criticized ashrams without caste distinction as advocated by the Marathi poet Tilak. For
Tilak the ‘theology of the Cross,’ as expressed through \textit{bhakti} (rather than \textit{Advaita})
engendered ecstasy, cosmic universality and brotherhood through a union with Christ by

Upadhyay’s antipathy towards the British administration in India hardened following his
return from Europe. His childhood resentment was learnt from his experiences of social
injustice, oppression and the perceived arrogance of foreigners. Poverty and injustice was
widespread in India, as it still is. It was possibly convenient for Upadhyay’s acceptance
within India that the British became the scapegoat for his opposition to injustice. What
he envisaged was ‘a new pattern of combining Christian self-identity and secular
solidarity with all men [and women].’ \footnote{M M Thomas, \textit{Salvation and Humanisation: Some Crucial Issues of the Theology of Mission in Contemporary India} (Madras: CLS, 1971), 60.}

Upadhyay identified with Christ’s suffering and sacrifice on the Cross — an
identification shared by oppressed people throughout the ages. The paradigm shift, from
ecclesiocentrism to Christocentrism, underplayed Dupuis’s conflict with the Catholic
hierarchy. \footnote{Dupuis, \textit{Religious Pluralism}, 185-186.} Some Pentecostal Christians would have criticized him because of his
uncompromising Christocentrism. Pentecostalism, through promoting a ‘prosperity
gospel,’ would have been offensive to Upadhyay as a \textit{samnyasi}. \footnote{Siga Arles, ‘Indigenous Pentecostal Church Growth at Kolar Gold Fields,’ in \textit{Christianity is Indian: The Emergence of Indigenous Christianity}, ed. Roger E Hedlund (Delhi: ISPCK, 2000), 394.}
He conceptualized \textit{Sat-Cit-Ananda} as the communion of faith encompassing Father, Son and Holy Spirit.
The consensus is that Upadhyay was Christocentric — although Veli-Matti Kärkkäinen considers this term ambiguous. 364 Although the descriptive terms ‘Christocentric’, ‘ecclesiocentric’, ‘pneumocentric’ and ‘theocentric’ are certainly theologically useful they have porous and overlapping borders. Gerald O’Collins has recommended the use of ‘presence’ in their stead. 365 Dupuis advocates a pneumatological approach to religions because ‘the Spirit knows no limits and is free to operate everywhere.’ 366 For Yves Marie-Joseph Congar (1904-1995) the Holy Spirit and the Son represented the ‘two hands’ of the Father. For him there could be no Christology without pneumatology … and no pneumatology without Christology. 367 M. M. Thomas’s conclusion presented to the National Consultation on the Mission of the Church in Contemporary India in 1966 was:

The conversion of [a person] or a group to Christ is the work of the Holy Spirit. This is a new creation and not merely an extension of the boundaries of the existing church… Conversion is the work of the Holy Spirit and is working to draw men [and women] to Christ and [we] must be willing to follow where He leads. 368

Goreh was reticent about Upadhyay’s conception of Advaita, which he considered illogical because it claimed to be non-dualist whilst accepting an existence for that, which is non-Brahman. 369 Goreh, who in his latter years was associated with the Cowley Fathers, argued that if the world is illusion, then it should not be equated with Brahman — Nyaya and Vaiseshika Vedantic systems appeared more logical to him. Pandita Ramabai Sarasvati (1858-1922) was converted from Brahmo to Christianity in 1883 through Goreh’s mentorship. 370 Ramabai at the age of forty-eight years envisaged charismatic worship at the Mukti orphanage at Kedgaon in 1905. Despite the general assumption that modern Pentecostalism arose in the US under Charles Parham (1873-1929), it is a movement

366 Kärkkäinen, Theology of Religions, 211-213.
many regard as autochthonous and polycentric. There exists a four-fold pattern subserving Pentecostal worship whereby Jesus saves, baptizes in the Holy Spirit, heals, and will come again. Glossolalia is considered a hallmark of Spirit baptism. P.T. Titus describes the distinctiveness of the Indian Pentecostal Church. The Holy Spirit has been continually active in creating many authentic Indian Christian Peoples’ Movements — an example was that of Kalangara Subba Row (ca.1912-1981). Notwithstanding the immanence of the Spirit there is also an immanence of God the Father of all, who is ‘above all and through all and in all’ (Eph 4:6). As Gabriel Daly has aptly observed:

Credible Christian theology can no longer take its stand upon a rigid dichotomy between transcendence and immanence. Events, however, have committed it to a search for transcendence within total human experience just at the moment when that experience is revealing further, unsuspected, and bewildering depths.

Ramkrishna Bhattacharya wrote that for Upadhyay, ‘religion was a poor substitute for his patriotic zeal … he found his [swaraj] vocation only when Lord Curzon decided to partition Bengal.’ Lipner strenuously refutes the suggestion that Upadhyay lacked sincerity in his Christian conviction and was merely a fellow traveller.

There has been criticism that some of Upadhyay’s strongly held ideas changed during his lifetime. Although there was change, he was not indecisive. Faith needs to be continually renewed both existentially and contextually. The Spanish proverb is apposite, ‘A wise man changes his mind, and a fool never does.’ Aleaz’s assessment is well judged:

In spite of all the limitations of his theological writings, Brahmabandhav Upadhyaya as an Indian theologian rightly deserves the love and respect of all Indian Christians. [Although] the limitations of his time (1861-1907) are well evident in Upadhyaya’s writings … He is truly the Father of Indian theology [author’s italicization].

