This pioneering book opens up for us the great but largely unnoticed world of Christian writing in the Hindi language, India's majority language. Meticulous in its detailed attention to hitherto unnoticed literature, *Hindi Christian Literature in Contemporary India* maps subtly the interplay of language, politics, and culture today, while yet mindful of the long history of interactions between Hindus and Christians, India and the West. In this way, Peter-Dass uncovers for us a vital and enduring form of Christianity in India that will surprise those who know only Indian Christian theology in English, while shedding light too on Hindi culture more widely, and even Hinduism in the 21st century.

Francis X. Clooney, SJ, *Parkman Professor of Divinity,
Professor of Comparative Theology, Harvard University, USA*

This ground-breaking and wide-ranging scholarly work on Hindi Christian literature provides a greatly overdue and much needed investigation into the articulation of Christian faith in North India, where over half a billion people speak Hindi. In a study that will have significant implications for the study of religion in general, Rakesh Peter-Dass deftly probes the complicated interconnections between language, social context, history and audience to provide an account of regional Christianity that is both innovative and persuasive.

**Arun W. Jones, Dan and Lillian Hankey Associate
Professor of World Evangelism, Emory University, USA**

In the context of Hindu nationalists' longstanding proclivity to conflate Hindi, Hindu, and Hindustan (or India), and in an environment where the "Indianness" of Christianity is regularly contested, Christians' linguistic choices are always political. With lively and accessible prose that moves compellingly from one intriguing topic to another, Peter-Dass explores the political influences on and ramifications of literature produced intentionally and self-consciously in Hindi by India's Christians. Both a survey of this understudied genre and a critical analysis of its most salient obsessions, the volume introduces readers to authors like John Henry Anand, Benjamin Khan, Din Dayal, and Richard Howell, who, because of the inaccessibility of Hindi to many western (and even other Indian) scholars, have not received the attention they deserve. Pleasurably disorienting in its multilingual presentation, *Hindi Christian Literature in Contemporary India* offers a novel and important way of thinking about the relationship of Christianity and Indian culture.

Chad M. Bauman, *Professor of Religion and Chair,
Butler University, USA*

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Hindi Christian Literature in Contemporary India

This is the first academic study of Christian literature in Hindi and its role in the politics of language and religion in contemporary India. In public portrayals, Hindi has been the language of Hindus and Urdu the language of Muslims, but Christians have usually been associated with the English of the foreign 'West.' However, this book shows how Christian writers in India have adopted Hindi in order to promote a form of Christianity that can be seen as Indian, *desī*, and rooted in the religio-linguistic world of the Hindi belt.

Using different studies, the book demonstrates how Hindi Christian writing strategically presents Christianity as linguistically Hindi, culturally Indian, and theologically informed by other faiths. These works are written to sway public perceptions by promoting particular forms of citizenship in the context of fostering the use of Hindi. Examining the content and context of Christian attention to Hindi, it is shown to have been deployed as a political and cultural tool by Christians in India.

This book gives an important insight into the link between language and religion in India. As such, it will be of great interest to scholars of religion in India, world Christianity, religion, politics, and language, interreligious dialogue, religious studies and South Asian studies.

Rakesh Peter-Dass is Assistant Professor of Religion at Hope College, USA. His research and teaching focus on the intersections of religion with business, language, law, and politics.

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Hindi Christian Literature in Contemporary India

Rakesh Peter-Dass

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Rakesh Peter-Dass
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1 Politics of religion

Hindi Christian politics

On a Sunday morning 225 years ago, William Carey walked into a local market in Bengal and started speaking to a congregation of Muslims.¹ It was the winter of 1794 and Manicktullo *Bāzār* was busy. Carey had just arrived in India – in November 1793, to be precise. At the market that day, the Baptist missionary was accompanied by his local assistant (*mumśī*). Local clerks played an important role in the work of missionaries in India. Carey's *Journal* is replete with references to his 'Munshi.' The munshi helped him learn the vernacular, translate scripture, preach to locals, teach in school, and run the press. Carey could not speak proper Bengali and was unable to preach for months after he reached Bengal. The munshi translated and spoke for him most days. As it turned out, Carey would be glad his 'Munshi' was with him.²

Carey was happy with the turnout that day. "Our Congregation," he wrote, "consisted principally of Mahometans, and has increased every Lord's Day; they are very inquisitive; and we have addressed them upon the subject of the Gospel with the greatest freedom."³ It is unclear whether "congregation" referred to a group of Christian converts or interested Muslims or some combination thereof. At the very least, the *Journal* makes it clear that Carey had found an eager audience that was growing every Sunday in the *bāzār*. Various topics were discussed but none generated more interest than two: Which was better, the Quran or the Gospels? Who was greater: Mohammed or Jesus? The debate on the first topic was vigorous. Each side spoke freely. Carey argued most Muslims could not read Arabic. If you could not read Arabic, he asked, how could you follow the Quran? Also, if you could not read it, how could you know if it was true? The 'Mahomedans' countered by claiming they had learned Quranic instructions and one of them had even read it in Arabic. Then, in their turn, the Muslims pressed. "The Quran was sent to confirm the Words of Scripture" because "Jews, and Christians had corrupted the Bible, which was the reason why God made the revelation by Mahomet." The Quran was clearly an improvement on the Bible. So why settle for second best?

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The conversation on who was better was equally lively. Carey posed the question: Who was better, Mohammed or Jesus? The Muslims replied, Carey notes, “Mahomet was the Friend of God, but Esau, by whom they mean Jesus, was the Spirit of God.” A friend was more important than a spirit. One could relate to a friend, spend time with a friend, have a personal relationship with a friend. What could the spirit do? Carey fell silent, it seems, for his clerk piped up. But who is higher, Munshi countered, your friend or your soul or spirit? Carey thought Munshi was clever – “shrewd,” he writes – but the Muslims were not impressed. Carey does not record the Muslims’ response to Munshi but Carey’s notes suggest the Muslims left unconvinced of the superiority of Christianity. “All this [back and forth] they bore with good temper; but What effect it may have time must determine.” The interplay between listeners and preachers was complicated. Christians preached and the Muslims talked back. The Muslims countered and the Christians talked back. Carey records numerous such encounters in his journals. The encounters were open-ended – at least, Carey logs them that way. Discourses on religious conversions in contemporary India portray a different interplay of voices. The next story from 1993 illustrates the difference. Two centuries after Carey’s encounter, Indian Christians find themselves in a situation where states and governments have found it necessary to curb the perceived threat of Christian evangelism to social order in India. Carey’s encounter with Muslims does not represent the standard encounter between missionaries and others. In some cases, the encounter was fruitful – in others, hostile. I have employed the Muslims-Carey chat-in-the-market (*bāzār bātcīt*) to contrast it with public perceptions of Christian evangelism in contemporary India.

On March 12, 1993, two hundred years after the *bāzār bātcīt*, a group of Christian leaders walked into a meeting with the governor of Andhra Pradesh. Governor Krishan Kant had called the meeting. Bishop Franklin Jonathan was in attendance and recorded the exchange. The Christians met Kant for more than an hour, and Jonathan was impressed. Kant was “a good scholar, top-class politician and a political leader desirous of national unity and communal harmony.”⁴ Kant had something specific on his mind. He wanted to talk about evangelism. He wanted to and proceeded to criticize Christian mission. He doubted Christian motives and questioned their actions. Kant praised Christians as learned and enlightened but was adamant in alleging that evangelism was a social problem. For Kant, propagating religion was not an invitation to a conversation but a slippery slope to discord. It needed to stop. The Christian community and Christian leaders are “most enlightened,” Kant felt, but it was the governor’s “request” (*āgrah*) that all forms of evangelization “be voluntarily stopped for at least fifty years.”⁵

Kant made a request. It was not a demand. Jonathan took pains to note this. Kant was a state official in secular India and could hardly demand that Christians in India voluntarily self-curtail their constitutional right to

profess and propagate religion. Kant did not say his ask was a request. Jonathan described it as such. One wonders whether Jonathan was being diplomatic in print. Noticeably, Jonathan does not print the Christians' response. Did they talk back? Did they refuse the 'request'? Did they agree to consider it? Did they offer any response, then or later, to the governor? It is clear that Kant's request did generate some reflection on Jonathan's part. "What is the meaning," Jonathan wrote, "of evangelism? Is it to share the love of God with others?"⁶ "Have we," Jonathan wondered, "sent the wrong signal to those who are outside the church?"⁷ Jonathan was sympathetic to Kant. Yet his response to Kant is absent from his public report. It is unclear whether the Christian leaders did much after the meeting or whether Christian communities paid any heed to Kant's ask.

Comparing the encounters is revelatory. Contemporary perceptions of Christian activities have focused on evangelistic practices by Christians. While the social footprint of Christian churches in India – through their many hospitals, schools, colleges, orphanages, and charities – garners little public attention, conversions and evangelistic practices have come to occupy a primary place in public perceptions of Indian Christians. State governments and lawmakers have felt increasingly motivated to intervene in such practices in order to 'protect' easily-swayed 'Hindus' from converting. Studies have traced the relevance of caste context behind such motivations.⁸ Nevertheless, in contemporary narratives of Christian evangelism the agency to refuse Christian claims seems to have disappeared. According to accounts of Hindu nationalists, 'naïve and easily-swayed Hindus' need to be protected from the aggression of Christian evangelists. Underlining the opposition to Christian conversions in India is the perception that one cannot be both a loyal Christian and an Indian. This perception is being fostered by a pair of complementary forces in contemporary India: Hindu nationalism and Hindi nationalism.

Hindu nationalism and Hindi nationalism are complementary ideas. A Hindu is original to India and India is Hindu. A Christian or Muslim is a foreigner and not Indian. Allegiance to one group (India) cannot overlap with allegiance to another group (Christianity, Islam). Aligning with both identities can only divide an Indian's loyalty. Hindu nationalism argues that pitting one identity against the other is the outcome of confusion on what it means to be 'Indian.' A central feature of Hindutva has been portrayals of Muslims as a "community outside the 'national mainstream'" and intent on undermining "Indian/Hindu culture and civilization."⁹ A 'true Indian' is anyone who recognizes India, the land of Hindus, as her geographic fatherland and cultural motherland. 'Indian' and 'Hindu' are synonymous, and for Hindu nationalists, as Richard G. Fox puts it, a *bharatiya* ('of India') is a 'Hindian.' As such, attributes like Hindu, Christian, Muslim, Sikh, Tamil, and Dravidian are sectarian identities that should never be confused with and empowered over an Indian's essential identity, which is Hindian.¹⁰ The third attribute of an Indian is loyalty to Hindi. This is the central claim of

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Hindi nationalists. Hence, advocates for the national primacy of Hindi in India made claims regarding the foreignness of Urdu and Muslims that echoed the claims made by Hindu nationalists.

Both movements – Hindu nationalism and Hindi nationalism – matured around the same time, the quarter century preceding 1947. Both movements had similar demographic attributes. Hindu nationalism drew support from Hindu, urban, young, lower-middle class, and ‘forward caste’ groups like Brahmans, Kayasths, Khattris and Baniyas (medium- and small-scale merchants).¹¹ Hindi nationalists drew support from Hindus, urban, middle class, educated, forward castes like Brahmans, Kayasths, Bhumihars (land-holders), Rajputs, and Baniya groups like Agarwals and Vaishyas.¹² Both movements complemented each other. “Hindi, Hindu, Hindustan,” or “Hindi, Hindu, India,” the slogan went.¹³ The movement to Hinduize India had a willing and enthusiastic partner in the movement to Hinduize Hindi and Hindi-ize India.¹⁴ Finally, both movements had their geographic center in north India, further cementing the fusion of language and religion as a central attribute of the national identity under construction by the religious group dominant in the corridors of political power in independent India.

In contemporary India, religions have languages. This idea has been expressed in certain ways. Hindi is the language of Hindus, Urdu is the language of Muslims, and Christians have associated most frequently with English, the language of the ‘West.’ In public imaginations, English remains the language of India’s colonizers (more on this later). In contemporary India, English is ascendant due to its status as the primary language of global advantage.¹⁵ Yet English remains a ‘foreign’ language. As Christopher King has noted, Hindi has become synonymous with Hindu, and Urdu has become synonymous with Islam (more on this later). However, to the fusion of language and religion another type of claim is linked. These arguments are related to autochthonicity. And the lingo-religious argument described earlier morphs into a linguistic-religious-geographic moniker. Hindi is not merely the language of Hindus in India but rather is the language of the autochthonous Hindus of India. Urdu is the language not merely of Muslims of India but rather of Islamic invaders of India. Similarly, the argument goes, English is the language Christians in India have received and adopted from their Western and colonizing predecessors. When Urdu and English are portrayed as foreign and intruders, the religions linked with them are portrayed as foreign and intruders as well. Hindi and Hindu nationalists are not the only agents of such conflation. The linguistic organization of pre- and post-independence India strengthened the connection of ethnicity and religion with language and political power. The movement for Indian independence promoted Hindustani as the national language and from the process Hindi in the Devanagari script emerged as the national language. The emergence of Hindi in the nation’s story, though controversial, continues to shape ideas regarding nationality and Indianness in terms of Hindi idioms.

Shaped by a sense of the Hindu-Hindi-ness of the nation, Christian writers in India have promoted Hindi as the proper language of Indian Christians in order to promote Christians as Indian, *deśī*, and rooted in the linguistic world of Hindi. Hindi Christian works counter the politics of religion and language prevalent in independent India. In light of the widespread perception of Christians as aggressive evangelists, followers of a foreign faith, and culturally not Indian, Hindi Christian works present a religion that is linguistically Hindi, culturally Indian, and theologically open to Hindu and Muslim ideas. Works of Hindi Christian prose and poetry convey a certain type of religious identity that is intentionally Hindi, Indian, and political. In this book, I explain why and how this identity has taken shape and manifests itself today. Hindi Christian works are political in nature, aim to sway public perceptions, promote particular forms of citizenship, and do all this in the context of fostering the use of Hindi. This attention to language takes different forms. It is shaped by the foundational idea that religion and language are intertwined in India. It is essential to recognize the place of languages in India's story and the relation of languages to ethno-religious identities in India in order to grasp the impulses surging through Hindi Christian arguments. As the book proceeds, I add details to the story of languages and religions in India.

