HINDUISM AS A WORLD RELIGION

Pretending that Vedanta is the Essence of Hinduism

Edwin Jordan Johannes

Edwin J. Johannes
s0838551
Master Religious Studies & Theology
Leiden University
10th of July 2017
Supervisor: Professor A.F. de Jong

If we remember that these utterances of Ramakrishna reveal to us not only his own thoughts, but the faith and hope of millions of human beings, we may indeed feel hopeful about the future of that country. The consciousness of the Divine in man is there, and is shared by all, even by those who seem to worship idols. This constant sense of the presence of God is indeed the common ground on which we may hope that in time not too distant the great temple of the future will be erected, in which Hindus and non-Hindus may join hands and hearts in worshipping the same Supreme Spirit—who is not far from every one of us, for in Him we live and move and have our being.

Friedrich Max Müller, Ramakrishna, His Life and Sayings, 1898

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS 1

PREFACE 4

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS 5

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION 6

1.1 INTRODUCING THE RESEARCH QUESTION 6

1.2 INTRODUCING A METHODOLOGY 7

1.3 SOURCES 9

1.4 INTRODUCING A HYPOTHESIS 9

1.5 STRUCTURE OF THIS THESIS 10

CHAPTER 2: CREATING THE WORLD RELIGIONS PARADIGM 12

2.1 BEFORE THE PARADIGM 12

2.2 THE EMERGENCE OF THE PARADIGM 13

2.3 MAX MÜLLER AND 'BOOK RELIGIONS' 13

2.4 CORNELIS PETRUS TIELE AND THE INTRODUCTION OF THE TERM 'WORLD RELIGION' 14

2.5 RELIGIOUS PLURALISM AND THE WORLD PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS IN CHICAGO 15

2.6 MAX WEBER AND THE SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY OF WORLD RELIGIONS 16

2.7 COMPARING DIFFERENT MODELS 16

2.8 COMPARING DIFFERENT TEXTBOOKS ON WORLD RELIGIONS 17

2.9 CREATING THE WORLD RELIGIONS PARADIGM IN THE LARGER CONTEXT OF EUROPEAN COLONIALISM 18

2.10 EVALUATING THE PARADIGM 18

CHAPTER 3: HISTORY OF THE STUDY OF HINDUISM, INDOLOGY, INDOLOGISTS AND HINDUISM AS A WORLD RELIGION DURING THE COLONIAL PERIOD 20

3.1 INTRODUCTION 20

3.2 ETYMOLOGY 20

3.3 MAX MÜLLER AND THE RELIGION OF THE BRAHMANS 21

3.4 MONIER-WILLIAMS AND HIS CHRISTIAN FRAME OF REFERENCE 24

3.5 E.W. HOPKINS, AN AMERICAN INDOLOGIST 25

3.6 Max Weber and the Sociology of Hinduism 27

3.7 The Academic Understanding and Presentation of Hinduism in the late Nineteenth Century and the Early Twentieth Century 28

CHAPTER 4: PROMINENT HINDU REFORMERS, HINDU REFORM MOVEMENTS AND THEIR PRESENTATIONS OF HINDUISM AS A WORLD RELIGION 32

4.1 Introduction 32

4.2 Ram Mohan Roy & Brahmo Samaj: Presenting Hinduism as a Monotheistic Religion 32

4.3 The Arya Samaj, Hinduism as pure Aryanism 35

4.4 Vivekananda, the World's Parliament of Religion and Presenting Hinduism as Advaita Vedanta 36

4.5 Presenting Yoga as an Essential Characteristic of Hinduism 38

4.6 Hinduism as a World Religion According Hindu Reformers in the 19TH century 40

CHAPTER 5: THE PRESENTATION OF HINDUISM IN ACADEMIC TEXTBOOKS ON WORLD RELIGIONS 42

5.1 Introduction 42

5.2 Hinduism as a World Religion in the Fifties 42

5.3. Hinduism as a World Religion Today 44

5.4 Hinduism as a Single Narrative 45

CHAPTER 6: CRUCIAL FACTORS IN THE INCLUSION OF HINDUISM IN THE WORLD RELIGIONS PARADIGM 47

6.1 Introduction 47

6.2 Hinduism and other Non-Abrahamic Asian Religions 47

6.3 Prominent Hindus and Presenting Hinduism as a Universal religion 49

6.4 How Indologists Moulded Hinduism into the Casting Mould of a Proper World Religion 51

6.5 Answering the Main Research Question 52

6.6 Conclusion 54

CHAPTER 7: IMPLICATIONS AND QUESTIONS THAT ARE YET UNANSWERED 55

7.1 introduction 55

7.2 The World Religions Paradigm 55

7.3 Presenting Hinduism as a World Religion in a Different Manner 56

7.4 Recommendations for Further Research 58

REFERENCES 60

Internet sources and other media 63

PREFACE

In 2014 I finished a bachelor, named 'world religions' with a specialization programme for Hinduism. Continuing with a master, named religious studies and theology in 2015 I hoped to explore religion in general, but above all Hinduism as a religion in particular a bit further and to take my knowledge about Hinduism to the next level. I very much felt I still lacked some essential knowledge about Hinduism. This master thesis is the result of this further exploration. During my bachelor thesis, I focussed on a particular ethnic group, the Hindustani people of Surinam and the Netherlands. For this master thesis, I chose an entirely different and more overarching subject: Hinduism as a world religion. This gave me the opportunity to explore Hinduism's place amidst other so called world religions and its academic presentation as a world religion. During my research, I studied the academic works of famous nineteenth century scholars such as Friedrich Max Müller and Max Weber. Scholars who have been extremely important for the field of religious studies, and whose names were familiar to me, since the references to their foundational contributions in contemporary academic articles, books and courses are numerous. However, only very seldom had I read their works myself. For this master thesis, I had to return to these foundational works, which now looking back at the process of writing this thesis, has been a substantial enrichment of my knowledge on Hinduism in particular and religion in general. The same is true for the works of Ram Mohan Roy and Vivekananda, both notable Hindus, who were of great importance for our present image of Hinduism as a world religion. Anyone studying Hinduism will sooner or later encounter their names in articles or books concerning Hinduism. But similar with Müller and Weber, I never thoroughly explored their contributions. Something which was essential for this thesis. Reading their contributions and those of nineteenth century scholars has been a very fascinating task and although writing this thesis was an extremely time consuming process, I never got bored exploring those works. I feel privileged for having been able to explore their ideas, written in a completely different age, with a different frame of reference. Although most European colonies have long been dismantled and two major world wars and a cold war have passed since their contributions, their ideas are still influential and visible in the field of religious studies and in our image of Hinduism as a world religion.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many people have contributed to the development of this master thesis and all the ideas present in this thesis. First of all, I would like to acknowledge my debt to all these scholars whose works are mentioned in this thesis. A number of excellent works on Hinduism have been influential for my own ideas, particularly those by Wendy Doniger, Gavin Flood, and Jeffrey Kripal. Meredith McGuire's *Lived Religion* has been influential for my own ideas concerning the study of religion in general, an academic field that has been dominated by the study of religious texts, especially in its formative years.

I especially would like to thank professor dr. A.F. de Jong as my supervisor, for his guidance, patience and inspiring comments; the second reader of this thesis, whose name is currently not yet known; and dr. M.A. Davidsen as lecturer of the course 'Thesis Seminar Religious Studies and Theology.' A course that has been very helpful in writing this thesis.

Of the institutions, I would like to mention Leiden University, which has been my academic home for the past nine years. All those years studying religion at Leiden University have been very rewarding and inspirational. I am more than grateful for having had the opportunity to study at an institute as ancient and yet very modern at the same time, as Leiden University.

Finally, I wish to thank my friends and family for their tremendous encouragement and trust in my ability to finish this task. My deepest appreciation is devoted to my father, Eduard Charles Johannes, whom is now nearly eighty-eight years old, and who is hopefully still around and in good health, when I officially will graduate.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCING THE RESEARCH QUESTION

The bachelor programme which I followed at Leiden University between 2008 and 2014 was named 'world religions.' When I started that programme, I assumed that a world religion could be any religion. I soon learned that within this programme the qualification world religion was only reserved, by the programme board, for a certain number of religions. Or to be more precise, a specialization programme was only possible for a couple of major religious traditions. The religion currently known as Hinduism is part of this group of religions or categorization system that is known as 'world religions'. As such it had its own introduction course in the bachelor programme I followed. This system of categorization or paradigm, known as 'world religions', is the result of mostly western religious scholarship. Due to this western perspective, it is currently controversial among certain scholars within the study of religion. Hinduism as a part of this world religions paradigm, is also often presented as a controversial category. Several scholars claim that Hinduism was constructed by western scholars or even invented by these scholars (Frykenberg 1993). Others do not accept Hinduism as a full-fledged religion, presuming that it lacks certain qualities that are essential to be categorized as a religion. Both controversies are related to how religion is defined and how the study of religion developed over the course of time. Like all other categorization or classification systems the world religions paradigm has a history. A history that was informed by a complex network of academic, colonial and social developments. The emergence of this paradigm and Hinduism's place within this paradigm, together with how Hinduism is presented as a religion are closely connected. In spite of the controversies concerning the paradigm and the status of Hinduism as a full-fledged religion, this master thesis seeks to explore how Hinduism as religion became part of the world religions paradigm and how Hinduism as a religion is presented within this paradigm. Prior to the emergence of the world religions paradigm, in the nineteenth century, Europeans religiously categorized people in four major groups, namely Christians, Jews and Muslims (or Mohammedans as they were called), and the rest (Masuzawa 2005, xi). The people currently categorized as Hindus were not yet a single category but part of this rest group. A group known under a variety of names like heathens, pagans, idolaters or polytheists (Masuzawa 2005, xi), to distinguish them from the three groups following a monotheistic religion. With the emergence of the world religions paradigm the religion of the Hindus, which would be called Hinduism, was rewarded with a separate single category within this paradigm. Currently Hinduism is fully accepted as one of the major world religions and as such it is part of both popular and academic textbooks on world religion in which Hinduism is always a distinct religious category in its own right. This master thesis explores the factors that were crucial in the process that led to this separate category of 'Hinduism' in the world religions paradigm. This led to the formulation of the following research question(s):

Which factors were crucial in the historical process that led scholars of religious studies to include the religion currently known as Hinduism, in the world religions paradigm?

Sub-questions

- **In the pre-modern categorization system religions that we currently call Hinduism were classified as paganism or idolatry. The same is true for Confucianism or Shinto[1], both religions, like Hinduism, with large numbers of adherents. But over time Hinduism**

[1] Some scholars use Shintoism instead of Shinto. The 'ism' for Shinto is debatable. Following my supervisor's advice, I chose Shinto as the correct name.

managed to become a category in its own right, within the world religions paradigm, whereas Confucianism or Shinto in most cases were less successful in creating an independent category. Why was Hinduism more successful?

- **To what extent were prominent Hindus themselves influential in qualifying Hinduism as a world religion?**
- **Which academic arguments and processes were decisive in recognizing Hinduism as an independent category within the world religions paradigm?**

Although as mentioned before, both Hinduism as a distinct single religious category and the world religions paradigm are considered controversial for some scholars within the field of religious studies, I do accept both categories whether controversial or not, as scholarly realities. The world religions paradigm has dominated the field of religious studies and as such has been a very influential paradigm. Hinduism, whether constructed or even invented is now a category that is meaningful and salient for large numbers of self-identified Hindus, who will be sure of their religious identity as 'Hindu' in contrast to other religious identities (Flood 1996. 5). Therefore, the aim of this thesis is neither to reject or to approve the world religions paradigm or the existence of Hinduism as full-fledged religion, but to critically explore the process that led to a world religions paradigm that included Hinduism as one of these world religions. In that sense, this thesis can be understood as a historical analysis of this process. An analysis that includes the contribution of several scholars who contributed to the study and who's work on Hinduism has been influential in presenting Hinduism as a world religion. However, this analysis will also include the contributions of key-figures and key-movements within Hinduism itself. Prominent Hindus and the organisations they established, have been influential in the process of presenting Hinduism as a world religion amidst other world religions. Therefore, this thesis will also explore their part in the story of Hinduism as a world religion.

1.2 INTRODUCING A METHODOLOGY

In this paragraph, I am introducing the reader to the methods that I used to answer the research question presented in the previous paragraph. This thesis can be understood as an historical analysis of the process that led to the inclusion of Hinduism in the world religions paradigm and its presentation within that paradigm. Such an approach differs from doing fieldwork or using quantitative data to explore a research question. Therefore, this thesis should be perceived as a literature study. There is no clear and instant methodology on how to carry out such a task other than reading critically and analysing the different sources and the context in which they were written. I chose to use a project with a similar research question as a source of inspiration for my own task. In 2013 Princeton University Press published *Confucianism as a World Religion: Contested Histories and Contemporary Realities,* written by Anna Sun. In this monograph Anna Sun presents a somewhat similar research question as I presented in this thesis, and explores Confucianism and its place within the world religions paradigm. This monograph has been helpful as a first start concerning my own research question. Some of the strategies and approaches that were used in this monograph have been relevant for the research question presented within this thesis. But, since Confucianism is a different world religion and its inclusion in the world religions paradigm followed its own unique track, I needed to alter Anna Sun's strategy for my own approach on the case of Hinduism as a world religion. For instance, presenting Confucianism as a religion is controversial, since some scholars have treated Confucianism not as a religious category but as a philosophical movement (Sun 2013, 25). This is completely different for Hinduism. So, different world religions ask for a different approach. Further I've been relying on the work of Tomoko Masuzawa published in 2005 and named *The Invention of World Religions: Or how European Universalism was Preserved in the Language of Pluralism*. This monograph is a critical historical analysis of the creation of the world religions paradigm, in which Masuzawa argues that the scholars who created the paradigm used an Aryanised version of Christianity as

the prototype for religion in general. Where Masuzawa has been working on the paradigm as a whole, my focus was on Hinduism in particular. Next to the contributions of Anna Sun and Tomoko Masuzawa I had to create my own methodology. First and foremost, I focussed on the works of nineteenth century scholars of religion who introduced categorization models like the world religions paradigm or similar models. Here the main focus has been the motives behind the creation of these models and the way in which they were applied by these scholars, but also by how they were altered by later scholars. Secondly, for Hinduism as a world religion I chose to focus on scholars who studied Hinduism during the emergence of the paradigm. In the contributions of these scholars, I searched for those elements that were presented as essential characteristics of Hinduism. I further searched for those factors that were crucial to include Hinduism in this paradigm of world religions. In addition to a focus on scholarly material I deliberately chose, as a third step, to include the efforts and contributions concerning Hinduism as a world religion of 'prominent Hindus'. These prominent Hindus, primarily Hindu reformers, and the organisations they established, had their own part in presenting Hinduism as an important world religion amidst other world religions. Here I searched for what according to them made Hinduism qualify as a world religion. Of course, the different factors and motives behind how both scholars and prominent Hindus dealt with Hinduism as a world religion are not always explicitly visible in their contributions. I endeavoured in this thesis to make them visible, even where implicit. However, some of these ideas and motives were very explicit. For instance, concerning the ideas of most Indologists on the subject matter of 'true' religion. As we shall see in chapter three, most of them are convinced of Christianity's superiority over other world religions. In analysing the works of scholars working on Hinduism and the material produced by prominent Hindus, I applied a technique of critical reading that was focussed on all those elements that these authors presented as essential characteristics of Hinduism. Those elements provided an opportunity to make implicit ideas on world religion, religion in general and Hinduism in particular explicit. Another important element part of this analyses, is the manner in which these authors positioned Hinduism with reference to other so called world religions. A fourth step in answering the research question has been a critical analysis of academic textbooks on world religion. These textbooks as an academic genre are meant to give university students a general image of the diversity in world religions. As such these textbooks provided a source for the manner in which Hinduism is presented as a world religion. In these textbooks, I searched for the same elements mentioned before. Often the 'building blocks' for Hinduism as a world religion, presented by nineteenth century scholars of Hinduism and prominent Hindu reformers, have found their way in these academic textbooks on world religion. It shows a certain continuity in scholarly presentations concerning Hinduism as a world religion. Including these textbooks in my analyses resulted in creating the bigger historical picture of Hinduism as a world religion. Therefore, this thesis is primarily about presentation and image. Questions I have been asking myself over and over were questions like: Why are these elements presented as essential characteristics of Hinduism? Why are other elements ignored or positioned as less important? What does that tell us about world religions in general and about Hinduism as a world religion in particular? Furthermore, I endeavoured to compare these images of Hinduism, created by both scholars and prominent Hindus and then copied in textbooks on world religion, with a more comprehensive and multi-dimensional image of Hinduism. For this more complete image of Hinduism I relied on the works of more contemporary Indologists such as Gavin Flood's *An introduction to Hinduism* and Wendy Doniger's *The Hindus: An Alternative History*. This gave me the opportunity to critically evaluate the present image of Hinduism as a world religion, especially that particular image that is found in these general academic textbooks on world religions.

1.3 SOURCES

This thesis is for the most part based on written academic sources.[2] Some of the material functions as a primary source while other material is of the secondary kind. I will start here with introducing my primary sources. For the formative period of the world religions paradigm I have been using scholarly material written by scholars like the Dutch theologian and Egyptologist Cornelis Tiele and the German Indologist Max Müller. Their contributions were crucial in the creation of the world religions paradigm. Other primary sources include academic works on Hinduism that were produced during the formative period of the world religions paradigm. Roughly the second half of the nineteenth century. Again, several contributions of the German Indologists Max Müller are included. Apart from Müller I included two other nineteenth century Indologists. Obviously, these Indologists are just a fraction of all the Indologists that were working on Hinduism during that time period. In chapter three, dedicated to these Indologists, I explain whom I chose and why I chose these particular Indologists. I also chose to include two works of Max Weber. Max Weber was not an Indologist. However, he addressed both world religions in *The Social Psychology of World Religions* and Hinduism in *The Religion of India: The Sociology of Hinduism and Buddhism*. Therefore, I rated his contributions as indispensable for this thesis. Further I have included some of the writings of key figures in the Hindu reform movement as primary sources. These sources are meant to shed light on the influence of notable Hindus like Ram Mohan Roy[3] and Swami Vivekananda. Especially on the way in which Hinduism as a world religion was presented by these authors. For the final analyses, I compared different academic textbooks on world religions, with a focus on the presentation of Hinduism as a world religion in these textbooks. Therefore, these textbooks are also treated as primary sources.

Next to these primary sources I will present secondary sources on the subject that are meant to compare my own findings with the opinions and findings of scholars who have been working on the world religions paradigm and Hinduism's place within this paradigm. Previously I already mentioned the work of Tomoko Masuzawa and Anna Sun. In addition to the primary sources written by Indologists, I included secondary sources written about these Indologists and their contributions. These academic biographies about some of the Indologists provided my analysis with context and background information. Next to these biographies the contemporary academic textbooks on Hinduism, other scholarly material on Hinduism, world religions and religion in general, are all secondary sources. They are meant to provide additional information and context. For some topics providing a historical context has been of great importance. For other topics presenting an academic context has been of great importance. For instance, on the subject matter of defining religion. All these secondary sources provide context and are meant either to support my own findings or to refine these findings. Comprehensive monographs about Hinduism by contemporary Indologists, such as the works of Gavin Flood and Wendy Doniger, already mentioned in the previous paragraph, were especially important in evaluating the image of Hinduism as a world religion.

1.4 INTRODUCING A HYPOTHESIS

Already in this introduction I would like to present the hypothesis I had concerning Hinduism's place within the world religions paradigm, before I started my research on this topic. The reason why I present

[2] The only exceptions are a documentary and a few online sources, all of which are named in the references.

[3] The way in which the name of Ram Mohan Roy is spelled differs per author. Although I chose for Ram Mohan Roy, other sources use Rammohun Roy or Rammohan Roy.

this hypothesis here in the introduction of this thesis, is because it helps the reader to navigate through this thesis and at the same time it explains why I chose a certain approach in both choosing my sources and analysing them. In *The Invention of World Religions,* Tomoko Masuzawa argues that the world religions paradigm was constructed by western scholars using Christianity as the prototype for religion in general, and that even today, Christianity subconsciously still functions as the prototype. Therefore, she rejects the world religions paradigm as a helpful tool to categorize religion. In my opinion Masuzawa presents substantial evidence to support her argument. However, I suspected that Masuzawa's analyses and her conclusions in relation to both the paradigm and Hinduism's place and representation within this paradigm, are incomplete and also somewhat one sided. Masuzawa's focus is very much on the academic contributions of western scholars in the formative years of the world religions paradigm. What is not included in her analyses is the contribution of notable representatives and key figures of the particular religions that are included in the paradigm. For the particular case of Hinduism, I suspected agency from notable Hindus and the Hindu reform movements in both past and present, for the inclusion and representation of Hinduism within the world religions paradigm. Furthermore, the academic field of religious studies has been enormously transformed over the years. Where in the past during the emergence of the paradigm the scholars who worked on Hinduism were mostly philologists, nowadays scholars from other academic disciplines like sociologists and anthropologists are also working on Hinduism. These different disciplines, which obviously have been building on the already existing work of philologists, also introduced their own outlook and frame of reference to the study of religion in general and Hinduism in particular. According to my own hypothesis the contribution and influence of both these influential representatives of Hinduism and an ongoing development in the field of religious studies has been overlooked in Masuzawa's analyses.

1.5 STRUCTURE OF THIS THESIS

This paragraph is meant to explain the structure of this thesis. There are four different topics that needed to be addressed in order to answer my research questions. These four topics are: the world religions paradigm; the contributions of scholars in shaping Hinduism as a world religion; the contributions of Hindu reformers in shaping Hinduism as a world religion; and the presentation of Hinduism as a world religion in academic textbooks on world religions. I decided to reward each of these four topics with their own chapters.

The second chapter, the chapter after this introduction, titled "Creating the World Religions Paradigm," is about the emergence of the world religions paradigm. In it I will address what existed in terms of a categorization model, before the emergence of the world religions paradigm. This chapter also addresses the introduction of the term world religions and the emergence of the academic field of comparative religion, two events that are closely linked to each other as we will soon discover. This chapter also addresses the different, often implicit, definitions linked to the term world religions, by comparing its original meaning, as introduced by the Dutch scholar Cornelis Tiele with how the definition gradually was used in a much broader sense by Max Weber and later on in textbooks on world religions.

The third chapter examines the material that was produced by scholars working on Hinduism during the emergence of the world religions paradigm. Roughly the time period from the second half of the nineteenth century until the thirties of the twentieth century. With the exception, of Weber's *The Religion of India: The Sociology of Hinduism and Buddhism,* all the sources here are works of Indologists. It shows that especially the Indologists, who were all philologists focussed primarily on textual material. In some of this material, in scriptures known as the Upanishads, they discovered concepts and ideas that according to them where comparable with European and Christian concepts. Exactly those concepts led to the philosophy of Vedanta. This is a Hindu philosophy that is based on concepts found in the Upanishads. Most Indologists were fascinated by this philosophy and by these elements that showed

similarities with European ideas on monotheism and religion. Max Weber on the other hand, had a different approach. Nevertheless, he used the contributions of Indologists as building blocks, together with the census of British India. This led Weber to present the caste system as Hinduism's most essential characteristic.

The fourth chapter is dedicated to prominent Hindu reformers and the movements created by these men. This chapter, titled "Prominent Hindu Reformers, Hindu Reform Movements and their Presentations of Hinduism as a World Religion," explores how prominent Hindus, to a certain extent inspired by European scholarship, reformed Hinduism from within. Most attention goes towards Ram Mohan Roy and Swami Vivekananda. It explores their ideas on Hinduism as a world religion in relation to other religions. This chapter also includes a paragraph on the first World Parliament of Religion, held in Chicago in 1893. During this unique event, prominent Hindus seized the opportunity to present Hinduism as a world religion with a universal message. As such, the event was crucial for the wider acceptance of Hinduism as a world religion. Furthermore, this chapter gives some attention to Vivekananda's effort to present the practice of yoga as an inseparable part of his message about the philosophy of Vedanta.

The fifth chapter titled "The Presentation of Hinduism in Academic Textbooks on World Religions," critically examines the presentation of Hinduism in academic textbooks on world religions. The aim of this chapter is to show how ideas about Hinduism presented by Indologists in the nineteenth century and by Hindu reformers ended up as building blocks to create a particular image of Hinduism as a world religion in these textbooks. The chapter includes two textbooks on world religions from the fifties and two more contemporary ones. This chapter also discusses *Religion is not about God,* written by Loyal Rue. This book presents a general theory on religion and uses world religions including Hinduism to prove this theory. I have chosen to include this book, which presents a general theory on religion, to show how the image of Hinduism as a world religion, created by Indologists and Hindu reformers, also found its way in academic books on religion in general.