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373 Baago, Subba Rao, passim.
375 Ramkrishna Bhattacharya cited in Lipner, ‘Significance,’ 171.
376 Aleaz, ‘The Theological Writings of Brahmabandhav Upadhyaya Re-Examined,’ 55-77.
2.5 CONCLUSION

There are saints, calm and great, who bring good to others,
Quietly and unasked, as does the Spring.
They have already crossed the dreadful ocean of life
Themselves and help others to cross it,
Spontaneously and without any motive.

Adi Sankara, Vivekachudamani, 39

Whatever Upadhyay’s métier may have been, he was certainly a freedom fighter and liberationist, who was concerned with addressing questions of power and powerlessness. His patriotism was always ‘deeply imbued with the spirit of Vedanta.’ Asian Christian theologies in India arose, Sugirtharajah argues, in response to the colonialist process of nation building. Sugirtharajah typifies Upadhyay as a ‘heritagist,’ by which he implies a seeking to rediscover the ‘conceptual analogies in high culture and textual traditions and philosophies of Asia.’ Reaffirming heritage helped Indians to cope with colonialism and the missionary intrusion upon cultural traditions. This enabled them to assume an identity and therefore avoid the perception of being de-nationalized.

Theologically speaking, Upadhyay opened up a view that allowed Christianity and Hinduism to be seen in friendlier terms. For example, M. M. Thomas, concerned mainly with the social revolution between Christianity and Hinduism, has argued that both religions are complementary. Salvation of Hindus and Christians should be understood in eschatological terms. A life-giving relation with God, the Absolute, is intrinsically bound-up with our relationship with all of humanity in the Communion of Saints. John Zizioulas has argued that freedom for a community is enabled through the relationship with fellow human beings — just as the Father, Son and Holy Spirit epitomize communion within the world.

377 Fonseca, ‘Political Years,’ 29.
Upadhyay’s foresight in establishing the Christian ashram movement was also important. It was vindicated at Bangalore in 1997 at the *All India Seminar: Church in India Today*:

Immediate steps [should] be taken to promote an authentic contemplative and monastic life in keeping with the best traditions of the Church and the spiritual heritage of India, and all encouragement be given to those who show signs of a special vocation for the life of prayer and silence, or prayer and service in the ashram setting.  

Furthermore, the *Statement of the Indian Theological Association* at the Vidyadeep College Annual Meeting (2007) at Bangalore declared:

We, the Indian theologians, are grateful to God for the gift of Brahmabandhab Upadhyay to our country, and to the Church…

We pay homage to the memory of this great son of the country and fellow believer in the Catholic communion. Today, as we witness exclusivist claims and counterclaims regarding identities, Upadhyay’s experimentation is an invitation to build bridges between cultures and traditions. (Article 37)  

Upadhyay was ahead of his time. Unyielding western missionaries, for example Jean Antoine Dubois (1765-1845), William Ward (1769-1823) and John Wilson (1804-1875), would have opposed Upadhyay’s values. Other insightful missionaries ameliorated the situation; they included Alfred George Hogg (1875-1954), E. Stanley Jones (1884-1973), Lars Peter Larsen (1862-1940), Bernard Lucas (1860-1921) and William Miller (1838-1923). Miller opposed missionary strategies relying on education as inducement for Christian adherence, as with ‘rice Christians.’ These missionaries believed Indian people should be encouraged to offer their own unique cultural contribution. The term ‘missionary’ at that time was synonymous with being a foreigner. An impressive number of indigenous Christian missionaries lived during the nineteenth century.

The appellation ‘Hinduism’ was novel, having only entered parlance in the 1830’s, it heralded an interest in the vernacular, the philosophical and the cultural aspects of Indian

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He identified with the following perceptions of Christianity in nineteenth century India: Christianity as a religion of foreigners; Christianity as having Asian roots; Christ as ‘God-Man’; Christ as the ethical liberator from social and political oppression; and the Holy Spirit active in the world. Rayan, strongly pneumatological in his sense of mission, wrote:

Little candle, I wish you would touch me
With your fiery finger;
Clasp me in your blaze and kindle at my centre,
Till I too glow and melt,
And bear on my heart and head, the searing sorrow of my people,
And thaw in love and dissolve,
In service of light and warmth and fresh dreams and hopes,
Spread out at their sacred feet.

Where does this research lead? One avenue would be to follow the themes provided by Upadhyay in comparing his ideology with that of Bonhoeffer, Gandhiji and M. M. Thomas. The renowned academician M. M. Thomas was also a political activist. Myron Weiner has argued that, ‘most of the Gandhians were more concerned with the qualities of one’s inner spirit than in any precise institutional frame work or body of laws.’ There are many pertinent issues that need exploration that include: satyagraha; reconciliation and memory; inculturation and pluralism; liberation; human rights and issues of poverty; and people displacement. An elucidation of Upadhyay’s ambivalence to caste would be helpful. Evaluation of Kaj Baagø’s controversial proposition of a ‘religion-less’ ecclesiology in India — without sacraments, doctrines or an organized life — has become relevant. There are numerous current South Asian issues demanding missiological consideration, including Liberation Theology, pertaining especially to Adivasi, Dalits and the victimization of women and children.