India's religious history is a story of languages. English, Hindi, Sanskrit, Tamil, and Urdu have influenced the politics of religion in India. Dravidians used Tamil and other languages to develop distinct religious ideas. Sanskrit was deployed to manage the political power of certain social groups. Hindi and Urdu were shaped by relations between Muslims and Hindus in classical India and continue to do so in India today. Linguistic cultures influenced each other too. Tamil influenced Sanskrit and Sanskrit influenced Tamil. Urdu influenced Hindi and Hindi influenced Urdu. English influenced Hindi, and English has been influenced by many other Indian languages. Further, India's religious history is a story of multilingualism. In Vedic horse sacrifices, for instance, different groups speak different languages and the four priests are supposed to call the sacrificial horse with four different names.¹⁶ Emperor Ashoka had the empire's values inscribed in Pali and other languages spoken throughout the empire. Sanskrit and Urdu encountered each other in Mughal courts.¹⁷ Hindi and Urdu were co-languages of Muslim and Hindu literature till the politics of the nineteenth century intervened.¹⁸

The politics of religion and of language have shaped each other. Christian deployments of Hindi fit this pattern. But a lacuna haunts our understanding of religion and language in contemporary India. Hindi Christian sources are not the subject of the academic study of religion. A few scholars study these sources.¹⁹ Hindi sources are part of literary history.²⁰ Hindi literature is part of scholarship beyond South Asia in studies of devotionals, poems, and novels.²¹ Indian Christians use many languages in addition to Hindi. Recently published sources of Indian Christian literature would reveal sources mostly from southern India (for instance, in Malayalam and

Tamil) and in English. Recent research has examined vernacular Christianity in Marathi.²² However, Hindi Christian sources are not the subject of current studies of language and religion in India. I correct this lacuna and present a study of Christian materials in ‘modern standard Hindi.’ These materials cover hymns, poems, guidebooks, theology-ethics, stories, and translation choices. Or, in the vocabulary of Hindi Christian materials, I examine *gīt-sangīt* (songs), *bhajan* (hymns), *kathā* (stories, or narratives), *kavitā* (poetry), *dharmavijñān* (theology), *nītiśāstr* (ethics), *ārādhnā* (worship), *gāiḍ* or *sandarśikā* (guidebooks), *ṭikā-ṭippanī* (scriptural commentary), *darśan* (philosophy), and *itihās* (history).²³ Hindi Christian sources are attuned to the politics of language and religion in India. I show why this is the case, describe the forms in which this attention is manifested, examine the nature of Christian attention to Hindi, and explain the political claims embedded in Hindi Christian ideas.

Attention to the politics of language and religion is evident in three distinct, overlapping, and ongoing debates in Hindi Christian works. These debates are the subjects of chapters 3–5. Should Christians in India use Hindi, and if they should, how should they use Hindi in ways distinct from Hindu ideas and Western ideas? This debate, which is the focus of chapter 3, has played out in discussions on translation choices when trying to express Christian ideas in Hindi. A parallel debate has played out over media representations of Indian Christians. This is the focus of chapter 4. The question of representation emerged as a topic of discussion particularly after state television (Doordarshan) started airing religious programs in the 1980s. The third debate, which is the focus of chapter 5, is concerned with the ways in which Christians must act in a multifaith society such as is found in India. Commentaries on the subject of national participation explore proper Christian notions on citizenship, relation with people of other faiths, discipleship, and identity in India. By ‘Hindi Christian sources’ I mean a corpus of materials in post-1940 central and north India written and published in modern standard Hindi. As a language of religious communities, Hindi is not exclusively Christian in purpose. However, the book studies Protestant Hindi Christian materials available in India through both ‘mainline’ and independent publishers.

What is Hindi Christian?

I deal with Hindi Christian works. Such a claim raises certain questions. First, what is ‘Hindi,’ as I use the term? Second, is ‘Hindi Christian’ a justifiable descriptor? Finally, what does it mean to call a Christian work a Hindi Christian work? What makes a Christian work particularly Hindi? The rest of this section answers the first question. The next section answers the second question. The second chapter answers the third question, but I can preview the second chapter here with brief comments. It is the essential attribute of a Hindi Christian work that it does not use Hindi merely

because that happens to be the local language or the popular language in the region. Rather, a Hindi Christian work includes reflections on why Hindi should be used. It comments on the effect of using Hindi on the content of the work. It chooses to use Hindi specifically to serve an unserved audience and draws discriminately from the world of Hindi idioms. In each aspect of its work, it asks how Hindi influences the Christian idea under examination. In doing so, it grounds Christian ideas in Hindi rather than simply expressing Christian ideas in Hindi. As such, theology, ethics, poetry, liturgy, and other aspects of Christian life are given new terms and a network of ideas at home in the religious worldviews of Hindi-speaking India. I will say more on this in the second and third chapters. But for now, I return to the first question. What do I mean by ‘Hindi’ in the term ‘Hindi Christian’?

By ‘Hindi,’ I mean ‘modern, standard Hindi.’ The emergence of modern, standard Hindi can be traced to Middle Indo-Aryan language forms.²⁴ What is ‘standard’ about ‘modern, standard Hindi’ is its geographic use and standardized form (at least its written form, though variations in pronunciation exist). It has a geographic reach. It is spoken by the people in particular regions and has the loyalty of its speakers. It is easy to use and is a popular medium in which local people communicate. In this sense, Hindi is a regional language of India. As a matter of practice, all Indian languages are regional since no language is the primary language used by all Indians. Uday Narayan Tiwari, an influential biographer of Hindi, has explained the historic status of Hindi: a “‘regional language’ is the name for peoples’ language” and “the language that occupied this position in a particular time and place was known by this designation.”²⁵ From 600–1200 CE, developed forms of Middle Indo-Aryan language occupied this position. By the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Modern Aryan languages had become the local or regional languages. Among Indian languages, Hindi was the language of the middle part of the country, and modern forms of literary Hindi and Urdu can be traced to the *Kharī Bolī* (“standing speech” or “stand[ard] speech”) form of western Hindi spoken near Meerat and Bijnor in modern-day Uttar Pradesh.²⁶ Spoken together, Hindi-Urdu was called *Hindustani*. As a descriptive term, ‘Hindustani’ itself was the invention of John Gilchrist, a colonial linguist, who coined the term in eighteenth century to ‘unify’ distinct languages spoken in north India. *Hindustani*, in Gilchrist’s construction, was a single language with three dialects differentiated by the extent to which they used Sanskrit, Persian, and Arabic. This ‘Hindustani’ was eventually conflated with Urdu and given status as the language of official business during the Raj in large parts of northern India.²⁷

Hindi-Urdu share a “virtually identical” grammar and core vocabulary with differences in usage and terminology so minor that it is not possible to clearly tell whether someone is speaking ‘Hindi’ or ‘Urdu.’²⁸ Suniti Chatterji’s influential history of Indo-Aryan languages divides the development of Indian languages into three periods: Old Indo-Aryan (or Vedic Sanskrit) from 1500 BCE to 500 BCE; Middle Indo-Aryan (or *Prākṛit*) from 500 BCE

to 1000 CE; and New Indo-Aryan from 1000 CE onward.²⁹ Colin Masica adapts Chatterji's history and proposes slightly different time-periods: 1500 BCE–600 BCE for Old Indo-Aryan; 600 BCE–1000 CE for Middle Indo-Aryan; and 1000 CE onward for New Indo-Aryan.³⁰ Hindi-Urdu belong to the New Indo-Aryan family of languages.

Hindi or Hindustani appeared at the tail end of a long history and it took 11 centuries, roughly from 1100 CE to 1800 CE, to develop. For the linguistic genealogy of Hindi, Chatterji's *Indo-Aryan and Hindi*, published 76 years ago, is still the standard account.³¹ The story of Hindi begins "somewhere in Europe" where a Primitive Indo-European language was spoken in its undivided state by a group of people philologists have called *Wiros*, the Primitive Indo-European word for 'man.' The *Wiros* did not develop a material culture of any high order. What they did leave behind was a language and a well-organized society. Their society was patriarchal and made up of a collection of clan groups. They showed respect for women and developed a religion where the unseen forces of nature (viewed as God or Gods) were characterized as beneficial rather than harmful. God or Gods lived in heaven above, as distinct from humans, who lived on earth. Gods were not anthropomorphic beings. Conjectures about this people and their society have, as a result, been the province of linguistic paleontology rather than of archeology. Half-nomadic and half-settled, the *Wiros* travelled and took their language and social organization with them. One group of *Wiros* left the homeland to travel south. These Indo-Iranians or Aryans reached northern Mesopotamia by 2000 BCE.

Indo-Iranian or Aryan culture and religion were the predecessors of both Vedic Indians and pre-Zoroastrian Iranians. Once they arrived in India after 1500 BCE, the Aryans encountered non-Aryan cultures in the Indus Valley and Dravidian peoples. The Aryans were not indigenous to India. Indus Valley artifacts do not include Aryan motifs. As an instance, horses, popular in Aryan culture, are absent in Valley seals, pottery, and other leftovers. Aryans slowly migrated from Eastern Iran into Punjab in Western India. Archeological and linguistic evidence suggests the arrival of the Aryans was not in the form of a sudden invasion but rather in the form of a slow migration, which eventually led to the development of culture that mixed Aryan and Dravidian elements. There is evidence that the Indus Valley script was not a proto-Aryan script but belongs to the Dravidian group of languages.³² The encounter between the Aryans and non-Aryan people profoundly changed the Aryans and their language. Aryan or Indo-Iranian language changed into Indo-Aryan, represented in its developed form in the *Rig Veda*. The Indian Aryans laid the foundation of the Vedic culture. The language of the Indo-Aryans took two forms: a spoken form, Prākṛit, and a cultured, written form, Sanskrit.

From 1000 BCE onward, Sanskrit became the language of religion and higher intellectual life in upper India and the forebearer of Hindu culture. By 600 BCE, Prākṛit and Sanskrit had begun to spread south into the Deccan

and mingled with well-established groups of Dravidian speakers, whose native speech was too fixed to adopt Aryan elements. Yet, by this point the Aryan language had superseded India's non-Aryan languages and was dominant from Afghan to Bengal. The grammar of Sanskrit was fixed by Pāṇini around the fifth century BCE. By 500 BCE, Vedic culture and Sanskrit had fully incorporated (upper) Indian culture. Prākṛit developed unimpeded along with Sanskrit, and where Sanskrit was standardized more or less from the fifth century BCE, Prākṛit (the spoken dialects of Aryan India) differed considerably. One such Prākṛit to gain prominence in northern India was Western Apabhraṃśa, which had established itself as the lingua franca in upper India by the tenth century CE.

Western Apabhraṃśa is the immediate predecessor of both Braj-bhāṣā (a modified form of Western Apabhraṃśa) and Hindustani. When the Turks and Iranians (with their Persian language) conquered north India in the tenth and eleventh centuries CE, Western Apabhraṃśa and its local dialects were dominant in the region. It is in the history of Turkish and Iranian rulers of India that the first reference to 'Hindi' appears as a language distinct from Prākṛit and Sanskrit. The *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* of 1022 CE reports a poem by the Rajput king of Kalanjar "in the Hindū tongue." This tongue's first name was simply *Hindī* or *Hindwī* (*Hindawī*), which meant the language of Hind or India or 'of the Hindus' (the 'Hindus' being a geographic designation, and not a religious one, for the people who lived beyond the Indus river). As Chatterji notes, however, this early 'Hindī' was most likely not Braj-bhāṣā or later Hindustani. We have no Hindi or Hindustani before the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries CE. However, after the Muslim ruling house had been established at Delhi in the sixteenth century, the common language of the masses in northern India at the time, Braj-bhāṣā, started to gain prominence. Braj-bhāṣā was written in the Devanagari script. Even as the language became the medium of courts and of culture and poetry, it remained a specialized literary dialect rather than a popular, colloquial one. That role was assumed by the language popular in the markets of Delhi, a dialect of Western Hindi. This vernacular was called Hindi. Its other name – that arose later in the seventeenth century – was *Zabān-e-Urdū*, or 'language of the camp.' 'Urdu' is a Persianized spelling of a Turkish word that means tent, dwelling, or encampment and identified the spoken language popular in the Delhi camps of the Muslim rulers. Urdu developed a Perso-Arabic vocabulary and an Arabic script. This form of Hindi – with its Perso-Arabic vocabulary and Arabic script – had become the language of Muslim nobility and religious men in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Two forms of Hindi or Hindustani were developing in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: the Hindustani of Delhi, and a Deccan dialect of Hindustani popular among north Indian Muslims settled in the Deccan. It was the north Indian Muslims in the Deccan who set the stage for the literary separation between Hindustani or proper Hindi and Braj-bhāṣā. Trying to assimilate among their Hindu neighbors, Deccan North Indian

Muslims adopted the Delhi language they brought with them and started writing it in the Persian script, which was still the language of the Muslim power centers in Delhi. North Indian Hindi speakers adopted this Deccan practice and started using Delhi Hindi in its Persianized form. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, this Persianized Delhi Hindi acquired a new name: *Hindōstānī*. By 1970, the name was accepted by north Indians and Indianized by the Hindus as *Hindūsthānī*. However, north Indian Hindus of the Eastern Provinces continued their attention to Delhi Hindi in its Braj-bhāṣā form.