The sixth chapter provides a critical analysis of all the material presented in the former chapters and is meant to present the broad outlines of the story of Hinduism as a world religion and the several stages in the process to include Hinduism as a world religion. It connects the ideas of nineteenth century Indologists and Hindu reformers on Hinduism with our present image of Hinduism as a world religion. This chapter also answers the research question and the sub questions, presented in the introduction. By answering these questions, I will show how our present image of Hinduism as a world religion is for a large part a continuation of nineteenth century ideas on Hinduism and religion in general. Due to nineteenth century scholarship and the agency of prominent Hindus, Hinduism as a world religion is presented as a book religion and belief system with the philosophy of Vedanta as its essential doctrinal substantiation. Vedanta is certainly an important and influential facet of Hinduism, but presenting the philosophy of Vedanta as Hinduism's essence has created a one-dimensional image of Hinduism that does not do justice to the extreme versatility and complexity found in Hinduism. Next to that, emphasising belief and doctrine has led to an undervaluation of all those other aspects of Hinduism, such as rituals, materiality and social relations, all of which are important characteristics of Hinduism.

The seventh and last chapter, discusses the implications of my findings. In particular, the implications for the academic discourse on world religions. Further it touches on possible other manners to present Hinduism as a world religion in academic textbooks on world religions. Manners that hopefully present a more multi-dimensional image of Hinduism. This last chapter also presents suggestions for further research and questions that were not addressed in this thesis. Some of those suggestions are related to other images of Hinduism. For instance, the image of Hinduism presented by western esoteric organisations and the image presented by Hindu nationalists.

CHAPTER 2: CREATING THE WORLD RELIGIONS PARADIGM

2.1 BEFORE THE PARADIGM

The awareness that religion as a phenomenon was not singular but plural arose according to Cotter and Robertson after the Protestant reformation, together with the idea of religion as an individual affair between 'God' and man (Cotter & Robertson 2016, 4). This awareness of religion as a plural phenomenon must be seen in the light of the discovery of the Americas and European trading missions and expansion in Africa and Asia. The emergence of world religions paradigm can be understood as a result of the understanding that religion is plural. At the root of this understanding lies, of course, the idea of religion itself. It has been argued by a multitude of different scholars that the concept of religion and its history is for the most part a European affair. The modern understanding of the term is related to the period of the European Enlightenment. The understanding of religion as a belief system, emphasising faith and belief as essential to religion and the idea of 'true' religion, arose according to Jonathan Z. Smith under the influence of a multitude of rival Protestant denominations, all claiming authority and truth (Smith 1998, 271). Prior to the understanding of religion as a belief system, religion seemed to have been understood in a broader sense. Belief was part of it, but not its essence. Jonathan Z. Smith gives several examples of religion understood as ceremonial behaviour, customs, ritual, sacrifice and so on (ibid, 270). All elements that are related to practice. This more modern understanding of religion as a belief system is even found in European languages, for instance in the English term 'faith,' the German word *Glaube* (ibid, 271) and the Dutch word *geloof*, all synonyms or translations of belief. In the Netherlands people discussing religion would ask questions like: "Are you a believer?" or "What is your faith?" rather than "Are you religious?" and "What is your religion?" This sense of religion as a belief system, with a certain doctrine or theology claiming truth an authority as its core, also had an impact on the understanding of world religions in general and Hinduism as a world religion in particular, as we shall see in the following chapters.

Looking back at the history of the academic study of religion, it becomes clear that European scholars were at the basis of the creation of this academic discipline. The formative period was largely a West European affair (Stausberg 2007, 296). The field was and still is very diverse in terms of academic disciplines or fields involved in the study of religion. Nowadays the field is separated from theology, but as we shall see in the following chapter, the study of religion was especially in the beginning very much informed by theology and missionary ambitions. Other academic fields include philosophy, philology, classical studies, area studies, history, sociology, anthropology and psychology. The formative period was characterised by an interest - Masuzawa uses the word obsession- with what is called primitive religion, prehistoric religion or rudimentary religion, until roughly the First World War (Masuzawa 2005, 41). The works of scholars like Edward Burnett Tylor, the auteur of *Primitive Culture* and Emile Durkheim are examples of this interest in the origin of religion. Scholars hoped to find these origins in both prehistoric religion and what was seen as primitive culture. It is interesting to see that in some of the earlier textbooks on world religion, the primitive is still a separate category among the more established religions. For example, in *The World's Religions* published in 1950, were 'Animism' is the category that describes the religion of 'primitive peoples' (Anderson 1950, 9). Or in *Archeology of World Religions,* written by Finegan and published in 1952, with a first chapter named 'primitivism' (Finegan 1952).

As mentioned before in the introduction, prior to the emergence of the world religions paradigm, Europeans used a different model of categorization, in which as described by Masuzawa, they recognized the three monotheistic, or Abrahamic groups of believers and a fourth rest category of pagans (Masuzawa 2005, 47). This older categorization was already known in medieval times. Marco Polo, the presumed auteur of Travels *of Marco Polo, the Venetian*, frequently mentions Christians, Jews and Saracens (Muslims)

and refers to other groups as pagans or idolaters (Polo 1254-1342). Although Marco Polo refers to the rest group as pagans, he is clearly aware of the fact that these pagans are not a single homogenous group in religious terms. Masuzawa adds to this classification that it did not consist of different independent religions or belief systems yet, but that the classification system recognized different groups of believers, namely Christians, Jews, Muslims (often called Mohammedans) and pagans (Masuzawa 2005, 61). It shows that the focus of these early writers, who addressed religion was mostly on different types of religious people and not yet on religion as a phenomenon itself. The world religions paradigm on the other hand is very much about distinct belief systems and unfortunately not about the 'believers' themselves.

2.2 THE EMERGENCE OF THE PARADIGM

This paragraph explores the emergence of the paradigm currently known as world religions and discusses the key figures and events that were responsible for creating this paradigm. The whole emergence of the paradigm cannot be separated from the emergence of the field of comparative religion. The creation of this paradigm was largely the result of two important scholars in the study of religion namely the Dutch scholar and theologian Cornelis Tiele (1830-1902) and the German Indologist and philologist Friedrich Max Müller (1823-1900). Further, a major event that is known as the World's Parliament of Religions of 1893 in Chicago, has been crucial for the paradigm as well. I will discuss the contributions of both scholars and their ideas on world religions and the comparative study of religion. Further there is attention for the World's Parliament of Religion and the contribution of this event for the formative period of what is now known as the world religions paradigm.

Masuzawa describes the period of the first half of the nineteenth century as a period of metamorphosis in which the discourse on religion as we understand it today was shaped (Masuzawa 2005, 64). However, it is important to remark here that several scholars situate the foundation of the academic study of religion much earlier and often present the period of the Enlightenment as the key period in which the modern discourse on religion took shape (Stausberg 2007, 299). But Masuzawa is right to frame the first half of the nineteenth century as the period in which the idea of religion as a separate concept took shape together with the idea of comparing religions with one another.

Masuzawa presents two books on religion written in that period in which the 'Pagan' rest group is further differentiated. These two volumes, namely *An Analytical and Comparative View of All Religions Now Extant among Mankind: With their internal Diversities of Creed and Profession* (1838) by Josiah Conder and *A History of All Religions: With Accounts of the Ceremonies and Customs, or the Forms of Worship Practised by the Several Nations of The World, from the Earliest Records to the Present Time* (first published in 1841 and later expanded) by William Burder, present the three Abrahamic religions but also a more differentiated 'Pagan' rest group in terms of religions or religious groups (Masuzawa 2005, 64-71). Both volumes include Iranian religion, Indian religion called 'Brahmanical idolatry' or 'Hindoos', different forms of Buddhism, among them 'Lamaism' and the religions of China and Japan. Burder, who speaks of Pagan nations, also includes ancient religion, like ancient Egyptians, Carthaginians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Celts, Greeks and Romans, to name a few, within the category of 'Pagan nations'. It shows that slowly the rest group of pagans began to take a more differentiated form, but that it was yet unclear whether ancient extinct religions should be included or not. As of today, World Religions refer in all cases to living religious traditions.

2.3 MAX MÜLLER AND 'BOOK RELIGIONS'

An historical analysis of the world religions paradigm is incomplete without mentioning Friedrich Max Müller. Müller and especially several of his publications are extremely important for this thesis. The reason for this is that Müller was involved in creating the academic field of the comparative study of religion, which as we shall see is related to the emergence of the world religions paradigm and Müller was also a very influential philologist and Indologist. As such his work will reappear in the next chapter as well. I will also provide some biographical information on Müller in the next chapter. This nineteenth-century German philologist and Indologist is considered the founding father of the comparative study of religion. The comparative study of religion is closely connected with the emergence of the world religions paradigm and as such cannot be ignored. In *Introduction to the Science of Religion,* widely accepted as the foundation document of comparative religion (Sun 2013, 51), Max Müller came up with a model to categorize religion according to language groups. On page 54 he presents a model based on two important language groups, namely the Aryan family and the Semitic family. In this model, which is based on the textual traditions of the religions involved, he categorizes Brahmanism, Zoroastrianism and Buddhism as part of the Aryan family and Mosaism (the predecessor to Judaism), Christianity and Mohammedanism as part of the Semitic family (Müller 1870, 54). Further he names apart from this model, the religion of Confucius and the religion of Lao-tse as part of the Chinese family (ibid, 55).[4] Müller's model is based on language and on the distinction of religions with a textual tradition, which he names 'book religions' and religions without a textual tradition. Müller, who never went to India (Sun 2013, 52), is also renowned for his editorship and his contribution to the *Sacred Books of the East*. The *Sacred Books of the East* is a monumental set of English translations of important religious texts belonging to several Asian religions, edited by Max Müller and published by the Oxford University Press between 1879 and 1910. In the preface of the *Sacred Books of the East,* written in 1876, Müller presents six 'great and original' religions, namely:

> The religion of the Brahmans.
>
> The religion of the followers of Buddha.
>
> The religion of the followers of Zarathustra.
>
> The religion of the followers of Kung-fu-tze
>
> The religion of the followers of Lao-tze.
>
> The religion of the followers of Mohammed. (Müller 1876, xli)

Müller did not include the textual legacy of Judaism or Christianity in his *Sacred Books of the East* which also gives an idea about the status of Judaism and Christianity in relation to what he calls 'the six eastern religions.' But it shows clearly how the old classification system that consisted of Christianity, Judaism, Islam and Paganism, was expanded with five 'new' religions, one of them 'the religion of the Brahmans.' Currently known as Hinduism. Although Jainism is not listed above, some of its translated sacred texts were included in the volume. Further the list of the religions included in the *Sacred Books of the East* is with the exception of Christianity and Judaism equal to the list of book religions, already presented by Müller in *Introduction to the Science of Religion* in 1870.

2.4 CORNELIS PETRUS TIELE AND THE INTRODUCTION OF THE TERM 'WORLD RELIGION'

[4] Note that Müller does not write Confucianism and Taoism/Daoism. Something which is currently really common for both religions.

Masuzawa traces the invention of the term world religion back to the Dutch scholar Cornelis Petrus Tiele, who first presented the Dutch term 'wereldgodsdiensten' in 1876 in a Dutch monograph titled: *Geschiedenis van den Godsdienst tot aan de Heerschappij der Wereldgodsdiensten,* which was translated in English a year after publication. An event that Masuzawa calls "The Birth Trauma of World Religions" (Masuzawa 2005, 107-120). Eventually the term ended up in the ninth edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* again as a result of a contribution to that encyclopaedia by Tiele (Masuzawa 2005, 109). When we compare what Tiele meant with world religions and how the term currently is used in academic textbooks, referring to religions that are influential and large in terms of adherents, we will discover that the definition has radically changed. Tiele defines world religions in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* as a synonym for 'universalistic religious communities' meaning religions with a universalistic approach transcending ethnic, national and geographical boundaries. According to Tiele Christianity, Buddhism and 'Mohammedanism' qualified as world religions since these religions are non-national. The world religions or 'universalistic religious communities' category was part of a larger mode of categorization that consisted of 'Nature Religions' and 'Ethical Religions'. The 'universalistic religious communities,' or world religions were a subcategory of the ethical religions, together with 'national nomistic religious communities', like Judaism, Taoism and Brahmanism, to name a few (Tiele 1885). The place of 'Mohammedanism' or Islam as we would name this world religion today, within this subcategory was disputed by Kuenen, a Dutch colleague of Tiele who excluded Islam from this subcategory because in his opinion Islam was particularistic instead of universal (Masuzawa 2005, 111). It shows that Tiele only included religions with missionary ambitions within his category of 'Universalistic religious communities.' In Tiele's opinion, Brahmanism was not qualified as a world religion, but was part of the national nomistic subcategory, and therefore a religion that was until then seen as strongly connected to a national or ethnic community.

2.5 RELIGIOUS PLURALISM AND THE WORLD PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS IN CHICAGO

The World Parliament of Religions, held in 1893 in Chicago in conjunction with the Columbian Exposition, is an important event regarding the emergence of the world religions paradigm. The Parliament was the first in a still ongoing chain of similar events celebrating interfaith relations. The Parliament brought together representatives of ten world religions or "living faiths" namely, Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, Confucianism, Taoism, Shinto, Islam, Zoroastrianism, Christianity (Protestants, Roman Catholics, Orthodox Christians and Christian Science) and Judaism. However, like the several scholars discussed in the previous paragraphs, the Parliament excluded the indigenous religious traditions of native Americans, indigenous African religion and the indigenous religions of Australia and the Pacific (Kittelstrom 2009, 244). Sikhism was excluded as well. The Parliament, which was initiated by a layman of the Swedenborgian Church (Kittelstrom 2009, 248), is now often presented as the first major event celebrating religious pluralism. Nevertheless, it was an event that was dominated by representatives of Christian denominations. Out of the 194 papers delivered during the event, 152 were presented by representatives of one of the several Christian denominations. Hinduism was represented by only 8 speakers, which was not a lot compared with the Christian speakers, but quite a lot compared with Islam and Confucianism who both were only represented by 2 speakers. Of the non-Christian religions, Hinduism was only outnumbered by Buddhism, with 12 speakers and Judaism with 11 speakers (Seager 1987, 86-87). One of the representatives of Hinduism, Swami Vivekananda, made quite an impression on the participants of the Parliament. Swami Vivekananda, a disciple of the Indian guru Ramakrishna, is a key figure in the process of establishing Hinduism as a full-fledged religion among the other world religions. As such I will come back to Swami Vivekananda in chapter four, the chapter that discusses key figures and key developments within the development of Hinduism as a world religion. The first World Parliament of Religions is often conceived as the beginning of the modern pluralistic attitude towards

religion in general. Masuzawa and several other scholars frame the first World Parliament of Religions as an event that was dominated by liberal Protestantism (Masuzawa 2005, 268), and although they are absolutely right about that, the event can also be perceived as the first modern attempt that sought to present religious pluralism as a fact and supported ecumenical relations between the participating denominations. For Hindus, it also meant a world-wide recognition for their religion as an established and full-fledged religion among other world religions. Furthermore, the event also could be perceived as an early acknowledgement of the world religions paradigm.

2.6 MAX WEBER AND THE SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY OF WORLD RELIGIONS

Max Weber, a German scholar and one of the founding fathers of the academic discipline of sociology, adopted the world religions paradigm for his own discourse on religion. One of his academic contributions, written in the second decade of the twentieth century and called *Die Wirtschaftsethik der Weltreligionen,* later translated as *The Social Psychology of World Religions,* deals with world religions. In this essay, he explains world religions as religions with large numbers of adherents. Furthermore, he explains that the term is used in a completely value-neutral manner. Weber qualifies five religions as world religions, namely Buddhism, Christianity, Confucianism, Hinduism and Islam. Although Judaism is also dealt with due to its importance in the creation of Christianity and Islam, it is not included in the religions that Weber qualifies as World Religions (Weber 1946, 267). Weber clearly uses a different definition concerning world religions and is among the first notable scholars to qualify Hinduism as a world religion. It shows three important things. First, that the paradigm of world religions was gaining wider acceptance among scholars; secondly, that the definition of world religions was no longer the narrow definition presented by Tiele; and thirdly that Hinduism gained acceptance as one of the world religions.

2.7 COMPARING DIFFERENT MODELS

The different models to categorize religion presented by Müller and Tiele are based on a distinction between religions with a textual tradition and those without a textual tradition in Müller's contribution; and a distinction between nature religions and ethical religions in Tiele's work. The world religions paradigm, which originally was part of the ethical subcategory, evolved into a paradigm in its own right. Weber adopts the term world religions, but for a different and larger group of religions than Tiele. The religions he chose to include are all book religions. However, he excludes Taoism and Zoroastrianism as independent categories, but includes Christianity. In spite of its importance for Christianity, Judaism did not qualify as a world religion for Weber. The different models show that in the nineteenth century there was an academic need for new models, since the older model based on Christianity, Judaism, Islam and a Pagan rest group was outdated. It also shows that these new models, whether based on language and text or on a distinction between nature and ethics, included new religions like Buddhism, Brahmanism and Confucianism. Further it shows that there was no consensus among different scholars on which religions could be included in the paradigm and which ones ought to be excluded. It is important to remark here that all of the 'new' religions mentioned in these models are religions with a textual tradition. The idea that world religions are in any case book religions seems to have gained acceptance in Weber's work. So, although the term 'world religions' was first introduced by Tiele, it gradually was applied to religions with a textual tradition, basically Müller's book religions. But it is not completely clear whether the book religions with relatively smaller numbers of adherents, such as Judaism and Zoroastrianism, should be qualified as world religions. The same is true for Taoism. As we shall see in the next chapter this

controversy about the inclusion of Chinese religion, Zoroastrianism and even Shinto was never really settled, since different authors made different choices. Judaism on the other hand is in most academic textbooks on world religions always included. At least in the ones I will be discussing for this thesis.

2.8 COMPARING DIFFERENT TEXTBOOKS ON WORLD RELIGIONS

As mentioned above, the Pagan category was not immediately gone. In several earlier textbooks on world religions it is still included as a separate category next to the book religions, often called animism or primitivism. Concerning the connection of primitivism and most non-Christian religions, Anderson's states in *The world's religions*: "As such it is not only the religion of wild and savage tribes before contact with civilization, but the background of the religious philosophy of the Hindu, the Buddhist, the Shintoist, the Confucianist, and the Muslim, and is at the bottom of all the folklore of Christendom in Europe as well as of the mythology of Egypt, Babylonia and Assyria, Greece, Roma and Scandinavia" (Anderson 1950, 9). Anderson claims here that basically all religion, with the exception of Judaism and Christianity, evolved from primitivism. By doing so he relates even Islam, in spite of its being an Abrahamic religion, to primitivism. This shows that Christianity, with the exception of the 'folklore' part of it, whatever that may be, and Judaism are religions with a different foundation and therefore a special status. Not surprisingly, in the earlier works on world religions, Christianity is often excluded. Anderson's *The World's Religions* has chapters on Animism, Judaism, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism and Confucianism. Christianity's exclusion is explained in the foreword, by stating that the book is intended primarily for students in English speaking countries and as a result the readers will be in contact on a regular basis with Christians (Anderson 1950, 7). Finegan's *The Archeology of World Religions* is more comprehensive and has chapters on 'Primitivism', Zoroastrianism, Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism, Shinto, Islam and Sikhism more or less in a chronological or historical order, whereby Primitivism is considered the oldest version of religion and Sikhism the youngest off-shoot on the tree of world religions. In this case both Judaism and Christianity are not included. As explained in the preface, the archaeology of what is called the Hebrew Faith and Christianity are dealt with in another book, separating the two from the other world religions (Finegan 1952, vii). It confirms once more the special status of Christianity.

A closer look within several post-second world war textbooks on world religions, shows that Tiele's original definition radically changed over time. Anderson, who named his textbook that was first edited in 1950 *The World's Religions*, includes seven non-Christian religions in his textbook, including Hinduism. Explaining his choice to include certain religions and to exclude others, Anderson states: "Islam and Hinduism were automatic choices, since each claim some three hundred million followers. Modern Judaism has incomparably less adherents, but demanded inclusion as one of the three great monotheistic faiths" (Anderson 1950, 7). Jack Finegan in *The Archeology of World Religions*, edited in 1952 describes ten religions, but since he gives attention to Christianity and Judaism in a separate volume, the total number is twelve. In his preface, he states: "The major religions of the present world are at least twelve. They are Buddhism, Christianity, Confucianism, Hinduism, Islam, Jainism, Judaism, Primitivism, Shinto, Sikhism, Taoism and Zoroastrianism" (Finegan 1952, vii). Huston Smith in *The World's Religions,* an academic textbook edited in 1991[5] states that: "No book can include all of the world's religions. Here the major ones – as determined by their longevity, historical impact, and number of current adherents – are dealt with" (Smith 1991, xiii). In Smith's textbook, the special status of Christianity and to a lesser extent Judaism seems to have disappeared. *Beliefs that Changed the World*, a textbook by the hand of John Bowker, no longer has a chapter on 'primitivism' or 'animism' (Bowker 2007). Smith's textbook on the other hand

[5] Huston Smith's textbook is a revised and updated version of an earlier textbook named *The Religions of Man,* published in 1958.

contains a last chapter named 'The Primal Religions,' which is dedicated to the native traditions of Australia, Africa, Oceania and the Americas.

All these four examples show that the original definition, as provided by Tiele is no longer in use. I was not able to find a single and clear definition on what is currently meant by world religions, but the examples shown above show that inclusion of a religion in the paradigm currently is in most cases based on numbers of adherents; furthermore, influence, combined with historical impact; and that Christianity, and to a lesser extent Judaism, at least in the earlier years had a special status. In that sense, the contributions of Huston Smith and John Bowker seem to have a more neutral, if you will secular approach. Also, the newest one included here, Bowker's *Beliefs that Changed the World,* excludes the rest group – formerly named paganism and in the fifties primitivism and animism – from the list of world religions. Next to that – and that is something not explicitly named in these textbooks – we can also conclude that with the exception of Shinto, all those religions that are dealt with as separate categories, are book religions. Shinto's inclusion as a separate category in some of these textbooks, in spite of the fact that Shinto is not a book religion, is according to me so remarkable that it deserves a thesis in its own right.

2.9 CREATING THE WORLD RELIGIONS PARADIGM IN THE LARGER CONTEXT OF EUROPEAN COLONIALISM

In my opinion the transformation in the discourse on religion that resulted in the creation of the world religions paradigm, is closely connected to the period of colonization. Something that is also stressed by Cotter & Robertson, who name colonialism as a factor in the emergence of the world religions paradigm (Cotter & Robertson 2016, 6). In particular, the colonization of Asia and to a lesser extent the African continent. Before the start of the nineteenth century, European possessions in Asia were for the most part trading strongholds in coastal areas. During the nineteenth century, these strongholds in both South and South East Asia were slowly transformed into full-fledged colonies and Europeans in Asia expanded their presence and the territory under direct or indirect European rule. The English East India Company, originally designed as a trading enterprise, established a whole bureaucratic organization, and an army to control their Indian possessions (Bose and Jalal 1997, 54). Its Dutch counterpart, the VOC (Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie) was dissolved in 1800, and its territorial possessions were given to the Dutch government (Ricklefs et al. 2010, 186). This transformation from trading strongholds in actual colonies with a comprehensive colonial administration, resulted in a growing and much more penetrating involvement of Europeans in Asian society in all its facets, including its religious traditions. These developments created a need for more knowledge about the inhabitants of the colonies including knowledge about the religious customs and traditions of these people. The awareness that colonial subjects practiced a variety of religious traditions, including religions with a textual tradition, created the need for other models, such as the world religions paradigm.

2.10 EVALUATING THE PARADIGM

There is no clear definition nor consensus among scholars what makes a religion a 'world' religion. When I started my bachelor programme, a programme that was named world religions, I simply assumed that a world religion could be any religion found on the face of this earth. But I soon learned that some religions were considered to qualify for the addition 'world' and others were not. For instance, in the first year, the

programme included several introduction courses on a religion, like, 'introduction in Hinduism' but Confucianism or Taoism, certainly no marginalized and minor religious traditions, lacked an introduction in the program and were not available for a specialization programme. Judaism on the other hand, a religion small in terms of numbers, certainly when compared with Confucianism and Taoism, or even Sikhism for that matter, had its own introduction course and specialization programme. Huston Smith in the preface of *The World's Religions* names major religions as determined by longevity, historical impact and number of current adherents as components for a religion to qualify as a world religion (Smith 1991, xiii). But all these qualifications are questionable and in many ways subjective. For instance, in Huston Smith's *The World's Religions,* Sikhism with much larger numbers of adherents than Judaism, is not rewarded with its own chapter, like Judaism, but is included in an appendix in the chapter on Hinduism.