387 Myron Weiner cited in Fonseca, ‘Political Years,’ 29.
We should be reminded that the breaking of the bread — or the sacramental breaking of the coconut as it is sometimes used — reminds us of the breaking of the body. 390 Christian hope for liberating justice is not merely an optimism grounded in possibilities but it is an eschatological hope grounded in the promise that Christ will bring about his just and holy kingdom. 391 Involvement in Indian Christian mission by those from beyond India must entail humility because we are ‘guests’ and ‘strangers’ in their complex societies. We must also recognize and reject past triumphalism. Philippine Bishop Julio Lebayen tells us ‘we are not the saviours of Asia’ but merely ‘guests’ in the house of the religions of Asia. 392 Klaus Klostermaier sees modern Hinduism as being very different from that of Upadhyay’s time. His concern is that Hindus now ‘lay down the rules for the game.’ Indian Christians should therefore crave dialogue with Hinduism merely for their own survival. 393

In summary, I have argued at length to unpack the answers suggested in the introduction to the question of the significance of Upadhyay’s life and thought despite his relative neglect in history and theology. He was not only a ‘man before his time’ who generated many new ideas, but also one whose influence has been often overlooked not only by western theologians but also by Indian colonial historians. My integrative historical approach offers a new approach because literature describing this enigmatic and controversial polymath often seems to lack holism.

I hope I have shown that this passionate and brilliant man, whose short life was lived at a critical juncture of Indian history, was an influential writer, Hindu nationalist, proponent of inculturation, Trinitarian theologian, progenitor of the Christian ashram movement, life-long teacher and Hindu follower of Jesus.

393 Klostermaier, Hinduism, 3rd edn. 392.
APPENDIX ONE

GLOSSARY OF HINDI, SANSKRIT AND OTHER TERMS

(As indicated by asterisks in the body of the MSS)

Adivasi
(The first inhabitants)
The name adopted by casteless tribal groups in India. The Aboriginal people.

Advaita
(Non-dualism)
The school of Vedanta founded by Sankara (788-820), teaching ‘non-duality.’
There are ten principal schools of Vedanta (Upanisads) — the fourth and last part of the Vedas. Each Vedanta *abhaya* wrote commentaries on the Upanisads.

Anubhava
(Personal experience)
A life transforming experience revealing a ‘conscious’ revelation of the divine.
Anubhava does not seek to evoke new explanations of the divine mystery.
Interiority instead leads to an experience of God within us (and in the oppressed) giving a life transforming experience.

Apokatastasis
A term first associated with Origen, meaning ‘universal restoration’ (Acts 3:21) referring to the final redemption of all creatures. A proposition strongly defended by Schleiermacher, the Anabaptists and others. Karl Barth and Hans Urs von Balthasar taught that we are not denied the eschatological hope for universal salvation. It has been the traditional teaching of the Catholic Church (although differently explained at different times) that followers of other religions can be saved. 394

Arya Samaj
*Arya Samaj* encouraged militancy against non-Hindus in deference to *Vedic* purity. Dayananda Saraswathi (1823-1883), founder of *Arya Samaj*, in 1875, had been an early advocate for *swaraj*, or self-rule, in 1876. The *Arya Samaj* ideology has continued to become radicalized as *Hindutva*.

Asrama
(Resting place)
The term ‘ashram’ is derived from the Sanskrit \textit{asrama} — a word referring to the concept and practice of the four stages of life: viz., \textit{brahmacharya}, a period of studenthood, \textit{grihastha}, the stage of the householder and family, \textit{vanaprastha}, the stage of the forest dweller or hermit, and finally \textit{samnyasa}, the life of renunciation and asceticism. This ancient Hindu precept was stated in the \textit{manu-smriti}, the code of Manu.

Atisudra
A Marathi/Telegu word for individuals of any of the low classes below the caste of Sudra.

Avatara
(Descender)
Descent of God, especially of Visnu, to save the universe from disaster, to uphold righteousness, to reward the good, to punish the evil, finally to show the right path to liberation and to aid humankind with grace.

Bhadralok
(Cultured folk)
The cultural adaptability and migrational flexibility among mainly upper-caste Bengalis to achieve successful advancement within the British administration.  

Brahmacarya
The first period of life as celibate studenthood when obedience to one’s \textit{acarya} or guru is obligatory. A \textit{samnyasi} adopts a life of perpetual \textit{brahmacharya}.

Brahmo Samaj (Sabha)
The Society of God (Brahma).
A Reform movement founded by Ram Mohan Roy in 1828 as the \textit{Brahmo Sabha}, renamed \textit{Brahmo Samaj} by Debendranath Tagore. This movement’s aim was the ‘purification’ of Hinduism and the development of a strong ethical consciousness among Hindus. Sen joined in 1858 but formed a breakaway \textit{Brahmo Samaj} in 1866.

Catechist
Descriptive Catholic term to describe those who ‘serve’ as an assistant to a priest with evangelistic involvement in the Christian Community. This role never applied to Upadhyay.