Toward the end of the eighteenth century, Braj-bhāṣā Hindi came to acquire the name *Khaṛī Bolī* (or “standing language”) as distinct from dialects like Braj-bhāṣā and Awadhī proper, which were designated ‘fallen languages’ or *Paṛī Bolī*. Hindustani or Hindi therefore emerged in the eighteenth century in two forms: High Hindi (*Khaṛī Bolī* Hindi in the Devanagari script) and Urdu (Persianized Hindi in the Arabic script). This modern Hindi was common to both Hindus and Muslims. Two forms of the same language, Nagarai Hindi and Persianized Hindi (Urdu) had identical grammar, shared common words and roots, and employed different scripts. This common Hindi became the lingua franca of upper India after the eighteenth century. In the course of the nineteenth century, Hindi, written in the Devanagari script, developed a more standard style in competition with better-established languages like Urdu and growing languages like English. Hindi prose literature and novels in nineteenth century are partly responsible for the development of modern standard Hindi.³³

Chatterji has identified five forms of Hindi or Hindustani.³⁴ (1) The Urdu language, as spoken with a combination of Persian, Arabic, and Hindi words. It is written in Perso-Arabic, which is the Arabic script for the Persian language. Its vocabulary is highly Persianized and its literary use did not emerge before the end of the seventeenth century. In its highly Persianized form, High Urdu is a language of Muslim culture and poetry in India. (2) High Hindi or Devanagari Hindi, which has a grammar identical to Urdu but employs the Devanagari script. It uses many words from the regional Hindi (Prākṛit) and dips deep into Sanskrit for words of higher culture. Perso-Arabic Urdu and Sanskritized Hindi share a common element or form; this common element is *Khaṛī Bolī*. ‘Sanskritized Hindi’ was not invented during the nineteenth-century. It can be traced not to debates on Hindi-Urdu or to the Hindi movement of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries but to the older ‘literary tradition of Hindi.’ A fifteenth-century poet in Gwalior may have been the first to incorporate Sanskritic themes (from the Mahabharat and the Ramayan) into Braj-bhāṣā poetry. Awadhī in the Devanagari script and Sanskritic lexical style can be found in Sufi poems from the middle of the twelfth century. Sanskrit loan words appear in Hindi spoken around Delhi in the sixteenth century and seventeenth-century dictionaries of Hindustani vocabulary record Sanskritic loan words.³⁵ It was a Brahman anthropologist who coined the term ‘Sanskritization’ to refer

to the spread of Brahmans over India and the influence of their ideas and practices on the other groups of people they encountered on the subcontinent; for the most part, Sanskritization was a form of Hinduization, to the extent that Brahman communities tried to convert the people they encountered to Hinduism.³⁶ (3) Hindustani, which is the name for the common Kharī Bolī that maintains in its vocabulary a balance between Perso-Arabic Urdu and Sanskritized Hindi. Chatterji has described it as “just Hindi not highly Sanskritised.” It is the combination of and median between Urdu and High Hindi and as such was promoted strongly by the Indian National Congress as the only national language of post-independence India (more on this in later sections). (4) Then there is ‘vernacular Hindustani,’ a collective reference to regional dialects and forms of Hindi. These vernacular forms provided the grammar and vocabulary for Hindustani. As such, High Urdu and High Hindi can be considered refinements of vernacular Hindustani. (5) Finally, Bāzār Hindi or ‘market Hindi’ is a simplified form of types (1) and (2) and the language of the masses in India. It is the most used language in India and the language that is mentioned as the mother tongue by nearly 500 million speakers today. In this book, I use Hindi to mean High Hindi and quotidian, ‘market’ Hindi spoken with a preponderance of Sanskrit words, and written in the Devanagari script.

While the spoken history of modern Hindi can be traced to the New Indo-Aryan period, written forms of Hindi are more recent. Tiwari has argued that the use of Kharī Bolī for literary construction is not older than the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries.³⁷ However, the use of a ‘Nagari’ or ‘Devanagari’ script dates from the seventh-eighth centuries. The meaning of ‘nagari’ remains unclear. However, since the script used to write Kharī Bolī was the script used to write Sanskrit, which is considered a heavenly language,³⁸ the script came to be known as ‘Devanagari.’ ‘Dev’ means ‘heavenly’ or ‘god’ while ‘nagari’ means ‘belonging to a city or town’ or ‘civil.’ Devanagari, or literally ‘divine city writing,’ acquired its name from the belief that it probably originated in a city.³⁹ By the eleventh century, the Devanagari script was fully developed and quite popular in middle and north India. Palm-leaf inscriptions in Devanagari from Gujarat, Rajasthan, and Maharashtra are available.⁴⁰ The Hindi script has developed differently from the Urdu script. These differences loom larger in formal and literary levels, where Hindi borrows its lexicon more from Sanskrit while Urdu borrows its lexicon more from Arabic and Persian.⁴¹

At least three applications of the term ‘Hindi’ are possible. ‘Hindi’ refers to a spoken language of recent provenance that in the modern era is distinguished from spoken Urdu. ‘Standard Hindi’ denotes a language written in the Devanagari script in a relatively standardized form. Its pronunciation and spoken forms are less standardized. Standard Hindi is in general use in most of central and north India. It gained currency in the period leading up to the 1860s as a “medium of education and instruction” and by the 1900s Hindi had become a “well established vehicle for journalism and

belles lettres” in central and north India.⁴² Hindi is probably the third-most used language in the world. Due to its growing popularity in the Indian sub-continent and beyond, “Hindi in the Devanagari script” was recognized as an official language of India in 1947. Hindi’s popularity must be understood in the context of the nineteenth-century movement to promote Hindi as the language of Hindus and Indians (more on this later).⁴³ Hindi and Urdu were together for most of Hindi’s history. Hindi’s forerunner, Hindustani, was an amalgam of Hindu and Urdu, both languages spoken similarly but written with different scripts.⁴⁴ Nationalism is partly responsible for their split.⁴⁵ So is Indian politics.⁴⁶

As a macroterm, ‘Hindi’ can also refer to an assembly of cognates. In this sense, Hindi is a collection of 49 cognates like Awadhī, Banjārī, Bhojpurī, Bundelī/Bundelkhandī, Chhattisgarhī, Haryānvī, Kharī Bolī, Lodhī, Magadhī/Magahī, Mārwarī, Nāgpuriā, Pahārī, Rājasthānī, and Sargujīā. Historically, languages like Awadhī and Braj-bhāṣā should be correctly understood as cognates of Hindi. Stuart McGregor notes, “[i]t is historically and linguistically inappropriate to speak of early Braj-bhasha and Avadhi as dialects of Hindi, which they long preceded as literary languages.” From the perspective of literary studies in the twenty-first century, however, they can be considered “as falling within a composite ‘literary tradition of Hindi’.”⁴⁷ The languages listed along with Hindi in India’s census can be understood as part of the ‘Hindi family.’

According to the 2001 census reports, 422 million Indians named Hindi as their mother tongue. Around 258 million Indians, or 25.09 percent of Indians named standard Hindi as their mother tongue.⁴⁸ In this book, ‘Hindi’ always refers to modern, standard Hindi.⁴⁹ Recently released data from India’s decennial census of 2011 adds depth to our understanding of Hindi’s position in India. In 2011, there were 528 million speakers of Hindi in India.⁵⁰ Uttar Pradesh (U.P.) had the most Hindi speakers (188 million), followed by Bihar (81 million), Madhya Pradesh (64 million), and Rajasthan (61 million).⁵¹ The number of people who listed Hindi as their mother tongue has grown at a steady pace over the past 40 years, from 203 million in 1971 to 528 million in 2011. Decade over decade, Hindi users grew by 27 percent over 1971–1981, 28 percent over 1981–1991, 28 percent over 1991–2001, and 25 percent over 2001–2011. Hindi was not the fastest growing language during the last 40 years. That distinction belongs to Sanskrit, which grew by 176 percent over 1971–1981, a whopping 715 percent over 1981–1991, lost 72 percent users over 1991–2001, yet rebounded and gained 76 percent over 2001–2011! In real terms, however, the number of persons who listed Sanskrit as their mother tongue peaked at 49,736 in 1991 and stood at a meagre 24,821 in 2011 – well, meagre in Indian terms.⁵²

Hindi is by far the largest language in India. Over the past 40 years, the strength of Hindi users as a proportion of the total population has steadily increased. In 1971, Hindi users accounted for 37 percent of the total

population, 38 percent of the population in 1981, 39 percent in 1991, 41 percent in 2001, and 44 percent in 2011.⁵³ Analysis of data on internet language trends adds further depth to our understanding of Hindi's reach in the modern world. According to a 2017 report by KPMG, the consulting firm, there are 521 million speakers of Hindi in India. Of them, 254 million are Indian language literates who use Hindi (over English) as their primary language to read, write, and converse.⁵⁴ Hindi users will soon surpass English users in the digital age. Hindi Internet users are expected to surpass English Internet users by 2021.⁵⁵

Finally, 'Hindi' also marks a cultural state of affairs, referring to a geographic area – India's 'Hindi area,' so to speak – that is shaped by Hindi's history and its widespread use. While Hindi is used throughout India and around the world, the sources studied in this book are part and parcel of the life in India's Hindi area.⁵⁶ The borders of Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, and Jharkhand constitute the southern and south-eastern boundaries of this area. The eastern border of Rajasthan and the northern border of Gujarat makes up its western limit. Bihar and Uttar Pradesh respectively mark the eastern and north-eastern limits of this Hindi area. Haryana, the Union Territory of Delhi, Himachal Pradesh, and Uttarakhand make up its northern limit.⁵⁷ Users of modern standard Hindi in its spoken and written forms can certainly be found outside this territorial map and beyond India, but the 'Hindi area' denotes the limits of the linguistic geography of this book. A few more notes on the scope of this book are helpful at this point.

The book deals primarily with mainline Protestant materials in the Hindi area. The Hindi Christian sources I have studied are the handiwork of Anglican, Baptist, Congregationalist, Lutheran, and Methodist groups and institutions in the region. These materials are mostly from the Hindi Theological Literature Committee, Lucknow Publishing House, and the Indian Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge. Based, respectively, in Jabalpur (Madhya Pradesh), Lucknow (Uttar Pradesh), and Delhi, these publishers produce most of the Hindi-language Christian materials in the Hindi area.⁵⁸ Among these publishers, the Hindi Theological Literature Committee deserves special mention. Founded in 1954, the Committee has been the most prominent producer and promoter of Christian works in Hindi.⁵⁹ Publications by Roman Catholic institutions enrich the body of works published by mainline Protestant Christians in the Hindi area. The same can be said of the social footprint of Roman Catholic institutions in areas like health care, education, and charity. There is a rich history of Roman Catholic Hindi literature in the region. The Hindi area is home also to Syrian Catholic, St. Thomas, Orthodox, evangelical, and Pentecostal Christians.⁶⁰ I pay limited attention to this diversity when examining Hindi Christian claims regarding the politics of language and religion in India. My sources are limited to mainline, Protestant Christian sources in Hindi.

In this book, I examine Hindi Christian works in independent India. The output of the Hindi Theological Literature Committee has been instrumental

to this study. Yet the Committee's work must be understood in the context of the much-longer history of Hindi Christian publications in India. An early example of Hindi Christian literature comes from 1877 in the form of a published account of a person's conversion. In pamphlet form, such accounts were quite in line with the type of publications popular at the time among missionaries who were trying to promote conversions. "Bhayaharṇ Dās," the convert, seems to have been illiterate. His conversion account is, as a result, written by one Rāmsimh, who attested to the account's veracity by "signing" the pamphlet.⁶¹ The slim pamphlet was titled *Kaise Pāyā Muktidātā, arthāt Bhayaharnadās kī Itihās* subtitled "How I Found the Saviour, or The Shepherd Convert of Monghyr" in English, and widely circulated. It was published by The Rev. Thomas Evans, a Baptist missionary at Monghyr (or Munger) on the banks of the Ganges river in Bihar, and printed at the Medical Hall Press in Benaras. The Welsh Baptists were also known for such publications as *Rām Parīkṣā* ("A Character Examination of Ram," in two editions), *Shiv Parīkṣā* ("A Character Examination of Shiva," in two editions), and *Sat Gurū kī Bulāhat* ("The Teacher's Call," in two editions).⁶²

Many features of the pamphlet reflect strategic choices by its publisher. It was written in Kaithi, a popular local dialect of Hindi, for widespread appeal. The decision to use Kaithi over Hindustani suggests an interest in local and mass appeal rather than an appeal to the Hindu elite, the officers of the Raj, or an upper-caste audience. The account is polemic in nature and spends a considerable number of pages on the protagonist's first-person account of why he wanted to leave Hinduism, the religion of his birth. For Bhayaharṇ Dās, Hinduism was corrupt, dominated by greedy learned men who shamed people into guilt and therefore into supporting them, and was spreading its corruption from town to town. Dās does not dismiss Hinduism as polytheist or erroneous. Rather, the argument is aimed at the irreversible corruption of an admirable religion. The message to Hindus seems to be as follows: even if you think Hinduism is intrinsically acceptable, it is beyond redemption these days. This should motivate you to look elsewhere and you will see that Christianity provides a great alternative. It offers salvation and *mukti* without ritualism and priests. The Protestant tinge of the argument is evident. So is the strategic nature of the choice of location where the pamphlet was published. Benaras is one of Hinduism's holiest sites, the city of Shiva and the Ganges, and as Diana Eck has described it, the city of all India, good life, and of death and liberation.⁶³

Banaras remains a site of Hindu pride.⁶⁴ The city has long been venerated as one of the seven cities of pilgrimage in Hinduism and is said to contain within itself all seven cities. The earliest Purāṇas (c. fourth-sixth cen. CE) speak of Siva's arrival in the city. The city's rulers promoted the Hindu tradition, supported schools of Sanskrit, and sponsored the education of Brahmins. Its rulers, merchants, Brahmins, and pilgrims jointly fostered the story of Kāśī (Banaras) as the sacred space with its divine links, ancient

heritage, and power to heal and liberate. Colonial Christians reached Banaras at the tail end of the eighteenth century. Never more than a few hundred in number at a time, the Britishers regarded their time in Banaras as a “kind of moral exile” and Indians an “inferior race.”⁶⁵ Europeans lived on the outskirts of the city, following the colonial practice of segregation. They built a school and a Christian Missionary Society in Banaras. After the First War of Independence or Mutiny of 1857, the Raj emerged when the Government of India Act of 1858 transferred India’s governance from the East India Company to the British Crown through the Secretary of State.

Indo-British relations in Banaras did not change under the Raj. Despite some debate, the link between missionaries and the government continued unabated. Pamphleteering was part of empire-endorsed Christian activity.⁶⁶ In the nineteenth century, Banaras would become the site from which Hindi was promoted as the language of the Hindus – Sanskrit remained a language of the Brahmins. Given the place of Banaras in the Hindu imagination, the place of Sanskrit and schools of Hindu learning, and the Christo-colonial history in the city, the publication of the conversion account in Banaras in the local vernacular sought to achieve multiple aims through a single medium. It criticized Hinduism without denigrating the city, it took a swipe at holy and learned Hindus (Brahmins), it offered Christianity as a better religious alternative, and it spoke with the voice of an insider to a Hindu-heavy audience. The pamphlet’s impact remains unknown. It was well-circulated but it did not lead to any mass conversions. Some may have converted after being influenced by this pamphlet or others of its ilk, but most probably the pamphlet suffered the same failure as the Christian enterprise in Banaras – which was largely unsuccessful when it came to conversions.⁶⁷

Banaras was not the only site of Hindi Christian literary activity. Hindi translations of the gospels and Hindi Christian materials were a large part of the output of the Baptist missionaries in Serampore, with the first translation of Hindi gospels around 1818. An 1875 account of (Protestant) Christian vernacular publications mentions Benjamin Schultze’s 1743 *Summa Doctrinae Christianae* as the “first Christian book printed in Hindustani.”⁶⁸ The book was published by the Orphan House in Halle. By 1917, a comprehensive list of Christian literature prepared by the missionary council in central and north India catalogued 490 books in Hindi (this list is discussed later). For the purpose of this book, I commissioned an update of the 1917 list with materials published up till 2010. This updated 2010 catalogue of Hindi Christian works is the main source of published works for this book. The 1917 list is available online for public access.⁶⁹ The 2010 catalogue is also available online for public access.⁷⁰ The 1917 and 2010 catalogues of Hindi Christian works are discussed in chapter 2. The neglect of Hindi Christian works recurs in publications on Christianity in India. The India section of *Asian Christian Theologies* is a case in point.