The different textbooks on world religion discussed in some the former paragraphs, show that the world religions paradigm is not a neutral way to categorize different world religions. It shows clearly that Christianity, often accompanied by Judaism, has a special status. Something that is also found by Masuzawa. It also suggests that the paradigm is not just a method for categorization, but in several cases also a ranking order. Scholars are often unclear about the criteria that are used to include or exclude a religion in the world religions paradigm. A question that is also formulated by Catherine Bell when she addresses world religion and asks her readers the following question: "What about those not included on the list? Are they not large enough or religion enough, or does the fit fail to flatter the prototype?" (Bell 2008, 120). As shown above, some earlier and some modern textbooks give rather vague criteria, but like a proper definition on religion as a universal phenomenon, the consensus on these criteria is lacking among scholars. Concluding, there is no clear definition on what makes a religion a world religion in terms of numbers, distribution, historical impact and longevity.

Currently it seems that textbooks or courses on world religions almost in all cases include at least Christianity, Judaism, Islam, Hinduism and Buddhism. East Asian religions like Confucianism, Taoism and Shinto are often included as well but certainly not always. Inclusion of minor oriental traditions in terms of numbers, like Jainism, Sikhism, Zoroastrianism and the Baha'i Faith is even more rare. New religious traditions like Scientology or the Unification Church are mostly left out, or included together in a section on new religious movements. In almost all cases the religions that are currently often included in the paradigm are the religions whose sacred texts in part were included in the *Sacred Books of the East.* The only exceptions being Christianity and Judaism, which were not included in the *Sacred Books of the East.* And further Sikhism, a relatively modern religion often perceived as a syncretic religion and Shinto, a religion that lacks a central sacred text. It also shows that the world religions paradigm is entirely a Eurasian affair when it comes to the geographical areas where the religions involved developed, or even an Asian affair when we narrow it down to the places were the religions originated. After all even Christianity is now often perceived as a European religion, although it originated in the Middle East, part of the Asian continent. The indigenous traditions of Africa sub-Sahara, the American continents and Australia and the Pacific are in almost all cases excluded in academic textbooks. And when they are included, they are often included in a chapter that deals with primitive religion or animism, not as single categories. As such these religious traditions appear to be still in what was previously named the paganism and can therefore be perceived as a rest-category.

CHAPTER 3: HISTORY OF THE STUDY OF HINDUISM, INDOLOGY, INDOLOGISTS AND HINDUISM AS A WORLD RELIGION DURING THE COLONIAL PERIOD

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The emergence of the paradigm could be understood as the operationalization of a European idea of religion as a universal phenomenon (Smith 1998, 275). The concept religion itself was mostly understood in terms of belief (ibid, 271). One of the results of the emergence of the world religions paradigm was a further differentiation in the rest category, next to the already existing categories of the Abrahamic religions. Hinduism as a single religious category was one of the results of this differentiation. In that sense, the emergence of the paradigm could be understood as an emancipation of religious traditions that previously were part of the 'rest' group, but were later on accepted as developed enough to qualify as a distinct religion among other world religions. This chapter explores how the academic contributions of Indologists, philologists and Max Weber, who was not an Indologist, led to separating what is now known as Hinduism from the pagan rest category. As a result of this separation, Hinduism was rewarded with the status of world religion. My main focus here is on representation. Hinduism as a world religion was presented by these scholars in a certain manner. The choices made by these scholars, concerning this representation, are in part still influential in our current image of Hinduism as world religion. It is clearly impossible to include all those scholars who worked on Hinduism in the formative years of its study as a distinct category within the world religions paradigm. For the purpose of this thesis I have decided to include those among them, whose contribution to the field has been crucial for the inclusion and the representation of Hinduism in the world religions paradigm. As a result, I will not include the contributions of colonial administrators, missionaries, Muslim writers who addressed Indian religion in their work prior to the emergence of the field of comparative religion and the world religions paradigm. At the same time, I cannot deny that those writers contributed to the knowledge on religion in India and that their contributions are part of the foundation that created Hinduism as a distinct single category within the world religions paradigm. I will start this chapter with some attention for the etymology of the word Hinduism since the word nowadays used to refer to this Indian religion is a rather modern construct.

3.2 ETYMOLOGY

The word Hinduism is a relatively modern word for several more or less connected South Asian religious traditions, which we now refer to as Hinduism. It is commonly argued that the word Hinduism is a nineteenth century construction of Indologists. The word Hindu or 'Hindoo' was originally a Persian term referring to the people living east of the Indus river (Flood 1996, 6) (Stietencron 1997,33). The term is also related to 'Hindostan' a geographical term referring to northwest India (Flood 1996, 6). When Muslims settled in India, the use of term became restricted to those Indians who were non-Muslims (Sweetman 2003, 332), excluding the Muslims settlers and their descendants. As a result, the word was no longer just an ethnic or geographical term but also a term with religious connotations. The 'ism' was first added to the word Hindu, creating the term that now refers to a world religion, in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Although it is widely presumed that Hinduism or 'Hindooism' as it was often spelled in its formative years, was a British invention, in actuality it was first used by an Indian born Hindu. David Lorenzen attributes the first use of the word 'Hindooism' to Ram Mohan Roy, a Hindu reformist, in 1816

(Lorenzen 1999, 631). As the nineteenth century proceeded the term became more familiar in academic and other publications and it eventually developed into a common term referring to the religion of the Hindus. The fact that the term itself is relatively modern raises the question how Hindus themselves referred to their religion and themselves prior to the common use of the term. David Lorenzen shows in *Who Invented Hinduism,* that there is a large body of mostly vernacular (non-Sanskrit) texts in the form of poetry, in which Hindus from roughly 1400 and onwards show a clear self-perception of their identity as Hindu, mostly as opposed to their Muslim rulers. In these text the word Hindu was used with a religious meaning. Muslims were referred to as Turks (Lorenzen 1999, 646-653). When it comes to the actual name of their religion, the picture is less clear. In the same article Lorenzen also shows that Hindus in some case referred to their religion as 'religion of the Hindus' in which the word translated as religion is *dharma* (Lorenzen, 1999, 652). Flood names the word dharma as "the closest equivalent in Sanskrit to the English term 'religion'" (Flood 1996, 11). But as with most translations it is far from a literal translation with the exact same meaning. Dharma also refers to religious behaviour (Smith 2003, 35), duty and ritual and social obligations with regard to one's caste (Flood 1996, 12) and one's gender. Groups of contemporary Hindus often refer to their religion as *sanatana dharma,* 'eternal religion' but the use of this term is the result of the contribution of modern Hindu reformists and like the word Hinduism as such a rather modern concept (Fuller 2004, 10).

3.3 MAX MÜLLER AND THE RELIGION OF THE BRAHMANS

The German Indologist Max Müller (1832-1900) whom I introduced in the second chapter, has contributed tremendously to the field of Indology and to the emerging field of comparative religion, which is why I have chosen to include his work in this thesis. Müller, who was born in 1823 in Dessau in Prussia, studied Sanskrit along with several other classical languages in Leipzig. He was only twenty years old when he earned his PhD. Due to his efforts in translating the *Rig-Veda*, he ended up in Great Britain in 1846 (Sengupta 1996, 104-105). In 1860, he applied for the post of Boden professor of Sanskrit at the University of Oxford, but was not elected, most probably due to his German background and his liberal views on religion (ibid, 106-107). In spite of this Müller contributed an enormous list of works on Indian religion, translations of Vedic texts and the field of comparative religion. Nowadays Müller is widely accepted as the founding father of the field of comparative religion. Although Müller never went to India (Sun 2013, 52), he was in close contact either through correspondence or in real life, with prominent Indian scholars, leaders and spokespersons, among them the renowned Swami Vivekananda, whom he consulted for his biography on the Indian sage Ramakrishna (Müller 1898, 42). His fame and reputation among Indian scholars, often Brahmans, was of such an importance that several prominent Indians treated Müller as a learned Brahman (Sengupta 1996, 117).

As shown in the second chapter, Müller presents Hinduism as a single category in his *Introduction to the Science of Religion* and in his preface to the *Sacred Books of the East.* In both cases Müller speaks of 'Brahmanism' and 'the religions of the Brahmans,' when he refers to Hinduism. However, he also uses the words Hinduism and mentions it six times. Brahmanism is used as often, and the word 'Hindu' is sometimes used in an ethnic meaning, for instance when Müller writes that "the Hindus have given rise to Brahmanism" (Müller 1870, 58). That particular paragraph addresses the relation between language and race and names Hindus and Persians as the two ethnic groups within the larger Aryan race, who produced sacred books. The word Brahmans is in almost all cases used to refer to the priestly caste of the Brahmans. Although the four lectures that made up the *Introduction to the Science of Religion* are about the relation of language and religion, Müller also presents some typical characteristics of Hinduism that show his ideas on Hinduism as a single category. Foremost Müller presents Hinduism as a book religion and names the Vedic texts as revealed literature, acknowledged by all the Hindus as their supreme authority. He also mentions that the *Mahabharata*, the *Ramayana,* the Puranas and the Tantric corpus of texts are also

indispensable, when one wants to understand the religious beliefs of the Hindu (ibid, 57,58). As for boundaries between Hinduism and other religions, Müller clearly differentiates Hinduism from Sikhism:

> "some of these sects may almost claim the title of independent religion, as for instance, the once famous sect of the Sikhs, possessing their own sacred code and their own priesthood, and threatening for a time to become a formidable rival of Brahmanism and Mohammedanism in India." (ibid, 58-59)

This quote also shows that Müller doesn't qualify Sikhism as a full-fledged religion. Sikhism's position as a distinct religion clearly separate from Hinduism is often seen as problematic, not only by Müller. In contemporary textbooks Sikhism is often named as a distant family member of Hinduism (Bowker 2007, 27) or simply mentioned in a separate paragraph in a chapter on Hinduism (Smith 1991, 75).

Müller also names the caste system as foundational for Hinduism, although he also mentions that the system was not in use in Vedic times (Müller 1870, 21). Furthermore, he qualifies Hinduism as non-sectarian, non-proselytizing and tolerant (ibid 26). To sum up, Müller presents a tolerant, non-proselytizing religion, distinct from other religions, with a priestly caste, a set corpus of texts, transmitted in a particular language (Sanskrit), and a system of social differentiation, the caste system. He does not mention any gods or divine beings, nor does he mention reincarnation. In other words, theology and philosophy are not included here.

The preface of the *Sacred Books of the East,* also written by Müller, does not present any general knowledge on the religions whose sacred texts are included in the volume. Instead Müller elaborates extensively on the problems of translating and interpreting ancient texts from a non-European language. However, in presenting his opinion on these problems he gives examples coming from Hindu texts, namely the Upanishads, that were translated by himself. These examples do provide us with some information on Hindu philosophy and metaphysics. What is striking and probably showing a certain preference, is that Müller chooses in his examples to elaborate on words like *atman*, meaning self or soul and *sat*, a word often translated as truth, but with a much wider meaning than in English. Both these words are strongly connected to a specific dominant philosophical school, namely the Vedanta school. Since this particular philosophical school is of great importance for the argument in this thesis, I would like to provide the reader with a short introduction on Hindu philosophy in general and the Vedanta school in particular. Vedanta is one of the six orthodox Hindu *darshanas* (schools of philosophy). Other notable schools of Hindu philosophy are Samkhya and classical Yoga. All these schools acknowledge the Vedas as a source of revelation and present commentaries on the Vedas (*Sutras*), especially on the Upanishads, the end part of the Vedas (Flood 1996, 224). Vedanta is one of the more influential schools and its name literally means 'end of the Vedas,' and thus refers to the Upanishads (King 1999, 53). Like other schools of Hindu philosophy, Vedanta can be perceived as a quest for liberation or *moksha* (Flood 1996, 225). This liberation can be achieved through the realization that *atman,* often translated as self or soul, is identical with *Brahman,* the ultimate reality (King 1999, 54). There are different traditions within Vedanta including a dualistic tradition, but the two most dominant traditions, namely *Advaita* and *Vishishtadvaita* are both non-dualist (Flood 1996, 239). I could elaborate on the exact differences between these two traditions, but for the purpose of this thesis a short summary should be sufficient. In brief, *Advaita,* with the Indian philosopher Shankara (eighth century CE) as its most supreme teacher, is the more radical non-dualist school, holding that the visible world is illusionary and emphasising knowledge as the way to liberation (King 1999, 53-57). It is especially the *Advaita* Vedanta school that attracted the attention of several Indologists as we shall see in the following paragraphs. The later *Vishishtadvaita* school, with Ramanuja (11th century) as its most supreme theologian, holds that devotion (*bhakti*) to a personal god representing the ultimate reality, is the path to liberation (King 1999, 221-228). As such we can cautiously conclude that *Vishishtadvaita* is somewhat closer to Hindu theism and that *Advaita* is the more rational school, emphasising knowledge and rationalism. The Upanishads, the *Bhagavad Gita* and the *Brahma Sutra,* also named *Vedanta Sutra* are the foundational texts for all the different traditions within Vedanta (Flood 1996, 238-239).

Müller's introduction to the Upanishads (translated by Müller himself) section of the *Sacred Books of the East,* contains some comments on the importance of the Upanishads for Hinduism. Müller refers to the Upanishads as "the sacred foundation for the Vedanta philosophy" (Müller 1879, 1xxi). What is interesting for the purpose of this thesis is that he dedicates an entire paragraph of his introduction to Ram Mohan Roy (1772-1833), an important, if not the most important key figure in what is known as the Hindu reform movement. I will discuss Roy's involvement in the Hindu reform movement and his contributions to this movement in the next chapter. Müller's writings on Roy are drenched with admiration and respect. Furthermore, he acknowledges Roy's importance for the reform movement when he calls him "the reformer and reviver of the ancient religion of the Brahmans" (Ibid, 1xii). Müller also connects the philosophical content of the Upanishads with what he calls true religion. Moreover, he attributes the rediscovery of bits and pieces of 'true religion' in the Upanishads to Roy, best shown in the next quote:

> ", but he (Ram Mohan Roy) discovered in the Upanishads and in the so-called Vedanta something different from all the rest, something that ought not to be thrown away, something that, if rightly understood, might supply the right native soil in which alone the seeds of true religion, aye, of true Christianity, might spring up again and prosper in India." (Ibid, 1xiii)

This shows Müller's admiration for both the content of the Upanishads and for Roy as a reformer. It also shows that Müller finds similarities between part of the philosophical content of the Upanishads and what in his opinion is the true religion, Christianity.

Müller never wrote a complete thematic and historical academic book on Hinduism that deals with its historical developments, its textual canon and its present appearance in terms of different sects and practices. But he wrote a book in which he uses Hinduism and to a lesser extent Buddhism, to explain religious development in general. The content of this book, published in 1878 and called *Lectures on the origin and growth of religion as illustrated by the religions of India,* shows some of his general ideas on Hinduism as a single religious category. In it religion is explained in term of progress, development and evolution, moving towards a metaphysical truth. Müller compares Indian religious developments with Christianity and to a lesser extent Judaism. Müller's outlook on religious diversity seems to be remarkably tolerant and pluralistic especially when compared with his contemporaries. At the same time, it is absolutely clear that Müller fully embraces Christianity as the one and only true religion. The volume deals with Hinduism in a chronological order, more or less guided by its textual corpus. The word 'Hinduism' itself is found nowhere in the book. Instead Müller uses Brahmanism to refer to the religion of the Hindus. This could be an indication of a certain reluctance to use the word Hinduism and a preference for Brahmanism. Previously in other academic works, Müller used both terms. I was not able to find a clear statement that explains this preference. Brahmans, the priestly caste and their textual corpus have a prominent role throughout the whole book. Furthermore, the book deals with theological and philosophical concepts like atheism, found in the textual corpus. In the chapter on philosophy, the abandonment of the gods that were worshiped by Hindus during the Vedic period, and the emerge of the Vedanta philosophy, is compared by Müller with the conversion of Greeks, Romans and Germans when they abandoned their pagan gods and converted to Christianity (Müller 1878, 310). Müller's fascination for the Vedanta philosophy is clearly visible in his writings. The word Vedanta itself is mentioned six times. To compare there is nothing found in his writings in this particular book on Samkhya, Yoga or Nyaya, or other notable and influential orthodox systems of philosophy within Hinduism. Furthermore, Müller gives some attention to the ancient caste or *varna* (literally colour) system, dividing ancient Indian society in four social classes. As Müller himself explains, this social differentiation in *Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas* and *Shudras,* completely differs from what existed in nineteenth century colonial India (Müller 1878, 342). Müller elaborates quite extensively on the *ashrama* system, the so-called four stages of life in the lives of male members of the three higher castes. There is nothing found in this work on reincarnation or the transmigration of souls. Something that nowadays often is mentioned together with Hinduism in one single sentence and is seen in the more popular books as the ultimate characteristic of Hinduism.

3.4 MONIER-WILLIAMS AND HIS CHRISTIAN FRAME OF REFERENCE

Monier Monier-Williams (1819-1899) was a British Indologist, born in Bombay, but educated in Great Britain, where he studied Sanskrit at Oxford University. In 1860, he applied for the position of Boden Professor of Sanskrit at this university and was elected, leaving Friedrich Max Müller, the other applicant, behind. Monier-Williams, who went to India several times, published several works on Indian religion including Buddhism. Most of his time was dedicated to compiling a Sanskrit dictionary and establishing 'The Indian Institute', an institution specialized in Indian studies attached to the University of Oxford (Sengupta 1996, 84-90). I have chosen to include Monier-Williams because of his status as Boden Professor of Sanskrit, which made him an influential scholar in the field of Indology. He is also included because he wrote a monograph that is entirely about Hinduism, which gave me the opportunity to focus on those elements that Monier-Williams presents as essential and characteristic concerning Hinduism as a distinct religion.

Hinduism (1877), by Monier-Williams, is clearly written from a Christian perspective. The monograph was published by the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, and it shows. As the title shows, Hinduism is clearly perceived as the correct name for the religion discussed in the book. The term Brahmanism is used by Monier-Williams to refer to Hinduism in the period before it evolved into what now by some scholars is named Puranic Hinduism or simply popular Hinduism (Smith 2003, 43). The term Puranic Hinduism is connected to what Gavin Flood names the Puranic period, roughly the period in which the epics *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana* were composed and the majority of the Puranas (Flood 1996, 21). The Puranas themselves are religious texts containing narratives about kings and deities and are important for the foundation of the traditions that evolved around Vishnu, Shiva and the Goddess (ibid, 109-110). I use the term Puranic Hinduism in this thesis in a broad sense, referring not just to the Puranic period, but to all those traditions and modes of worship within Hinduism, that evolved after the Vedic period. Puranic Hinduism is presented by Monier-Williams in a very negative way, as a deteriorated religion, clearly shown when Monier-Williams states: "The term Hinduism on the other hand, expresses best Brahmanism, after it had degenerate to wit — that complicated polytheistic system of doctrines and caste usages which had gradually resulted out of the mixture of Brahmanism and Buddhism, with the non-Aryan creeds of Dravidians and Aborigines" (Monier-Williams 1877, 84). The idea that polytheism came from the indigenous people of India (the non-Aryan tribes) and resulted in the deteriorated state of contemporary Hinduism is found throughout the whole book.

The corpus of Sanskrit texts in their chronological order, more or less provides the structure and the order of the chapters found in this monograph. *Hinduism* starts with the Vedic period. It ends with 'modern idol worship' and an appendix elaborating on the six schools of philosophy, the *Bhagavad Gita,* Jainism and the Charvakas. The introduction of *Hinduism* is very much about race and language and has a rather positive outlook on the Indo-Aryans and their presumed racial and linguistic relation with Europeans. Monier-Williams is critical about the Muslim invaders and also about the indigenous non-Aryan groups, like the Dravidians (ibid, 11). Monier-Williams really makes an effort to be as complete as possible in *Hinduism*. He addresses reincarnation, which he refers to as 'transmigration of souls'; the caste system; he discusses Buddhism's relation with Hinduism; a whole chapter is dedicated to the doctrine of triple manifestation or *tri-murti* (a doctrine in which the gods Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva are presented as a trinity, each deity with different functions); there is a chapter on the development of Shaivism and Vaishnavism and a chapter on doctrine of faith (*bhakti*), the Puranas and Tantras. Tantrism is presented with an aura of negativity, clearly visible when Monier-Williams writes: "Indeed, Tantrism or Saktism is Hinduism arrived at its last and worst stage of medieval development" (ibid, 123).

Tantrism or Tantra needs some explanation for the purpose of this thesis, for it is a topic that will reoccur in this thesis several times. If Vedanta by most Indologists is framed as a fascinating if not admirable philosophy, then Tantrism is its exact opposite. Most Indologists presented here, like Monier-Williams present Tantrism as an appalling part of Hinduism. Tantrism refers to esoteric rituals and ideas

found first in some of the Puranas and later on in texts called Tantras (Doniger 2009, 410). Tantrism as a tradition within Hinduism is heterodox and in contrast with Vedic orthodoxy, however Tantric texts are seen as a higher-ranking form of revelation than the Vedas by those who practice Tantrism (Flood 1996, 158). Although, there are also worshippers of the god Vishnu and his avatars who practice Tantrism, the tradition is mostly associated with the worshippers of Shiva and the goddess (ibid, 159). Tantrism is characterized by initiation; bodily practices such as *Hatha-Yoga*; visualization, attaining magical power, exorcism and ritual sex (ibid, 160). Some of the Tantric rituals and customs are involved with practices that can be regarded as polluting from an orthodox Brahmanical perspective, because they involve blood, alcohol, meat and sexual intercourse transgressing caste restrictions (Doniger 2009, 410).

Monier-Williams is clearly very unsympathetic towards Tantrism. Brahmanical Hinduism, the Upanishads and the philosophy of Vedanta on the other hand are praised as more rational and pantheistic (Monier-Williams 1877, 16). Monier-Williams is not altogether positive about pantheism either, but it is more than clear that it has a much higher status in his opinion, than what he describes as Puranic idolatry. The philosophy or doctrine of Vedanta is mostly explained in terms of what currently is called *Advaita* Vedanta, or non-dualist Vedanta. Immediately in the introduction, the creed of *Advaita* Vedanta is praised as true Vedanta and other schools within Vedanta are described as inferior (ibid, 11).

Like Müller, Monier-Williams shows in this monograph that he is well aware of the significance of the role of Ram Mohan Roy and his fellow reformers and their involvement in the reformation of Hinduism. He describes Ram Mohan Roy as a preacher of pure monotheism who proved that the Hindu idolatry was contrary to the practice of their ancestors and the decrees found in the Veda (ibid, 149). But even in his praise for the reformers and their movements, the critical Christian frame of reference is prominent, clearly shown when Monier-Williams addresses the reform movements in the following sentence: "Nevertheless it is to be feared that, with the exception of the progressive Samaj of Calcutta, they are not altogether free from a suspicion of pantheistic proclivities" (ibid, 150).

3.5 E.W. HOPKINS, AN AMERICAN INDOLOGIST

E.W. Hopkins (1857-1932), an American Indologist is included in this chapter because Max Weber whom I will discuss in the next paragraph often refers to the works of Hopkins and Müller. I have also included Hopkins to show that the field of Indology was not at all limited to Great Britain, or even Europe. American scholars were also involved and therefore also responsible for creating a certain image of Hinduism as a distinct religion. Hopkins was born in the state of Massachusetts and studied at Columbia University. Hopkins also worked in Leipzig University in Germany. Further he held the chair of Sanskrit at Yale University and was twice elected as President of the American Oriental Society (Sengupta 1996, 336).

Religions of India (1895) is a comprehensive monograph by E.W. Hopkins, published eighteen years after Monier-Williams' *Hinduism* and seventeen years after Müller's *Lectures on the origin and growth of religion as illustrated by the religions of India.* Although the book is on Indian religion in general, its main topic is Hinduism. Like Monier-Williams' *Hinduism,* the chapters of this book are roughly following the historical order of the textual corpus, starting with the *Rig-Veda,* the oldest text of the Vedas, after a brief introduction on the land and its people. Hopkins names the original texts as his main sources of knowledge on Hinduism (Hopkins 19895, 2), and refers several times to the academic contributions and translations of Max Müller. Both Jainism and Buddhism are rewarded with a whole chapter. From page 509 onwards, there is also some attention for the Sikhs, their literature and doctrine. Hopkins acknowledges the Sikhs as a modern Hindu sect. *Religions of India* approaches Hinduism from a historical and comparative angle. Hopkins uses the term Hinduism in a similar fashion as Monier-Williams, and describes Hinduism as the religion that evolved from the purer Brahmanism (ibid, 24). There is much attention for both theological concepts and ritual.