Catholic Modernism & The Oath Against the Errors of Modernism

Catholic Modernism was a movement for reform in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries among (mainly) British and French intellectuals. They included Alfred Loisy (1857-1940) who was excommunicated in 1908, George Tyrrell (1861-1909) expelled from the Jesuits in 1906 and Baron von Hügel (1852-1925). Pius X promulgated this oath in 1910, opposing adaptation, to be sworn by all clergy, and seminary professors. Despite Vatican II, this oath was not repealed until 1967.

It is noteworthy that Pius X’s encyclical *Pascendi dominici gregis*, (opposing Catholic Modernism) was promulgated in the year of Upadhyay’s trial and death. This teaching was to impede adaptation among Indian Catholics, stifle ecumenism and encourage an anti-intellectual world-view — as the 2000 CDF declaration *Dominus Iesus* may have done.

Dalit

To crush, split or fragment. Descriptive of ‘Untouchables.’

The name of those Indians who have been socially, politically and economically discriminated against for centuries by the practices of *Brabminism*. Includes some Muslims and Christians as well as scheduled tribal communities.

Daya

(Mercy and compassion)

*Dampyata* (self-control), *datta* (generosity) and *dayadhvan* (compassion).

Complete love belongs to one who always delights in behaving towards all beings as equal to the self, for their good and for their welfare, ‘the golden rule’. A late *sloka* defines *daya* as a desire springing up in the heart to remove the hardships of others, even if it implies effort on our part, it is therefore an active desire to help others.

Dual Belonging (or Multiple Belonging)

This may exist where religious praxis is intimately woven into the culture so that it is no longer possible to discern what is religion and what is culture.

Marriages between Christian and Hindu parents may offer a unique situation for dual belonging in the children; this has been recognized by the CBCI.

Upadhyay was an important early example of Hindu-Christian dual belonging, being followed by many individuals including Raimundo Panikkar (1918-2010), Abhishiktananda and Paul Knitter. Dual belonging has been described as engendering a deepening understanding of both Catholicism and Hinduism. This concept is contentious and disfavoured by Protestant churches. Abhishiktananda describes dual belonging as ‘the discovery of unity in diversity and diversity in unity. From the depth at which it takes place, it will bring to light the mutual convergence of all religions.’ Dual belonging is an essential feature of


397 Neuner and Dupuis, *Documents*, 51-54.


Upadhyay’s theology, — for him to be Hindu was to have a particular cultural and intellectual orientation and not a particular set of theological beliefs.

**Dvijati (Dvija)**

(Twice born)

An appellation of the three higher castes (Brahmin, Ksatriya, Vaisya) whose initiation is considered a ‘second birth.’

**Fulfilment Theology**

The recognition that Hinduism is a ‘stepping-stone’ to Christianity. Farquhar and Johanns advanced this theology in ca.1914. From the early 1940’s Daniélou, de Lubac and Congar and others revisited Fulfilment Theology whereby they contrasted ‘natural’ religions (such as Hinduism) with ‘supernatural’ religion (Christianity). 401 Upadhyay was the most important proponent for Fulfilment Theology in his day. 402 A. G. Hogg was sceptical of Fulfilment Theology. 403

**Golden Rule**

‘Do not do to others what you do not want done to yourself.’ (Analects XV 23). Various expressions of this fundamental moral rule are found in the tenets of most religions and creeds through the ages, testifying to its universal applicability. Thomas Aquinas termed ‘synderesis’ the basic moral reasoning that every human being can intuit.

**Hindutva**

(Hindu-ness)

A concept first proposed by Vinayak Damodar Savarkar (1883-1966) a nationalist who wrote a treatise describing Hindutva whilst in jail (1911-1920). He advocated a fundamentalist basis of Hindu nationalism embracing regional, cultural, linguistic, religious and other differences. Muslims and Christians were excluded because he considered them permanently as ‘outsiders’ despite prolonged Indian domicile. The roots of Hindutva are in *Arya Samaj* founded by Dayananda Saraswati (1824-1883) who urged the regeneration of Hinduism through an adherence to the Vedas. 404

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402 Cornille, Guru in Catholicism, 99.

Inculturation
A neologism used in social anthropology and theology characteristic of a missiological programme with reference to the mutual influence (upon one another) of the Christian message and the plurality of cultures in which it finds itself expressed. It means the insertion of new values into one’s own heritage and world-view. 405 Aloysius Pieris SJ defines inculturation (in part) as a ‘mysticism based on voluntary poverty and militancy pitched against forced poverty.’ 406

Janēu
(The sacred thread)
A rite of passage (samskara) among twice-born (dvijati) male youths — performed after their seventh year. An initiation symbolizing ‘second birth.’ The cord consists of three strands (each having three strands) is worn over the left shoulder crossing the body to the right hip. Cudakarma is the tonsure performed before receiving the ‘sacred thread.’ Tonsure is usually restricted to males. Body hair is considered ‘different’ and is not cut. Strands of hair are left at the crown of the head — the sikha.

Karmayogin
A disciple of ‘action’ based upon the teachings of the Bhagavad Gita. This idea is one of an ethical warrior fighting on religious principles for justice, reminiscent of the ancient codes of shambala or the Samurai.

