

The Convergence of Dalit-Advaitic Theologies : An exploration

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We live in an age of relational convergence of religions¹ where Pluralistic Inclusivism² becomes a practical possibility in dialogical theologies.³ If that is so, convergence of two schools of thought becomes a minor issue and hence our optimism of the coming together of the Dalit-Advaitic theologies. This paper is a preliminary exploration towards the possibility of the convergence of Dalit-Advaitic theologies. Advaitic theology is almost a hundred years old. We have many Indian Christian theologians like Brahmabandhav Upadhyaya, K. Subba Rao, Carl Keller, Mark Sunder Rao, J. G. Arapura, S. J. Samartha, Raimundo Panikkar, R. V. De Smet, Swami Abhishiktananda, Bede Griffiths, and Sara Grant who have attempted to develop theology in the context of Advaita Vedānta. The present author's own modest attempt has been in this area of theology.⁴ There are also a number of Neo-Vedāntins like Swami Vivekananda, Swami Abhedananda, S. Radhakrishnan, Swami Akhilananda, Swami Prabhavananda, Swami Ranganathananda, Swami Satprakashananda and Bhawani Sankar Chowdhury who have interpreted Jesus and evaluated Christianity in terms of Advaita Vedānta.⁵ Thus the area of Advaitic theologies is a very vast one for study. Dalit theology⁶ is rather a recent development in India and it considers itself as an anti-Brahminic, counter theology. What we attempt to demonstrate in this paper is, Advaitic theology is not anti-dalit theology ; Advaita can provide deeper foundations for Dalit theology. This we do in terms of a study of the life and thought of two prominent socio-religious leaders of India namely Swami Vivekananda, (1863-1902)⁷ a Neo-Vedāntin and Brahmabandhav Upadhyaya (1861-1907)⁸ a Vedāntin-Christian. A third person whose life and thought would have been a ratification of the thesis of this paper is Sri Narayana Guru,⁹ but a study on him is beyond the scope of this brief paper. If the first section of the paper is on Swami Vivekananda, the second deals with Brahmabandhav Upadhyaya, and finally we end with our concluding findings.

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1. The meeting of Dalit-Advaitic Theologies in Swami Vivekananda

Swami Vivekananda thought that the idea of Vedānta is to harmonise all¹⁰ and he specially saw religious harmony in terms of practical Vedānta which teaches the service of God in all Jīvas.¹¹ His was practical Vedānta inspired through the liberal ideas of Sri Ramakrishna, where in there was place equally for a Chandala and Brahmin.¹² "All this manifoldness is the manifestation of that one. That one is manifesting Himself as many, as matter, spirit, mind, thought and everything else".¹³ "The theme of the Vedanta is to see the Lord in everything, to see things in their real nature, not as they appear to be".¹⁴ The Swamiji understood by the Ātman not the individual ego but the All-pervading Lord, residing as the Self and Internal Ruler in all. He is perceived by all as the sum total. This being so, as Jīva and Īsvara are in essence the same, serving the Jīvas and loving God must mean one and the same thing.¹⁵ Asking them to specially remember, the Swaminji told his disciples that after so much austerity, the truth he has understood is : God is present in every Jīva ; there is no other God besides that and those who serve Jīvas, serve God indeed. The Ramakrishna Mission which Swami Vivekananda founded remembers this advice in its vision and work and the social services it carries out bear witness to this.¹⁶ Advaita Vedānta cannot but be practical Vedānta.

According to Swami Vivekananda one should share the taste of Advaitic realisation with others ; one has to liberate the whole universe before leaving this body. One who is established in the bliss of the Infinite will feel the whole sentient and insentient world as one's own Self. Then that person cannot help treating all people with the same kindness as he/she shows towards himself/herself. This is what the Swamiji meant by practical Vedānta.¹⁷ The Swamiji has exhorted thus : "Raise once more that mighty banner of Advaita for on no other ground can you have that wonderful love until you see that the same Lord is present everywhere. Unfurl that banner of love."¹⁸ In his view it is the Vedānta philosophy which establishes the basic metaphysical truth underlying all ethical codes like 'do not kill, do not injure ; love your neighbour as yourself. The metaphysical truth is, Ātman is absolute, all-pervading and infinite and each individual soul is a part and parcel of that Universal Soul. Therefore in injuring one's neighbour, a person actually injures oneself.¹⁹ It is thus Advaita Vedānta which gives a philosophical basis for equality ; for social justice. It is Advaita Vedānta which