Hopkins' comparative approach is clearly shown in his discussion on possible similarities between classical Greek culture and the corpus of Vedic texts (ibid, 22) and a chapter which is named: 'Early Hindu divinities compared with those of other Aryans' (ibid 161). Hopkins elaborates a lot on the relation of the Indic Aryans and the possible religious influence coming from other Aryans, including Greeks and Iranians. In spite of these comparisons, Hopkins is quite critical on the similarities found by other academics between ancient Greek culture and what he extracts from the translations of the Veda. However, Hopkins does acknowledge, that both Neo-Platonism and Gnosticism owe a lot to India as the source of their philosophies (ibid, 560). Furthermore, he connects Indian ideas on reincarnation, or transmigration (of souls) as he names it, to the philosophy of Pythagoras and Plato and again names India as the source (ibid, 560).

Racial and linguistic affiliation or the lack of such an affiliation are important topics throughout the book. Non-Aryans like the Dravidians and tribal groups and their similarities and differences with the Aryans are discussed, often at the expense of the non-Aryans who are framed as less civilized or as savages (ibid, 526). Hopkins questions whether the modern Indians are still of pure Aryan stock and concludes that the Aryan component in most modern Indians is just a smear (ibid, 548). Chapter fifteen is dedicated to the emerge of Vishnu and Shiva as the main important gods in Hinduism. Vaishnavism and Shaivism, the movements linked to Vishnu and Shiva, are dealt with as major traditions within Hinduism. A whole chapter is dedicated to what Hopkins names modern Hindu-sects. Tantric cults among these sects and their rituals concerning the goddess are framed in a very negative way. Hopkins' remark on left handed-tantrism (using objects that are considered impure, like alcohol and meat, for ritual purposes) is tainted with rejection, when he states: "Obscenity is the soul of this cult" (ibid, 490). The ferocious but popular goddess Kali is linked with thugs and criminal activities (ibid, 493). The ferociousness of the goddess Kali is immediately clear when one googles images of Kali. Those images often depict a naked black female figure, with multiple arms often carrying weapons, a red bloodthirsty tongue who is dancing on a male corpse. So, Hopkins' rejection of the cult around this female goddess is understandable from his nineteenth century perspective. But is it all the more remarkable that particularly this ferocious goddess was at the centre of the religious life of Ramakrishna, a nineteenth century Hindu sage, who has been extremely important for a part of the Hindu reform movement. This is something I will address in the next chapter.

Hopkins, like several other Indologists, is fascinated by the doctrine and philosophy found in the Upanishads. This is a recurring theme throughout the whole book. He discusses the several academic ideas among scholars about the presumed monism if not monotheism found in the Veda (ibid, 13). Hopkins frames these philosophical and theological ideas extracted from the Veda in a very positive fashion and speaks of: "these nobler religions of the classical literature" (ibid, 25). Contemporary Hinduism on the other hand, is framed as an unwanted regression: "The body of Hinduism is corrupt, its soul is evil" (ibid, 571). Hopkins, again like several other Indologists is in particular fascinated by the philosophy of Vedanta. Vedanta is framed as a form of pantheism (ibid 143). There is some attention for some of the other orthodox schools of philosophy of Hinduism, mainly Samkhya and to a lesser extent Yoga. The dualistic Samkhya system, is framed as the counterpart of the Vedanta system (ibid, 396). Hopkins' explanation of Vedanta as pantheistic is interesting when compared with how Vedanta is explained and described in more recent academic publications. Both Gavin Flood and Richard King explain Vedanta in terms of non-dualism or monism (Flood 1996, 239) (King 1999, 54). However, the term non-dualism in relation to the Vedanta philosophy is absent in *Religions of India.* Monism is used only once in relation to Vedanta (Hopkins 1895, 497). Hopkins names the famous Indian philosopher Shankara as a ninth century re-maker(reformer) of ancient Brahmanism (ibid, 437). There is some attention for the philosopher Ramanuja and his later version of *Vishishtadvaita* Vedanta (ibid, 497), in *Religions of India,* but minor compared with Shankara's version of the Vedanta philosophy.

Hopkins is also familiar with Ram Mohan Roy and his ideas about reforming Hinduism. He names Roy the national reformer, and the one who purified Hinduism from idolatry (ibid, 515). In his last chapter, Hopkins elaborates on Hinduism's relationship with the west and compares Hinduism with Christianity. In his last chapter, Hopkins is also clear on his ideas of Christian superiority over Hinduism.

Furthermore, he questions whether Hindus could be converted into Christians. In his opinion education and progress will take many years, before Hindus will abandon what he names "the bonds of caste" and "low superstition" (ibid, 571). Hopkins also shows that he is aware of the European fascination for India and Indian philosophy and religion. But he is critical about the Indian influence on western thinkers like the German Schopenhauer (ibid, 561) and the Russian occultist Blavatsky (ibid, 562).

3.6 MAX WEBER AND THE SOCIOLOGY OF HINDUISM

Max Weber (1864-1920) a German sociologist, who is most famous for *Die Protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus* (1904-1905), wrote extensively on the relation between economy, religion and sociology. Weber was born in Erfurt and studied law in Heidelberg. In addition to law he also took an interest in history and economy (Ringer 2004, 1). During his career, Weber worked as professor at serval notable German universities. Besides law, economy and history, Weber also was fascinated by religion and the relation between religion and economy. In the introduction of this thesis I gave some attention to Weber's ideas on world religions. I have included Weber here, because he was one of the first scholars who started to use the term world religions in a manner similar to how the term is applied today. As shown in the previous chapter, Hinduism was according to Weber one of the five world religions.

Weber also wrote quite comprehensively on Hinduism in *Hinduismus und Buddhismus,* the second volume of *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie* (1921), translated in English as *The Religion of India: The sociology of Hinduism and Buddhism* (1958). Weber, who was neither an Indologist nor a philologist, approaches Hinduism from a completely different angle compared with the academics I have discussed in the previous paragraphs. His sociological perspective leads him to focus on caste, more than any of the other scholars discussed before. His work consisting of ten different chapters, dedicates the first three chapters to caste alone and gives special attention to the Brahman caste in the fourth chapter.

Weber, who names Hinduism as the national form of Indian religion (Weber 1958, 4), also writes about the boundaries between Hinduism and other religious traditions. To him the recognition of the authority of the Vedas is what makes a certain sect or tradition part of Hinduism and excludes others who reject the Vedas, like Jains and Buddhists (ibid, 26). In his opinion Sikhism, Jainism and Buddhism should be qualified as separate religions not part of Hinduism (ibid, 5). Furthermore, he gives attention to what he calls 'Hinduization', the spread of Hinduism in non-Hindu territory and the inclusion of new groups within the larger Hindu tradition. More recent scholars have named this process 'Sanskritization' (Flood 1996, 18). Weber is well aware of the fact that which groups are included and which are excluded, is a matter of whom one asks. He shows his awareness when he mentions that "representatives of Hinduism seek to define Hinduism as broad as possible" (Weber 1958, 14). Weber also shows that he is well aware that boundaries on the level of religion as lived are fluid, when he mentions Hindus who worship Islamic saints, and mentions how Indian Islam incorporated Hindu ritual (ibid, 20).

Weber, like other scholars discusses previously, compares traits of Hinduism with similarities and differences within Christianity. What is new is that he also compares Hinduism and other Indian traditions with Chinese religion. *The Religion of India*, lacks a substantial or functional definition of religion. But Weber clearly understands that Indian religion in general and Hinduism in particular is very different from the European understanding of what religion means (ibid, 23). In his comparison with Christianity he concludes that Hinduism lacks an infallible doctrinal authority and an official hierarchy of priests (ibid 25). He describes "doctrinal fluidity" as a central characteristic of Hinduism and compares it with Christian doctrine and its claim for universal validity. He compares the huge differences in the relation of Protestant Christians with their Bible and the relation of Hindus with the Vedas (ibid, 27). About the latter relation, he concludes that the "Vedas contain nothing about the divine and human affairs fundamental to Hinduism" (ibid, 27).

Fritz Ringer, who wrote a biography on Weber, describes Weber as extremely interested in religion, but also mentions that Weber was not a believer himself (Ringer 2004, 1). That might explain why Weber's analysis of Hinduism as a religion is in general much more neutral and distanced compared to most Indologists discussed in the previous paragraph. There is no praise or admiration for certain doctrinal elements or rejection of others. There are no remarks concerning 'true' religion. He does, however, frame some of the later ritual practices and cults evolving around female deities or Shiva as magical and unorthodox heresies (Weber 1958, 295). This could be understood as a distant echo from the much more explicit rejection of Puranic Hinduism that I found in the work of Indologists discussed in the previous paragraph. It shows that the nineteenth century Christian preference for religion as rational, still has a distant echo in Weber's work.

As a result of Weber's sociological frame of reference, the attention for doctrine, theology and philosophy within Hinduism is limited. He names the philosophy of Samkhya and the philosophy of Vedanta as "outstandingly important" (ibid, 177) within the six orthodox philosophical systems. Furthermore, he gives minor attention to classical Yoga philosophy and mostly ignores other philosophical systems. Weber presents samsara, or the belief in reincarnation and the connected doctrine of karma as the two core principles of Hindu religious doctrine (ibid, 118). In doing so he presents the belief in a certain doctrine as more essential to religion than let us say ritual obligations. In Weber's understanding of Hinduism samsara and karma are inseparable from caste, since moving from one caste to another is only possible through reincarnation. His choice to present samsara and karma as the core principles of Hinduism is most likely motivated by his discourse on caste and its presumed significance for economic development.

Weber elaborates comprehensively on caste and everything related to caste. Although his analysis is partly based on the work of other scholars, including Max Müller and Hopkins, much of it is also based on the censuses of 1901 and 1911. The censuses were tools of colonial administrators in British-India. These data provided Weber with information on caste and on religious distribution in colonial British-India. Weber perceives caste as a social ranking system (ibid, 19) and names it the building block of Hindu society (ibid, 7). There is much attention to the key role of the Brahmans, who are rewarded with a whole chapter. Weber is aware of the fact that the social structure of the four classes of the historical Aryan society differs enormously from the very complex hierarchical structure of caste in the British colonial society. He nevertheless tries very hard to connect the two. Weber's obsession for caste as the most essential characteristic of Hinduism is the result of his effort to prove how caste and the Hindu religion affect economic developments and prevent Indian society from developing into a more European style economy.

Weber also shows interest in religious authority and discusses in his ninth chapter the role and the influence of 'gurus' and their power over the laity (ibid, 306-328). Weber is the first out of all the authors discussed in this Chapter who gives such attention to this specific phenomenon within Hinduism. He presents gurus as competitors of the Brahmans (ibid, 319) and compares their status within certain cults with the status of bishops in the Roman Catholic Church (ibid, 320). Perhaps Weber's focus on the more traditional aspects of Indian society results in minor attention for Hindu reform movements. Only on page 328 he mentions the modern reform movement within Hinduism, and names the Brahmo Samaj and the Arya Samaj as two examples. But he does not mention Ram Mohan Roy once.

3.7 THE ACADEMIC UNDERSTANDING AND PRESENTATION OF HINDUISM IN THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

This paragraph summarizes and analyses the contribution of the scholars discussed in the previous paragraphs, in order to get a clearer understanding of the academic understanding of Hinduism in the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century. What is immediately clear, is that Hinduism is perceived and presented as a single religious category in that time period. Later scholars have been questioning whether Hinduism is a single religious category or a religion at all. Some even have suggested that Hinduism as single religious category is a western construct (Frykenberg 1993) (King 1999). If that is really the case, then this 'construction' was already firmly established at the end of the nineteenth century.

Max Müller and others to a lesser extent are somewhat ambivalent in using Hinduism or Brahmanism as the correct name for this religion. Most of the previously discussed authors, with the exception of Weber, perceive Brahmanism as some sort of preliminary stage of Hinduism, in which Brahmanism is the purer version and Hinduism a later corrupted and impure version. Several of these scholars address both Hinduism and Buddhism, but treat them as separate, but related religious categories. This combination of Hinduism and Buddhism is partly explainable due to the fact that in order to understand the emergence of Buddhism, one needs at least some knowledge of historical Hinduism. This is somewhat comparable with how Christianity can be understood as a religion that started as an offshoot or a radical reformation of the religion of ancient Israel. Islam could be understood as rooted in both Judaism and Christianity. In order to study Christianity or Islam, one needs at least some basic knowledge of the Jewish religion. This is important for the emergence of Hinduism as a world religion in the field of comparative religion, since its emergence as a world religion is related to the emergence of Buddhism as a world religion. The exact boundaries between Hinduism on the one side and Jainism and Sikhism on the other, are sometimes less clear. Hopkins, for instance sees Sikhism as a modern Hindu sect, whereas Müller treats it as a separate sect, not part of Hinduism and not yet a full-fledged religion.

Among most authors, but again with the exception of Weber, there is an enormous fascination for language and race. This fascination results in an admiration for Aryan races and Sanskrit as an Indo-European language, but also in framing Dravidian and tribal groups as more uncivilized or even as savages. Furthermore, the decline of the purer Brahmanism into the idolatry of the later Puranic Hinduism is often attributed to these non-Aryan groups. Seen from a twenty-first century perspective, some of these descriptions would nowadays be called racist or at least Eurocentric.

All authors understand the caste hierarchy as an important characteristic of Hinduism. For Müller caste is foundational for Hinduism and Weber more than any of the other authors treats caste as the most important building block in Indian society. In spite of all this attention for caste, it is also framed as negative and backward, for example by Hopkins who expresses his hope that the Indians in the future could abandon the bonds of caste (Hopkins 1895, 571). Weber gives the most attention towards caste and uses caste as his explanation for the economic differences between European and Indian society. In his opinion, caste is not only the building block of Indian society, but also the building block of his discourse on Hinduism and economy. The Brahmans as the priestly caste are presented by all authors as the preeminent religious specialists of Hinduism. Their role in formulating the core essence and message of Hindu philosophy is considered essential by all authors. However, most authors hold that their original religion as found in the Vedas has deteriorated over time into a vulgar idolatrous version, almost unrelated to the 'original' religion of the Brahmans.

Following Müller, all the different authors discussed above treat Hinduism as a book religion, with the Vedas as the core scripture of Hinduism. There is some attention for other non-Vedic texts when the different authors discuss the caste structure or Puranic Hinduism and its deities, but the Vedas are given the most attention and the highest status. Nevertheless, all authors are well aware of the fact that the actual content of the Vedas is not directly related to Puranic Hinduism, nor to the Hinduism found in colonial India.

With the exception of Müller, all authors describe the three post-Vedic or Puranic traditions within Hinduism. These three traditions are still recognized even today as the three mainstream traditions within Hinduism. From these three Vaishnavism (the traditions that evolved around Vishnu) and Shaivism (the traditions that evolved around Shiva), are given most attention. Shaktism, with its focus on

the goddess and with its tantric cults, receives much less attention. Puranic Hinduism in general is seen by Müller, Monier-Williams and Hopkins as a degradation of a purer form of religion. Shaktism and the veneration of female deities is seen as the worst stage of Hinduism and is described in terms of decay, idolatry and obscenity.

As mentioned before all these authors devote entire chapters to the Vedas, the time period in which these Vedic texts were written down or passed on orally and to the people who produced them, the Aryans. The greatest attention goes to the Upanishads and their philosophical content. There is also attention for other earlier parts of the Vedas that deal with ritual, but less in comparison with the philosophical content. The description of the philosophy found in the Upanishads is presented in a manner that is saturated with admiration and fascination. The greatest attention is given to the philosophy of Vedanta and there is some, but certainly less, attention for Samkhya. Even Weber, who is exceptionally neutral in his whole account, acknowledges the importance of the philosophy of Vedanta within Hinduism (Weber 1958, 177). The comparisons with classical Greek philosophy and Christian theology and doctrine are numerous. Vedanta is mostly explained in terms of pantheism and in some cases even associated with monotheism. It is often presented as a purer version of religion or associated with 'true religion' and rationalism as opposed to the polytheistic traditions of Puranic Hinduism. True religion should be understood here as implying that its doctrine is related to or similar with Christian doctrine. From all the contributions of Müller, Monier-Williams and Hopkins it is more than obvious that they all wrote from a Christian perspective and a Christian frame of reference. Philosophical or theological content found in the Vedas that has similarities to Christian theology or to other European ideas is framed as a purer form of religion. All these qualifications are clearly not value free and they show a Christocentric frame of reference in which Christianity is the generic type for true religion, while other religious expressions that are in contradiction with this type, are framed as idolatry. Even Müller whose work in my opinion is really open minded about the idea that at least the philosophy of Vedanta has qualities comparable with Christian doctrine, is convinced of Christian superiority over Hindu philosophy. Both his admiration for Vedanta and his ideas on Christian superiority are made perfectly clear in a lengthy quote from Müller in *Ramakrishna: His life and his sayings*:

> "We need not fear that the *Samnyasins* of India will ever find followers or imitators in Europe, nor would it be at all desirable that they should. Not even for the sake of Psychic Research, or for experiments in Physico-psychological Laboratories. But apart from that, a better knowledge of the teachings of one of them seems certainly desirable, whether for the statesman who have to deal with the various classes of Indian society, or for the missionaries who are anxious to understand and to influence the inhabitants of that country, or lastly for the students of philosophy and religion who ought to know how the most ancient philosophy of the world, the Vedanta, is taught at the present day by the Bhaktas, that is the friends and devoted lovers of God, and continues to exercise its powerful influence, not only on a few philosophers, but on the large masses of what has always been called a country of philosophers."(Müller 1898, 4)

Weber is the only exception among these scholars. His account seems to be more distanced and neutral. Nowhere is anything explicitly framed as true or real religion. Although some cults and rituals are explained in terms of magic and like the other authors, he uses Christianity as a model to analyse several developments within Hinduism.

Although Weber's contribution is criticized by other academics and even presented as insignificant for the western understanding of Hinduism (Smith 2003, 81), there are also strong arguments to include his contribution for this thesis. I have included the work of Weber for two reasons. First to show how Weber builds his presentation of Hinduism for the most part with the building blocks provided

by Indologists, including Müller and Hopkins. It shows how the image of Hinduism created by them is passed on to other scholars, in this case Weber. Especially the idea of Vedanta as Hinduism most important characteristic in terms of doctrine. The second reason I chose to include Weber is because with his attention to economy and social structures he also highlights different characteristics within Hinduism, like caste and the phenomenon of the guru. By doing so Weber's work represents a new outlook on Hinduism. But an outlook that is in part a continuation of previous scholarship. All the other authors presented here are Indologists and philologists, which results in presenting Hinduism in terms of its religious texts. Basically, they all treat Hinduism, in imitation of Müller, as a book religion. Their knowledge and discourse is mostly inspired by what is found in translated religious texts. Although Weber builds on the work of Indologists, as clearly shown in his references, he is also the first to focus on the sociological aspects of Hinduism. In doing so he introduces another perspective and introduces new topics like religious authority, social mobility, or the lack of it and economy. Furthermore, he is much less value judgemental on religious doctrine and other religious expression like rituals and customs. But, like the other authors, he uses Christianity as a model to analyse Hinduism and other Indian religious traditions, but there is no distinction between right and wrong or pure and impure religion.

To sum up, all these scholars present Hinduism as a single religious entity. Most of them, Weber being the only exception, emphasise Christian superiority over Hinduism. Furthermore, they present Hinduism as a book religion with the Vedas as the authoritative text; the Brahmans as the priestly caste and the religious specialists of Hinduism; and caste as one of the most essential characteristics. While all these scholars present the philosophy of Vedanta as Hinduism's core doctrine, Puranic Hinduism is framed as a perverted version of proper religion. Again, Weber is the only one who has a more neutral approach towards Puranic Hinduism. In the next chapter, prominent Hindu reformers will present their own version of Hinduism as a world religion. Although their versions show many similarities with the version of academics in this chapter, at some essential points they do differ.

CHAPTER 4: PROMINENT HINDU REFORMERS, HINDU REFORM MOVEMENTS AND THEIR PRESENTATIONS OF HINDUISM AS A WORLD RELIGION

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The following chapter explores how prominent key figures and key movements within Hinduism in the nineteenth and the early twentieth century reformed Hinduism from within and presented and promoted their version of Hinduism. All of those key figures and key movements were part of what today is called the Hindu reform movement, or what is referred to as the 'Hindu Renaissance' (Flood 1996, 250). This religious movement is in part closely connected with Indian nationalism. As such these movements are in part also related to what is currently known as 'Hindu nationalism' or 'Hindutva'. Exploring the rise of the Hindu reform movement shows that prominent Hindus were (and are) responsible for communicating and promoting their version of Hinduism as a distinct world religion. I have included this chapter to show that scholars (Indologists) were not the only ones responsible for the emergence of Hinduism as a world religion. Both groups, scholars and prominent Hindu reformers were in part aware of each other's contributions. This is shown in the former chapter, where all the different scholars discussed, mentioned either reformers like Ram Mohan Roy or reform movements like the Brahmo Samaj. Since there are several key figures and several different movements, I decided to discuss the ones that according to me were most influential for the promotion and presentation of Hinduism as a world religion. I also chose these since they were active roughly before and during the same time period as the scholars I discussed in the previous chapter.

4.2 RAM MOHAN ROY & BRAHMO SAMAJ: PRESENTING HINDUISM AS A MONOTHEISTIC RELIGION

For the first key figure discussed in this chapter we need to go back to the second half of the eighteenth century, long before Indologists like Max Müller or Monier-Williams were working on their translations and studies of Indian religion. Ram Mohan Roy (1772? – 1833)[6] was born in Radhanagore, Bengal in a Brahmin family. The region of Bengal, currently divided between India and Bangladesh, at that time was part of the possessions of the British East India Company (Ghose 1901, ii). Roy, who had studied Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, English and also some Hebrew and Greek, was employed by the British East India Company (Flood 1996, 251). Roy's ideas on Hinduism and religion were informed by the Hindu philosophy of his own tradition, but also very much by Islam, during his education at the Muslim University at Patna (Flood 1996, 251) and by Christianity during his contact with churches and missionaries (Ghose 1901, xi). Roy died in Bristol, on the 27th of September 1833 (Ghose 1901, xxiv). He wrote several works in English promoting the philosophical content of the Upanishads, Vedanta, monotheism and universal religion and worked very hard to reform Hinduism and to purify it from what he perceived as idolatry and moral decay. During his formative years, the Hindus in Bengal, who were dived between followers of Chaitanya, a fifteenth century Vaishnava saint (Fuller 2004, 175) and the

[6] Most modern authors hold that Roy was born in 1772, however older authors and the memorial inscription engraved on Roy's tomb hold 1774 al his exact year of birth.

followers of Shakti with their tantric customs and rituals, were competing amongst each other for religious supremacy (Ghose 1901, v).

Roy resisted and criticized image and icon worship, the rigidity of the caste system, the repression of women and practices which he held to be immoral, like widow-burning (*sati*), polygamy and child-marriage (Ghose 1901, vii) (Flood 1996, 252). In order to reform Hinduism from within, Roy turned back to the content of the Upanishads and Vedanta philosophy. Like the Indologists that came after Roy, he himself was convinced that the Upanishads were in contradiction with what he perceived as the idolatry and superstition of Puranic Hinduism. Roy very strongly believed in monotheism and he also was convinced that monotheism was one of the messages found in the Vedas, clearly visible in a work of Roy written in 1816 and named *The Abridgment of the Vedant*[7], in which he constantly tries to prove, using textual content from the Vedas, that there is only one Supreme being (Roy 1901, 7-24). The veneration of a large variety of different icons, representing different Hindu deities is rejected by Roy. He is aware of the fact that some of the Europeans of his time explained this idolatry and the several icons involved as multiple representations of the Supreme Divinity, but he himself held that "Hindoos of the present day have no such views of the subject, but firmly believe in the real existence of innumerable gods and goddesses" (Roy 1901, 5).

Roy presents his ideas on monotheism as the original and real Hinduism and even rejects the title reformer, since he is firmly convinced that his Brahman ancestors practiced monotheism, clearly shown when he writes: "I have urged in every work that I hitherto published, that the doctrines of the unity of God are real Hindooism, as that religion was practiced by our ancestors" (Roy 1901, 127). This quote, coming from a work called *A defence of Hindoo Theism*, and written in 1817, and the previous quote, show that Roy perceived Hinduism as a single religious category. In all his writings, he approaches Hinduism as this single category, speaking of 'Hindoos', 'the Hindoo religion'. He uses all these terms with a religious meaning and not with an ethnic meaning. At the same time, having grown up in Bengal, he must have been well aware of the several competing sects and traditions. But in all his writings he clearly understands these different sects to be part of the same religion. This religion according to Roy, was originally monotheistic, but had deteriorated over time into idolatry and polytheism. Also, Roy uses here the word 'Hindooism' to name that particular religion, which made him and not a European academic the first to do so. Related to his ideas on monotheism are Roy's ideas on the worship of icons or images, present in most Hindu temples and shrines. Roy firmly rejects these modes of worship and speaks of them as immoral and destructive comforts (Roy 1901, 158). In one of his writings, named *Second Defence of the Monotheistical system of the Veds; in reply to an Apology for the present State of Hindoo Worship* (1817), he attacks his fellow Brahmans who support the worship of images. Roy bases his argument on the content of the Vedas in order to prove these Brahmans wrong (Roy 1901, 147-180).