Khadi
Khadi is not merely homespun cotton cloth but a symbol of independence. Under Gandhiji khadi became an integral part of the swadeshi movement. A spinning wheel depicted on the tricolour swaraj flag was first displayed at Gandhi’s ashram in 1917. It depicted the charkha (spinning wheel). The flag was displayed at the Declaration of Independent India in January 1930 and was adopted in 1931 by the Government of Free India during the Second World War. (The present Indian flag contains the chakra, the wheel.)

Logos Spermaticos
(Word-seed)
An acknowledgement of the effective and active presence of the Cosmic Christ even before the actual founding of the Church — and also outside the Church. This encyclical permitted a positive and meaningful relationship to exist between Christian theology and the great world religions. Described by Justin Martyr (fl. 100-165).

406 Pieris, Theology of Liberation, 64-65.
Mahavakyas
The four great statements considered by Vedantins to convey the kernel of the Upanisads and also conveying ‘Liberation.’

*Tat tvam asi* — That you are (*Chandogya* VI, 8, 7).

*Aham atma brahma* — This self is *Brahman* (*Brhadaranyaka* II, 5, 19).

*Aham brahmasmi* — I am *Brahman* (*Brhadaranyaka* I, 4).

*Prajnanam brahma* — Wisdom is *Brahman* (*Aitareya* III, 1, 13).

Manusmrti
One of the *Dharma Sastras* (c.200 BCE-200 CE).
A manual prescribing correct human behaviour for an ideal social life pertaining to the whole of society rather than only for Brahmans. Considered the ‘canon law’ for Hinduism. Manu is the ancestor of humankind. 407

Matha
A hermit’s hut, a cell, a religious centre or monastery, but may also be applied to a school.

Maya
Has many different meanings; including deceit, fraud, illusion or deception.
In Vedanta *Maya* means the universal illusion that veils the minds of humans.
It may also mean art, wisdom or supernatural power.
For Upadhyay, and the Thomists, *Maya* was the perfection of the Infinite and Absolute Being and God’s creative power. *Maya* may also imply ignorance. An individual’s salvation is not so much to do with the notion of ‘sin’ as with ignorance namely the intuitive lack of wisdom in recognition of the essence of humanity. This lack of insight represents a failure to envisage present existence as being unreal and illusory.

Phiringi
A derogatory word (of probable Portuguese derivation) describing Caucasians.
A word frequently used by Upadhyay in his writings, more dismissive than *videsbi* (foreigner). 408

Prana and Adesh
*Prana* is breath (*ruach*) as it is identified with ‘life’ or with the Holy Spirit. *Adesh* is the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, which is an important doctrine of the church and is the basis for creativity, reform and renewal within the church. *Adesh* must take place continually if the Church is to be a living one. 409

409 Thomas, *The Indian Renaissance*, 73.
Prayascitta

The expiatory rite of atonement.

The admission of making a mistake, papa, following which there is resolve not to repeat the mistake.

The papas (i.e. sins) are of two kinds:

(i) Mahapatakas include brahmahatya (killing a person), surapana (using intoxicating substances or incest).

(ii)Upapatakas include forsaking sacred fire, offending ones Guru, stealing, non-payment of debt, cutting-down trees or killing harmless animals.

Prayascitta may prescribe tapas (austerities or fasting), japa (chanting or repetition of mantras or name of God), daana (charitable donations) and yatra (pilgrimage).

Panchagavya is drunk during these rituals as a means of purification. It is a mixture of the five products of the cow: milk, curds, ghee, urine and dung.

Upadhyay explained the justification for prayascitta in an article appearing in the journal Twentieth Century (31 July 1901): ‘Social penances do not necessarily involve the question of religious faith. Hindu society has never enforced [this] uniformity in belief.’

Dhanjibhai Fakirbhai’s interpretation of prayaschitta was ‘suffering love.’

Rethinking Christianity Group

A group of mostly lay theologians who promoted adaptation and syncretization early in the twentieth century. The prominent members included Chenchiah, Chakkarai, Jesudasan, M. S. Rao and Appasamy. Their work influenced M. M. Thomas and Devanandan.

Sab bhai bhai

A Hindi expression that ‘we all are brothers.’

This represents the fellowship and brotherhood existing among all religions.

Sadhana

A spiritual or religious discipline or ‘path.’ A Ritual or a means of ‘realization.’

Samnyasa

(Renunciation)

The fourth and last asrama of a Brahmin; when attachment to home and possessions are forfeited and where a spiritual attitude exists in the absence of egotism and all self-seeking. Initiation involves stripping, symbolic self-cremation and acceptance of a new name. Pilgrimage is an important aspect in samnyasa. Among samnyasi there exists a wide range of austerities — some samnyasi merely wear a loincloth or, as with the Nagas, may remain naked.

411 Lipner and Gispérr-Sauch, Writings, vol 2, 130-132.
412 Boyd, India and the Latin Captivity of the Church, 110-111.
Sat-sang
(Company of the good)
Congregational meeting, particularly emphasising devotional bhakti, singing bhajans and being addressed by the guru.

Satyagraha
Holding onto truth, even in the most testing times.
A term coined by Gandhiji in South Africa, describing his insistence on claiming his rights, defined as strength born of truth, love and non-violence.

Sisya
An acolyte, a student, or a disciple. (In Hindi, cela).

Smrti
Secondary scripture: what has been remembered and handed on in the oral tradition.