inspires us to arise, and awake and stop not till the goal is reached. In the Chicago Parliament of Religions 1893 Swami Vivekananda suggested that we should go beyond the conception of the Fatherhood of God and the consequent brotherhood of humans in order to arrive at an ideological basis for loving the whole humanity. It is the potential divinity of humans which can function as a sound basis for human love and concern for each other. "I think we should love our brother whether we believe in the universal fatherhood of God or not, because every religion and every creed recognises man as divine, and you should do him no harm that you might not injure that which is divine in him".²⁰

Swami Vivekananda exhorted his disciples to open their eyes against the evils of caste system and untouchability.²¹ Caste system according to the Swamiji is only a social custom and is opposed to the religion of the Vedānta.²² Practical Vedānta is the attainment of freedom, physical, mental and spiritual, for us and for others and "those social rules which stand in the way of the unfoldment of this freedom are injurious, and steps should be taken to destroy them speedily".²³ Not birth but the *gunas* should decide the caste, e.g. the Sāttvikas are Brahmins.²⁴ Also, in one sense caste is inevitable because people have to form themselves into groups. But that does not mean there should be privileges.²⁵ "None can be Vedantists, and at the same time admit of privileges of any one, either mental, physical, or spiritual ; absolutely no privilege for anyone. The same power is in every man . . . ; the same potentiality is in everyone . . . The idea that one man is born superior to another has no meaning in the Vedanta."²⁶ "In the Atman there is no distinction of sex, or Verna or Ashrama, or anything of the kind."²⁷ India cannot awaken and progress unless the poor untouchables are also fully incorporated in its life. The Swamiji said :

I see clear as daylight that there is the one Brahman in all, in them and me — one Shakti dwells in all. The only difference is of manifestation. Unless the blood circulates over the whole body, has any country risen at any time? If one limb is paralysed, then even with the other limbs whole, not much can be done with that body — know this for certain.²⁸

The Practical Vedānta of Swami Vivekananda thus stands for the cause of the Dalits. One greatness of his thought lies in its bringing together of the people of upper castes and the Dalits through the philosophy of Advaita Vedānta. There is no need for the Dalits to revolt against the Upanisads and the

Advaita Vedānta which in reality stand for their cause. The revolt of the Dalits has to be against those upper castes who are ignorant of the teaching of equality of the Upanisads and its systematisation in Advaita Vedānta. There is much possibility for synthesis of Vedāntic and Dalit theologies and this insight was implicitly proclaimed by Swami Vivekananda as early as almost the end of 19th century and today the Dalit theologians and those who fight for the cause of Dalits can be greatly enlightened by this²⁹ If the Dalit theologians hold that the sufferings of the Dalits should be the basis or starting point of Dalit theology, Swami Vivekananda is inspiring them to add to it the basis of the one Innermost Ātman shared by all alike as well.³⁰

2. The coming together of Dalit-Advaitic theologies in the life of Brahmabandhav Upadhyaya

Brahmabandhav Upadhyaya was a unique person of modern Indian religio-political history because he imparted contributions equally in both political and religious spheres. Religion and politics met in his person in a uniquely positive way. If religion was the force behind him, politics was the outcome. His religion was Vedantic-Christian ; where as his involvement in the National Movement was for the liberation of Indians who were the suffering Dalits under British imperialism. Upadhyaya's example proclaims the fact that a Vedāntin-Christian is the ideal person to involve totally in the struggles of the people to liberate them. His life is the proclamation of the fact that Vedāntic theology and Dalit theology are not opposed to each other but complimentary to one another. In terms of the prevalent external forces of encouragement or discouragement, in terms of the need of the hour, a person can move from one to the other, without discarding the other.