Asian Christian Theologies, published in 2002, is an unparalleled collection of Christian sources in Asia. It catalogues works by 103 writers in

17 languages: Bengali, Danish, English, French, German, Hindi, Kannada, Khasi, Malayalam, Marathi, Mizo, Naga, Oriya, Punjabi, Sanskrit, Tamil, and Telugu.⁷¹ Despite its scope, it omits the vast majority of Hindi Christian authors and publications. Two Hindi Christian texts are cited among the nearly 1130 books in the India section of *Asian Christian Theologies*. James Massey's *Masīhī Dalit: Ik Itihāsik Parīkshā* ("Christian Dalits: A Historical Analysis"), published in 1993,⁷² and Vandana Mataji's 2-volume *Śabd, Śaktī, Sangam* ("Word, Power, Union"), published in 1995, make an appearance.⁷³ The collection includes indirect references to other Hindi Christian works: Vandana Mataji, whose English-language works are referenced in *Asian Christian Theologies*,⁷⁴ wrote hymns in Hindi; Viman Tilak's poetry crossed over Marathi and Hindi;⁷⁵ and James Massey does much work in Hindi. The absence of most works in Hindi can be partly explained by the book's focus on English-language sources. *Asian Christian Theologies*, the editors explain, offers "a survey of the writings in English." Yet the editors also tip their hand toward a broader goal when they write that they will survey English writings while "drawing on the writings in many languages of the region."⁷⁶ Given this appeal to other languages, the severe paucity of Hindi entries is conspicuous. The paucity is even more glaring in a multi-volume compendium that makes the claim that "[e]xtensive research has been undertaken to ensure that a wide range of vernacular materials are included and outlined."⁷⁷

Language and religion

In *Constructing Indian Christianities*, Bauman and Young raise an important question: Who is an Indian Christian? The query is complicated. What is the defining marker? Is it religion – *Christianity*? Is it a nation – *India*? Or, is it culture – a certain *Indian-ness*? Is it all these things, none of which can be packed into a neat definitional box? Is it none of them? They question whether a term like 'Indian Christian' "impose[s]" an "alien taxonomy on phenomena that in the final analysis remain fluid and stubbornly unreifiable."⁷⁸ Similar questions can be raised of a book that studies Hindi Christians. What is 'Hindi Christian'? What is a 'Hindi Christian' source or material or publication? Is it defined by its 'Hindi-ness'? Or, by its 'Christian-ness'? The danger of reification remains, but taxonomy is problematic, more so when it makes exclusive and permanent claims. The titular plural in *Constructing Indian Christianities* responds to the danger in naming through a counterclaim to conventional studies of Christianity in India. It hints at the state of permanent diversity that characterizes Christianity in India. Further, it claims that Christianity in India is a process, maybe not uniquely so but a process, nevertheless. Indian Christianities are always under construction.

'Hindi Christian' is a useful, if relatively unknown, descriptor. As a descriptive term, 'Hindi Christian' has a history. It has been in use at least since 1970. The term appears in a preface by C. W. David to a popular

book on Christian discipleship. David was the editor of the Hindi Theological Literature Committee at the time and was trying to use his influential perch to promote Hindi Christian works. He writes: “[i]t is the misfortune of Hindi Christian literature that it has very few readers. . . . Hindi speakers are requested to awaken and, by reading good books, to remove their shame and be enlightened.”⁷⁹ David’s appeal did not fall on deaf ears. By the middle part of the twentieth century, Hindi was a Christian language and had mass appeal through the many hymns and devotional songs (*bhajan*) in Hindi.

Congregations in central and northern India share Hindi. This shared heritage has fostered many of the Hindi Christian works still in widespread use. The movement in the twentieth century toward ecumenical relations catalyzed joint efforts among Hindi-using congregations and institutions. One such prominent collaboration is the production of *Ārādhānā ke Gīt*. It is the primary hymnbook of mainline Hindi-speaking churches in central India. The Madhya Pradesh Christian Council and the Methodist Church in India have been publishing *Ārādhānā ke Gīt* together for the last 45 years. Regular updates to *Ārādhānā ke Gīt* have kept the hymnbook up to date and have made it popular in Hindi-speaking congregations in Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, and Bihar.

Ārādhānā ke Gīt was commissioned by the Madhya Pradesh Christian Council as a revision of the Hindi hymnal, *Masīhī Gīt Sangrah*, in which “the paucity of contemporary Indian compositions, the dominance of difficult Western compositions, and the absence of easy, clear, and currently popular language was starting to be painfully felt.”⁸⁰ It was produced “so that one book might be printed which would be suitable for both Hindi and Urdu speaking areas in M.P., U.P. and Bihar.”⁸¹ A Hymn Book Revision Committee began its work in the first week of March 1967 after conducting a survey of Hindi-speaking congregations to solicit views on which hymns and *bhajans* to include or exclude. The Methodist hymnbook was also undergoing a revision at the time, and in 1970, the Methodist Revision Committee joined the Christian Council’s committee. *Ārādhānā ke Gīt* includes traditional and contemporary *bhajans* (devotionals). It includes well-known songs and anonymous compositions. Provenance, however, was not a major concern of the publishers. “We have made every effort,” they explain, “to discover and acknowledge the authors and composers of the Indian songs and bhajans but still [we] are uncertain about many.”⁸² The main criteria for inclusions in the book has been a song’s popularity. Most of the songs included in the book enjoy mass appeal and are in regular use. As such, the songs are recognizable and bridge the liturgies of congregations across a swath of India’s Hindi area.

In addition to worship, theological education also unites Hindi-speaking congregations. Mainline denominations run joint seminaries dedicated to instruction in Hindi. Hindi, along with English, is the language of instruction in many seminaries in north India, some of which, like Leonard

Theological College in Jabalpur, Madhya Pradesh, focus on preparing pastors and church leaders for Hindi-speaking congregations. Joint publication houses have also enriched shared theological education in Hindi. The Hindi Theological Literature Committee was set up as one such joint venture by a variety of denominations that use Hindi. The Committee has served as the primary patron of Hindi Christian publications in India. It distributes its output in India through a partnership with the Indian Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The Society has book shops across the country and promotes Hindi Christian literature beyond the Hindi area.

Hindi-speaking churches have established joint ventures in literature, liturgy, and theological education. Their use of Hindi has brought them together. This collective focus on Hindi has gained depth and patronage over the years. “The Principals of theological colleges, church bishops, pastors, publication houses, distributors of our books, boards, and missionary organizations from the Hindi regions are giving [us] their full support” to Hindi Christian ventures.⁸³ This support represents a sea change in denominational attitudes toward Hindi Christian literature. Across a span of geographies, denominations, and contexts, Christians in India’s Hindi-speaking region belie uniformity. Yet they have fostered ecumenical collaborations, common institutions of learning, standardized hymnbooks, common liturgies, and shared literature.

The intellectual history of religious studies in South Asia helps shed more light on the intelligibility, function, and usefulness of lingo-religious descriptors like ‘Hindi Christian’ in studying Christianity in India. Such descriptors allude to the role of language and religion in the formation of faith and identity. They point to a family of influences. The late Selva J. Raj wrote an ethnography of the ritual life of ‘Santal Catholics’ that shed light on the ways in which Santali tribal and Roman Catholic elements are combined in religious life. In its attention to the role of language, this book goes beyond Raj’s work on Santal Catholics. The interface of multiple strands, Raj explains, enabled this community to “construct a distinct identity for itself that is *authentically tribal, fully Indian, and genuinely Christian*.”⁸⁴ Kerry P.C. San Chirico writes of the *Khrist Bhaktas* of the Hindi belt who worship Christ in personal and communal devotion, yet remain unbaptized and Hindu according to the religious taxonomy of the Constitution of India and its Census Bureau. They have adapted Catholic beliefs and Hindu temple practices to a *bhakti* mode of religious life.⁸⁵

Like Raj and San Chirico, Vasudha Narayanan draws attention to Hindus and Christians who are “multiritual” and “polytheological” in their religious expressions. Practices based on the view that religious lines are blurry permeate the religious landscape of India. As an instance, *khrist bhaktas* are part of the north Indian religious landscape. Rajasthan has pilgrimage sites shared by Muslims and Hindus. Hindus and Christians worship at The Church of the Infant Jesus in Bangalore.⁸⁶ Hindu, Muslim, and Christian venerate Sister Alphonsa in Kottayam as a healer.⁸⁷ Satya Sai Baba claims

that he does not speak for any sect or doctrine but preaches respect, unity, and the glory of God. In similar vein, Hindus argue that that multiple paths lead to God.⁸⁸ Forms of God are prolific, and gods can exist as partial and particular manifestation of the 'one' God.⁸⁹ Angelika Malinar argues that the theology of the Bhagavad Gita, one of Hinduism's most sacred and influential scripture, can be called 'cosmological monotheism' because the Gita presents Krishna as the "highest and only god of liberation and creation" while acknowledging other gods as "partial manifestations" of Krishna.⁹⁰

Similarly, Islam teaches that God sends different prophets to different peoples. Chapter 16, verse 36 of the Koran is an ideal example of this sentiment: "We indeed sent a messenger unto every community, 'Worship God, and shun false deities!' Then among them were those whom God guided; and among them were those who were deserving of error." Other verses affirm the idea that every community has its own messenger (10:47), its own book (45:28), and is called to worship God (21:25).⁹¹ God has revealed many ways and many religions and many creeds and many rites and many legal codes.⁹² As such, "variegated religious forms do not contravene the validity and efficacy of one another" but are part of the repeated calling back of humans to God.⁹³ Raj and Dempsey say of Christianity in India that it is "neither homogenous nor uniform but essentially plural and diverse."⁹⁴ "Christianity" in India is a congeries of beliefs and practices inspired by faith traditions and social histories whose constituents are never too far from change.⁹⁵

David Mosse has critiqued "short-time-frame ethnographies" that unearth cultural adaptations with a bias toward disjunctions between culture and Christianity and that pay inadequate attention to the stability in beliefs and practices embedded in centuries-long traditions like Orthodox and Catholic Christianity in India. As a "source of distinctive forms of thought, action, and modes of signification" he writes, studies of "profoundly localized" Christianity that eschew presenting the relation between "culture" and "Christianity" as continuity or rupture offer a necessary corrective to studies of Indian Christianity. The Tamil Catholicism of the pseudonymous Alapuram in his work charts a rich terrain with features that have gradually emerged from the "complex intercultural space" between Catholicism and Tamil cultural forms.⁹⁶

Drawing on Mosse's corrective in *The Saint in the Banyan Tree*, I explore the space created by Hindi Christian materials between Hindi "culture," Hindu-Christian relations, and the politicization of language and religion in India. I interrogate the many ways in which Hindi Christians have created credible and recognizable linguistic features that seek to function in a religious milieu that is affected by Hindu practices and Hindi cultural forms. I study the particular ways in which Hindi and Christianity continue to function in India. This is partly in response to Mosse's critique that most scholarship on Indian Christianity has sought to either find a gap between 'local' culture and Christian claims or to suggest they are undistinguishable.

Mosse's research on Tamil Catholics did not support this division; and, he therefore invites scholars of Indian Christianity to take a deeper look at these relations. This book accepts Mosse's invitation. It looks at the relation between a language and certain religious ideas. In line with Mosse's findings, Hindi Christian materials reveal neither a continuity with existing claims nor a complete rejection of available resources. Rather, a middle ground emerges that is clearly marked to insist Christianity is culturally Indian, idiomatically Hindi, and home grown.

The milieu

In *Religions in Practice*, John R. Bowen describes a private *pūjā* (worship) in a village in Madhya Pradesh. A father gathers his family, lights a cow-dung cake, sprinkles water around the fire, and offers portions of prepared food to the fire. The fire purifies the food. The food is now blessed. Portions of food are offered because purified parts can cleanse the whole. Blessing all the food by sacrificing parts of it also allows the blessed food to be shared. The remaining food – now blessed food (*prasād*) – is then shared in a family meal.⁹⁷ Family rites and public festivals permeate the religious landscape of India. Accompanied by chants and prayers, *bhajans* and *pūjā* resound through the many villages, towns, and cities in the region. Growing up in a small town in Madhya Pradesh, I woke up most days to sound of temple-bells and *bhajans* coming from the Hindu temple down the road. Once in a while an *azān* would break through from the mosque across town. Festival plays, street theaters, religious holidays color the landscape with a religious hue. *Bhakti* shapes north India. Hawley's observation 30 years ago is apt even today: "north India [is] a place where *bhakti* is spoken."⁹⁸ Ganesh, Hanuman, Krishna, Lakshman, Lakshmi, Ram, Saraswati, and Sita adorn temples, books, factory floors, shops, schools, hospitals, government offices, calendars, posters, clothes, and bodies. The image of God, in Diana Eck's apt phrase, is "visible everywhere in India."⁹⁹ *Bhakti* (devotion), *śraddhā* (veneration), and *pūjā* are the means of reaching out to God.

Bhakti is a religious language and a way of being. One is a devotee of, and in relationship with, God. These relations are complementary, and in most cases reciprocal. Devotees worship, bring gifts, and go on pilgrimages. The deities protect, grant wishes, and help manage the ups and downs of life. I use *bhakti* in this broader sense to refer to the general relationship formed between a devotee and the divine. The relationship between a *bhakt* and her god(s) is personal, reciprocal, continual, and special. A devotee may have a special relationship with one main god while engaging other minor gods as needed. Hindu devotees shift among different main gods at different occasions or elevate more than one god above other gods or may assign different religious meaning to one god elevated above others. Within *bhakti* traditions, however, the tendency is to elevate one god above others and to foster life-long loyalty to one god over other gods.