Sodality
A form of the Universal Church expressed in a task-oriented form as opposed to a Diocesan ecclesiology. A characteristic of Basic Ecclesial Communities as is exemplified within Christian ashrams.

Sruti
Primary scripture: or what has been heard.
The Vedic revelation: the revealed and absolutely valid scripture.

Swaraj
Self-rule (swa self and raj rule).
Self-rule was espoused by Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1856-1920). He was the first leader of the Indian Independence Movement following Bengali partition in 1905, which took place two years before Upadhyay’s death. The swaraj, under Gandhiji, aspired to create a stateless Indian society that was free from foreign domination. 414

Tat tvam asi
One of the Mahavakyas (from Chandogya Upanisad IV), ‘that you are’ or ‘Thou art that.’ Chandogya is one of the oldest and largest Upanisads concerning revelation. This teaching is of the unity of the self (tvam) and the Absolute (tat). 415

415 Deutsch and Buitenen, Source Book, 9-16.
Untouchability

Untouchability became entrenched in Indian society since approximately 200CE. Traditions of dissent arose within Bhakti movements, inspiring large numbers of bards who opposed caste injustice by advocating equality before God. Some bards were Untouchables — for example Chokhamela, in the fourteenth century.

Yoga & the Yoga Sutras

Ascribed to Patanjali consisting of 196 brief aphorisms concerning the teaching of yoga. The yoga sutras are known as astanga yoga — the precepts and virtues of which embody the ‘Eightfold Path of Yoga’ comprising:

- **Dharana:** (concentration).
- **Dhyana:** (contemplation).
- **Samaadhi:** (trance).
- **Yama:** (social behaviour) — including: **abimsa** (non-violence), **satya** (opposition to duplicity), **asteya** (opposition to larceny), **brahmacarya** (continence) and **aparigraha** (absence of greed).
- **Niyama:** (inner disciplines) — including: **saucha** (purity), **samtosa** (contentment), **tapas** (discipline), **svadhyaya** (study) and **isvara pranidhana** (surrender to God).
- **Asana:** (postures).
- **Pranayama:** (breath control).
- **Prahara:** (withdrawal of the senses).

**Astanga** Yoga is universally practised by samnyasa and is an integral and demanding aspect of Christian ashramic praxis.

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APPENDIX TWO

TIME-SCALE OF UPADHYAY’S LIFE

NASCENCE

1861 – Born, February 11. Bhabanicaran Bandyopadhyay (anglicized to Banerji), at Khannyan, in the Hoogly district of Kolkata then capital of British India. (Familiar name Bhabani).
1874 – Admitted into Hooghly Collegiate School. (Age 13 years).
1874 – Invested with the Sacred Thread.
1874 – Upadhyay makes vegetarian vows.
1876 – Commenced at Department of Arts at Hooghly College.
1876 – Influenced by his teacher, a zealous nationalist, Surendranath Banerjee. 416
1877 – Applied to enlist as a soldier in the Zulu War, but was rejected.
1877 – First trip to Gwailor to enlist as a soldier.
1879 – Second trip to Gwailor.
1879 – Established free English Boys’ School for Brahmins.
1880 – First met Swami Vivekananda (Narendranath Dutta).

1880 – Attracted to Brahma Samaj although opposing Keshub Chunder Sen’s Church of the New Dispensation, the Nava Vidhana.
1881 – Upadhyay first introduced to Sen by Priya Nath Mullick.
1881 - Taught at Memari near Khannyan.
1881 - First trip to Jabalapur. Upadhyay becomes a teacher at the Free Church Institution in Kolkata.

RENAISSANCE

1884 – Upadhyay meets Ramakrishna Pramahansa. Upadhyay joins his ashram.
1886 – The Concord becomes weekly journal.
1886 – Upadhyay studies the Bible and William Shakespeare.

416 Seal, Indian Nationalism, 177.
1886 – The Concord becomes a monthly journal.
1886 – Ramakrishna dies.
1887 – January 6. Upadhyay joins the Church of the New Dispensation.
1887 – The Concord journal ceases publication.
1888 – Upadhyay initiates the Union Academy in Kolkata with Nandalal Sen and Hirananda. 417
1888 – Upadhyay’s father Debicharan Banerji dies in Multan.
1888 – Muzumdar establishes The Interpreter. Upadhyay subsequently contributes articles.
1889 – Upadhyay very active in Brahm Samaj as a lecturer and teacher.
1889 – Affirms that Christ is ‘free from sin.’
1890 – November. Upadhyay participates in Kolkata Anglican rally.
1890 – August to December. Upadhyay published The Harmony.

CHRISTIANITY & JOURNALISM

1891 – March. Meets Salinger SJ.
1891 – September. Baptized Catholic, takes baptismal name Theophilus.
1891 – Persecution by Hindu compatriots.
1891 – Upadhyay the Editor of Sindh Times.
1891 – Parmanand and Khemchand baptized.
1892 – Upadhyay’s anti-Protestant lectures.
1893 – Baptism of Rewachand (Animananda).
1893 – Theological correspondence with Fr. Boedder, S.J.
1894 – Monthly Sophia commenced.
1894 – Catholic reading room established with help from Fr. Heglin.
1894 – October. Upadhyay advocates unification among Indian Bishops.
1894 – November. Upadhyay lectures in Lahore opposing Hindu reformers and radicals.
1894 – December. Upadhyay becomes a sannyasin. His name Theophilus (lover of God) is transliterated to Brahmabandhab (lover of Brahma). He adopts the name Brahmabandhab Upadhyay.
1895 – Upadhyay starts wearing garic — the saffron garb of sannyasin.
1895 – September. Lectures delivered at a conference at Ajmer (Sindh) describing Catholicism.