Perhaps Brahmabandhav Upadhyaya can be considered as the first liberation theologian or Dalit theologian as he sacrificed his life for the total independence of Indians who were Dalits under the British domination. His involvement in the National Movement was total during the last phase of his life (1901-1907). Bipin Chandra Pal, writing in 1907, in his paper *New India* eulogized Brahmabandhav Upadhyaya in these terms : "It was this sturdy patriot, whose almost unaided exertion, has brought the people of Bengal to a practically resistful attitude today. Of all men, it was he who imparted a militant character to our Swadeshi Movement".³¹ Bipin Chandra Pal's observations were not a false eulogy as Upadhyaya had significantly contributed

to the nationalist movement. The nature of this contribution, and its placement in the hierarchy of Indian nationalists, need reexamination today.

Upadhyaya made his Bengali daily *Sandhya* into a popular newspaper, which drew the masses into the main stream of the political movement.³² He gave the Bengal partition agitation of 1905 such an infusion of strength that its ultimate success may, with fairness, be traced back to him. He gave Indian nationalism a mass appeal that anticipated Gandhiji's own move by decades. His fearlessness and selflessness was a tremendous inspiration and strength to the nation.³³

On 20th September 1906 Brahmabandhav Upadhyaya through *Sandhya* called for complete independence — "impossible at present. But non-the-less, that is the goal we should always keep before our eyes".³⁴ He was the first of the national leaders to suggest complete independence for India. We should note that Aurobindo Ghose had not yet entered politics, having arrived in Bengal only a month earlier. In the eyes of Indians Upadhyaya became a symbol of the desire for Swaraj.

The gulf between the Extremists and the Moderates widened since the Congress meeting at Benares in 1905. Upadhyaya took the initiative to invite Tilak, Lajpat Rai and Kharpade to Bengal and organise the Swadeshi Fair entitled the Shivaji Festival. In 1906 he opposed Surendranath Banerjee's scheme for Dominion Status and he was the main leader in engineering the disengagement of the Bengal Extremists from the Moderates. The final split came at Surat in 1907. The Extremists now demanded full administrative control of the government and Tilak was their leader. But Upadhyaya was not happy with this demand. Tilak's Swaraj envisaged only administrative autonomy. But *Sandhya* declared in 1907 : "We want complete independence. The country cannot prosper so long as the veriest shred of the Feringhi's supremacy over it is left".³⁵ There came into existence in Bengal many secret societies like the Anusilan Samiti which preferred the cult of the bomb and the revolver. They needed a philosophy and *Sandhya* met this demand. The Extremists avidly read the stirring articles that Upadhyaya wrote.

The agitation against the partition of Bengal gathered strength from 7th August and reached its peak on 16th October, 1905. The agitation had by then merged with the boycott and swadeshi movements. Gradually it outgrew its provincial limitations and broadened into Gandhiji's national campaign for freedom. But its roots lay in the movement of Bengal and in such patriots as Upadhyaya, who first conceived its aims and methods and provided it with inspiration.

In August 1907 the premises of the *Sandhya* were searched; in September and October of the same year two Sedition Cases were launched against the editor, manager and printer of the paper.³⁶ One of the articles forming the subject matter of the prosecution was entitled *Ekhan theke gachi premer dat* and this appeared in the *Sandhya* on 13th August 1907. Brahmabandhav Upadhyaya wrote :

"We have said over and over again that we are not Swadeshi only so far as salt and suger are concerned What we want is the emancipation of India. Our aim is that India may be free, that the stranger may be driven from our homes, that the continuity of the learning, the civilisation and the system of the Rishis may be preserved. . . . O Mother ! Let us be born again and again in India till your chains fall off. First let the Mother be free, and then shall come our own release from the worldly bonds. . . . O Feringhi, . . . our power is more than human. It is divine . . . We have all the advantages of the ancient greatness of India on our side. We are immortal . . . We hereby summon you to battle."³⁷

Inspiration to fight for the total independence of India was the contribution of Upadhyaya to Indian Christian Theology from the Dalit perspective. He suffered and died for India's freedom.