The word '*bhakti*' emerged around 2500 years ago. It appears in the *Svetasvatara Upanishad* and the *Bhagavad Gītā*, by far the most influential Hindu scripture on *bhakti*. *Bhakti* denotes love or devotion directed to a deity or God.¹⁰⁰ At the root of the word '*bhakti*' is the Sanskrit verb *bhaj*. In the *Rig Veda* (c. 1700–1500 BCE), *bhaj* meant to divide, distribute, allot, or apportion. The verb later developed to mean to obtain as one's share, to partake, to receive, or to enjoy. It has a noun form, *bhakta*, which denotes a worshipper or votary. By the time the *Mahabharata* was composed during 300 BCE to 300 CE, *bhaj* acquired a vassalic form; it meant to declare for, prefer, choose (e.g., as a servant) or to serve, honor, revere, love, or adore. *Bhakta* acquired commensurate connotations in the *Mahabharat*, where it meant to be engaged in, occupied with, attached to or devoted to, loyal, faithful, honoring, worshipping, and serving.¹⁰¹

Since its origin, *bhakti* has existed as one path to liberation among other paths – like those of *jñānā* (knowledge), *karma* (action), and other types of disciplines. In the *Bhagavad Gītā*, as an instance, the *bhakti* path to liberation is mentioned in conjunction with the path of knowledge and that of proper action. Around 1200 year ago in Tamil Nadu, however, a new form of *bhakti* emerged that understood loving devotion to God as the only path to liberation. The great eleventh-century teacher, Rāmānuja, exemplified one interpretation of this type of devotion-based liberation. Rāmānuja draws a distinction between two types of *bhakti*, a lower *bhakti* and a higher *bhakti*.¹⁰² Lower *bhakti* is a discipline of knowledge in which a devotee seeks a better understanding of *Brahman* (God). This discipline of knowledge is a form of indirect knowledge of God and is based on the scriptures. Through *jñāna-yoga*, which is the systematic exploration of scripture under the guidance of a teacher, a devotee comes to know God. The discipline of knowledge complements a discipline of proper actions (*karma-yoga*), which consists of doing what is obligatory and permissible without attachment to the fruits of those actions. The discipline of indirect knowledge is then a discipline of knowledge-and-work. When done with the intention of the love of God, this combination discipline constitutes a discipline of devotion (*bhakti-yoga*). Rāmānuja suggests that too much of one's ego still survives in love for God. Hence, this form of *bhakti* constitutes a lower form of *bhakti*. While lower, this type of discipline helps a devotee walk on the path toward the higher form of *bhakti*.

Higher *bhakti* is a form of direct knowledge of God. It occurs in the form of an epiphany of the divine, an "ever-deepening relationship of intimacy," with the divine. It is still cognitive in nature and a form of knowledge, even if an ineffable intimate knowledge of God. Even as Rāmānuja locates knowledge of God in devotion of God, *bhakti* for him is still grounded in "the context of necessary social and religious obligations."¹⁰³ *Bhakti* did not remain in Tamil Nadu but spread outward, reaching the west, then the north and eventually reaching the eastern parts of India. As the personal-devotional form of *bhakti* spread from southern India, many of the main

features set during its time in Tamil Nadu spread with it. As *bhakti* spread throughout India, it acquired certain features. Some features separated it from the ‘intellectual’ *bhakti* of Rāmānuja. Yet, as Schelling notes, many of its main features were set in its Tamil Nadu days. These features include a devotion that is substantially personal, expressively emotional, scornful of doctrines, suspicious of religious authorities, defiant of orthodoxy, physically immersive, intentionally disruptive, grounded in communities, egalitarian in outlook and distinctively open in its symbols and songs. Further, *bhakti* is mostly in the form of oral poetry and songs and not in the form of literature.¹⁰⁴

Bhakti in north India is characterized by a few features. It constitutes a deep and personal relationship between a devotee and her God. Further, it is reciprocal: the devotee offers praise, worship, and gifts and receives blessings. It is also continual: a devotee may not visit a temple or pray ritually every day, but the relationship is a constant presence in the thoughts and acts of the devotee. She expects that the divine sees the devotee whenever the divine is called upon. Finally, *bhakti* tends to be broadly exclusive. A devotee may pray to different saints or holy people at different times, but *bhakti* is usually layered, with one supreme deity the focus of devotion and a range of secondary ‘saints’ available as needed. While a *bhakt* can be in relationship with multiple divinities for particular purposes – as an instance, Sister Alphonsa for health, Ganesh for good luck, Lakshmi for wealth, Saraswati for wisdom, and Hanuman for protection – a specific divinity primarily occupies the devotee’s devotion. It is in the context of this larger, four-fold sense that Hindi Christian sources express *bhakti*. *Bhakti* as found in Hindi Christian sources reflects a combination of ‘southern’ *bhakti* – with its fusion of personal devotion and proper actions – and pan-Indian *bhakti*, with its passionate, unorthodox, egalitarian form. Hindi Christian notions of devotion and love of God do not scoff at rituals or doctrines. Yet at their core lies a commitment to the liberation of the body and soul in this world and the world to come.

Bhakti and Christianity share motifs and vocabulary in India. A comparison by Sabapathy Kulandran in 1957 listed the following shared features.¹⁰⁵ In their essence, both modes of religious expressions describe the human response to the divine. Both religious traditions embody a whole-hearted trust and commitment to another. They characterize God as the ‘other’ in whom one places complete trust. The power of trust can be found in the love poems of Mirabai, the seventeenth-century *bhakti* saint. Mirabai sings:

He’s bound my heart with the powers he owns, Mother –
He with the lotus eyes.

Arrows like spears: this body is pierced,
And Mother, he’s gone away.
When did it happen, Mother? I don’t know

But now it's too much to bear.
 Talismans, spells, medicines –
 I've tried, but the pain won't go.
 Is there someone who can bring relief?
 Mother, the hurt is cruel.
 Here I am, near, and you're not far:
 Hurry to me, to meet.
 Mira's Mountain-Lifter Lord, have mercy,
 Cool this body's fire!
 Lotus-Eyes, with the powers you own, Mother,
 With those powers you've bound.¹⁰⁶

One moment Krishna is far. The other moment he is near and ready to meet. God may be the 'other' to whom a bhakt relates, but God/Krishna is not completely removed from the devotee. *Bhakti*, Kulandran continues, rises above legalism and ritualism. As such, *bhakti* traditions undermine caste claims and caste-based distinctions. Important differences remain. The most important difference, Kulandran argues, concerns the nature of God and the sources of salvation. Unlike Christianity, which posits a God distinct from creation and Jesus Christ as the only source of salvation, *bhakti* tends toward monism and offers itself to Hindus as one among many paths to liberation.

David Scott has also characterized Christianity and *bhakti* as responses to the sacred. He goes as far as to conflate the two phenomenon and jointly call it "Hindu and Christian *Bhakti*." In Scott's construction, Christianity and Hindu have a "common" human response to the divine in the "personalist tradition of religious devotion of *bhakti*" that both Christianity and Hinduism share.¹⁰⁷ Given the overlaps between Christianity and Hinduism, Scott proposes that *bhakti* can be used as the gateway to a fuller Indian understanding of Christianity. *Bhakti* is the bridge that links the Christian faith to the Hindu faith. Hindu and Christian *bhakti*, Scott explains, is characterized by love of God, personal devotion to God, the experience of grace, utter self-surrender to God, and the power of God's love. In Scott's construction of religion, *bhakti* provides the proper orientation for "outward" religious acts like worship and devotion and "inward" religious acts like faith and love.¹⁰⁸

Bhakti and Christianity further share a concern for social relations. Poems of the *bhakti* tradition, Schelling writes, started to take shape during the eighth and ninth centuries, drew inspiration from excluded sections of society, challenged social hierarchies, and spread revolutions across kingdoms. *Bhakti* has led to uncontrollable movements for spiritual freedom and fostered persistent demands for social and economic equality. It has nurtured the human yearning to connect with something greater and served as a way to experience the transcendent. "At the root of bhakti," Schelling observes, "coils the formidable old hunger for human freedom, a sense of

the world's inexplicable mystery, and the conviction that each of us forms some personal relationship to that mystery."¹⁰⁹

Not all comparisons between Christian devotion and *bhakti* were appreciative or positive. Some comparisons sought to present *bhakti* as the antidote to Christian colonialism in India. As Dipesh Chakrabarty and Tapan Raychauduri have noted, *bhakti* as loving devotion became a source of political unity among nationalist authors in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.¹¹⁰ Comparativist scholars during the British Raj were wary of certain forms of *bhakti*. George Abraham Grierson (1851–1941), the leading ethno-linguist, found much to admire about the *bhakti*-focused writings of Indian religious leaders like Sitaramsharan Bhagvan Prasad (1840–1932). Grierson would go so far as to trace the origin of Hindu *bhakti* to early Nestorian Christianity via the theology of the great eleventh-century Hindu theologian, Rāmānuja. He retreated from that claim later.¹¹¹ Despite his retreat, Grierson found many parallels with Christian motifs in Hindu *bhakti*: God's unwavering love for humanity, God's grace, self-surrender, abandoning the world for God, cleaving away from sin, being 'reborn' as a bhakta. Yet not every form of *bhakti* earned a positive review. Grierson was critical of Krishna-*bhakti*, which he considered was based on the love of a man for a woman and corrupted by an extreme form of *bhakti* veering on the edge of lust. Contrary to Krishna-*bhakti* was Ram-*bhakti*, which was based on the love between a father and a son, lacked any hint of sensual licentiousness, and was a good approximation of the Christian motif of God's love for humans.¹¹²

Arun Jones draws a distinction between certain versions of Christianity and *bhakti* traditions, which he designates 'local religion.' He argues that nineteenth-century evangelical Christianity found its place in the religious milieu shaped and nourished by *bhakti*.¹¹³ In the motifs and practices of *bhakti* groups, evangelical Christianity unwittingly found substantial echoes. Jones identifies five areas of resemblance.¹¹⁴ In theology, both religious groups looked to a divine savior for liberation. Devotees sought a personal, intimate relationship with their savior. Both groups further shared a form of religious expression that emphasized personal experience of the divine rather than rituals and doctrines. This form of religious expression fostered vernacular expressions. In terms of social outlook, *bhakti* and evangelical Christianity shared a reformist impulse that provided counterpoints to formal religion, orthodoxies, and religious hierarchies. Both religious traditions further stressed on communal formation as the main means to religious devotion. Worshipping communities were the primary locus of *bhaktas* and evangelical Christians in North India. (Jones writes of evangelical Christians in Hindi North India but has very little to say about the *Hindi*-ness of Christianity in North India.) Finally, both groups shared a demography, drawing members primarily from groups on the periphery of society.

Despite the sharing of motifs and practices, Jones notes, *bhakti* and Christianity could not be (con)fused in nineteenth-century north India.

Important differences remained. As an instance, where *bhakti* was henotheistic in outlook, evangelical Christianity had a different sense of divine self-expression. Similarly, where *bhakti* groups challenged social hierarchies in their motifs and form of organization, evangelical Christianity emphasized the development of personal holiness, though Jones seems to suggest that evangelical Christianity had high(er) degree of social activism than *bhakti* traditions in North India. Jones's general thesis is on point: nineteenth-century evangelical Christianity in India found hospitable spaces in the religious milieu shaped by north Indian *bhakti* traditions. His observation that this hospitality was "coincidental" and "unwitting," however, needs to be qualified.¹¹⁵ On the matter of the relationship between motifs in *bhakti* traditions and motifs in the evangelical Christianity of Hindi north India in the nineteenth-century, Jones may be right. But as I discuss in following sections, the devotional hymns of mainline, Protestant Hindi Christians in the twentieth-century show an affinity with and explicit adoption of the motifs and language of *bhakti*. In the Hindi area, connections between Hindi Christianity and *bhakti* appear weak at first glance. While the practice of *bhakti* populates the Hindi area, I have not found direct references in Hindi Christian sources to the works of the *bhakti* saints like Ravidas, Kabir, Nanak, Surdas, Mirabai, and Tulsidas. Yet Hindi Christian books and hymns demonstrate a robust affinity to the ideas and terms of *bhakti*. While a Hindi Christian may not describe Christianity as a *bhakti* religion, thematic analogies between the world of *bhakti* and Hindi Christian expressions are evident. Hindi Christian devotionals provide the most fertile ground to examine this evidence.¹¹⁶

Hindi Christian hymns include direct references to *bhakti* and *bhakt*s. Noticeably, 'official' collections of Hindi Christian hymns present Christian *ārādhānā* as *bhakti*. *Ārādhānā ke Gīt* has a special place in Hindi Christian liturgy given its role as a primary source of devotional songs and other *bhajans*. It has also led to standardization of Hindi Christian devotionals. *Ārādhānā ke Gīt* has wide acceptance among mainline Protestant Christian congregations that use Hindi. The hymnbook is also noteworthy for its reliance on the motifs and vocabulary of *bhakti*. The topical index of *Ārādhānā ke Gīt* lists songs for 'Worship and Adoration' under the category 'Ārādhānā.' In this popular hymnbook, *ārādhānā* is synonymous with *bhakti*. The publishers of the hymnbook categorize all songs related to the adoration and worship of God as "*Ārādhānā (Bhakti)*."¹¹⁷ In their construction, Christian worship is *bhakti*. A few examples follow (emphases mine). The first hymn in the hymnbook describes Christian devotion as *bhakti*. In a Hindi rendering of 'How Great Thou Art,' its fourth verse reads:

<p><i>Āegā khrist sāth baḍī mahimā ke,</i> <i>Sāth usāke hogā ek ānand mahān,</i> <i>Tab bhakti-bhāv aur dīnātā se main</i> <i>jhukkar,</i></p>	<p>Christ will come in great glory, With him shall be great joy, Then bowing with humble devotion,</p>
--	---

26 Politics of religion

Gāuṃgā yah, “prabhu, kaisā mahān.” I shall sing, “Lord, How Great
Thou Art.”

(Number 1; translated by R. M. Clark)

The third hymn uses *bhakti* for devotion:

<i>Ab āe tere pās</i>	Now we come close to you,
<i>Ārādhānā karne ko,</i>	So that we may worship you,
<i>Prāsaṃsā bhakti se karen,</i>	May our praise be devoted to you,
<i>Aur prārthānā saccī ho.</i>	And our prayers be true.

(Number 3; anonymous composer)

So does Hymn 29:

<i>Duniyām kā racne vālā vahī,</i>	He is the one who creates the world,
<i>Bhaktom ke dil kā ujālā vahī,</i>	He enlightens the heart of devotees,
<i>Pāpin kāraṇ janmā vahī,</i>	He is the one born to fix sin,
<i>Sūlī par caṛhne vālā vahī.</i>	He is the one to climb the cross.