Roy's ideas on Hinduism as a monotheistic religion and his rejection of worshipping icons, are the presumed result of both Islamic and Christian influence. However, Roy never felt he should reject Hinduism altogether. In fact, Roy is also critical of Christian attempts to convert Hindus to Christianity and he rejects several elements found in Christian theology. For instance, he is critical about Christian ideas on the trinity and compares the doctrine of the trinity with followers of Tantric sects in Bengal, who think of God as five distinct persons and at the same time as one (Roy 1901, 243). From the several Christian denominations known to Roy, the Unitarian movement or Unitarianism was the one most related to Roy's own ideas on religion. Roy became familiar with the Unitarian movement through an unknown Scotch gentleman (Zastoupil 2002, 224). In *Answers of a Hindoo to the Question, "Why do you frequent a Unitarian place of Worship instead of the numerously attended established Churches",* written by Roy's disciple Chandra-Shekhar Deb, but ascribed to Roy, Roy explains his alliance with the Unitarian movement. He expresses his rejection of ideas on incarnation, about God becoming man, that were commonly held by both mainstream Christians and by his fellow Brahmans (Roy 1901, 288). This also shows that Roy not

[7] Nowadays Vedanta with an a is the most common way to write this word. However, Roy wrote it often as Vedant, without and a. In a similar fashion, Roy often wrote Vedas as Veds, again without an extra a.

only held the opinion that Hindus misunderstood their own Vedas, but also that most Christians interpreted their Bible in the wrong manner. Furthermore, it shows that Roy was influenced by Christian concepts but also that he did not uncritically accept all these concepts. Roy splits both Christians and Hindus in those who believe in the incarnation of God, and names for instance followers of Ram, an incarnation of Vishnu and those who reject any form of incarnation. Roy embraced those Christians who consider Christ as the messenger of God as fellow worshipers of the same God, but was critical about Christians who believed Jesus Christ to be God. In a similar way as shown above, he was critical towards Hindus who believe in incarnation (Roy 1901, 300). Nevertheless, Roy summons his readers not to hate those worshipers who believe in incarnation, but to be compassionate in spite of their blindness (Roy 1901, 301). This rejection of incarnation and the distinction between those who emphasise the unity of God and those who believe in incarnation, are very similar to Islamic ideas about monotheism. Most Muslims reject incarnation and very firmly emphasise the unity of God. Roy's alliance with the Unitarians is best understood through their communal rejection of the divinity of Jesus and thus of incarnation in general. Both Roy and the Unitarians held interpretations of their own religious traditions that were considered unorthodox by their fellow believers. I therefore conclude that Roy was certainly influenced by Christianity and European concepts, but that the extent of this influence was limited. Roy also was deeply rooted in his own tradition. In the article *Defining Christians, Making Britons: Rammohun Roy and the Unitarians* (2002), Lynn Zastoupil elaborates on Roy's relation to Christianity and she discusses several academic ideas on a possible conversion of Roy. She concludes that Roy according to several Unitarians was "fit for inclusion" (Zastoupil 2002, 240), but in actuality Roy never converted. He just did not feel the necessity of taking such a step.

Instead of joining a controversial and unorthodox Christian movement, Roy established his own Hindu reform movement. This movement, named the Brahmo Samaj was founded in 1828 and has similarities with Christian reform movements (Flood 1996, 253). The Brahmo Samaj held religious ceremonies with features very similar to Protestant church ceremonial (Smith 20033, 39). As is the case in Protestantism, part of the sermons preached during the service, were in the local Bengali language and not in Sanskrit (Ghose 1901, xxi). Both the Brahmo Samaj and Roy himself communicated a Hinduism that was rational and universal, open to believers from other religious traditions with whom they shared similar ideas on monotheism. Roy considered such believers as brethren who worshiped the same Supreme being (Roy 1901, 299). These ideas on universalism and accepting the believers of other traditions as equals, are also found with other reformers like Vivekananda, whose ideas I will also discuss in this chapter. The Brahmo Samaj universal mission is also visible in their participation in the first World's Parliament of Religions in Chicago where the movement was represented by two delegates (Kittelstrom 2009, 262).

When we connect Roy's ideas on Hinduism to world religions we have to conclude that Roy presents a very specific and one-sided version of Hinduism. The whole paradigm concerning world religions came into being more than half a century after Roy had passed away. But long before the world religions paradigm emerged, Roy already presented Hinduism as a single religious category and as a religion that is similar to both Islam and Christianity. Like the many Indologists who came after him, Roy presents the Vedas, and foremost the Upanishads as part of the Vedas, as the Hindu equivalent of the Christian Bible and the Islamic Quran. From the Upanishads, in part translated by Roy himself, he extracts monotheism as the most important feature of Hinduism. As a result, he very passionately rejects the veneration of cult objects, such as statues of idols.

Obviously, as shown in his own writings, most of his contemporary fellow Hindus did not agree with Roy's presentation of Hinduism as a monotheistic religion. Gavin Flood mentions that the ideas voiced by Roy and the Brahmo Samaj were attractive to the urban middle class and lower class Brahmans, but that they were not absorbed by the uneducated masses, nor by orthoprax Brahmans (Flood 1996, 253). As a result, the impact of the Brahmo Samaj was insignificant for the religious ideas and customs of the majority of the Hindus in those days. In spite of this low impact and rejection, Indologists like Müller and others seem to have copied Roy's ideas about how the Hinduism present in colonial India in the nineteenth century was a deteriorated version of a book-religion that in origin was monotheistic or at least panentheistic, as most Indologists formulated it. For instance, Monier-Williams speaks of "the gradual

sliding of Hindu monotheism into pantheism," (Monier-Williams 1877, 30). The essence of Roy's ideas is best presented in his own words: "The ground which I took in all my controversies was not that of opposition to *Brahmanism,* but to a *perversion* of it; and I endeavoured to show that the idolatry of the Brahmins was contrary to the practice of their ancestors, and the principles of the ancient books and authorities which they profess to revere and obey" (Roy 1903, 319). Exactly this essence is what became the core message of prominent Indologists concerning Hinduism, namely that it was a perversion of an older and nobler religion with monotheistic or panentheistic features. So, although Roy's ideas were insignificant for the majority of his contemporary fellow Hindus, they were very significant for the manner in which Indologists later on presented Hinduism as a world religion. As such Roy's ideas are still influential for contemporary images and representations of Hinduism as a world religion.

4.3 THE ARYA SAMAJ, HINDUISM AS PURE ARYANISM

The Arya Samaj is another Hindu Reform movement which I choose to include in this chapter. The Arya Samaj, - Sanskrit for the Noble or Aryan Society-, was founded in 1875 in Bombay by Dayananda Sarasvati, a Brahman renouncer from Gujarat (Flood 1996, 255). Dayananda Sarasvati is praised by Müller for his knowledge of Sanskrit and his efforts to improve the position of Hindu widows, his support for raising the marriageable age in order to stop child marriage and his condemnation of idolatry (Müller 1898, 24). The Arya Samaj as a reform movement had several similarities with the Brahmo Samaj. Like Roy and the Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj presented the Vedas as Hinduism's foundational text, with a message that promotes monotheism (Smith 2003, 38). Another huge similarity with Roy is Dayananda Sarasvati's rejection of the veneration of cult statues. He is equally in disfavour of the doctrine of incarnation and all kinds of religious practices that he presumed to be un-Vedic (Flood 1996, 255). Rather than rejecting the caste system, the Arya Samaj provided a reinterpretation of caste, in which caste is related to personal qualities (Flood 1996, 255). Again, like western academics and Roy, there is a rejection of Puranic Hinduism, in favour of the philosophy of Vedanta and the Upanishads.

These similarities, together with the Arya Samaj's emphasis on rationalism and rejection of superstition, suggest that both movements are Hindu equivalents of the Protestant reform movements of Europe in the sixteenth century. However, in spite of the similarities with the Brahmo Samaj and Christian denominations, there are also some essential differences. Because of these differences, I choose to present the Arya Samaj here not as just an offshoot of the reformist Brahmo Samaj, but also as one of the first movements that communicated an early form of Hindu nationalism and Hindu self-consciousness. What is essentially different is that the Arya Samaj advocated a fierce Hindu nationalist message (Flood 1996, 255). Where Roy and the Brahmo Samaj very much emphasised universalism and a message of tolerance towards other religions, something I also found in the message of Vivekananda (who will be discussed in the next paragraph), the Arya Samaj was critical if not aggressive towards other religions, both in the past and the present time. The Arya Samaj promoted a ceremony by the name of *shuddi* (purification) to reconvert Muslims and Christians to Hinduism or to change the status of untouchables into twice-born Hindus (Flood 1996, 256) (Doniger 2009, 623). Furthermore, the Arya Samaj emphasised the Aryan roots of Hinduism at the expense of the influence of non-Aryans like Dravidians (Flood 1996, 258) and they promoted the idea that the Vedas not only contained a religious message, but also that the Vedas were scientifically true (Smith 2003, 38). In general, the Arya Samaj was far more successful compared with the Brahmo Samaj. The movement founded schools throughout India and was active in reforming Hinduism in the Indian diaspora (Flood 1996, 255). To sum up, the Arya Samaj presented a purified version of Hinduism with certain racial and nationalist connotations, strongly rooted in the message of the Vedas. Like the Brahmo Samaj and most western scholars they viewed Puranic Hinduism as a perversion of their pure Vedic tradition.

4.4 VIVEKANANDA, THE WORLD'S PARLIAMENT OF RELIGION AND PRESENTING HINDUISM AS ADVAITA VEDANTA

The next person I would like to introduce as an influential key figure for presenting Hinduism as a world religion is Vivekananda. It is impossible to write about Vivekananda without mentioning his teacher, the renowned Ramakrishna (1833-1886). Ramakrishna was an inhabitant of Bengal like Ram Mohan Roy, born in a Vaishnava Brahman family (Flood 1996, 256). But unlike Roy and in spite of his Brahman background, Ramakrishna knew neither Sanskrit nor English (Smith 2003, 173) and communicated his message in the local Bengali vernacular. Ramakrishna's father was the only Brahman in an otherwise low-caste poor village (Müller 1998, 44). Ramakrishna was a mystic devoted to the goddess Kali (Flood 1996, 256), and also initiated in Tantra and *Advaita* Vedanta (Smith 2003, 174). Ramakrishna's religion is an impressive account of mystical experiences and practices that are part of Tantrism and that could be rather peculiar to those unfamiliar with Tantrism. For instance, one of his practices involved a strong identification with Hanuman the monkey god from the *Ramayana* epic, during which he walked around on all fours, with a cloth as an artificial tail, eating unpeeled fruits (Kripal 1995, 103). At times Ramakrishna was also involved in the practice of cross-dressing, taking on a female identity (ibid, 232-238). Due to several impressive mystical experiences which Ramakrishna had from an early age, he finally realized that all religions are different paths leading to the same truth (Flood 1996, 257). Ramakrishna, who also practised being a Christian and a Muslim (Flood 1996, 257), communicated a message of universalism, devotion and mysticism.

The importance of Ramakrishna for Hinduism bot on a popular level and a more academic level is best shown by the fact that a biography of his life, named *Ramakrishna, His Life and Sayings,* was written by Friedrich Max Müller. Vivekananda was one of Müller's informants (Müller 1898, 37) for this particular biography, which was published in 1898 by the Theosophical Publishing Society. It once more shows that an Indologist like Müller, in spite of the fact that he never went to India, was familiar with the work of prominent Hindu key figures like Ramakrishna, Vivekananda and Roy. In the biography, Müller expresses his concern that European readers would not understand miraculous stories of goddesses communicating with men and other inexplicable events, since to them this would be absurd (Müller 1898, 42). In spite of this concern, Müller wrote a complete biography on this remarkable Hindu sage. Müller's concern is not a surprise since Ramakrishna's life as a mystic is full of events, like imitating a monkey and cross-dressing, that are completely in contradiction with modernity or in contradiction with the values of the Victorian Age. Jeffrey Kripal an American Professor in Religious Studies claims in *Kali's Child: The Mystical and the Erotic in the Life and Teachings of Ramakrishna,* that the saint was a conflicted practitioner of Tantra, in large part due to supressed homosexual desires that he could not reconcile with the heterosexual symbols found in Tantra (Kripal 1995, 3). Kripal also claims that Ramakrishna's message was strongly based in Tantra, not in Vedanta (Kripal 1995, 2). This contradicts Vivekananda's message about his master and even Müller who claims that the essence of Ramakrishna's message was Vedanta (Müller 1898, 86). What I find most striking is that Ramakrishna as a practitioner of Tantra and a devotee of the ferocious goddess Kali, whom I addressed briefly in the previous chapter, practiced exactly that kind of Hinduism that was rejected by both Indologists and Hindu reformers. That Ramakrishna became, in spite of that rejection, one of the figureheads of the Hindu reform movement is due to the efforts of his disciple Vivekananda.

Like Roy and his teacher Ramakrishna, Vivekananda (1863-1902) was born into a Brahman family. But unlike Ramakrishna, Vivekananda was an educated intellectual, who could read and write in English. Vivekananda who before his world-renunciation went by the name of Narendranath, was a member of the Brahmo Samaj. As such he was, even before he became Vivekananda, involved in the Hindu reform movement. Due to a penetrating mystical experience under the guidance of Ramakrishna, he gave up his career in law and became Ramakrishna's disciple (Flood 1996, 257). Like Roy, Vivekananda is extremely important for presenting Hinduism as a world religion. But where Roy very much had emphasised monotheism as the essence of Hinduism, Vivekananda communicated a slightly different essence. However, both men used the same source to substantiate this essence. Like Roy the source for

what Vivekananda communicated as Hinduism's essence, was once more the Vedas, presented by him as the oldest book in the world (Vivekananda 1964, 77). Not the entirety of the Vedic literature, but that part which is known as the Upanishads. According to Vivekananda the philosophy of Vedanta is Hinduism's most valuable asset. While Ramakrishna, was really submerged into his own spiritual experience, Vivekananda's attention on the other hand was with spreading his message to a global audience. Vivekananda really made an effort to spread his interpretation of Vedanta and the veneration of his teacher in both India, at that time still a British colony and the West (mainly the United States of America). In order to spread his message, he founded the Ramakrishna mission in India and the Vedanta Society in New York (Smith 2003, 175) (Flood 1996, 258). Vivekananda's contribution to the first held World Parliament of Religions in 1893 made him world famous and gave him the opportunity, as a representative of Hinduism, to present Hinduism as an established world religion amidst other world religions.

Like Müller, Vivekananda very much emphasises the importance for a religion to have a book. In one of his lectures, held in 1900 and addressed to an American audience, he explains the survival of any religion by its connection with a sacred book (Vivekananda 1963, 123). At the same time, he stresses that Vedanta eclipses books, religion and doctrine (Vivekananda 1963, 124). He clearly makes an effort to present Vedanta as something universal that transcends the boundaries between one religion and the other. As such Vivekananda's impact is somewhat ambivalent. To the western world, he is very much the person whose message represents the essence of Hinduism. Gavin Flood even names him "the first to clearly articulate the idea of Hinduism as a world religion" (Flood 1996, 259). At the same time Vivekananda, himself really tried his best to present Vedanta as universal and available for all humankind. In *Is Vedanta the Future Religion?* (a lecture delivered in San Francisco 1900) Vivekananda emphasises that there is only one God, that this God is not personal and that God is in essence identical with the self (Vivekananda 1963, 127). That message is nothing other than an explanation of orthodox *Advaita*-Vedanta philosophy in terms understandable for English speaking people. *Advaita*-Vedanta or Non-dualism as it is also known, holds that the *atman* or self is identical with *Brahman* or the highest principle (Flood 1996, 241). Although the *Advaita*-Vedanta philosophy is strongly rooted in Hinduism, Vivekananda constantly relates portions of *Advaita*-Vedanta philosophy to doctrines and narratives which he found in other religions, namely Christianity, Islam, Judaism and Buddhism. For instance, in a lecture named *Buddha's message* he shows appreciation for Buddha's reformation and critique with regard to caste, but rejects the denial of both the existence of God and the soul (Vivekananda 1963, 92-105). Vivekananda expresses different ideas on the doctrine of incarnation when compared with Roy, who rejected any form of incarnation. He accepts both Buddha and Christ as incarnations of God (Vivekananda 1963, 181). And at the first World's Parliament of Religions, he presents Krishna as one of the most prominent incarnations of God (Seager 1995, 112).

At the World's Parliament of Religions, held in Chicago in 1893, Hinduism was represented by eight representatives who delivered thirteen papers (Seager 1995, 50). Vivekananda was one of the Hindu representatives and also the one who made the biggest impression. So much that even today when the first World's Parliament of Religions is mentioned, the name of Vivekananda is often mentioned as its most popular delegate. Vivekananda, who wore a turban and was clothed in an orange coloured garment (Seager 1995, 111), must have been a very exotic appearance amidst the predominantly American crowd. Seager names Vivekananda as the favourite of the media and the crowds (Seager 1995, 111). This in spite of the fact that the Parliament was organised by Christians and dominated by a Christian framework (Kittelstrom 2009, 245). Vivekananda's welcome address to the Parliament was a message of tolerance and universality. In it Vivekananda presented himself as a Hindu and named Hinduism as the mother of all religions, characterized by tolerance and universal acceptance (Vivekananda 1893, 95). Although Vivekananda was present at the Parliament as a representative of Hinduism, he clearly tried hard to present the philosophy of Vedanta as something that although Hindu in origin, is available for everyone. Vivekananda praised the Americans for their universal approach concerning religion and made an effort to connect the Vedanta philosophy to that universalism (Seager 1995, 118). In another of his contributions Vivekananda connected the philosophy of Vedanta to science and natural law (Seager 1995, 111), something that had already been promoted before by the Arya Samaj. These attempts should be

understood as presenting both Hinduism and Vedanta as rational and intellectual and also as an attempt to emphasise the universality of Vedanta. The spiritual goal of both Hinduism and religion was presented by Vivekananda in terms of the realization of the divine within. He spoke of uniting man's soul with the divine or the universal consciousness (Seager 1995, 112). Again, it is more than evident that Vivekananda also had a mission that went further than just presenting Hinduism to an American and global audience. In that sense, he certainly presented the philosophy of Vedanta as something with a universal significance. That of course also led to presenting Hinduism as a world religion, with a message that went beyond the boundaries of colonial India.

Although Vivekananda very much sought this connection with his western non-Hindu audience during the Parliament, he also came to show his concern. He was critical of colonialism and the efforts of Christian denominations in India who were trying hard to convert Indians into followers of Christ. He was backed up by B.B. Nagarkar of the Brahmo Samaj who also expressed his concern about Christian bigotry, dogmatism and missionary activities in India (Seager 1995, 76).

4.5 PRESENTING YOGA AS AN ESSENTIAL CHARACTERISTIC OF HINDUISM

Wendy Doniger names Vivekananda as "the first in a long line of proselytizing gurus" (Doniger 2009, 639). Although the wave of numerous gurus addressing often a mostly western public was something that really started to develop after the Second World War, Vivekananda can certainly be seen as a forerunner of these later gurus and their spiritual Hindu like movements. In his position as a forerunner guru I would like to connect Vivekananda's name to another movement closely connected to Hinduism. One that is nowadays often mentioned in textbooks addressing Hinduism, as an indispensable part of Hinduism. Part of Vivekananda's work is dedicated to the practice of yoga, both a spiritual practice and one of the orthodox Hindu *darshanas* that evolved alongside and in close connection with orthodox Hinduism. Vivekananda is one of the first writers who addresses yoga in a more comprehensive way than for example the Indologists discussed in the previous chapter. Most of these Indologists gave little attention to yoga and presented it as one of the dualistic schools of classical Hindu philosophy, closely connected to Samkhya, another dualistic school of Hindu philosophy. The yoga presented by Vivekananda is something entirely different from what most modern western people would imagine if they think of yoga. In *Four Paths of Yoga,* Vivekananda very briefly explains the differences between *Karma-Yoga* (the yoga of action), *Bhakti-Yoga* (the yoga of devotion), *Raja-Yoga* (the yoga of meditation) and *Jnana-Yoga* (the yoga of knowledge), together with the goal of yoga: "realisation of the absolute" (Vivekananda 1963, 152-154). In *Discourses on Jnana-Yoga,* Vivekananda elaborates comprehensively on the yoga of knowledge which he connects to the philosophy of *Advaita*-Vedanta. Furthermore, he presents *Jnana-Yoga* as spiritual knowledge and as a rational practice, once again to underline that his version of Hinduism is rational and intellectual (ibid, 3). In *Six lessons on Raja-Yoga* (similarly lessons composed of notes of class talks for an American audience), he presents detailed information on the classical Yoga *darshana* as presented in the *Yogasutra* of the Indian sage Patañjali (ibid, 36-52). It shows that Vivekananda perceived the practice of yoga as an integral part of both Hinduism and Vedanta. Something that was often overlooked by most Indologists, who were much more focussed on the textual corpus of Hinduism. Vivekananda, who was obviously not an Indologist and who had a different agenda than the scholars who studied Hinduism, not only discusses the philosophy and doctrine behind the yoga practice, but he also addresses a whole range of meditative and breathing techniques related to the practice of yoga. He elaborates on *pranayama* (breathing techniques), discusses *kundalini* (energy), the use of *mantras* and concentration (ibid, 36-52).

Mark Singleton very rightly points out that the yoga discussed by Vivekananda has not yet anything to do with the postural practice of yoga so visible in the west today (Singleton 2010, 4). In fact, the word *asana* (posture) as related to the practice of yoga is only mentioned once in *The Complete Works of*

Swami Vivekananda. And even there, *asana* is meant to be understood as sitting in an upright meditative position with a straight spine (Vivekananda 1964, 41) and as such not related to the complicated and very physical postures that are so characteristic of modern western style yoga.

This interest in yoga as a spiritual practice rooted in Hinduism, was not yet present in the work of the Indologists discussed in this thesis. If they wrote about yoga at all it was mostly about the classical school of yoga philosophy and often in connection with the dualistic philosophy of Samkhya. Weber gives some attention to the practice of yoga in *The Religion of India,* but it is still very limited. Mircea Eliade (1907-1986), a Romanian scholar and not a contemporary of Müller and Monier-Williams, is one of the first scholars who addressed yoga in a more comprehensive way. Eliade's first work on yoga, named *Yoga, essai sur les origines de la mystique indienne* was published in 1936. Several other studies on yoga from Eliade would follow in both French and English. During the same time Eliade published his first academic works on yoga, the practice of yoga itself was dramatically transforming. In 1931 in the princely state of Mysore in South India, the Maharaja hired a Brahman Sanskrit teacher and yoga practitioner by the name of Krishnamacharya (Singleton 2010, 175). Krishnamacharya (1988-1989) also started to teach the local students yoga. Mark Singleton in *Yoga Body: The origins of Modern Posture Practice,* shows that the yoga taught by Krishnamacharya was not the *Jnana-Yoga* and *Raja-Yoga* promoted by Vivekananda, but a new style of yoga that was a fusion between traditional *Hatha-Yoga* and European gymnastics (Ibid). Traditional *Hatha-Yoga*, an energetic and purifying practice related to Tantrism (Flood 1996, 99), used to have a bad name in India in those days. Both Europeans and educated Indians considered the practice of *Hatha-Yoga* as related to self-torture, magical asceticism, superstition and yogis who went around begging (Singleton 2010, 35-53). Singleton gives several examples from the work of Müller, Monier-Williams and Hopkins where they frame these *Hatha-Yoga* practitioners in a very negative way. Müller for example in the preface of *Ramakrishna, His Life and His Sayings,* names practitioners of *Hatha-Yoga* in one sentence with jugglers and presents them as imposters (Müller 1898, 3). The manner in which both western scholars and Indian reformers dealt with the phenomenon of yoga, is similar to how they dealt with the more rational philosophy of Vedanta, the philosophical concepts found in the Upanishads and the visible Puranic Hinduism they found in India in those days. Yoga philosophy, like Vedanta was considered intellectual, rational and framed in a positive manner. The practice of *Hatha-Yoga* was rejected and framed as a degenerate corruption, similar to how they framed Puranic Hinduism. In *Breath of the Gods,* a 2012 documentary on Krishnamacharya and his students, both his children and his students explain how in the 1930's they dealt with shame and prejudice due to practicing *Hatha-Yoga*, which was considered undesirable by their social environment (Schmidt-Garre 2012). Nevertheless, Krishnamacharya and his students both Indian and western, succeeded in popularizing their blended style of Hatha Yoga, which went global after World War Two and resulted in a world-wide community of yoga practitioners and a multitude of yoga styles, most of them involving physical exercise.