417 Lipner, Life and Thought, 74.
1896 – March to November. – Lecture series *Infinite and Finite* delivered.
1897 – Vivekananda establishes the Ramakrishna Mission in Kolkata.
1897 – March to April. Lecture tour of South India.
1897 – December. Delivers lectures in Mumbai entitled: “Christanity as the Fulfilment of an Ancient Philosophy.”
1898 – January. Upadhyay returns to Kolkata.
1898 – February. Animananda joins Upadhyay in becoming a *samnyasin*.
1898 – February. Upadhyay and Animananda promote the idea of a Catholic *matha* conducted on lines of Hindu *ashrama*.
1898 – Upadhyay’s discussion with Fr. Castets at Tiruchirappalli (Tamil Nadu).
1898 – Curial condemnation of Upadhyay’s concept of a Christian *matha*.
1898 – July. Upadhyay promotes the feasibility of a Catholic *matha* at Jabalapur.
1898 – August 16. Monsignor Zaleski informs Curia of Upadhyay’s proposed adaptation.
1898 – The Propaganda affirms Monsignor Zaleski condemnation of Upadhyay.
1898 – October 1. Fr. Hegglin diarized his dismay at Church opposition to Upadhyay’s wish to form a Catholic ashram or *matha*.
1898 – October. A change in Upadhyay’s theology is indicated by his writings on *Maya*.
1898 – Upadhyay’s important lectures delivered: concerning *Sat-Cit-Ananda*, *karma* and the inter-relationship between Thomism and Vedanta.
1899 – January. Upadhyay announces the formation of *Kastalik matha* at Jabalapur, on banks of Narmada River (Madya Pradesh).
1899 – February. Upadhyay, Animananda and a novice Shankerji beg in the streets of Jabalapur.
1899 – March. Monthly *Sophia* ceases publication.
1899 – March to April. Lenten 40 day fast.
1899 – Alienation from Catholic authorities. Planned trip to Rome cancelled due to illness.
1899 – A New School commenced at Bethune Row, later moved to Simha, Bazar Street. Kolkata. Rabindranath Tagore and Upadhyay taught there as partners.

1900 – June 16. The weekly journal Sophia commences.

1900 – June. Upadhyay rationalizes Sankara’s Maya with Thomistic ‘contingent being.’

1900 – Upadhyay writes articles under pseudonym of Nar Haridas.


1900 – October Catholic authorities publish a letter in Bombay Catholic Examiner banning Sophia.

1900 – November 17. Announcement in Sophia of the publication of Twentieth Century.


1901 – June 20. Censorship of Twentieth Century by the Church.


1901 – August. Twentieth Century banned.

1901 – August 17. Upadhyay writes open letter to Bombay Catholic Examiner defending the unreasonable boycott of Twentieth Century.

1901 – August. Reasons for prayaschitta fully explained in Twentieth Century article.

1901 December. Closure of Twentieth Century.

1901 Publication of hindujatir eknisthata (in Bangla) translated as: The One-centeredness of the Hindu Race. 418

EUROPE

1902 – August. Upadhyay’s Departure from Santiniketan and the Simha Street School.

1902 - Vivekananda dies.

1902 - October. 5. Upadhyay leaves Mumbai for Genoa but disembarks at Naples.

1902 – November. 1. Arrival in Rome.

1902 - November. 4. Arrival in London suffering from febrile illness.

1902 – Discussions with Cardinal Vaughan in London.

1902 – December. Three lectures delivered at Oxford University.

1903 – March. Three lectures delivered at Cambridge University.

1903 – July. Meeting with Mr. W.T. Stead, the editor of Review of Reviews.

1903 – Cambridge Senatorial discussions with Upadhyay, seeking the

418 Lipner, ‘One-Centeredness,’ 410-422.
establishment of a Lectureship in Vedanta.

1903 – July. Upadhyay returns to India as a confirmed Nationalist with a deep repugnance for western materialism.

1903 – Simha School had grown, in Upadhyay’s absence, to include thirty-five children.

SWARAJ


1904 – August. The Sarasvat Ayatan, (The Collegium Sophia) opened in Kolkata.

1904 – December. Upadhyay celebrates feast of the Nativity in Kolkata.

1905 – Curzon’s Government senses imminent mass agitation — showing uncertainty to appropriate response. 419

1905 – January. Meeting in Kolkata at the Town Hall denounced Curzon’s proposal for partition.

1905 – November. Upadhyay calls for complete independence from Britain and not merely home-rule.

1905 – November. Sandhya becomes a popularist newspaper, written in Bangla, widely read by ordinary Bengalis.

1905 - December. Upadhyay responds to accusation of illegality of Sandhya.

Authorities not notified of the changed place of publication in Sandhya’s imprint.

1905 – December. Simha School moves to Cornwallis Street.


1906 – June. Upadhyay participates in Shiva festival, in Kolkata, where he offers devotions at the feet of Durga. 420


1906 – Simha School moved to Serampore.