In the beginning of his theological thinking, till about 1898, Upadhyaya had the idea that the Vedas should be the basis for Christian theology in India.³⁸ During this period he also had the notion that as opposed to theism Advaita Vedānta propagates pantheism.³⁹ But as he came to understand Advaita Vedānta more closely he became of the firm belief that by Advaita Vedānta, pantheism would be crushed out of existence and true theism could be made to flourish in India.⁴⁰

We may identify that the main Vedāntic contributions of Brahmabandhav Upadhyaya to Indian Christian Theology lie in his explanation of the doctrine of Trinity as *Saccidānanda* and the doctrine of creation as *Māyā*. True, here he is following the basic methodology of putting an already formulated Christian theology in Vedāntic terms.⁴¹ But, in effect, his effort has accomplished much more than this. The reason for this achievement is that Upadhyaya never tries to reinterpret the Advaita Vedāntic concepts *Saccidānanda* and *Māyā* to produce new clothing for the already formulated Christian doctrines of Trinity and creation. What he establishes is that Trinity is *Saccidānanda* and that Creation is *Māyā*. This indeed is a valuable contribution. From such a conclusion the way ahead is clear. It is possible to bring out new insights on the mysteries

of Trinity and Creation from the Vedantic doctrines of *Saccidānanda* and *Māyā*. Here Vedānta to some extent, receives authority to formulate an understanding of Trinity in terms of *Saccidānanda*, of Christ in terms of *Chit* and of Creation in terms of *Māyā*. Of course Upadhyaya has not explicitly proclaimed so. But he has indicated the way forward. In as much as he was the first to indicate such a way, he is truly *the Father of Indian Christian Theology as well as Indian Dialogical Theology*.

In Advaita Vedānta, Sat-Chit-ānanda (Being-Intelligence-Bliss) indicates the Supreme Being, Brahman. Upadhyaya pointed out that to speak of Brahman as Sat-chit-ananda means that Brahman knows Himself and from that self-knowledge proceeds His eternal beatitude. Brahman is related of necessity only to the Infinite Image of His own being, mirrored in the ocean of His knowledge. This relation of Being (*Sat*) to Itself in self-knowledge (*chit*) is one of perfect harmony, bliss (*Ānanda*).⁴² In the view of Upadhyaya the Christian doctrine of God as Trinity is 'exactly the same' as the Vedāntic conception of Brahman as *Sat-chit-ānanda* because in the Trinity (Father, Son and the Spirit) the knowing self is the Father, the known self or the self-begotten by His knowledge is the Son and the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of reciprocal love proceeding from the Father and the Son.⁴³ Upadhyaya wrote a Sanskrit hymn *Vande Saccidānandam*⁴⁴ in adoration of Parabrahman who in Christian faith is referred as Father, Son and Holy Spirit. This hymn is now very popular among the Indian Christians.

According to Brahmabandhav Upadhyaya *Māyā* signifies the will-power (*sankalpa*) of God. It means that creation is by the power (*sakti*) of the will (*sankalpa*) of God.⁴⁵ The term *Māyā* involves three truths : God is not necessarily a creator ; creatures are non-beings, transformed as it were into being ; and this transformation is caused by the mysterious power of the will of God.⁴⁶ It is Upadhyaya's declaration that this Vedāntic doctrine of *Māyā* which explains creation and the Christian doctrine of creation are identical because, according to Christian doctrine of creation also, God does not create out of necessity but through the overflow of his perfections ; creation has no being in itself, what it has is derived being and creation is the effect of the divine thought.⁴⁷ He even said that the term *Māyā* can express the meaning of the doctrine of creation in a far better way than the Latin root *creare*.⁴⁸

Upadhyaya's involvement in the National movement has to be seen as a continuation of his theological struggle and his innovation of the idea of total independence from the British' has to be understood as a continuation of his theological

innovations of Trinity as *Saccidānanda* and creation as *Māyā*. There is a movement and growth from one to the other which sometimes we are unable to perceive. But to the extent we are unable to perceive the connection — and this is the connection of Vedantic theology and Dalit theology — we are unable to understand this enigmatic personality, Brahmabandhav Upadhyaya. India was very much dear to Upadhyaya, both Indian religious thought culminating in Advaita Vedānta as well as the Indian people. Jesus was equally dear to Upadhyaya, Jesus as he could experience in terms of Advaita Vedānta and in the context of the struggles of his people. Freedom of thought and action always directed his struggles and innovations in Vedantic-Dalit theologies.