The reader may be asking himself why this topic is significant for the purpose of this thesis. It is significant, because initially in the presentation of Hinduism as a world religion by western scholars, the practice of yoga was overlooked or ignored. Yoga at best was mentioned in terms of philosophy, without much attention for the actual practice of yoga, which was often regarded as a practice related to fakirs and wandering beggars (Singleton 2010, 35-53). Currently in textbooks on world religion yoga is often mentioned as one of Hinduism's essential characteristics. According to me this is largely the result of Vivekananda who popularized yoga in the west and paved the way for Krishnamacharya and his students. That together with academic interest in yoga by scholars like Eliade, led to a much wider acceptance and visibility of yoga. In 2014 Narendra Modi, prime minister of India addressed the United Nations and proposed the day of 21 June as International Day of Yoga (UN information centre for India and Bhutan 2014), which shows how even Indian politics, currently dominated by the Hindu nationalists from the BJP claim the practice of yoga as an essential part of India and Hinduism.

4.6 HINDUISM AS A WORLD RELIGION ACCORDING HINDU REFORMERS IN THE 19TH CENTURY

Of course, the movements and Hindu spokespersons I have included in this chapter are just a fraction of all those movements and spokespersons that were influential. I have chosen these because according to me and several academics working on Hinduism, their contributions were the most significant. My own choice is also motivated by the fact that there are not just several similarities among the different movements, but also several significant differences. All these different aspects led in one way or the other to the modern image of Hinduism as a world religion. When analysing these different contributions, the overarching similarity is that all these movements revert back to Vedanta a philosophical system built on ideas found in the Upanishads. In most cases the Vedanta they refer back to is the philosophy of *Advaita*-Vedanta. According to Flood the doctrine promoted by the Arya Samaj shows more similarities with the *Vishishtadvaita*-Vedanta (Flood 1996, 255) as promoted by the eleventh century Hindu sage Ramanuja. But *Vishishtadvaita,* like *Advaita*, is a form of non-dualism with its most essential message that the individual soul or *atman* is part of *brahman*, the supreme reality (King 1999, 56). This resulted in the promotion of Vedanta as the core message of Hinduism. Something that was also acknowledged by most Indologists studying Hinduism in those days, as shown in the previous chapter. The efforts of both these Hindu reformers, the movements they established in the nineteenth century and the Indologists were very successful. Nowadays the philosophy of Vedanta is often perceived or represented as the central doctrine of modern Hinduism (King 1999, 214). Its message of non-dualism or monism is promoted by several influential modern Hindu gurus and even by western non-Hindu spiritual teachers. This promotion of Vedanta as the central ideology of Hinduism went together with a rejection of practices and doctrines related to Puranic Hinduism. Not all reformers were as fierce in their rejection of Puranic Hinduism as Roy, but even when they were more tolerant towards the veneration of multiple deities like Vivekananda, these practices are framed as a lesser form of religion (Vivekananda 1963, 33). What all these reformers and their movements have in common is that they presented Hinduism as a religion that was able to stand on an equal footing with other religions including Christianity. Here we find an essential difference with the Indologists and their way of framing and presenting Hinduism. As shown in the previous chapter, the work of most Indologists was infused with the idea that Christianity has a superior status over other religions.

Both Vivekananda and Roy present an image of Hinduism as a religion that is tolerant and that also has certain universal qualities. Roy cooperated with the Unitarian movement and recognised similarities between his own message and the doctrines found in in this movement. Vivekananda presented the philosophy of Vedanta as something that is not just available for Hindus, but as a message available for everyone, regardless of their religion. A similar approach is later found in the yoga movement, where yoga is presented as a practice available for both Hindus and non-Hindus. Next to these characteristics of tolerance and universality, there is also criticism towards the efforts of Christian missionaries to convert Hindus. That criticism is found in all the reformers and their movements, but in its most fierce version in the Arya Samaj and their purification ritual leading to a reconversion. As such, the Arya Samaj presents a less tolerant image of Hinduism, one that competes with other religions in order to prove its own superiority and one that also includes a strong nationalist element.

Another important similarity found when comparing the different spokespersons and key figures that were addressed in this chapter is that all of them are Brahmans. As shown by Weber in the previous chapter, in traditional Hindu society, caste is the most important social unit. In its ranking order based on purity and pollution (Flood 1996, 59), the Brahmans as religious specialists and keepers of the Vedas, are at the top level of this hierarchy. The reformation or modernization of Hinduism was informed by the caste of the Brahmans, since all these reformers were Brahmans and resort to the philosophy of Vedanta. However, I would like to remark here that although a lot of these reformations are inspired by Vedanta, at the same time this should not be understood to mean that Hindu reformation equals traditional Brahmanical orthodoxy. The Vedanta and the Hinduism promoted by these Brahman reformers and their

movements was a modernized version of Vedanta that was explained in term of monotheism, rationalism and universalism. And a version of Hinduism that was purified of what was seen as Puranic superstitions, idolatry, unwanted traditional practices like child-marriage and the practice of *sati* (widow burning). Most Brahman reformers were critical about the institution of caste and often rejected it altogether or chose to reinterpret it in a more modernized version, like the Arya Samaj.

The inclusion of yoga as an essential characteristic of Hinduism shows a similar dynamic with the manner in which Vedanta was presented by Vivekananda as Hinduism's gift to the world. In order to spread the message of Ramakrishna, Vivekananda's master, the Tantric element in Ramakrishna's religion, which was according to Kripal the larger part of Ramakrishna's religious life (Kripal 1995) had to be altered. Kripal claims that these practices "have been artificially relativized, subordinated to a doctrinal schema foreign to Ramakrishna's Tantric world" (ibid, 100). In a similar fashion the practice of yoga and in particular *Hatha-Yoga*, which is in origin a Tantric practice (King 1999, 73) had to be altered and discarded from those elements that contradicted rationalism or elements that were related to Tantric rituals.

It is more than obvious that all the reformers and their different movements were inspired by European culture, including Christianity. Several academics working on Hinduism like Flood confirm these Christian elements in the Hinduism promoted by the reformers (Flood 1996, 250). However, the reformers did not uncritically accept everything European and Christian. They took some elements, adapted those for their own purposes but, sometimes very fiercely, rejected others. What they had most in common with the nineteenth century Indologists is that they presented doctrine, found in sacred texts, in this case the philosophy of Vedanta, as the essence of Hinduism and religion in general. As a result, there is less attention for rituals, religious customs and other expression of religiosity. Often these elements were even rejected as outdated or the wrong kind of religion. These elements are also often overlooked in our current presentation of Hinduism as a world religion. Or these elements are framed as popular Hinduism. This fascination or even obsession for doctrine and the rejection of everything that was considered perverted religion touches upon several fundamental questions for those who study religion: What is religion and how should we define and study religion? Or to particularize, what is Hinduism and how should we define and study Hinduism? These questions in relation to Hinduism as a world religion will be addressed in the sixth and seventh chapter of this thesis. Another question I like to present here, is what is lacking in how these Brahman Hindu reformers presented Hinduism as a world religion? They presented their modernized version of Hinduism partly derived from their own Brahmanical culture and civilization and partly influenced by Christian and European elements. However, their modernized version is not necessarily representative for those Brahmans that rejected their innovations or for all those other Hindus who are non-Brahmans. The elements that were left out, overlooked of even consciously put aside will be addressed in chapter seven as well. The overall conclusion of this chapter is that prominent Hindus in the nineteenth century, all of them Brahmans who presented a modernized image of Hinduism, were indeed responsible and actively involved in presenting Hinduism as a world religion.

CHAPTER 5: THE PRESENTATION OF HINDUISM IN ACADEMIC TEXTBOOKS ON WORLD RELIGIONS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This short chapter relates the image or presentation of Hinduism in academic textbooks on world religions to all the efforts of the academics and the prominent Hindu reformers discussed in the previous chapters. In this chapter I will show how the image of Hinduism with certain essential characteristics presented by the authors of these textbooks, is in many ways a continuation of the same building blocks that were provided by these scholars and the prominent Hindu reformers whose contributions were presented in the previous chapters. It is meant to show that these buildings blocks are still influential in our current image of Hinduism. The textbooks that I have chosen to include here are general academic textbooks on world religion, for instance *The World's Religions: Our great Wisdom Traditions*, by Huston Smith. Books that are meant to give university students an overview of those religions that were classified as world religions. Some of these books were already introduced in the second chapter when I addressed the diffuse meaning of world religions. There are numerous textbooks on world religions. It was of course impossible to include them all. Choices I have made to include the ones I have included, were in part the result of practical reasons. Some books were simply available in the university library and others which might have been included as well, unfortunately were not. In spite of that, I do find that the books I have chosen to include offer a good overview and were helpful in providing a good basis for my argument. For instance, Anderson's *The world's religions,* shows that Christian assumptions concerning world religions were still present during the fifties. Huston Smith's *The World's Religions,* is included because it is still widely used, as Catherine Bell found out, to her frustration (Bell 2008, 115). John Bowker's *Beliefs That Changed the World*, is included because it is one of the latest in this genre. I have also included a book in which the author is using world religions in a comparative way to make a certain point on religion in general.

This chapter is not about the work of academics who are experts in the field of Hinduism like Gavin Flood, Richard King or Wendy Doniger. Their work on Hinduism is usually very comprehensive and complete. Of course, these experts also refer back to the contributions of nineteenth century Indologists and prominent Hindu reformers and their movements from the same period. But this thesis is about the inclusion of Hinduism in the paradigm of world religions and its presentation within that paradigm. Therefore, I will limit the myself to those books that deal with Hinduism as a world religion amidst the other world religions. I will present these books in a chronological order, starting with the oldest ones.

5.2 HINDUISM AS A WORLD RELIGION IN THE FIFTIES

This paragraph describes and discusses all that is written down about Hinduism in *The world's religions,* by Anderson and *The Archeology of world religions,* by Finegan. I already presented both books in the second chapter when I addressed the paradigm of world religions. Both books were published in the fifties. Finegan who was an American archaeologist and Biblical scholar wrote his *The Archeology of world religions* from a more archaeological frame of reference, with much attention for material culture including religious art and imagery. Anderson's *The world's religions* is written from a predominantly Christian

perspective. This is no surprise since Anderson, who was an expert on Islamic law and who grew up in a conservative Evangelical family, was active as a missionary (Oxford Dictionary of National Biography 2004). Anderson is absolutely clear on his loyalty towards Christianity and his rejection of non-Christian religion which he names "Satanic substitutes" (Anderson 1950, 91). Both authors present an image of Hinduism as an ethnic religion, firmly connected to India and Indian people (Anderson 1950, 100) (Finegan 1952, 121), overlooking any universal characteristics of Hinduism or the existence of a Hindu diaspora in past and present. Both authors are roughly following a historical narrative in their explanation of Hinduism, starting with the Indus civilization. Including the Indus civilization is a new element, not found in the notable Indologists discussed in chapter three. The actual archaeological discovery of the Indus civilization was something that did not receive any proper attention until the interwar period in the twentieth century (Flood 1996, 24). As such, the inclusion of that civilization as part of the narrative told about the development of Hinduism as a religion is something new. The actual relation of the Indus Civilization and its people with Hinduism remains yet unclear (ibid, 29). Finegan presents a well-known image of sitting figure depicted on a seal found in Mohenjo-Daro as "the prototype of Siva" (Finegan 1952, 127), something that is done by several scholars, but that is most speculative (Flood 1996, 29). Whether the archaeological remains and the un-deciphered script found on seals could be understood as belonging to a religion, remains unclear as well (Doniger 2009, 81). The inclusion of the Indus Civilization in the narrative of Hinduism, does not in any way effect the way in which Hinduism is presented by both authors. Their historical framework in presenting a world religion is something that is often found in books on world religion and not only for Hinduism.

Both authors address the philosophy found in the Vedas. Finegan presents the Upanishads as the philosophical essence in Hinduism and explains the core ideas of Vedanta, but does not mention the word Vedanta (Finegan 1952, 136). But he does refer to commentaries written by the sage Shankara (ibid, 136), the most important ancient author within *Advaita*-Vedanta (Flood 1996, 239). Anderson dedicates a whole paragraph to Hindu Philosophy and presents Samkhya as dualistic and atheistic and Vedanta in terms of non-dualism. (Anderson 1950, 108). Once more Vedanta and the philosophical essence of the Upanishads are presented as the core of Hindu doctrine or theology. However, Finegan addresses also the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* in a separate large paragraph and names the *Bhagavad Gita* (part of the *Mahabharata*) as the "most important single work ever produced in India" (Finegan 1952, 154). This shows that the narrative on Hinduism as a world religion now also includes the epics as part of the Hindu canon. But emphasising the importance of the *Bhagavad Gita,* is once again a confirmation of how Vedanta is presented as the essence of Hinduism. The *Bhagavad Gita* in combination with the Upanishads and the *Vedanta Sutra* are the textual foundation of all philosophical schools of Vedanta (King 1999, 53). Emphasising the importance of the *Bhagavad Gita* results in even more support for the idea that the philosophy of Vedanta is the central doctrine of Hinduism.

Anderson's chapter on Hinduism includes a paragraph on philosophy with a section named: *Transmigration and Karma*, in which he names transmigration (reincarnation) as "the most typical feature of Hinduism" (Anderson 1950, 109) and in which he presents *moksha* or liberation as the end-goal. Weber's attention for caste has also found its way in Anderson's description of Hinduism as a world religion, for he dedicates a whole paragraph to caste, which he names "an immeasurable evil" (ibid, 106). Although Anderson is obviously writing from a Christian frame of reference, naming non-Christian religions "Satanic substitutes" (ibid, 191), both authors present somewhat similar characteristics of Hinduism in which they present a religion with a priestly caste, a set of canonical texts and a belief system based on the philosophy of Vedanta. Other characteristics include reincarnation and caste. There is not yet much attention for yoga although Anderson names it as one of the three paths in the *Bhagavad Gita,* leading towards liberation (Anderson 1950, 110). Finegan presents Hinduism as a fusion between Aryan tradition and Dravidian customs when he states, "a fusion was taking place between Aryan conceptions and other ideas deriving probably from early Dravidian backgrounds" (Finegan 1952, 144). This idea of Hinduism as a hybrid religion combining Aryan elements and Dravidian elements is an idea that is also found in the works of the nineteenth century Indologists and that even today is very much alive. Often the polytheistic elements, so visible in Puranic Hinduism are attributed towards the Dravidians. However, the disapproval for these elements is at least in Finegan's contribution less apparent.

What is striking is that Andersons chapter on Hinduism also includes a paragraph about what he names "popular Hinduism" in which he deals with what he names "primitive customs" (ibid, 111). This is striking because it is something I also found with some of the nineteenth century Indologists. For instance, Hopkins' *The Religions of India* includes a chapter named "the popular Brahmanic Faith" (Hopkins 1895, 242) and Monier–Williams' *Hinduism* includes as chapter named "modern idol worship, sacred objects, holy places and times" (Monier Williams 1877, 165). Both these chapters deal with what is often named 'popular Hinduism', referring to popular forms of worship, rituals, pilgrimage and the veneration of idols. A facet of religion that in the west is often called 'folk religion'. This separation of religion in what I like to name 'proper religion' and 'popular religion' is an approach I found often in academics who work on Hinduism. I found this separation even in Gavin Flood's otherwise very complete textbook *An introduction to Hinduism*. In the first chapter of this book, in which Flood deals with the general characteristics of Hinduism and the different traditions within Hinduism, he includes a paragraph named "popular traditions" (Flood 1996, 17). In this paragraph, he briefly describes local traditions, referring mostly to low-caste rituals and modes of worship, local gods and local narratives in vernacular languages. The occurrence of this distinction between proper religion and popular religion is not only common in these works on Hinduism, it also tells us something about how even today, many academics understand religion as a phenomenon. This is an issue I will deal with in the seventh chapter of this thesis.

5.3. HINDUISM AS A WORLD RELIGION TODAY

Huston Smith's *The World's Religions: Our Great Wisdom Traditions* (1991) starts with a chapter named "Points of departure" and then continues with a chapter on Hinduism. This chapter starts with a quote from Max Müller, in which Müller points to India as the place where mankind has deeply pondered over the greatest problems in life. Smith's approach in addressing Hinduism is unique since he does not provide a historical structure to explain the different historical developments and important Hindu texts that were produced. Furthermore, he seems not at all interested in discussing different canonical sacred texts. The rituals found in the Vedas are not addressed, nor the Aryan people who produced the Vedas. There are some quotes from the Upanishads (Smith 1991, 24) but the most regard is being paid to the *Bhagavad Gita,* from which Smith quotes several times. Smith presents the path of renunciation as the essence of Hinduism (ibid, 17), with liberation as its ultimate goal (ibid, 21). Although the word Vedanta itself is not found in Smith's chapter on Hinduism, the doctrine he presents behind his path of renunciation is nothing other than the philosophy of Vedanta. He elaborates lengthily on *atman, brahman, maya* (illusion) and *lila* (play of the divine), all terms related to the philosophy of Vedanta. He names Shankara, the most notable founding father of *Advaita*-Vedanta, as "the Thomas Aquinas of Hinduism" (ibid, 61). By doing so Smith presents the philosophy of Vedanta as the preeminent doctrinal substantiation of Hinduism, and the different yogic paths including devotion (*bhakti)* as the routes towards salvation. The influence of Vedanta doctrine in his chapter on Hinduism does not only becomes clear when reading this chapter but also because Smith remarks in his acknowledgments that his chapter on Hinduism "retains the authoritative stamp of Swami Satprakashananda who was then the spiritual director of the Vedanta Society of Saint Louis" (ibid, xv). It clearly shows how Smith's ideas on Hinduism are not only informed by Indologists or other academics working on Hinduism, but how his image of Hinduism is deeply informed by notable Hindus and their organisations.

One of the paragraphs in Smith's chapter on Hinduism is named "The Way to God through Psychophysical Exercises." This paragraph is a continuation of a former paragraph in which the different yogic paths as mentioned in the *Bhagavad Gita* are introduced. In it Smith elaborates about yoga for the length of nine pages, explaining the eightfold path of classical yoga as described in Patañjali's *Yogasutra*. Smith tries to be as comprehensive as possible about yoga, giving yoga a large and significant place in his chapter on Hinduism. This is a remarkable thing when compared with the minor attention to yoga in the

works of nineteenth century Indologists. They addressed yoga, if they addressed it all, mostly in combination with the classical philosophy of Samkhya emphasising the philosophical doctrine behind classical yoga. Smith seems to be more preoccupied by the practice itself, elaborating on concentration, posture and breathing techniques, comparable with how Vivekananda dealt with yoga in his letters and speeches for Americans. Smith even mentions *Hatha-Yoga* and refers to *Light on Yoga* (1965), a book by B.K.S. Iyengar (Smith 1991, 27) a student of the renowned Krishnamacharya, one of the founding fathers of modern yoga, whom I already mentioned in chapter four.

John Bowker, author of *Beliefs that Changed the World: The History and Ideas of the Great Religions* (new and updated edition 2015), dedicates a chapter of his book on world religions to India, which in itself is remarkable since the chapters on Christianity, Judaism, Islam and Buddhism are simply named after the religion that is dealt with. Such is not the case for Confucianism and Taoism (merged together in a chapter named China) and Shinto (chapter named Japan). However, the chapter India is predominantly about Hinduism, although some paragraphs are reserved for Jains, Parsis and Sikhs. Jainism and Sikhism are portrayed as religions belonging to the same family as Hinduism, but that in the course of time broke away to form independent religions (Bowker 2015, 127). Bowker's writings on Hinduism are a confirmation of what I would name a one-sided and Vedanta informed image of Hinduism. It would be unfair to conclude that the image presented by Bowker is only about Vedanta. Such is not the case. He also names the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana,* and names the *Bhagavad Gita* as "most revered book" for many Hindus (ibid, 137). But his paragraph on 'belief' is predominantly about the philosophy of Vedanta and the Upanishads. Another paragraph named "Philosophy, Reform and Modern India," is also dominated by the philosophy of Vedanta and elaborates on Shankara's version of Vedanta, the later version of Ramanuja and the modern innovations of Ram Mohan Roy, the Arya Samaj and Vivekananda. Hindu polytheism is denied and Hinduism's gods and goddesses are explained in a Vedanta inspired form of monotheism (ibid, 146). To be fair, Bowker dedicates also paragraphs to Vaishnavism, Shaivism and Shaktism including Tantra. But these paragraphs are less comprehensive and are predominantly about belief, hence the title of the book. But when we compare Bowker's writing on these topics to nineteenth century Indologists, we can only conclude that the negative way in which Puranic Hinduism was framed, has disappeared. Yoga is first introduced as a tantric practice to awaken *Kundalini* energy (ibid, 161) but later on connected to the atheist philosophy of Samkhya. Here Bowker discusses Patañjali's classical system of Yoga (ibid, 163), something which might confuse the reader, since he fails to explain how the practice of yoga in a tantric manner differs from Patañjali's classical Yoga.

5.4 HINDUISM AS A SINGLE NARRATIVE

Another good example of how the current image of Hinduism as a world religion is constructed with the help of building blocks that were created in the nineteenth century is Loyal Rue's *Religion is not about God.* In it Rue, who is an American professor in religion and philosophy, presents a general theory of religion. As such it is not an academic textbook featuring the general characteristics of the different world religions, but a book that explains the phenomenon of religion in a general theory, by using world religions as examples. Rue's theory on religion is that the essence of religion is not God but a central narrative (Rue 2005). That central narrative or "the narrative core" as Rue names it, is maintained by a set of mechanisms or strategies that Rue names "ancillary strategies" (Rue 2005, 126). Hinduism, like Christianity, Judaism, Islam and Buddhism is rewarded with a separate chapter by Rue. East Asian religion is not overlooked by Rue, but none of its traditions was rewarded with a separate chapter. To apply Rue's theory to Hinduism is quite a challenge and the only reason Rue succeeds is because he presents what he names "Classical Hinduism" (Rue 2005, 252) as a coherent tradition. The image of Hinduism that is constructed by Rue uses the well-known building blocks: a book religion; with a sacred language; a priestly caste and the caste system as the ancient Vedic form of social stratification. Although Rue acknowledges that there are plentiful narratives found in Hinduism, he chooses to present the philosophy of Vedanta and concepts

found in the Upanishads as the overarching narrative core of Hinduism (Rue 2005, 256). Furthermore, he presents knowledge, karma (action) and devotion, the three spiritual paths, found in *Bhagavad Gita,* and as such part of classical Vedanta, as the ways for the individual Hindu to end the cycle of re-births (Rue 2005, 257). Of these three different paths, not surprisingly most attention goes towards knowledge or *Jnana-Yoga*. In all fairness, I have to admit that Rue also writes lengthily on Puranic Hinduism, which he mostly connects with the path of devotion (*bhakti*). But the paragraphs on Puranic Hinduism are entirely about the veneration of Krishna, an avatar of Vishnu. Therefore, I must conclude that the image of Hinduism presented of Hinduism by Rue makes use of all the known building blocks that were already present in the nineteenth century and that his image of Puranic Hinduism is very much informed by the Vaishnava tradition within Hinduism. The Vaishnava tradition includes all those traditions that evolved around the god Vishnu and his avatars. The Vaishnava tradition is also closely linked with the philosophy of Vedanta and Gavin Flood even names Vedanta "a Vaishnava theological articulation" (Flood 1996, 238). The other two mayor Hindu traditions, Shaivism and Shaktism are completely ignored by Rue. Local traditions are ignored as well.

CHAPTER 6: CRUCIAL FACTORS IN THE INCLUSION OF HINDUISM IN THE WORLD RELIGIONS PARADIGM

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is meant to answer the research questions that were presented in the introduction. In order to answer these questions, the data provided in the three previous chapters are connected together, presenting the bigger picture. This will lead to a more complete and clear overview. I will deal with the three separate sub questions in different paragraphs, to end with the main research question.

6.2 HINDUISM AND OTHER NON-ABRAHAMIC ASIAN RELIGIONS

This paragraph deals with the first sub-question presented in the introduction of this thesis. In it I will compare the emergence of Hinduism within the world religions paradigm with some of the other religions that were included.