1906 – Upadhyay participates in the Council on Education and contributes to the National Education Policy.

1907 – Upadhyay’s composition of prayers to the ‘Trinity’ and to the ‘Logos.’

1907 – March. Discussions with his Baptist friend Rev’d. B. A. Nag. Upadhyay denies that he had apostatized. 421

1907 – March. Nationalistic journals Karali and Svaraj commenced.

1907 - April 8. Upadhyay participates in the mahaotsava festival in Kolkata. 422

419 Fonseca, ‘Political Years,’ 19.

420 For community-based swaraj activities B.G. Tilak chose Shiva as cult-hero and incorporated Ganesha as the patron.

421 Jarrett-Kerr, Patterns, 221.

422 Lipner, Hindus 422 de Bary, ed. Sources of Indian Tradition vol 2, 184-186.
1907 - August 7. Police search *Sandhya* offices.

1907 - Upadhyay performs final Prayaschitta.

1907 - August 13, 20, and 27. Upadhyay composes polemic, which become the basis for his arraignment for sedition.

1907 - September 10. Upadhyay’s first sedition case listed for hearing.

1907 - October 21. Upadhyay admitted to Campbell Hospital Kolkata for herniorraphy.


1907 - October 26. The second sedition case announced, with a warrant for Upadhyay’s arrest.

1907 - October 27. Upadhyay dies from tetanus on Sunday at 8.30 a.m. A spontaneous Hindu demonstration, of five thousand people, occurred that afternoon with a procession chanting *Bande Mataram*.

1907 - October 27. Upadhyay’s traditional Hindu *sraddha* (cremation ceremony) performed at 4.00 p.m. Upadhyay’s pyre lit by his nephew and his ashes scattered at dusk from the banks of the Hoogly River.

1907 - October 28. A large demonstration by the *swaraj*— held in recognition of Upadhyay’s contribution to the Indian independence movement.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This schema has been adapted and summarized from the following Upadhyay scholars:

— Timothy C. Tennent. 423
— Julius J. Lipner. 424

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424 Lipner and Gispert-Sauch, *Writings*, vol 1, xiv-xlvi.
APPENDIX THREE

Map One: Showing some Locations Mentioned in the Thesis

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Map Two: India circa 1935.  

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APPENDIX FOUR

CANTICLE OF THE TRINITY

REFRAIN

I adore:

The Sat (Being), Cit (Intelligence) and Ananda (Bliss):
The highest goal, which is despised by wordlings, which is desired by Yogis

I

The supreme, ancient, higher than highest, full, indivisible,
    transcendent and imminent.
One having triple interior relationship, holy, unrelated,
    self-conscious, hard to realize.

II

The Father, Begetter, the highest Lord, unbegotten,
    the rootless principle of the tree of existence.
The cause of the universe, one who createst intelligently,
    the preserver of the world.

III

The increate, infinite, Logos or Word, supremely great.
The Image of the Father, one whose form is intelligence,
    the giver of the highest freedom.

IV

One who proceeds from the union of Sat and Cit,
    the blessed Spirit (breath), intense bliss.
The sanctifier, one whose movements are swift,
    one who speaks of the Word, the life-giver.
'Few people, perhaps, realize the wealth of the content of this hymn and the beauty of its expression. It is a gem of Christian hymnology, and probably the best example of a deep adaptation of the Christian faith to the cultural patterns of Indian religious thought. The hymn is an outburst of praise to the Holy Trinity, the core of the Christian revelation, and continues the twenty-centuries-old meditation of the Church on this mystery. But... it expresses this faith mostly in words and expressions that emerge from the religious consciousness of India. Thus, while unfolding the truth of the Christian revelation, it does so in a manner that does not look completely foreign.'

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Bayart's description of Upadhyay's *stotra* (hymn), quoted from his footnotes verbatim, has much importance because it embodies one of the earliest western acknowledgements of Hindu-Christian devotion to the Triune God of Grace. Gispért-Sauch remarks that Upadhyay's hymns remained hidden for several decades following their composition.


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Vande Saccidananda

Upadhyay also composed the Trinitarian *stotra* (hymn), *Vande Saccidananda*, ‘Saluting the Holy Trinity,’ which continues to be widely sung today in many languages throughout India. 

| I bow to Him who is  
| Being, Consciousness and Bliss.  
| I bow to Him, whom worldly minds loathe,  
| Whom pure minds yearn for,  
| The Supreme Abode.  
| He is the Supreme,  
| The Ancient of days,  
| The Transcendent,  
| Indivisible Plenitude,  
| Immanent yet above all things.  
| Three-fold relation,  
| Pure, unrelated knowledge beyond knowledge.  
| The Father, Sun Supreme Lord, unborn,  
| The seedless seed of the tree of becoming,  
| The cause of all,  
| Creator, Providence, Lord of the Universe.  
| The infinite and perfect Word,  
| The Supreme person begotten,  
| Sharing in the Father's nature,  
| Conscious by essence,  
| Giver of true Salvation.  
| He who proceeds from Being and Consciousness  
| Replete with the breath of perfect bliss  
| The purifier, the Swift,  
| The Revealer of the Word, the Life-giver.  

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429 Gispért-Sauch, *The Sanskrit Hymns*, 75-76.
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