3. Conclusion

Thus it is our finding that Dalit theology need not necessarily represent a discontinuity with the Brahminic Indian Christian Theology. There is a Dalit-Advaita Vedāntic continuity possible in Indian Christian Theology. Dalit theology can function as a counter theology as other people's theologies are, but it is a converging theology as well due to the Advaita Vedantic-Dalit convergence. Dalit theology can follow a methodological exclusivism where primacy of the term 'dalit' is conceded, but this can be done side by side with conceding the primacy of One Brahman-Ātman as well. Dalit theology can be a theology from below, a prophetic theology and a political theology as Advaitic theology also can be all these. Dalit theology together with Advaitic theology affirm the basic unity between thought and action and consider all knowing as praxiological. The convergence of Dalit-Advaitic theologies affirm the interrelation between philosophy and sociology ; if people's experience is the focus of sociology, human persons are an integral part of the theory of reality (metaphysics) which is a significant aspect of philosophy ; it is through social realities philosophical propositions are arrived at.

If the Dalit theologians today hold that the suffering of Dalits should be the basis or starting point of Dalit theology, Swami Vivekananda through his Practical Vedanta is inspiring them to add to it the basis of the One Innermost Ātman shared by all alike as well. The Practical Vedānta through its message of equality and social justice stands for the cause of the Dalits. The Dalits need not revolt against Advaita ; rather their revolt has to be against those upper castes who are ignorant of the teaching of equality of Advaita.

Through Brahmabandhav Upadhyaya's life and work the word 'Dalit' broadens its meaning to include all subjugated and oppressed people. For Upadhyaya it is true theism which gives us the courage to fight for freedom ; a theism where God, the Trinity is understood as *Sat*, *Chit* and *Ānanda* as well as creation as *māyā*. *Sacchīdānanda* and *Māyā* signify human spiritual resources that empower us to fight for human liberation.

References

1. Cf. K. P. Aleaz, *Harmony of Religions. The Relevance of Swami Vivekananda*, Calcutta : Punthi-Pustak, 1993.
2. Cf. K. P. Aleaz, "Religious Pluralism and Christian Witness - A biblical-theological Analysis" *Bangalore Theological Forum*, Vol. XXI, No.4 and vol. XXII, No.1, Dec-March 1990, pp.48-67.
3. Cf. K. P. Aleaz, *The role of Pramānas in Hindu-Christian Epistemology*, Calcutta : Punthi-Pustak, 1991 ; (ed.) *Dialogue in India : Multi-Religious Perspective and Practice*, Calcutta : Bishop's College, 1991
4. We have tried to make the very content of the revelation of God in Jesus truly pluralistic by elaborating the contribution of Sankara's Advaita Vedānta to it. We discovered the possibility of understanding the person of Jesus as the extrinsic denominator (*upādhi*) of Brahman, the name and form (*nāmarūpa*) of Brahman, and the effect (*Kāryam*) of Brahman. We also discovered the possibility of interpreting the function of Jesus as to manifest the all-pervasive (*sarvagatavam*), illuminative (*jyotiḥ*) and unificative (*ekīkrtya*) power of the Supreme Ātman, as to manifest that the Supreme Brahman as Pure Consciousness (*Prajñānaghanam*) is the Witness (*Sākṣin*) and Self of all (*Sarvātmanā*), and as to manifest the eternally present (*nityasiddhasvabhāvam*) human liberation. Cf. K. P. Aleaz, "The Jiva-Brahman Relation in Sankara's Advaita Vedānta as an Indian Jesulogical Model", unpublished D. Th thesis, Senate of Serampore College, Serampore, 1984.
5. These Neo-Vedantins are of the View that Jesus had a non-dual relation with God the Father and he is inspiring all the humans also to have the same relation with God through the renunciation of the lower self. The lost universal message of Jesus has to be regained with the help of Advaita Vedanta. The Christian dogmatic assertions like the atonement theory and the innate vileness of human nature should no more distort the meaning of the gospel. Cf. K. P. Aleaz, "The Gospel in the Advaitic Culture of India : The Case of Neo-Vedantic Christologies", *The Indian Journal of Theology*, Vol. 35, No.2, Sept. 1993, pp. 10-19.
6. Cf. M. E. Prabhakar (ed.), *Towards a Dalit Theology*, Delhi : ISPCCK, 1988; A. P. Nirmal, (ed.), *A Reader in Dalit Theology*, Madras : Gurukul, 1990; *Towards a Common Dalit Ideology*, Madras : Gurukul, 1990 ; John C. B. Webster, *The Dalit Christians. A History*, Delhi : ISPCCK, 1992 ; James Massey, *Roots. A Concise History of Dalits*, Delhi/Bangalore : ISPCCK/CISRS, 1991 ; A. M. Abraham Ayrookuzhief, (ed.), *The Dalit Desiyata. The Kerala Experience in Development and Class Struggle*, Delhi/Bangalore : ISPCCK/CISRS, 1990.
7. Swami Vivekananda was born as Narendra Nath Datta in Calcutta on 12th January 1863. He met his master Sri Ramakrishna at Dakshineswar in 1881. In 1886, about six months before his final *Samadhi* Sri