- **In the pre-modern categorization system religions that we currently call Hinduism were classified as paganism or idolatry. The same is true for Confucianism or Shinto, both religions, like Hinduism, with large numbers of adherents. But over time Hinduism managed to become a category in its own right, within the world religions paradigm, whereas Confucianism or Shinto in most cases were less successful in creating an independent category. Why was Hinduism more successful?**

What became clear in chapters three and four was that, even prior to the creation of the world religions paradigm, the construction of Hinduism as a single religious category was already in its end phase. Currently several scholars working on Hinduism question whether Hinduism should be understood as a single religious category. Richard King for instance names Hinduism a modern myth and argues that it is a construct without an essence (King 1999, 185). However, during the formative years of the world religions paradigm most Indologists already dealt with Hinduism as a distinct religion. Indologists were questioning which elements of Hinduism could be understood as proper religion and which elements should have been categorized as perverted or deteriorated religion, not whether Hinduism was a western construct or invention. What was not yet settled during that period was the proper name of this religious entity. There was not yet a conclusive agreement about the correct name of this religion. Especially in some of Müller's earlier work I detected a preference for Brahmanism as the correct name. The preface to the *Sacred Books of the East* speaks of the religion of the Brahmans (Müller 1876, xli), not of Hinduism or the religion of the Hindus. Although Brahmanism was often used to refer to the formative period including the era in which the Vedas were composed, Hinduism as the correct name gained more acceptance over time. Nowadays it is fully accepted as the correct name, even among scholars who are of the opinion that Hinduism as a single religious category is a western invention. Further there was no clarity concerning the exact boundaries, especially in relation to Jainism and Sikhism. Even today these boundaries seem to raise questions and often Jainism is treated as an "offshoot of Hinduism" (Smith 1991, 54) and Sikhism is

commonly dealt with in the same chapter as Hinduism in books on world religions (ibid, 75-77) (Bowker 2015, 180-191). These traditions are often perceived as distant family members of Hinduism.

The same is true, but to a lesser extent, for Buddhism. As shown in chapter two, Tiele included Buddhism in his categorization model as a world religion, but excluded Hinduism (Tiele 1885). With its proselytizing ambitions and its universal message exceeding the boundaries of India, Buddhism was for Tiele more qualified as a world religion than Hinduism. The choice to include Hinduism in the world religions paradigm as understood today and its success as a distinct religion within that paradigm, is in my opinion partly due to its relation to Buddhism. Both Hopkins and Max Weber address Hinduism and Buddhism together in their books on Indian religion (Hopkins 1895) (Weber 1964), and Müller did the same in his *Lectures on the origin and growth of religion as illustrated by the religions of India* (1878). This is not because these scholars were unsure about the status of Buddhism as a separate category, but because the genesis of Buddhism can only be understood when historical Hinduism is understood first. This is clearly visible in most books on world religions where chapters on Hinduism always precede the chapter on Buddhism. In a similar fashion chapters on Judaism most often precede the chapter on Christianity. Hinduism is simply indispensable when one wants to understand Buddhism. That partly also explains why Hinduism is often more successful as a world religion than Confucianism, Daoism and Shinto. Although these religions often exist alongside Buddhism in East Asia, they are not indispensable for understanding Buddhism in the same manner that Hinduism is indispensable to understand Buddhism during its formative years. Shinto, which is only limited to Japan, is even more often than Confucianism and Daoism not included in books on world religion. It was not included in Müller's list of book religions and remained absent from the *Sacred Books of the East*. I am not sure about what Müller's exact considerations might have been to exclude Shinto. Perhaps he might have been completely unaware of its existence. But it is well known that Müller only chose to include religions with books that were considered authoritative (Molendijk 2016, 139). Not including Shinto in the *Sacred Books of the East* has made its inclusion in the paradigm of world religions clearly less successful. Although Shinto is included in Finegan's *The Archeology of World Religions* (Finegan 1952), it is not included as a distinct religion in Anderson's *The World's religions* (Anderson 1950). Huston Smith's *The World's religions* does not include Shinto either (Smith 1991), and Bowker's *Beliefs that Changed the World* only includes a chapter on religion in Japan that deals with all religions found in Japan, including Shinto (Bowker 2015, 261-285). Like Hinduism, Shinto lacks a founder. But it also lacks an authoritative canon of texts and a continuous doctrinal or theological substantiation (ibid, 281). Furthermore, Shinto has no central deity or concept that shows a certain similarity with other doctrines or ideas concerning monotheism. These characteristics, namely a canon of authoritative texts, concepts similar to European ideas about monotheism and doctrinal substantiation, are elements that are present in Hinduism, although in a completely different manner and consistency than in most Abrahamic religions. In that sense, even Confucianism was more successful as a world religion, when compared with Shinto. In imitation of Ricci, the sinologist Jesuit, James Legge succeeded, in spite of great controversy, in translating and presenting the Chinese concept of *shang-ti* as a Chinese equivalent of God (Sun 2013, 45). Something comparable was not done, and may even have been impossible for Shinto.

Another reason why Hinduism appears to be more successful is that Hinduism is a religion with large numbers of adherents who identify themselves as Hindu, whereas Chinese and Japanese religions seem to have a very different relation with 'religion' as a marker for identity. One of the problems discussed by Anna Sun concerning Confucianism as a world religion, is the problem of religious identity. Sun shows in her chapter *Counting Confucians through Social Scientific Research* (Part of *Confucianism as a world religion*) that east Asians in social surveys often report that they do not feel they belong to a certain religious category or religious denomination. This gives the impression that for instance Chinese people are the most unreligious people in the world (Sun 2013, 110-119). However, when asked about having ever worshipped gods or worshipped ancestors, Taiwanese in majority (84,8%) respond with a yes (Sun 2013, 114). This is completely different for Hinduism. Most contemporary Hindus are absolutely sure about their identity as a Hindu, especially in contrast to Christians or Muslims (Flood 1996, 5). That also clearly distinguishes Hinduism from East Asian religions like Confucianism.

Further, Hinduism also had, in terms of academic interest, a sizable head start as a separate religious category in comparison with East Asian religions. Indian religion, including Hinduism in the nineteenth century was studied by large numbers of British, German and other European and American scholars. Sanskrit as a language with a distant relation to European languages and as the language of the Vedas and other Hindu and Buddhist texts gained wide interest among Indologists. This interest went along, as we have seen in chapter three, with an interest in the purported racial connection between the ancient Aryans and Europeans. When I had to choose which Indologists should be included for the purpose of this thesis, I could choose from an enormous group of different Indologists. Sengupta, who wrote a collection of biographies of western Indologist, includes 280 Indologists in his synopsis (Sengupta 1996)! When we compare this massive interest in Sanskrit and religious texts written in Sanskrit, together with the Aryan connection, with for example the Chinese language and Confucianism, the difference is astonishing. Anna Sun describes how Müller, who had no knowledge of Chinese whatsoever, could only rely on the Scottish missionary and sinologist James Legge for his inclusion of Confucianism in the *Sacred Books of the East* (Sun 2013, 46). Apparently before Legge's work, Chinese religion was mostly studied by missionaries, and even Legge himself started his career as a missionary (ibid, 39). The large number of Indologists is in large part due to the fact that the British East India Company and later the British crown already in the nineteenth century had a history of centuries of colonial involvement in South Asia. China, Japan and Korea where never full-fledged European colonies, in comparison with British India. There was some European involvement in China and European nations did have some colonial possessions in China, but mostly in the form of economic strongholds scattered around the country.

Also, the term Confucianism came into being considerably later than Hinduism. Sun ascribed the first proper use of the term to Legge, in a pamphlet in 1877 (Ibid, 39). As shown in chapter two, Hinduism as term referring to the religion of the Hindus, already came into being 50 years prior to the first use of Confucianism as the proper academic term for the religion established by Confucius.

6.3 PROMINENT HINDUS AND PRESENTING HINDUISM AS A UNIVERSAL RELIGION

This paragraph deals with the second sub-question presented in the introduction. In it I will return to the role of prominent Hindus and their movements for the inclusion of Hinduism in the world religions paradigm.

- **To what extent were prominent Hindus themselves influential in qualifying Hinduism as a world religion?**

Masuzawa in *the Invention of World Religions* very much acknowledges the agency of European academics in what she calls "the objectification of the world's great religions" (Masuzawa 2005, 282). She mostly ignores the contribution of Hindu reformers in the inclusion of Hinduism as a world religion. She dedicates no more than seven pages to Hindu reformers in *the Invention of World Religions*. Although she uses words and phrases like "interactive development" and "symbiotic process", the Hindu reformers involved are portrayed by Masuzawa as if their ideas were only inspired by European concepts and culture (ibid, 282). In my opinion Masuzawa underestimates the influence of these Indian reformers and attributes too much agency to European academics alone in the process of including Hinduism as a distinct religion in the world religions paradigm. First of all, these Hindu reformers did not speak in one voice. They did not just copy what European scholars wrote about Hinduism. As shown in chapter four, Ram Mohan Roy very strongly emphasized that Hinduism in origin was monotheistic. Although the ideas of Ram Mohan Roy show similarities with Christian concepts, most of them in essence are not in line with mainstream

Christianity. Like the Unitarians and their non-mainstream ideas, Roy rejected both the trinity and the doctrine of the incarnation. Although Roy pursued brotherhood and cooperation with Christians, he never aimed for conversion. His main goal was to transform Hinduism into what he perceived as the authentic religion of his ancestors. Dayananda Sarasvati and his Arya Samaj, which also strongly promoted a monotheistic Hinduism, emphasised a nationalistic version of Hinduism. This version challenged and criticized Christian and Islamic aspirations to convert Hindus. Furthermore, they presented the Vedas as a source of scientific knowledge, something that nowadays is also voiced by Hindu nationalists. Ramakrishna, who could not speak English (Smith 2003, 173) and as such had no access to European literature or writings, presented an image of Hinduism as universal and tolerant. It is this image that went global due to the efforts of his disciple Swami Vivekananda.

All these reformers found common ground in their strong fascination for the philosophy of Vedanta and a preference for monotheism. They all shared an aversion to polytheism and to the veneration of images, with many European scholars. However, this aversion to polytheism was less fierce in Vivekananda who portrayed the veneration of multiple deities just as a lesser form of religion (Vivekananda 1963, 33), not as something that was essentially wrong. This moderate tolerance towards polytheism and its framing as a lesser form of religion was not new and was not a European idea. Shankara, the eighth century Indian sage who standardized the doctrine of *Advaita*-Vedanta, already held that devotion (*bhakti*) to a personal god was not wrong, but secondary to the more rational notion of Brahman (the ultimate reality) as non-personal (King 1999,218). Vivekananda's tolerance towards polytheism and devotion to a personal god is no surprise when we consider that his own teacher Ramakrishna initially was extremely devoted to the Tantric Hindu goddess Kali (Müller 1898, 49-56), before he came to the realisation that all religions are true and just different paths leading to the same truth. In that sense, we could conclude that Ramakrishna in his devotion for Kali, whom he called mother, professed exactly that kind of Hinduism that was rejected and criticized by both reformers and Indologists. It is all the more striking that Ramakrishna, as an inspirational teacher, and his message of universality are the foundation of Vivekananda's Vedanta Society and their modernized version of Vedanta philosophy. Jeffrey Kripal suggests that the Tantric elements found in Ramakrishna's life and message were covered up (Kripal 1995, xv), and indeed the Tantric elements so visible in Ramakrishna's practices, are not explicitly present in the writings of Vivekananda. This shows some similarity with how the traditional practice of *Hatha-Yoga*, a Tantric practice, was transformed into a practice that is dominated by the practice of *asana* (posture), emphasising physical strength and health, and that for the most part it was stripped of its more Tantric elements (Singleton 2010, 31). In a similar fashion, Hinduism as a world religion was stripped of those elements that did not seem to reflect modernity, rationalism and other ideas inspired by the European Enlightenment.

The participation of notable Hindus, among them Vivekananda, in the first Parliament of World Religions in Chicago has been decisive for the status of Hinduism as a world religion (Flood 1996, 258). Hinduism's success as a full-fledged world religion, one among other world religions, is in large part the result of the image that was presented by Vivekananda and the other Hindu reformers who were present at the Parliament. That image consists of a religion that in essence is monotheistic, rational, universal and a religion that is able to stand on an equal footing with other world religions. In order to create that image, a modernized version of the traditional philosophy of Vedanta was presented as the doctrinal or theological essence of Hinduism. That image was purified of those religious elements that were considered outdated, perverted and polytheistic. And yes, that image was inspired by modernity, the European enlightenment and Christian concepts. But instead of copying exactly what Europeans had done before, these Hindu reformers used all these elements to shape their own modernized version of Hinduism.

According to Jason D. Fuller, the Hindu modernists were not a reflection of all Hindus in those days. Fuller concludes that most of them were part of the urban English speaking middle class (Fuller 2009). According to my own analyses in chapter four the reformers that I dealt with in that chapter, were all Brahmans. And yes, with the exception of Ramakrishna, they were also part of the English-speaking middle class. Therefore, I must conclude that the image of Hinduism presented by these reformers was very much informed by English speaking urban middle class men who belonged to the Brahman caste.

6.4 HOW INDOLOGISTS MOULDED HINDUISM INTO THE CASTING MOULD OF A PROPER WORLD RELIGION

This paragraph deals with the third sub-question.

- **Which academic arguments and processes were decisive in recognizing Hinduism as an independent category within the world religions paradigm?**

For Müller, the inclusion of what he then named the religion of the Brahmans into the *Sacred Books of the East* and thus later in the world religions paradigm, must have been a logical decision, one that he could substantiate because this religion had a strong connection with a set of canonical texts, written in a language considered sacred. Most Hindus accept the Vedas as a revelation (*shruti*). That the relation between Abrahamic religions and their sacred texts is of a very different nature compared with the relation between Hindus and their Vedas, did not keep Müller from including Hinduism. Several contemporary Hindu rituals, ideas, doctrines are in reality unrelated or only loosely related to the actual content of the Vedas. To fix this, Müller and his fellow Indologists had to present ancient Brahmanism and the philosophy of Vedanta as the core of Hinduism. This academic tendency to revert back to the Vedic period of Hinduism, to the Upanishads and to Vedanta, partly explains why these Indologists and even Weber were relying heavily on what Vasudha Narayanan names "chronological, historical declamation of the religious tradition" (Narayanan 2000, 763). This interest in the chronological history and the order in which sacred Sanskrit texts where produced is still found in textbooks on Hinduism. Nowadays they often start with the Indus Valley Civilization, although not one single text from that period has been successfully translated (Doniger 2009, 65-84). Most volumes continue with the Aryans and the Vedas; moving on towards the Upanishads; after which they often deal with the epics and the Puranas, to end finally with modernity. This historical approach can also be understood as a way in which Indologists could show that Hinduism used to be a very civilized and sublime religion, with similarities to classical Greek culture and concepts found in Christianity. Only later on, over the course of time it became a perverted form of religion, dominated by polytheism and superstition. Looking back, I find it very understandable that these Indologists, who were philologists after all, very much focused on the textual corpus and the historical development. But this tendency resulted in less attention for religious practice, like ritual. This fixation on texts, with a special fascination for the philosophical content of the Upanishads, went along with rejecting or ignoring all those practices and beliefs that according to Müller and his contemporaries were not qualified as proper religion, including polytheism, the veneration of images and rituals connected to polytheism and image worship. Basically, what was rejected was Puranic Hinduism, which was framed as a later perversion of the purer Brahmanism. Further the philosophy of Vedanta and ideas found in the Upanishads were connected to ideas and concepts that were either found in Christianity or in classical European culture; ideas and concepts that showed similarities with Christian ideas about monotheism. This interest in doctrine is also the motivation behind the construction of the *Sacred Books of the East*. Max Müller was convinced that religion could be only understood through text (Molendijk 2016, 42). The Indologists I have included for the purpose of this thesis are not as fully convinced as most Hindu reformers about the monotheism of early Brahmanism. Most of them prefer to speak of pantheism instead of monotheism. They were not convinced either of the idea that Hinduism could stand on an equal footing with Christianity. In that sense, they were everything but neutral in their ideas on what could be presented as a proper religion. Max Weber, who was not an Indologist, is the only exception included in this thesis. But in spite of these controversies, Hinduism could be qualified as a proper religion, which led eventually to inclusion in the paradigm of world religions.

The way in which those Indologists portrayed Hinduism, by emphasising its relation to a canonical set of sacred texts and by presenting Vedanta as its theological foundation, went at the expense of all those elements both in the past and in the present, that could not be qualified as proper religion. What these Indologists did, was to forge Hinduism in their own nineteenth-century concept of what religion ought to look like. This nineteenth-century concept of religion is often linked to what is called the

Protestant bias: A Protestant inspired academic bias among scholars of religion, in which religion is often defined as a set of coherent doctrines or a belief system concerning the supernatural and in which other elements such as materiality and rituals are overlooked (Houtman and Meyer 2012). Will Sweetman, associate Professor, Asian Religions in New Zealand, argues that scholarly concepts of what religion is, are too much informed by Christian concepts, in which religion is modelled according to Christianity (Sweetman 2003, 335). He literally names "Protestant presuppositions" (ibid, 329). In his argument, these Protestant presuppositions are attributed to scholars who argue that Hinduism is a not a single religious category. But in my opinion these presuppositions are also found in the nineteenth century Indologists who had a strong preference for those elements in Hinduism that resembled Christian and Classical European concepts. This is clearly visible in the several contributions of Indologists discussed in chapter three. This Christian frame of reference is more present in the works of some Indologists than in others. In Müller's work, I found admiration and fascination for Hindu concepts and ideas in the Upanishads, and at the same time the strong conviction that Christianity is superior. According to Arie Molendijk in *Friedrich Max Müller & the Sacred Books of the East,* Müller was convinced of the idea of "a divine element in all 'great religions of the world'" (Molendijk 2016, 160). But in his ideas on universality a transformed Christianity was the ultimate end goal (ibid, 161). This is also clearly visible in Müller's biography of Ramakrishna. In the preface of this biography Müller elaborates on a religious future in which Hindus and non-Hindus will worship the same "Supreme Spirit" (Müller 1898, 8).

6.5 ANSWERING THE MAIN RESEARCH QUESTION

This paragraph is meant to answer the main question. In order to do that, I first presented and discussed all the sub-question in the paragraphs above. This paragraph is in part a summary of the most important factors that I dealt with in the paragraphs above.

Which factors were crucial in the historical process that led scholars of religious studies to include the religion currently known as Hinduism, in the world religions paradigm?

My effort to answer the main question did not result in finding an actual historical momentum in which both prominent Hindu spokespersons and scholars of religion during some sort of global event decided that Hinduism was to be accepted as a full-fledged world religion among all these other world religions. This is simply because there was never such an event. The closest thing to such an event may have been the First World Parliament of Religions in Chicago in 1893, which was indeed for Hinduism a very conclusive and important event in which Hindus themselves were able to present Hinduism as a religion with a universal significance. But in actuality the inclusion of Hinduism in the world religions paradigm was a long process in which first several more or less connected Indian traditions, categorized as paganism by Europeans, had to be acknowledged by western scholars as a single religious entity. That part of the story is not included in my thesis, since I found out that Hinduism in the period I have been dealing with, roughly from the Indian mutiny in 1857 and onwards, already was treated by European scholars as a single religious entity. However, there was not yet clarity about the correct name or the exact boundaries. As shown in the second chapter the paradigm of world religions emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century. The term world religions appeared first in Dutch and is an invention of the Dutch scholar Tiele in 1876, who only classified three religions as world religions and Hinduism was not one of them (Tiele 1885). Although the categorization model presented by Tiele was not very successful, the term world religions was. I do not think there is overall scholarly agreement about the exact meaning of the term itself. Whatever the exact meaning might be of the term itself, in my opinion it has been and is mostly

applied to the book religions as presented by Friedrich Max Müller in the *Sacred Books of the East,* with the addition of Christianity and Judaism, which were not included in the *Sacred Books of the East.* Zoroastrianism on the other hand is included in the *Sacred Books of the East,* but often not fully accepted as a world religion. Having a sacred text, from which it is possible to extract a more or less coherent theological or philosophical doctrine, seems to be crucial for inclusion in the world religions paradigm. Shinto, sometimes nowadays included as well, but more often not, is the only exception, for it does not have a comparable sacred text. Other, but less important features for world religions are the number of adherents and influentially. Hinduism, as 'the religion of the Brahmans' was included in the *Sacred Books of the East* (Müller 1876, xli). That Hinduism lacked a founder, did not appear to be problematic. However, that is the most important difference between Hinduism and all the other religions included in the *Sacred Books of the East.* All these religions, with the exception of Hinduism are named "the religion of the followers of…." (Müller 1876, xli). By naming Hinduism, the religion of the Brahmans, Müller very much acknowledges the importance of the Brahman caste as the preservers and the specialists of this particular religion.

Next to the inclusion of Hinduism in the *Sacred Books of the East* both Indologists and important Hindu reformers had to find a coherent doctrine in the form of theology or philosophy in the canon of sacred Hindu texts. In reality Hinduism as a religion is unique due to the fact that it has not just one coherent doctrine underlying the several Hindu traditions, but many. Next to the six orthodox *darshanas* (schools of philosophy), the amount of other philosophies or metaphysical systems that are part of the different Shaiva and Shakti sects, including the Tantric sects, is numerous. Nevertheless, both the Indologists and the Hindu reformers chose to present the philosophy of Vedanta as the prime doctrinal substantiation of Hinduism. This importance of Vedanta is even visible in the *Sacred Books of the East.* All the translated Sanskrit texts part of Hinduism, that are included in the *Sacred Books of the East* are either part of the Vedas, including the Upanishads or they are part of what is known as the *Dharma Shastras,* texts related to duty (*dharma*), the different stages of life (*ashrama*) and the classical caste system (Varna) (Flood 1996, 56). The only two exceptions are the *Bhagavad Gita* and the *Vedanta Sutras.* And once again both these texts could be perceived as foundational, together with the Upanishads, for the philosophy of Vedanta (King 1999, 53). Not even one text related to Puranic Hinduism was included in the *Sacred Books of the East.* The focus on Vedanta was of course neither wrong or surprising since Vedanta is and was a very influential school of thought within Hinduism. Gavin Flood names it "the theological articulation of the Vedic traditions" and "a discourse which penetrated Vaishnava and, though to a lesser extent Shaiva and Shakta thinking" (Flood 1996, 17). In my opinion Vedanta was not only chosen because of its influence, but also because it corresponded so well with European ideas about monotheism, rationalism and with European ideas about what a proper religion ought to be.

The choice for Vedanta by both Indologists and the Hindu reformers resulted in two important side effects. The first is that as a result of presenting Vedanta as Hinduism's prime doctrinal substantiation, other ideas and traditions and Puranic Hinduism with its multiple deities and rituals, were rejected as later perversions. All those aspects that could not qualify as proper religion were presented as a deteriorated version of the purer Vedanta. And as shown in chapter three, most Indologists held the non-Aryans, like the Dravidians responsible for this process of deterioration. The second side effect was that Hinduism, very much like Protestant Christianity was presented as a belief system with a set of coherent ideas found in sacred texts. In actuality Hinduism is a religion in which in general belief is of less importance than practice. Or in the words of Gavin Flood: "What a Hindu does is more important than what a Hindu believes" (Flood 1996, 12). This emphasis on belief is related to what has been called the "textualization of Eastern religions" (Molendijk 2016, 168), and to a Protestant bias (Houtman and Meyer 2012). As a result, there is less attention for ritual obligations, social relations, materiality and customs related to religion. Presently there is certainly also attention for orthopraxy within Hinduism. Hinduism is no longer only studied by philologists with their preoccupation for Sanskrit texts. On the contrary philology seems to be in decline (Pollock 2011). Anthropologists, sociologists and other disciplines are studying Hinduism as well. But their contributions are often not yet included in textbooks on world religions. Weber's attention for caste in Hindu society and Vivekananda's emphasis on yoga found their way into most textbooks as essential characteristics of Hinduism. But the whole discourse on the

philosophy of Vedanta is still dominating most textbooks on world religions, when Hinduism is addressed.

I would like to illustrate my point here with a story I am borrowing from Wendy Doniger. In her very comprehensive monograph named *the Hindus: An Alternative History*, she presents a Hindu myth, named *The Brahmin Head and the Pariah Body* (Doniger 2009, 63). The myth is about a Brahmin woman and a Dalit woman who were executed by decapitation. Further on in the story, both women were revived but the heads were mixed up by mistake, creating a woman with a Brahmin head and a Dalit body and a woman with a Dalit head and a Brahman body. Doniger uses this story to show that Hinduism should be understood as plural (two women) and that Hinduism is unique for its hybridity in which Brahmanical culture and religion was and still is informed by non-Brahmanical culture and religion and vice versa (ibid, 64). For the inclusion of Hinduism in the world religions paradigm, both scholars and Hindu reformers presented Hinduism in a similar fashion, as a woman with a Brahman head and a Dalit body. The Brahman head is in my opinion essentially the philosophy of Vedanta in a modernized version, a version that satisfied the requirements of modernism, enlightenment and what was then thought of as proper religion. So, to stick with the myth, let us say that the Indian lady had her hair cut in a European fashion. However, the Dalit body – for what is a head without a body – did not satisfy the requirements and had to be covered in a decent outfit that made everything under it (polytheism; veneration of images; materiality; local rituals and customs) almost invisible. As a result, in the paradigm of world religions we are mostly dealing with Hinduism as a lady with a fashionable and modern head meeting the standards of what is understood as proper religion, but with a body that for the most part is modestly concealed in a dress, in order to cover the hybridity of the complete body.