(Number 29; composed by Ahsan)

And Hymn 403:

<i>Bhakti se, stuti se,</i>	With devotion, with praise,
<i>Is din ko pavitr mānem.</i>	Consider this day holy.
<i>Khrist yīśu ke dvārā mere,</i>	Through Christ Jesus,
<i>Pāpori ko kṣamā kar tu de,</i>	You forgive my sins.
<i>Bhakti se, stuti se,</i>	With devotion, with praise,
<i>Is din ko pavitr mānem.</i>	Consider this day holy.
<i>Ānand se āem tere ghar,</i>	May we enter your house with joy,
<i>Ārādhānā ho saccāi se;</i>	May our worship be true;
<i>Hamārī bhakti aesī ho</i>	May our devotion be such
<i>Ki bhāe vah svarg mem tujhe.</i>	That it pleases you in heaven.

(Number 403; “O Happy Day,” translated by
Phillip Doddridge)

Evangelical Christians in north India in the twentieth century have also described their devotion as *bhakti*. *Jīvan Saṅgīt* (“Life Music”) was published in 1994 and is a popular publication among evangelical Christians in Madhya Pradesh. It is the primary hymnbook of churches affiliated with Mid-India Christian Services, a well-established evangelical Christian organization based in Damoh, Madhya Pradesh. Hymn 2 of *Jīvan Saṅgīt* is the popular Hindi Christian hymn “*Terī Ārādhānā Karūm.*” Its second verse reads:

<i>Sṛṣṭī ke har ek kaṇ kaṇ mem</i>	In every kernel of the universe
<i>Chāyā hai terī hī mahimā kā rāj</i>	Your glory reigns
<i>Pakṣī bhī karte haiṃ terī prāsaṃsā</i>	Even the birds sing your praise

<i>Har pal sunāte haiṁ ānand kā rāg</i>	Sounding your joy always
<i>Merī bhī bhakti tujhe grahaṇ ho</i>	May my worship be acceptable
	to you
<i>Hṛday se prārthānā karūṁ.</i>	This is my heartfelt prayer.
	(Number 2; anonymous composer)

Then there is “*Sāraṇ merī āe haiṁ hum*,” Hymn 329 in *Jīvan Saṅgīt*, which has a counterpart in a Hindu devotional song of the same name. Between the two songs, only some words are different. Among these slight changes, *yēśu* (Jesus) in the Christian version is *bhagvan* (Lord) in the Hindu version. The third and fifth verses of the hymn respectively read:

<i>Na hum merī bal hai</i>	We lack strength,
<i>Na hum merī shakti,</i>	We lack power,
<i>Na hum merī sādhan</i>	We lack the means
<i>Na hum merī bhakti.</i>	We lack devotion.
<i>Tumhāre dar ke hum haiṁ bhikāri,</i>	We are beggars at your doorstep,
<i>Dayā karo he dayālu yēśu.</i>	Show us mercy, merciful Jesus.
 <i>Pradhān kar do mahān bhakti,</i>	 Grant us great devotion,
<i>Bharo hamāre merī jñān shakti.</i>	Fill us with powerful wisdom.
<i>Narak nāśak ho krūs dhārī,</i>	You are the hell-destroyer, the
	cross-bearer
<i>Dayā karo he dayālu yēśu.</i>	Show us mercy, merciful Jesus.
	(Number 329; anonymous composer)

Hindi Christian *bhajans*, like their *bhakti* counterparts, use vernaculars and mix and match terms from a variety of linguistic contexts. Consider Hymn 511 in *Ārādhānā ke Gīt*:

<i>Terī nazar ke pyāse haiṁ hum,</i>	We thirst for your gaze,
<i>Tujhse duā yah karte haiṁ</i>	That you look upon us, we beseech
<i>hum.</i>	you.
 <i>Tū hai hāmī, tū hai svāmī,</i>	 You are our advocate, you are our
	master,
<i>Tū hai prem apār.</i>	You are love unbound.
 <i>Tū hī dān, tū hī mān,</i>	 You are the gift, you are the honor,
<i>Tū hai jag kā ādhār.</i>	You are the foundation of the world.
 <i>Tū hai śakti, tū hai bhakti,</i>	 You are power, you are devotion,
<i>Tū hai tāraṇābhār.</i>	You are savior.
	(Number 511; lyrics and tune by D. M. Daniel)

The song is listed as hymn of *ārādhānā* (*bhakti*) and exemplifies the linguistic mixing of languages and concepts that occurs when *bhakti* traditions and

Christian worship come together. *Nazar* is an Urdu word via Arabic. *Hāmī* is Arabic in origin and *Svāmī* and *Apār* are Sanskritic in origin. *Hāmī* is an Arabic loan-word that means ‘supporter’ or ‘advocate.’ It is sometimes also conflated with the Arabic *ḥāmī*, which means ‘to confirm’ something, as in *ḥāmī bharānā* (to agree with, to assent to).¹¹⁸ In the next verse, *mān* and *ādhar* are borrowed from Sanskrit. Finally, Sanskrit provides *śakti*, *bhakti*, and *tāraṇāhār*, which respectively mean power, devotion, and one who enables a crossing over. The combination of *nazar*, *hāmī*, *svāmī*, *bhakti*, and *tāraṇāhār* in the Hindi hymnal asks a singer of the hymn to perform a type of multilingualism where understanding the full meaning of the hymn depends on facility with a range of linguistic terms in Urdu, Hindi, Arabic, and Sanskrit. Hindi Christian hymns share other ideas with *bhakti* traditions.¹¹⁹ A recurring theme in popular Hindi Christian hymns, for instance, recalls sacrifice and surrender. A devotee brings herself to Christ, surrenders, seeks, shelter, and receives freedom or *mukti* from time and death. Consider these examples:

I.

<i>Dil merā le le, pyāre yīśu,</i>	Take my heart, O dear Jesus,
<i>tūne ise banāyā hai,</i>	You are the one who has made it,
<i>ismēn tu apnā ghar banā le,</i>	Make in it [now] your own house,
<i>jiske liye hī yah banāyā hai.</i>	For this only it was made.

<i>Pavitr ātmā kā yeh ho bhavan,</i>	May the Holy Spirit ¹²⁰ live here,
<i>agni ke baptismā se,</i>	By the baptism of fire,
<i>har jagah, har samay dūm gavāhī,</i>	Everywhere, always, may I witness,
<i>jaisā yeh usne sikhāyā hai.</i>	Just as He has taught this.

(Number 311; anonymous composer)

II.

Yīśu tu ne kiyā nihāl, jab main śaraṇ meṁ terī āyā.
Jesus, you freed me, when I came under your refuge.

Yīśu ākar tere dwār, barkat pāī beśumār,
kripā terī huī apār, mere dil kā mail miṭāyā.

Jesus, having reached your door, countless blessings I received,
Your mercy was unbound, as it cleaned my dirty heart.

...

Jo terī śaraṇ meṁ āe, vah pāpoṁ se bac jāye,
man meṁ pāvan ātmā āe, isko mainme hai ājmāyā.

He who comes to your refuge, from his sins he is saved,
He receives the Holy Spirit, in this witness I have shared.

*Hai dās terā viśvāsī, kāṭī tūne kāl kī phāmsī,
dhan-dhan amar lok ke vāsī, darśan mainne terā pāyā.*

Your believer is a servant, you have cut the noose of time,
Blessed-blessed those in heaven, your vision I have received.
(Number 282; lyrics and tune by Premdas)

In the context of *bhakti* and of Hindu religious vocabulary, *pāp* refers to sin, evil, wickedness, or a wrong.¹²¹ In *bhakti*, one turns to God to seek liberation from the effects of sin, which are generally understood as forms of self-attachment, mistaken desires, or evil acts. The effects of such evil and sin can keep one bound to life and the cycle of rebirths. As a describer of sin and evil, the word *pāp* – along with its antonym *puṇy* (meritorious, auspicious) – functions in both Christian and Hindu circles. It is common in Hindi hymns to beseech Christ for safety and a personal relationship:

<i>Bolo jay milkar jay</i>	Sing his praise, join his praise
<i>bolo jay yīśu kī jay.</i>	Sing his praise Jesus' praise.
<i>Bolo jay, jay, jay.</i>	Sing his praise, praise, praise.

<i>Prem tere kī yahī rīt:</i>	Tis' the nature of your love:
<i>Man mein bhar de terī prīt,</i>	Fills one's heart with your love,
<i>tere prem ke gāyem gīt.</i>	We sing songs of your love.

<i>Khidmat apnī le mujh se,</i>	Take from me your service [Lord]
<i>is mandir mein tū hī base,</i>	In this temple may you stay,
<i>jag me terā nām phaile.</i>	May the world hear your name.

(Number 47; anonymous composer)

With *bhakti* literature, Christian hymns further share an erotic terminology. Mirabai is well-known for her love-filled songs directed at Krishna, her playmate and lover.¹²² Christian hymns recall the lover's relationship that exists between Christ and his *bhakt* in comparable terms and suggest a two-way relationship in which a devotee surrenders to Christ and is at the receiving end of Christ's love. Consider this Hindi translation of a German Lutheran hymn:

<i>Main prem apār ko nit sarāhtā</i>	I always praise the love unbound
<i>jo yīśu tujh se prakaṭ hai,</i>	That appears from you, O Lord,
<i>aur apne ko samarpit kartā</i>	And I surrender myself
<i>tujh ko jo merā premī hai.</i>	To you who's my lover [Lord].

Tū mujhse kaisī prītī rakhtā!
Man terā mujhko cāhtā hai.
Is prem se sab prabhāvit hotā
vah jo kuch mere bhītar hai.

How it is that you love me!
 You are in love with me.
 This love changes everything
 That which is inside of me.

He prem asēm jo swarg se āyā

O love unbound who came from
 heaven

main terā hūm, tū mujh ko bhāyā.

I am yours and in love with you.

(Number 7; original German, lyrics by Gerhard Tersteegen,
 tune by Dimitri Bortniansky, Hindi translator unknown)

The lovers' relationship described in Hymn 7 does not exist in a vacuum. It complements communal forms of worship. The relationship of *bhakt* communities to the singer saints of India is complicated. *Nirguna bhakti*, Hawley and Juergensmeyer note, is not readily hospitable to institutions, temples, priests, and structures. The resistance of *nirguna* poets to organized religion typified in the poetry of Kabir was particularly attractive to those seeking to escape structures of caste and creed.¹²³ Kabir's critique of Hinduism and Islam on one hand and his relationship with a community of listeners and yogis who rejected Hindu hierarchies on the other, however, reflects the very concrete ways in which society and politics impact religious practices.

Christian devotion is imprinted with the Christological core embedded in Hindi hymns. As one consequence of this imprint, Christian Hindi hymns are clearly not devotionally 'layered' with primary and secondary deities as can be found in *bhakti bhajans*. While local healers and saints do figure in devotional schemes, Hindi Christian sources are distinct from *bhakti* devotionals in their exclusive devotion to Jesus. The Christological core has also led to the dominance of *saguna* forms of devotion rather than *nirguna* forms of devotion in the body of Hindi devotionals.¹²⁴ Key features of *nirguna* and *saguna* devotions like longing, community, refuge, love, and surrender are nevertheless part of some of the most well-known Hindi Christian hymns.

Bhakti traditions pay attention to the relationship between teacher and disciples. In concrete terms, the values and practices of a worshipping community are passed down from teacher to teacher. Such teachers depend on their community of disciples to manifest the teachings and devotion to God. The worshipping community is the site of religious expressions, growth, and transmission. The Kabir *panth* has valued the transmission of faith and worship from *gurus* to disciples.¹²⁵ Mira's songs are best experienced in "the company of other worshippers."¹²⁶ Or, in the words of a famous Hindi Christian hymn:

Dhanyavād sadā prabhu
khrist tujhe
tere sam mukh śīs navāte hain,
hum terī Ārādhānā karne ko
mandir mein tere āte hain.

We give thanks to you always Jesus
 Christ,
 We bow our heads before you,
 To worship you [and sing your praise]
 We gather in your temple.

<i>Dhany vīrom kā is maṇḍlī ke,</i>	Give thanks for the brave ones of this church
<i>tere nām par jo balīdān hue,</i>	Those who martyred in your name,
<i>hum unke sāhas tyāg ko le</i>	Taking on their valor and sacrifice
<i>nity āge bar̥hte jāte haim.</i>	We keep on moving [boldly] ahead.

(Number 22; original Hindi, lyrics by M. R. Utarid, tune by Goodwin R, Utarid)

Hindi Christian hymns and *bhakti* devotionals echo a variety of themes. These themes include a strong personal bond between God and devotee, a two-way relationship with mutual obligations, personal devotion in the context of and as part of larger communities of worship, and a certain exclusivity in a devotee's focus on a supreme deity who meets her need for love and salvation. The cultural milieu of Hindi Christian works has been shaped by ideas other than the motifs found in *bhakti* traditions.

The Indian subcontinent has a long history of Christian scholarship and this history can be traced to India's earliest Christian communities in the first century CE. Early trade routes and later colonial expansions brought converts in contact with Christian communities outside the subcontinent. Hindi Christian literature exists as part of this Christian milieu in the subcontinent. However, it seems that Indian Christian scholarship has minimally interacted with Hindi Christian materials. While the influence of Western authors on Hindi Christian writers is evident, Hindi Christian writers have for the most part ignored Indian Christian scholarship in other languages. Hindi Christian writers may have engaged their Western predecessors but a study of Hindi Christian materials reveals that Indian Christian scholarship in other languages has not been an influential partner of Hindi Christian writing in the way Western scholarship has. Let us look at two examples.

The bibliography of Dayal's popular Hindi-language textbook on Christianity (published in 2005) presents a list of 74 books. Eleven of the 74 are by Indian authors. Western sources dominate the list, led by the works of D. M. Baillie, Karl Barth, Emil Brunner, Mircea Eliade, David Ford, John Hick, John McQuarrie, Reinhold Niebuhr, Karl Rahner, and Paul Tillich. Only five of the 11 Indian-authored books are in Hindi. In a widely-used Hindi-language textbook, then, only 6.7 percent sources are in Hindi. Other Hindi-language textbooks do not fare any better. The 23-book bibliography of Masih and Peter's *Prabhu Yeśu kī Jīvanī aur Sevākāry* (2007) lists only one Indian author – the rest are from the West. All its sources are in English. The 30-book bibliography of Khan's Christian ethics, *Khrīstīy Nītīśāstr* (2009), lists only two books by Indian authors (one by H.H. Titus, another by Joseph Vadakumcherry). Again, all its sources are also in English. What explains this state of affairs? Are Hindi Christian writers generally unaware of Indian Christian sources in English or other languages? Do Hindi Christian authors have limited access to translated editions of non-Hindi sources

(assuming they are restricted to the use of Hindi)? Are non-Hindi sources from India unhelpful and hence underutilized on purpose?