Ramakrishna initiated his twelve disciples into the order of monks whose leader was Narendra Nath who assumed the monastic name Vivekananda in 1893. Swami Vivekananda contributed greatly in the Chicago parliament of Religions, 1893. He founded the Ramakrishna mission with Belur Math as its Headquarters and a number of centres in India and abroad during the period January 1897 to June 1899. Due to ill health he passed away on 4th July 1902. For his life and thought cf. K. P. Aleaz, *Harmony of Religions. The Relevance of Swami Vivekananda*, *op. cit.*

8. Brahmabandhav Upadhyaya was born in a village near Calcutta in 1861. His original name was Bhavani Charan Banerji. He was a disciple of Keshub Chunder Sen for some time. He was a friend of Swami Vivekananda and Rabindranath Tagore. It was with him, Rabindranath Tagore founded Shantiniketan. Upadhyaya came to know Jesus Christ through Keshub Chunder Sen and through his own uncle the Revd. Kallcharan Banerji. In 1891 he received baptism from an Anglican Priest but, in the same year, he became a Roman Catholic. In 1894 he became a sannyasin and adopted the new name. His literary activities include the editing of *Sophia* (January 1894 — March 1899), a monthly Catholic Journal ; *Sophia* (June 16, 1900 — December 8, 1900), a weekly paper; and *The Twentieth Century* (January 1901 — December 1901), a monthly magazine. Due to a total discouragement from church authorities he almost stopped his theological writings in 1901. Upadhyaya then became fully engaged in the nationalist movement in Bengal. In November 1904 he brought out a Bengali Daily called *Sandhya* (1904-1907) and in March 1907 a Bengali Weekly called *Swaraj*. In September 1907 he was imprisoned by the British and in October 1907 he died after a hernia operation. Cf. K. P. Aleaz, "The Theological Writings of Brahmabandhav Upadhyaya Reexamined" *op. cit.*
9. Sri Narayana Guru was born in a village near Thiruvananthapuram in 1856. He belonged to the low caste Ezhavas and was very active as a social reformer. Subscribing to the Advaita philosophy of Sankara, the Guru carried it to its logical conclusion. Acceptance of the non-duality of the individual self and the Supreme Self, according to him, naturally lead to the assertion of the non-duality of the individual selves. He therefore opposed caste system. His message "One Caste, One Religion, One God for Human Person" was the outcome of his interpretation of Advaita. He also proclaimed "Whatever be his/her religion, a person must be good" He wrote many poems in Malayalam and Sanskrit. He passed away in 1928. Cf. M. K. Sanoo, *Narayana Guru. A Biography*, Bombay ; Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1978.
10. Swami Vivekananda, *The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*, Mayavati Memorial Edition, Vol. V, 9th Edition, Calcutta : Advaita Ashrama, 1970, p. 279.
11. *The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*, Vol. VII, 7th Edition, 1969, pp. 246-47.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 162.
13. *The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*, Vol. 11, 12th Edition, 1971, p. 304, cf. pp. 305-306.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 312, cf. pp. 321ff.
15. *The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*, Vol. V p. 133.
16. *The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*, Vol. VII, p. 247. Cf. Ramakrishna Mission Relief Services 1968-1988, Belur : Ramakrishna Mission, 1988.