6.6 CONCLUSION

I have argued here that presenting the (modernized) philosophy of Vedanta by both scholars and Hindu reformers as Hinduism's doctrinal essence, and the inclusion of Hinduism in the *Sacred Books of the East*, as a religion with a sacred text, together with the way Hinduism was presented by Hindu spokespersons during the first world religions Parliament, have been crucial for the inclusion of Hinduism in the world religions paradigm. Presenting Hinduism as a book religion and a belief system with Vedanta as its doctrinal essence is for a large part the result of nineteenth century European ideas about what a proper religion ought to look like. It is not just that these three things were crucial for the inclusion in the world religions paradigm, but they also had a profound effect on the present image of Hinduism as a world religion. That image is still in many ways dominated by the idea that Vedanta is Hinduism's essence. As a result, that image is a very one-sided version of Hinduism, dominated by a modernized version of Brahmin orthodoxy, in which there is too little attention for orthopraxy including rituals and materiality. Furthermore, this one-sided image is a poor reflection of the unique diversity within Hinduism, including the contributions of low-caste Hindus and local Hindu traditions.

CHAPTER 7: IMPLICATIONS AND QUESTIONS THAT ARE YET UNANSWERED

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This last chapter is meant to discuss the implications of this thesis for the subject matter – the inclusion of Hinduism in the world religions paradigm – in particular and for the broader field of religious studies. Furthermore, I will present questions that were not answered in this thesis and present new questions that could emerge as a consequence of this thesis. I will start with addressing the world religions paradigm as a classification model presenting some but definitely not all, religions found on this planet. Another paragraph is dedicated to some thoughts and ideas on presenting Hinduism as a world religion in a different manner.

7.2 THE WORLD RELIGIONS PARADIGM

As we have seen, the world religions paradigm is a paradigm that at least for Hinduism, but certainly for other religions as well, communicates the idea of religion as the belief in a set of coherent doctrines or as something that in its essence is a belief system. This becomes clear just by looking at the titles of books on world religions. Huston Smith speaks of "our great wisdom traditions" (Smith 1991) and Bowker uses words like "belief" and "ideas" (Bowker 2007) in his title. Jonathan Z. Smith, an American historian of religion names it a "shift to belief as the defining characteristic of religion" (Smith 1998, 271) and attributes this shift to European scholarship. This touches upon the discussion about the correct definition of religion, on which there is until now no scholarly agreement. Amidst all the different essentialist and functionalist definitions, the field of religious studies is also struggling with the paradigm of world religions itself. This paradigm presents a number of religions in a particular manner, and itself lacks a clear definition. Although I think world religions in general are those religions that have a sacred text, and that as such are related to the book religions presented by Müller: Brahmanism, Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, Mosaism, Christianity, Mohammedanism, the religion of Confucius and the religion of Lao-tse (Müller 1870, 53-55). Most, but not all of them are large in terms of numbers of adherents; are considered influential and universalistic to a certain extent, referring back to Tiele's original ideas on world religion as universalistic religious communities (Tiele 1885). Masuzawa understands the term as an "equivalent to religions of the world" (Masuzawa 2005, 10). But in reality, not all religions found on this planet are included or at least not as a single category. African religions, traditions of native Americans and most new religions are excluded or are categorized together in groups very similar to the earlier rest category 'paganism'. According to Masuzawa the world religions paradigm is a categorization model that uses a Hellenised and Aryanised Christianity as the prototype, or as a model for religion (Masuzawa 2005). This of course is debatable, but for Hinduism as a world religion it is completely clear as shown in several of the former chapters, that ideas about what a proper religion ought to look like were very much informed by Christianity, rationalism and enlightenment. In the discourse on world religions, religion is mostly presented as a set of coherent theological ideas. For Hinduism as a world religion this resulted in extracting a single doctrinal substantiation – the philosophy of Vedanta – out of a multitude of religious ideas found in the Hindu tradition and ignoring or trivialising all those elements that were held as un-proper religion. It also meant that Hinduism was presented as a belief system and not as an orthopraxy. If this is the case for Hinduism and most probably for other Asian religions, then scholars of religion should

reconsider the world religions paradigm. First of all, the discourse on world religion excludes several traditions that do not seem to qualify as a world religion. Secondly the paradigm emphasises the concept of religion as the belief in a set of coherent ideas, in terms of doctrine, theology and philosophy, but often fails to acknowledge that some of the religions included – and Hinduism is one of them – are not just about belief and ideas, but are about orthopraxy. The field of religious studies is a multi-disciplinary field that deals with the phenomenon of religion from several different disciplines of scholarship, including philology but also history, sociology, anthropology, psychology to name a few. This diversity of different disciplines, all with their own approach is not yet fully visible in how world religions are presented. If the scholars of religion strive to maintain the paradigm of world religions – which seems unlikely – then adaptations that include the diversity of the field should be made.[8] On the other hand, scholars of religion could also raise the question if the paradigm of world religions is sustainable enough to keep it in place. Perhaps it should be replaced by other classification models.

7.3 PRESENTING HINDUISM AS A WORLD RELIGION IN A DIFFERENT MANNER

The question I am raising in this paragraph is whether it is possible to present Hinduism as a world religion in a different manner. A manner that does justice to all these elements and characteristics of Hinduism that are excluded or overlooked in the present image of Hinduism as a world religion. It is completely understandable that authors of academic textbooks on world religions choose to present global contours and general characteristics of a particular religion. Further we cannot expect teachers who teach an introductory course on religion to have in-depth knowledge on Hinduism. When a complex religion like Hinduism is squeezed into a single chapter the author needs to prioritize. Similarly, when a teacher addresses Hinduism during a few classes as part of an introductory course on religion, much will be left out. A single chapter, or a few classes can never be as complete and comprehensive as Gavin Flood's *Introduction to Hinduism* or Wendy Doniger's *The Hindus: An Alternative History.* But who is to decide which elements are important and which elements are of lesser importance? Gavin Flood suggests in dealing with defining Hinduism to use what is named the prototype theory developed by George Lakoff (Flood 1996, 7). In it Hinduism as a category consists of central prototypical elements and elements that are less prototypical or even a-typical. This might work for defining Hinduism, but for a general summary about Hinduism in an academic textbook dealing with world religion, it might once again result in presenting Vedanta and some other elements like reincarnation, yoga and the caste system as prototypical and ignoring a whole lot of other less prototypical elements.

Craig Martin who wrote a chapter of *After World Religions,* suggest for teaching Hinduism as a world religion a selection of different Hindu texts, such as parts of the Vedas, the Upanishads and the *Bhagavad Gita* and in addition a collection of writings by Vivekananda. This comparative approach is meant to show students how traditions are reinvented and reinterpreted in what he names "a process of ongoing evolution" (Martin 2016, 70). Although I appreciate his approach, it is once more an approach that is very much based on texts and ideas found in these texts. Something which is perfectly fine, as long as it would be expanded with all those non-textual elements already mentioned before.

In *The Hindus: An Alternative History,* Wendy Doniger endeavours to present how marginalized groups like women, low-caste groups and tribal groups in South Asia, contributed to the historical development of Hinduism, hence the title, 'an alternative history' (Doniger 2009). She gives a voice to all those groups that both in the past and in the present, were considered unorthodox, impure and low-caste

[8] The bachelor 'world religions' which I started in 2008 was renamed 'religious studies' in 2014.

or even without caste. However, for a relatively short chapter on Hinduism in a general textbook on world religion, it would be impossible to include all the traditions of these groups of Hindus. The main issue here is that what is important as a general characteristic of Hinduism is the interaction between what Flood names as prototypical for Hinduism and those traditions from the more marginalized groups within Hinduism. Traditions that are often referred to as local traditions, popular Hinduism; unorthodox traditions or simply folk-religion. To explain this a bit further, I return here to the story that I borrowed from Wendy Doniger about the lady with the Brahman head and the Dalit body, which was presented in chapter six. In the current representation of Hinduism as a world religion, most of the attention is focused on the Brahman head, largely the result of both the scholarship of nineteenth century Indologists and Hindu reformers. To present a more accurate image of Hinduism as a world religion, the Dalit body so to speak, should be more visible and above all – and that is the essence of what I would like to recommend here – the connection between head and body and the interaction between those body parts, creating the hybridity that Hinduism is (ibid, 64) should be presented as Hinduism's main characteristic. A chapter on Hinduism as a world religion in an academic textbook should be able to show how local traditions and rituals of a low-caste village in South India or in a remote area like the Nepalese Himalaya are informed by and connected with the 'higher' Brahmanical traditions. This process, which is named Sanskritization (Flood 1996, 18), in which the more overarching Brahmanical traditions with their Sanskrit canon are informing local traditions, rituals and customs is a process that in past and present produced what we now name Hinduism. Moreover, this process is not a one-way-affair. It also works in the opposite direction. Low caste traditions, popular regional traditions and local deities have been known to inform higher Brahmanical culture and traditions (ibid, 18). An example of this part of the interaction between Brahmanical traditions and other traditions, might be what is named the Tamil Veda, a collection of songs and poetry written in Tamil that express the devotion and love for the pan-Hindu deity Vishnu and that also had an impact beyond South India (ibid, 131-132). As I have mentioned before, Wendy Doniger's *The Hindus: An Alternative History,* is primarily about the contribution of all those non-Brahman Hindus and about the role of women in shaping, creating and re-creating Hinduism. This hybridity and interaction between Brahmanical Hinduism and the non-Brahmanical and unorthodox parts of Hinduism is so essential for Hinduism that it should not be absent from textbooks on world religions, because without it one fails to understand what is essential to Hinduism.

Alongside acknowledging the non-Brahmanical in Hinduism, authors of textbooks on world religions should also stop presenting religion – any religion for that matter – only in terms of belief in ideas and doctrine. The building blocks that created our present image of Hinduism as a world religion are primarily shaped by philologists and their interpretations based on textual traditions. I completely acknowledge the importance of this side of the story about Hinduism and the efforts of these nineteenth century Indologists. But only emphasising doctrine, theology and philosophy certainly does not tell the whole story. In *Liberation and Lentils* Vasudha Narayanan, an Indian-American Professor of religion tells an anecdote about her first years as a graduate student. She mentions how a fellow student working on the Vedas responds when she tells him that introductory textbooks on the Hindu tradition lack certain elements, such as cooking the right auspicious kind of lentils for certain religious holidays. Her fellow student refers to these elements in a derogatory fashion as "anthropological stuff" (Narayan 2000, 761). It is exactly this 'anthropological stuff' that is lacking in textbooks on world religion when Hinduism or other traditions are discussed. Things like rituals, material culture related to religion, social relations, food etcetera. Narratives, certainly present in the textual canon of Hinduism, for example in the epics and the Puranas, are left out as well. Sometimes the *Mahabharata* is mentioned, but often only to put the *Bhagavad Gita* (part of the *Mahabharata*) and its philosophical content in the spotlight. In *Lived Religion: Faith and Practice in Everyday Life,* Meredith B McGuire, an American Professor of Sociology and Anthropology points towards a different understanding of religion. An understanding that is more focussed on religion as it is lived and practiced by individuals not as how it is defined by religious organisations (McGuire 2008). This different understanding has not yet found its way to authors of academic textbooks on world religions. Nevertheless, especially Hinduism is a religion in which material culture, social relations, rituals, food and so on, are extremely important. William Dalrymple, a Scottish historian and author who wrote a whole series of mostly non-academic books on religion and history in South Asia, did a perfect job in including those elements in *Nine Lives: In Search of the Sacred in Modern India* (Dalrymple 2009). In it he tells

the stories of nine individuals in modern South Asia and their different religious paths. In these very personal and unique stories all those elements have a prominent role. I realize that it must be hard for authors of academic textbooks on world religions to include those elements, especially since it might be rather complicated to distract general trends and characteristics from religion as lived. And also, because definitional boundaries at the level of religion as it is lived are rather vague (McGuire 2008, 19-44). Nevertheless, it is of great importance for a more complete image of Hinduism and for religion in general that those elements also find their way to these textbooks on world religion. It will help students in religious studies to be aware of the fact that the boundaries created by scholars and by religious organizations are often constructs that in reality are les sharp, especially on an individual level, than they appear to be in textbooks on world religions.

7.4 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

In this paragraph, I would like to present some questions that are until now unanswered and I would like to recommend ideas for further research topics related to the subject of this thesis. I would like to start with mentioning (again) that due to the fact that this is a master thesis I had to limited myself severely in the number of textbooks on world religions; general academic studies on Hinduism as a religion; the abundance of scholarly material produced by nineteenth century Indologists; the biographies on these men and the works of Hindu reformers. I have endeavoured to present here those Indologists, reformers and textbooks on world religion that I assessed as essential, to present the broad outlines of the factors that contributed to the (hi)story of Hinduism as a world religion. But this, of course, could be done much more comprehensively by including more Indologists, more reformers and more textbooks on world religion. A more comprehensive study for instance for a PhD could support, refine or refute my findings.

What also was not included in this thesis, but most certainly is related to its topic is how European esoteric and 'spiritual' organizations and individuals which we nowadays often refer to as 'New Age' presented their own image of Hinduism and oriental religion in general. The most notable of these organisations is the Theosophical Society founded by the Russian spiritualist Madame Blavatsky (1831-1891) and the American Colonel Olcott (1832-1907). The organisation's headquarters are situated in India (Flood 1996, 270). In several of the contributions of both nineteenth century Indologists and Hindu reformers I found evidence that both groups were well aware of their existence and although most Indologists were very critical about the efforts of these organizations and individuals, some of the Hindu reformers were in touch with these esoteric organizations. Müller for instance mentions how Dayananda Sarasvati, the founder of the Arya Samaj for a short while cooperated with Madame Blavatsky. Müller was very critical about their cooperation (Müller 1898, 24). This cooperation between prominent Hindu teachers and European esoteric organisations has led to the incorporation of a variety of Hindu concepts in New Age like spirituality. Some of those concepts were altered or completely reinterpreted (Clarke 2006, 74). As such it has been influential in western images of Hinduism.

Also, related to the topic of this thesis is Gandhi (1869-1948), the leader of the Indian independence movement. Gandhi communicated his own very ethical version of Hinduism and became world famous for his policy of non-violence (Flood 1996, 260). I have not included Gandhi in this thesis because his involvement in Indian politics (1915 and onwards) started considerably later than that of most other Hindu reformers. Nevertheless, his image of Hinduism as an ethical and non-violent religion also had its own impact of Hinduism as a world religion. Gandhi's Hinduism with its tolerance towards Islam (Smith 2003, 185) is fundamentally different when compared with how modern Hindu nationalists present Hinduism.

Currently Hindu nationalism is on the rise. Narendra Modi, India's Prime Minister whom I have mentioned in chapter four because of his proposal to create an international day of Yoga, is a member of

the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), a Hindu nationalist party. Political parties like the BJP and other nationalist organisations such as the Rashtriya Svayam-Sevak Sangh (RSS) and the Vishva Hindu Parishad (VHP) present their own image of Hinduism. This nationalist image of Hinduism as a single religion is partly rooted in the way nineteenth century Hindu reformers and their organisations presented Hinduism. Particularly the Arya Samaj has been influential in presenting a non-pluralist version of Hinduism (Flood 1996, 256). A version that is less tolerant towards other non-Indian religions. For instance, the idea of reconversion was first launched by the Arya Samaj. The organisation constructed a purification ritual named *shuddi* in which former Hindus who had become Christians could be reconverted back to Hinduism (Vandevelde 2012, 37). Reconversion is no longer only something of the Arya Samaj but has been copied by the VHP and the RSS and is now available for Muslims too. I will not address Hindu nationalism here any further, but their image of Hinduism is in some ways related to the Hinduism presented by Hindu reform movements that originated in the nineteenth century like the Arya Samaj.

All the different questions I presented above, are more or less related to the image of Hinduism as a world religion and are as such related to the topic of this thesis. However, they were too distant to include them in this thesis, but could certainly be part of further research. Further these questions show clearly that there are many different images and presentations of Hinduism. Hinduism as a world religion is just one of these many images.

REFERENCES

Anderson, Norman. 1950. *The world's religions.* London: Staples Printers Limited

Barrows, John H. ed. 1893. *The World's Parliament of Religions: An Illustrated and Popular Story of the World's First Parliament of Religions, Held in Chicago in Connection with the Columbian Exposition of 1893*. Chicago: The Parliament Publishing Company

Bell, Catherine. 2008. "Extracting the Paradigm----Ouch!" *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion* 20 114-124

Bowker, John. 2015. *Beliefs that Changed the World: The History and Ideas of the Great Religions* (New and updated edition, first edition 2007). London: Quercus Publishing Ltd

Bose, Sugata and Jalal Ayesha. 1997. *Modern South Asia.* Delhi: Oxford University Press

Dalrymple, William. 2009. *Nine Lives: In Search of the Sacred in Modern India.* London: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc

Clark, Peter B. 2006. *New Religions in Global Perspective.* Oxon: Routledge

Cotter, Christopher R. & Robertson, David G. 2016. *After World Religions: Reconstructing Religious Studies.* Oxon: Routledge

Doniger, Wendy. 2009. *The Hindus: An Alternative History.* New York: Penguin Books Ltd

Finegan, Jack. 1952. *The Archeology of world religions. The background of Primitivism, Zoroastrianism, Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism, Shinto, Islam, and Sikhism.* Princeton: Princeton University Press

Flood, Gavin. 1996. *An introduction to Hinduism.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Frykenberg, Robert. E. 1993. "Constructions of Hinduism at the Nexus of History and Religion." *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 23:3 523-550

Fuller, C.J. 2004. *The Camphor Flame: Popular Hinduism and Society in India.* (revised and expanded edition. First edition 1992) Princeton: Princeton University Press

Fuller, Jason D. 2009. "Modern Hinduism and the Middle Class: Beyond Reform and Revival in the Historiography of Colonial India." *The Journal of Hindu Studies* 2 160-178

Ghose, Jogendra Chunder. 1901. "Introduction." In *The English works of Raja Rammohun Roy*, edited by Jogendra Chunder Ghose, i-xxxii. Calcutta: Srikanta Roy

Houtman, D. & Meyer, B. 2012. *Things: Religion and the Question of Materiality.* New York: Fordham University Press

Hopkins, E.W. 1895. *The Religions of India.* Boston: Ginn & Company, Publishers

King, Richard. 1999. *Indian Philosophy: An Introduction to Hindu and Buddhist Thought.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press

_____. 1999. "Orientalism and the Modern Myth of "Hinduism"." *Numen* 46:2 146-185

Kittelstrom, Amy. 2009. "The International Social Turn: Unity and Brotherhood at the World's Parliament of Religions." *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation* 19:2 243-274

Kripal, Jeffrey J. Kripal. 1995. *Kali's Child: The Mystical and the Erotic in the Life and Teachings of Ramakrishna.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Lorenzen, David. N. 1999. "Who Invented Hinduism?" *Society for Comparative Study of Society and History* 630-659

Martin, Craig. 2016. "Religion as Ideology." In *After World Religions: Reconstructing Religious Studies,* edited by Christopher R. Cotter & David G. Robertson, 63-74. Oxon: Routledge

Masuzawa, Tomoko. 2005. *The Invention of World Religions: Or how European Universalism was Preserved in the Language of Pluralism.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press

McGuire, Meredith. B. *Lived Religion: Faith and Practice in Everyday Life.* Oxford: Oxford University Press

Molendijk, Arie L. 2016. *Friedrich Max Müller & the Sacred Books of the East.* Oxford: Oxford University Press

Monier-Williams, Monier. 1877. *Hinduism.* London: Society for promoting Christian Knowledge

Müller, F. Max. 1870. *Introduction to the Science of Religion: Four lectures Delivered at the Royal Institution; With Two Essays, On False Analogies, and The Philosophy of Mythology.* London: Longmans, Green

_____. 1876. "Preface." In *Sacred Books of the East,* edited by Friedrich Max Müller, ix-xxxviii. Oxford: Oxford University Press

_____. 1878. *Lectures on the origin and growth of religion as illustrated by the religions of India.* London: Longmans, Green, and Co.

_____. 1879 "Introduction to the Upanishads "In *Sacred Books of the East,* edited by Friedrich Max Müller, 1vii-ci. Oxford: Oxford University Press

_____. 1898. *Ramakrishna, His Life and Sayings.* London: Theophania Publishing Society

Narayanan, Vasudha. 2000. "Diglossic Hinduism: Liberation and Lentils." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 68:4 761-779

Pollock, Sheldon. 2001. "Crises in the Classics." *Social Research* 78:1 21-48

Polo, Marco. 1254-1342. *Travels of Marco Polo, the Venetian* the transl. of Marsden rev., with a selection of his notes; ed. by Thomas Wright 1854

Ricklefs, M.C. Lockhart, Bruce. Lau, Albert. Reyes, Portia. Aung-Thwin, Maitrii, 2010. *A new History of Southeast Asia.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan

Ringer, Fritz K. 2004. *Max Weber an intellectual biography.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press

Roy, Ram Mohan. 1901. *The English works of Raja Rammohun Roy*, edited by Jogendra Chunder Ghose. Calcutta: Srikanta Roy

Rue, Loyal D. 2005. *Religion Is Not About God: How Spiritual Traditions Nurture Our Biological Nature and What to Expect When They Fail.* New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press

Seager, Richard Hugues. 1987. *The World's Parliament of Religions, Chicago, Illinois, 1893: America's Religious Coming of Age* Ph.D. Dissertation: Harvard University.

Seager, Richard Hughes. 1995. *The World's Parliament of Religions: The East/West encounter, Chicago, 1893.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press

Sengupta, Gauranga Gopal. 1996. *Indology and its Eminent Western Savants (Collection of Biographies of Western Indologist).* Calcutta: Punthi Pustak

Smith, David. 2003. *Hinduism and Modernity.* Malden: Blackwell Publishing Ltd

Smith, Huston. 1991. *The World's Religions: Our great Wisdom Traditions* (revised and updated edition of "The religions of Man" 1858). New York: Harper Collins Publishers

Smith, Jonathan Z. 1998. "Religion, Religions, Religious." In *Critical Terms for Religious Studies,* edited by Mark C. Taylor, 269-284. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Stausberg, Michael. 2007. "The study of religion(s) in Western Europe(l): Prehistory and history until World War ll." *Religion* 37:4 294-318

Stietencron, Heinrich von 1997. "On the proper use of a deceptive term" In *Hinduism Reconsidered,* edited by Günther-Dietz Sontheimer and Herman Kulke, 32-53. Delhi: Manohar

Sweetman, Will. 2003. ""Hinduism" and the History of "Religion": Protestant Presuppositions in the Critique of the Concept op Hinduism." *Method & Theory in the Study of Religion* 15 329-353

Sun, Anna. 2013. *Confucianism as a World Religion: Contested Histories and contemporary realities.* Princeton: Princeton University Press

Tiele, C.P. 1885. "Religions." In *Encyclopaedia Britannica.* 9th edition. Edinburgh

Vandevelde, Iris. 2011. "Reconversion to Hinduism: A Hindu Nationalist Reaction Against Conversion to Christianity and Islam" *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 34:1 31-50

Vivekananda. 1893. "Address by Swami Vivekananda: Welcome Address to the World's Parliament of Religions, Chicago, September 11, 1893" *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies* 36:2 94-95

_____. 1964. *The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda* Calcutta: Sri Gouranga Press Private Ltd.

Weber, Max. 1946 (1913-1915). "The Social Psychology of World Religions" In *Essays in Sociology.* Translated and edited by Hans H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, 267-301. New York: Oxford University Press

_____. 1958 (1921) *The Religion of India: The Sociology of Hinduism and Buddhism.* Translated by Hans H. Gerth and Don Martindale. New York: Free Press

INTERNET SOURCES AND OTHER MEDIA

Schmidt-Garre, Jan. 2012. *Breath of the Gods* (Documentary). Berlin: PARS media

Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. 2004. "Anderson, Sir (James) Norman Dalrymple." Accessed June 23, 2017 http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl:2048/view/article/54706

Website United Nations Information Centre for India and Bhutan. 2014. "United Nations declares 21 June as International Day of Yoga." Accessed June 23, 2017. http://www.unic.org.in/display.php?E=13712&K=Yoga