An analysis of the interactions between Indian Christian theology and Hindi Christian scholarship sheds light on these questions. Missionary theologians like Robin Boyd, William Barclay, and John Webster were aware of local theological works and found in Indian Christian theology a familiarity with their personal ideas and vocabulary. A sense of familiarity created the impression that Indian Christian theologies were vernacular expressions of their Western concepts. Boyd laments this perceived state of affairs in his 1969 dissertation on Indian Christian theology. The question of whether Boyd and his compatriots had understood Indian theology on its own terms was yet to emerge as a necessary query. Rather, the conventional wisdom of the day understood Indian Christianity as an echo of missionary expressions. Capturing the popular point of view, Boyd writes:

There is no doubt that to an outside observer the Church in India seems to be dominated by Western attitudes and modes of thought. In church architecture, church organization, church services, church music and church publications, Western forms and attitudes still seem to predominate. . . . Again, the teaching given in theological colleges throughout India has been, and still is, dominated by Western theology, as a glance at any syllabus will show. The result is that the preaching of the average Indian minister or evangelist reflects the Western theological categories in which he has been trained.¹²⁷

Western categories did not influence Indian Christianity exclusively. Sanskrit motifs and upper-caste Hinduism also shaped Indian Christian works in English. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, many of the pioneers of Indian Christian thoughts were upper-caste Hindu converts or Hindu reformers like Krishna Mohan Banerjee (1813–1885), Pandita Ramabai (1858–1922), Brahmabandhab Upadhyay (1861–1907), Keshub Chandra Sen (1838–1884), and A. J. Appasamy (1848–1926). Their influence led to what Arvind Nirmal has called a Brahmanic turn in Indian Christian theology. Nirmal explains:

Broadly speaking, Indian Christian theology in the past has tried to work out its theological systems in terms of either *advaita Vedanta* or *vishishtadvaita*. Most of the contributions of Indian Christian theology in the past came from caste converts to Christianity. The result has been that Indian Christian theology has perpetuated within itself what I prefer to call the ‘Brahmanic’ tradition. . . . To speak in terms of traditional Indian categories, Indian Christian theology, following the Brahmanic tradition, has trodden the *jnana marga*, the *bhakti marga* and the *karma marga*. In Brahma Bandhav Upadhyay, we have a brilliant theologian who attempted a synthesis of Sankara’s *Advaita Vedanta* with

Christian theology. In Bishop A.J. Appasamy, we have a *bhakti marga* theologian who tried to synthesize Ramanuja's *Vashishtha Advaita* with Christian Theology. In M.M. Thomas we have a theologian who has contributed to theological anthropology at the international level and who laid the foundation for a more active theological involvement in India – the *karma marga*. In Chenchiah we find an attempt to synthesize Christian theology with Sri Aurobindo's 'Integral Yoga'.¹²⁸

Banerjee, who joined the Church of England post-conversion and was an ordained minister and professor at Bishop's College in Calcutta, interpreted Christ as the true *prajāpati* (Lord and Creator) and the true *puruṣ* (both human and divine).¹²⁹ Ramabai came from a Maratha Brahmin family and post-conversion tried to combine her Hindu upbringing with her experience of the Holy Spirit.¹³⁰ The influence of Sanskrit and the Vedas was not new to nineteenth and twentieth century Indian Christian thought. Roberto de Nobili (1577–1656) learned Tamil and Sanskrit, adopted the life of a *sanyāsi*, tried to establish a seminary with Sanskrit as the medium of instruction, and experimented with Sanskrit as a liturgical language in the church.¹³¹ Other followed in his enculturated footsteps. Evaluations of Indian Christian thought by Hindi authors have faulted it in both its Westernized and Sanskritic content.¹³²

Hindi Christian literature is neither Brahmanic in construct nor Vedantic in content. It reflects a general distaste for Sanskritic ideas and idioms. It embraces a commitment to economic development, social mobility, and the abolition of caste- and gender-based discriminations. The demography of Hindi Christianity – made up mostly by Dalits, tribal, and rural converts¹³³ – partly explains this outcome. Hindu reformers of the nineteenth century wanted to identify ideas like love, equality, and grace as shared motifs with Hinduism in their quest to reform caste practices and gender relations. M. M. Thomas, V. S. Azariah, and Paul D. Devanandan spoke for many Christians in newly-Independent India when they invited church communities to dedicate themselves to nation building, interfaith harmony, and close alliances with civil society. S. J. Samartha (1920–2001), George M. Soares Prabhu (1929–1995), Dhyanchand Carr (1938–), Renty Keitzar (1936–2000), Aruna Gnanadason (1949–), Monica Jyotsna Melanchthon (1962–), and James Massey (1943–), among others, have produced works that address the needs of church and society, tribal issues, inter-religious dialogue, gender empowerment, ecumenism, Dalit rights, and ecological care.¹³⁴ Hindi Christian authors have been cautious in their engagement of Brahmanic and upper-case ideas.

Debates over the religious meaning of 'Hindi' have shaped the development of Hindi Christian ideas in the context of Hinduism and India. The term's reference to a language was not an issue. Rather, the controversy centered on whether 'Hindi' meant 'Hindu' or 'Indian' when used by Christian authors writing in Hindi. The question played out in the editorial decision

over the Hindi title of a translated book. The story unfolds in C.W. David's introduction to Boyd's *An Introduction to Indian Christian Theology* in 1976 and his subsequent introduction to Benjamin Khan's *Bīsvīm Śatābdī ke Pramukh Dharmavijñānī* ("Major Christian Theologians of the Twentieth Century") in 1990. In the 1970s, David was the editor-in-chief of the Hindi Theological Literature Committee, Khan a prominent Hindi Christian author, and Boyd a well-respected scholar of Christianity in India. David sparked the conversation when he decided to change the title of the Hindi version of Boyd's book to "Christian Theology in India" instead of maintaining Boyd's original "An Introduction to Indian Christian theology." Explaining his decision, David wrote: "There can be no such thing as Indian Christian theology" because "Christ is universal, beyond every nation."¹³⁵ That Christ was universal, however, was not the only argument against describing Boyd's book as a study of Indian Christian theology rather than as a study of Christian theology in India. David preferred a particular feature of Boyd's work and wanted to promote that feature as the core "Indian" aspect of Indian Christian thought.

Two strands dominate Boyd's account of Indian Christianity. One strand focuses on Hindu contributions to the development of Christian thought in India. Boyd draws upon a number of Hindu reformers to explain the content of Indian Christianity and his study is colored by interactions between upper-caste Hindu converts and reformers and emerging Indian Christian scholarship. Boyd's reliance on Hindu-Christian encounters to introduce Indian Christianity gave the impression that Indian Christian thought was, generally speaking, Hindu Christian thought. To balance a reliance on Hindu modes of thinking, Boyd explained Indian Christian thought as the "search for truth" intrinsic to India's religiosity and not specific to any one religious tradition. To tangle with truth was at the heart of "true religious enquiry." In the artful Hindi translation of Boyd's argument, what made Indian Christianity Indian was a Christian's "*saty ke sāth ulajhnā*" ("struggling with truth"), where the truth is Christ. Boyd reminded his readers that the idea of struggling with or searching for truth was a domestic idea, with a rich history, and transcended religions. "To tangle with truth, which is the demand of true religious enquiry, is not a foreign idea for the Indian tradition."¹³⁶

Indian Christian thought is made Indian by its search for truth/Truth. Locating the search for truth at the heart of Christian thought made it truly Indian. Such a Christianity would embrace ethics, engage philosophy, avoid repeating Hindu thoughts, and save Indian Christian thought from merely parroting Western works. "In India today," Boyd explained,

there is the need for a conduct-based, witness-giving theology. . . . It seems that before becoming the congregation's systematic theology or Indian doctrines it is important to tangle with the Christian revelation

and biblical witness in order to understand their internal meaning and structure.¹³⁷

David sought to promote the struggle for truth in Boyd's account of Indian Christianity and wanted to minimize Boyd's dependence on Hindu thought. To this end, David renames Boyd's work as 'Christian theology in India.' "The author," David explains, "has provided a 'definition of Indian Christian theology' in the thirteenth chapter of the book. We accept 'Indian Christian theology' in that sense."¹³⁸

Other Hindi Christian authors picked up on David's discomfort with characterizing Boyd's work as an accurate depiction of Indian Christian thinking. Benjamin Khan uses theologies in English by Western authors of the twentieth century to introduce Western Christian thoughts to Hindi readers. Khan's methodology stands in contrast with Boyd's. Boyd used theologies in English influenced by Hindu-Christian debates to characterize Indian Christian thought. Khan's book is aimed at a broad Hindi Christian audience: seminarians, pastors, educators, authors, and general readers. He was motivated by a lack of good Christian sources available in Hindi. Khan explained,

Many readers who go to seminary to study religion are maybe not competent enough in English to fully understand those books on Christian-literature that are written in English. In the same way, an average Christian also remains ignorant about schools of thought in Christian literature beyond the Bible because he does not have available in the mother tongue any book whose study allows him to learn about the primary schools of thought in Christian theology. I have been feeling this void for a very long time.¹³⁹

Khan clarifies his intention to introduce Hindi readers to Western Christian thought in simple terms accessible to a general reader. "As far as language is concerned," he further writes, "I have tried to present the thoughts in very simple language."¹⁴⁰ Clarity regarding his task and sources allows David to encourage his readers to find new ways to present Christian theology in terms of India's context. He invites his readers to "think anew in the cultural context of India and to present Christian theology in terms of the religion and ethics here [in India's context]."¹⁴¹

"Indian theology" – a term Khan uses in *Bīsvīm Śātābdī ke Pramukh Dharmavijñānī* in 1990 – should introduce the incarnated, risen Christ in ways that makes sense to the developing world. "Jesus Christ," Khan argues,

is this Word of God who incarnated, who united humans with God in his life, death, and resurrection. Such a presentation of this Christ is necessary that can be acceptable to today's human, who wants to be

self-reliant on the basis of her intelligence and advances in science and who has attained maturity.¹⁴²

Khan finds Boyd's work lacking in its presentation of Indian (Christian) theology. He explains:

We have studied Boyd's 'Indian Christian theology.' At the same time, some works and a book have also been published on Dalit theology. It is our humble belief that writing Indian Christian theology in English can only lead to the false use of Indian categories of thought. It is our hope that in the near future Indian scholars and thinkers will emerge who will write systematic theologies that could be truly called Christian theologies.¹⁴³

Khan's review of Boyd is harsh. It claims a schism between the English language and Indian thought that is rather hard to defend. Nevertheless, Khan's comments clarify the debate on the meaning of 'Christian' in Hindi Christian sources. The Hindu tinge of Boyd's Indian Christianity can be explained as a function of the paucity of Indian Christian sources that avoid Hindu categories. It is less a function of Boyd's methodology. Boyd's selection of Indian Christian sources takes him to the Hindu worldview. David and Khan find Boyd's portrayal of 'Indian Christian' thought problematic for different but overlapping reasons. Their discomfort is symbolic of the general suspicion with which Hindi Christian authors approach Indian Christian scholarship. The desire to Indianize and Hindify Christian claims without Hinduizing them is driving this suspicion.

Notes

- 1 What follows is found in Carey's 'Journal' and all quotes are from the original copy of the Journal held under copyright at the Angus Library, Regent's Park College, University of Oxford. Quotations are used with the permission of the Angus Library and Archive, Regent's Park College. The 'Journal' is also transcribed in the *Memoir of William Carey* by his nephew, Eustace Carey.
- 2 The work in Serampore depended on local clerks and assistants. Munshis and missionaries were not equals. Missionaries were *sahib* ("master") and munshis servants. For a study of *mumšis* and their *sāhibs*, see Das, *Sahibs and Munshis* (1978).
- 3 Carey's 'Journal,' 11–12. A note on the Journal's front page reads: "A Journal kept by Mr. Carey from June 1793 (the time of his leaving Europe) to June 1795, with a Letter to Mr. Pearce in Oct. 1795."
- 4 Jonathan, *Biśap*, 71: "[*Śrī kṛṣṇa kānt*] *ek acche vidvān, ucc koṭi ke rājanītiṃ aur rāṣṭrīy ekīkaraṇ evam sāmpradāyik samanvay kī kāmānā karne vāle netā haiṃ.*" English translations and transliterations of Devanāgarī Hindi are mine, unless noted otherwise. Proper nouns are reproduced following common usage or published forms. As readers may lack access to Hindi source materials, the book includes English transliterations of all Hindi quotations. Translations attend to context and intent. As a result, in some cases the translations are not literal in nature. As an instance, *bolo* literally means 'say' (imperative). In the context of

Hindi Christian hymns, however, *bolo* is better translated as ‘sing,’ as in ‘sing praise’ rather than ‘say praise.’