17. *The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*, Vol. VII, p. 163. Cf. pp. 91, 197 ; Vol. I, 13th Edition, 1970, pp. 364, 389-90.
18. Swami Vivekananda, *The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*, Vol. III, 10th Edition, 1970, p. 430.
19. *The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*, Vol. I, pp. 384-85 ; Vol. III, p. 425 ; Vol. II, pp. 414-15.
20. *The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*, Vol. VIII, 5th Edition, 1971, p. 199.
21. *The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*, Vol. -I, pp. 423-27, 436 ; Vol. VIII, pp. 166-67, Sri Ramakrishna prayed "Oh, my Mother, make me the servant of the Pariah" cf. Swami Vivekananda, *The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*, Vol. IV, 10th Edition, 1972, p. 175.
22. *The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*, Vol. V. p. 311.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 147.
24. *Ibid.*, pp. 367-87 ; *The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*, Vol. III, pp. 197, 293, 296 ; Vol. IV, p. 449.
25. *The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*, Vol. III, pp. 245-47.
26. *The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*, Vol. I, p. 423. For Swami Vivekananda's view on caste cf. Swami Vivekananda, *The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*, Vol. VI, 8th Edition, 1968, pp. 115, 210, 253-55, 266, 288, 319-20, 381, 393, 394 ; Vol. III, pp. 194, 211, 224, 266, 294-95 ; Vol. IV, pp. 300, 372, 468ff, 480, 484 ; Vol. II, p. 516 ; Vol. VII, pp. 149, 326-28, 484.
27. *The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*, Vol. VI, p. 327.
28. *The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*, Vol., VII, p. 246.
29. K. P. Aleaz, *Harmony of Religions. The Relevance of Swami Vivekananda*, op. cit., pp. 222-23 ; 242.
30. *Ibid.*, pp. 223, 242.
31. Cf. K. P. Aleaz, "A prophet to reclaim", *The Statesman*, 10th October, 1992, p.10.
32. B. Animananda, *The Blade. Life and Work of Brahmabandhav Upadhyaya*, Calcutta : Roy and Sons, 1947, pp. 134-41.
33. C. Fonseca S. J., "Upadhyaya Brahmabandhav : The Political years", *Indian Church History Review*, Vol. XIV, No. 1, June 1980, p.21.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
36. B. Animananda, op. cit., pp. 168-69.
37. *Ibid.*, pp. 170-71.
38. B. Upadhyaya, "Theism in the Vedas", *Sophia*, Vol. I, No.1, Jan. 1894, pp. 4-5 ; No.3, Mar. 1894, pp. 10-11 ; No. 4, Apr. 1894, pp. 10-11 ; "The Hymn 'Ka' ", *Sophia*, Vol. III, Feb. 1896, pp. 2-4.
39. B. Upadhyaya, "The Hindu revival", *Sophia*, Vol.I, No. 6, June 1894, pp.1ff ; "Our attitude to Hindu Reformers", *Sophia*, Vol. III, No.2, Feb. 1896, pp. 6ff ; *Sophia*, Vol. I, No.8, Aug. 1894, pp. 13ff ; Vol II, No. 1, Jan. 1895, p.6 ; Vol. III, No. 1, Jan. 1896, pp. 4ff ; No. 7, July 1896, pp. 6ff ; No. 9, Sep. 1896, p. 4' etc.
40. B. Upadhyaya, "Vedantism", *Sophia*, Vol. 1, No. 9, Aug. 11, 1900, pp. 6-7.
41. B. Upadhyaya, "Our Personality", *Sophia*, Vol. 1, No. 13, Sept. 8, 1900, p. 5 ; "The Clothes of Catholic Faith", *Sophia*, Vol. V, No. 8, Aug. 1898, p. 124 ; "Notes", *Sophia*, Vol.I, No.12, Sept.1, 1900, p.6 ; "Vedantism

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