- 5 Jonathan, *Biśap*, 71: “*Masīhī samāj aur masīhī aguve sarvādhik prabuddh haim. [Mānanīy rājyapāl kā āgrah thā ki] sab prakār kā masīhī śubh samācār pracāry kāry aur dharmparivartan svecchā se kam se kam pacās varṣom ke liye band kar diyā jāe.*”
- 6 Jonathan, *Biśap*, 71: “*Śubh samācār pracār kā arth kyā hai? Kyā yah paramēśvar ke prem ko dūsrom ke sāth bāmṭnā hai?*”
- 7 Jonathan, *Biśap*, 71: “*Kyā hamne un logom ko, jo kalīsiyā ke bāhar haim, galat saiket diē haim?*”
- 8 Bauman, *Pentecostals, Proselytization, and Anti-Christian Violence*.
- 9 Hasan, “The Myth of Unity,” 185–186.
- 10 Fox, “Hindu Nationalism,” 67–68.
- 11 Fox, “Hindu Nationalism,” 71–72.
- 12 King, *One Language, Two Scripts*, 127–128, 144–145.
- 13 Pandey, *The Construction of Communalism*, 216–217.
- 14 Khalidi, “Hinduising India.”
- 15 Raghavendra, *The Politics of Hindi Cinema*, xxvii–xxviii.
- 16 Doniger, *The Hindus*, 106–107.
- 17 Truschke, *Culture of Encounters*.
- 18 Orsini, *Before the Divide*; Hakala, *Negotiating Languages*.
- 19 They include, outside of India, Arun W. Jones (Dan and Lillian Hankey Associate Professor of World Evangelism, Candler/Emory) and Timothy C. Tennent (President, Asbury Theological Seminary). In India, key scholars who have engaged Hindi Christian materials include John H. Anand (Editor, Hindi Theological Literature Committee), Ravi Tiwari (Registrar, Senate of Serampore), and Din Dayal (Former Moderator, Church of North India).
- 20 Shukla, *Hindī Sāhityā kā Itihās* and Hawley, *Three Bhakti Voices*.
- 21 Hawley and Juergensmeyer, *Songs of the Saints of India*; Hawley, *Three Bhakti Voices*; Thiel-Horstmann, *Bhakti in Current Research*, 1979–1982; Horstmann, *Bhakti in Current Research*, 2001–2003; Hopkins, *Singing the Body of God*; Malik, *Hindi Poetry Today*; Schomer, *Mahadevi Varma*; Schomer and McLeod, *The Sant Tradition of India*; and Hansen, *Grounds for Play*. Catalogues of Hindi literature are also available, from Blumhardt’s colonial-era *Catalogues of the Hindi, Panjabi, Sindhi, and Pushtu Printed Books in the Library of the British Museum* (1893) to McGregor’s *Hindi Literature of the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries* (1974).
- 22 Dandekar, *The Subhedar’s Son*; and *ibid.*, “Pilgrimage, Authority and Subversion.”
- 23 This is not an exhaustive list but it captures the major types of Hindi Christian works.
- 24 Tiwari, *Hindī Bhāṣā kā Udgam*, 104ff.
- 25 Tiwari, *Hindī Bhāṣā kā Udgam*, 104: “*Ataḥ ‘deśī bhāṣā’ jan-bhāṣā kā hī nām hai aur jis kāl evam sthān mein jo bhāṣā is pad par āsīn rahī, vah is nām se abhihit hui.*”
- 26 Tiwari, *Hindī Bhāṣā kā Udgam*, 135.
- 27 Van der Veer, *Religious Nationalism*, 170.
- 28 Masica, *The Indo-Aryan Languages*, 27.
- 29 Quoted in Singh, *Hindī Bhāṣā*, 21.
- 30 Masica, *The Indo-Aryan Languages*, 50–51.
- 31 For what follows, see Chatterji, *Indo-Aryan and Hindi*, 6–28, 156–197.
- 32 Flood, *An Introduction to Hinduism*, 33–34.
- 33 McGregor, “The Rise of Standard Hindi,” 115–117, 131.
- 34 Chatterji, *Indo-Aryan and Hindi*, 131–154.

- 35 McGregor, "The Progress of Hindi," 913–914, 945–948. See also Orsini, *Before the Divide*, 7.
- 36 Van der Veer, *Religious Nationalism*, 166.
- 37 Tiwari, *Hindī Bhāṣā kā Udgam*, 147.
- 38 For instance, see Pollock, *The Language of the Gods*.
- 39 Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, 493.
- 40 Tiwari, *Hindī Bhāṣā kā Udgam*, 440.
- 41 Masica, *The Indo-Aryan Languages*, 27.
- 42 McGregor, *The Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary*, vii.
- 43 Dalmia, *The Nationalization of Hindu Traditions*.
- 44 Orsini, *Before the Divide*; Shackle and Snell, *Hindi and Urdu since 1800*; Hakala, *Negotiating Languages*.
- 45 Dalmia, *The Nationalization of Hindu Traditions*.
- 46 Orsini, *The Hindi Public Sphere 1920–1940*.
- 47 McGregor, "The Progress of Hindi," 913.
- 48 www.censusindia.gov.in/Census_Data_2001/Census_Data_Online/Language/Statement1.htm. India's national population in 2001 stood at 1.028 billion (www.censusindia.gov.in/Census_Data_2001/). Data from the 2011 Census has not been released yet.
- 49 Studies of vernacular Christian materials in cognate languages like Awadhī will further enrich this study of Hindi Christian literature, but such studies are beyond the scope of this work.
- 50 Office of the Registrar, "Statement-1: Abstract of Speakers' Strength," 6.
- 51 Office of the Registrar, "Part-1: Distribution of the 22 Scheduled Languages," 24.
- 52 Office of the Registrar, "Statement-7: Growth of Scheduled Languages," 16.
- 53 Office of the Registrar, "Statement-5: Comparative Speakers' Strength," 18.
- 54 KPMG, "Indian Languages," 7.
- 55 KPMG, "Indian Languages," 2.
- 56 Christopher Shackle and Rupert Snell identify the area across North India from Rajasthan to Bihar as the 'Hindi area.' Shackle and Snell, *Hindu and Urdu Since 1800*, 13.
- 57 Masica has a similar, if dated, map: he places the Union Territory of Delhi and the Indian states of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Haryana, and Himachal Pradesh in the 'Hindi area.' Masica, *The Indo-Aryan Languages*, 9.
- 58 Ethnographic and textual data from field research in 2010–2011, partly funded by the South Asia Institute at Harvard, covered central and north Indian collections, including those at the Hindi Theological Literature Committee (Jabalpur) and Indian Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (Delhi). I collated literature on translation history and theories concerning Hindi scriptures and conducted interviews with practitioners and scholars in Delhi, Nagpur, Jabalpur, and Damoh. A research assistant from India visited and accessed the archives of the Methodist publishing house in Lucknow and the Lutheran publishing house in Chhindwara responsible for considerable Hindi Christian literature in the region.
- 59 The Committee was led by Rev. Dr. John H. Anand, who served as the Committee's Editor and Publisher. Anand is an ordained priest of the Church of North India. Born of a Muslim mother and a Hindu father, both of whom were Dalits, Anand converted to Christianity under the influence of an American Methodist missionary. Formally trained in Hindi literature and theology, Anand has approximately sixty books to his credit. He has served as Editorial Secretary of both the Indian Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge and the Bible Society of India and as professor at Satyaniketan Theological College. Anand has translated the New Hindi Bible from the original Hebrew and Greek for the

- Bible Society of India. He has also translated the Book of Worship of the Church of North India and The Ecumenical Hindi *Pavitr Bāibil* (Holy Bible).
- 60 See, for instance, Kunnatholy, *St. Thomas Christians*.
- 61 Evans, *Kaise Pāyā Muktidātā*, 10–11.
- 62 Hooper, *A Welshman in India*, 162.
- 63 Eck, *Banaras*.
- 64 For what follows, see Dalmia, *The Nationalization of Hindu Traditions*.
- 65 Dalmia, *The Nationalization of Hindu Traditions*, 108.
- 66 Dalmia, *The Nationalization of Hindu Traditions*, 110.
- 67 Dalmia, *The Nationalization of Hindu Traditions*, 144.
- 68 *Conference on Urdu and Hindi Christian Literature*, 46.
- 69 http://scholar.harvard.edu/files/rakeshpeterdass/files/hindi_catalogue_1917.pdf.
- 70 http://scholar.harvard.edu/files/rakeshpeterdass/files/hindi_theological_writings_bibliography_H.T.L.C.pdf.
- 71 England et al., *Asian Christian Theologies*.
- 72 England et al., *Asian Christian Theologies*, 331–332.
- 73 England et al., *Asian Christian Theologies*, 401.
- 74 England et al., *Asian Christian Theologies*, 272–273.
- 75 England et al., *Asian Christian Theologies*, 217.
- 76 Amaladoss, “Foreword 1,” xvi.
- 77 England et al., *Asian Christian Theologies*, xxiv.
- 78 Bauman and Young, *Constructing Indian Christianities*, xiii.
- 79 Sinha, *Masīhī Ācaraṇ*, ii (kh): “*Hindī masīhī sāhity kā durbhāgy hai ki uske pāthak bahut kam hai. . . . Hindī bhāṣiyom se āgrah hai ki ve jāgeri aur acchi pustakom ko padhne se apni badnāmī ko dūr karen aur prabuddh hom.*”
- 80 *Ārādhānā ke Gīt*, iii: “*Masīhī gīt sangrah mein vartamān bhāratīy racnāom kī kamī, klišṭ pāścāty racnāom kā ādhiky, aur saral, spaṣṭ aur vartamān pracalit bhāṣā kā ābhāv khalne lagā thā.*”
- 81 *Ārādhānā ke Gīt*, i.
- 82 *Ārādhānā ke Gīt* [Music Edition], iii.
- 83 Anand’s Preface in Sinha, *Masīhī Ācaraṇ*: “*Hindī kṣetrom ke thiyolājikal kale-jom ke prinsipal, carc ke biṣap, pāṣṭar, prakāṣan samsthāem, hamārī pustakom ke vitrak, borḍ, miśnari samsthāem hamārī bharsak madad karti haim.*”
- 84 Raj, “The Ganges, the Jordon, and the Mountain,” 41.
- 85 San Chirico, “Between Christian and Hindu,” 23–28.
- 86 Narayanan, “Afterword: Diverse Hindu Responses,” 260.
- 87 Dempsey, “Lessons in Miracles from Kerala,” 128–133.
- 88 Flood, *An Introduction to Hinduism*, 14.
- 89 Cf., Assmann, *Monotheismus*, 10; cited in Malinar, *The Bhagavadgītā*, 7, 238.
- 90 Malinar, *The Bhagavadgītā*, 7–9, 237–238.
- 91 Nasr, *The Study Quran*, 664–665.
- 92 Ernst, *Following Muhammad*, 118.
- 93 Lombard, “The Quranic View of Sacred History,” 1766–1769.
- 94 Raj and Dempsey, “Introduction,” 5.
- 95 Raj and Dempsey, *Popular Christianity in India*; Young, *India and the Indian-ness of Christianity*; Bauman and Young, *Constructing Indian Christianities*.
- 96 Mosse, *The Saint in the Banyan Tree*, 27–28, 284.
- 97 Bowen, *Religion in Practice*, 125.
- 98 Hawley and Juergensmeyer, *Songs of the Saints*, 7.
- 99 Eck, *Darśan*, 16.
- 100 Schelling, *The Oxford Anthology of Bhakti Literature*, xvi.
- 101 Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, 743. For the dates, see Doniger, *The Hindus*, 693.

- 102 Lipner, *The Face of Truth*, 112–115; Bartley, *The Theology of Rāmānuja*, 78–79.
- 103 Bartley, *The Theology of Rāmānuja*, 79.
- 104 Schelling, *The Oxford Anthology of Bhakti Literature*, xvii–xix.
- 105 Kulandran, “Christian Faith and Hindu Bhakti,” 118–121.
- 106 Hawley, *Three Bhakti Voices*, 105. Translated by Hawley.
- 107 Scott, “Hindu and Christian *Bhakti*,” 12.
- 108 Scott, “Hindu and Christian *Bhakti*,” 21–22.
- 109 Schelling, *The Oxford Anthology of Bhakti Literature*, xiv.
- 110 Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*, 231–232 and Raychaudhuri, *Europe Reconsidered*, 88–89, cited in Pinch, “*Bhakti* and the British Empire,” 167.
- 111 Pinch, “*Bhakti* and the British Empire,” 176–177.
- 112 Pinch, “*Bhakti* and the British Empire,” 178–179.
- 113 Jones, *Missionary Christianity*, xx–xxi.
- 114 Jones, *Missionary Christianity*, 8–16.
- 115 Jones, *Missionary Christianity*, 275.
- 116 Hymn numbers are from *Ārādhānā ke Gīt*.
- 117 *Ārādhānā ke Gīt*, “Topical Index,” 1.
- 118 McGregor, *The Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary*, 1069.
- 119 For an analysis of the interplay of *bhakti* motifs and social hierarchies in Tamil Christian hymns, see Israel, *Religious Transactions in Colonial South India* (2011). Israel’s work on Tamil hymns is also summarized in a 2014 article, “Authority, Patronage and Customary Practices.”
- 120 ‘Holy Spirit’ is the typical Hindi translation of *pavitr ātmā*.
- 121 McGregor, *The Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary*, 623.
- 122 Hawley and Juergensmeyer, *Songs of the Saints of India*; Hawley, *Three Bhakti Voices*.
- 123 Hawley and Juergensmeyer, *Songs of the Saints*, 42–45.
- 124 *Nirguna* forms of devotion address God without qualities, form, or attributes (from *nir-guna*, without qualities or attributes). *Saguna bhakti* is directed to God with attributes and qualities (from *sa-guna*, with qualities or attributes).
- 125 Hawley and Juergensmeyer, *Songs of the Saints*, 44–47.
- 126 Hawley and Juergensmeyer, *Songs of the Saints*, 129.
- 127 Boyd, *An Introduction to Indian Christian Theology*, 1–2.
- 128 Nirmal in Massey, *Indigenous Peoples, Dalits*, 215. To note, by “caste converts” Nirmal means upper caste converts.
- 129 Banerjee, *The Relation Between Christianity and Hinduism*, cited in England et al., *Asian Christian Theologies*, 211–212.
- 130 Ramabai, *A Testimony*, cited in England et al., *Asian Christian Theologies*, 212–213.
- 131 Rajamanickam, Roberto de Nobili on Adaptation and Arokiasamy, *Dharma, Hindu and Christian*, in England et al., *Asian Christian Theologies*, 206–207.
- 132 Thomas, “Introduction,” v.
- 133 See, Clarke, *Dalits and Christianity* and Massey, *Dalits in India*.
- 134 England et al., *Asian Christian Theologies*, 189–192.
- 135 David’s preface in Boyd, *Bhārat meṁ Masīhī Dharmavijñān*, ix: “*Bhāratīy khrīstīy dharmavijñān jaisī koī ciz nahīn ho saktī [kyomīki] khrīst sarvalaukik hai, kisi bhī rāṣṭr se pare hai.*”
- 136 Boyd, *Bhārat meṁ Masīhī Dharmavijñān*, 162: “*Saty ke sāth ulājhā, jo sacī dharmasāiddhāntikī kī māṅg hai, bhāratīy paramparā ke liye vidēśī bāt nahīn hai.*”
- 137 Boyd, *Bhārat meṁ Masīhī Dharmavijñān*, 163: “*Bhārat meṁ āj vyāvahārik, sākṣī dene vāle dharmavijñān kī āvāśyakatā hai . . . Esā pratīt hotā hai kī kalisiyā kā vyavavastit dharmavijñān athavā bhāratīy viśvāskathan banne ke*

pahle yah āvaśyak hai ki khrīstīy prakāśan aur bāibālī sāksy se uljhā jāe tāki unke āntarik arth aur āntarik saṃracanā ko samjhā jā sake.”

- 138 David’s preface in Boyd, *Bhārat meṃ Masihī Dharmavijñān*, ix: “Lekhak ne pustak ke terhaveṃ addhyāy meṃ ‘bhāratīy khrīstīy dharmavijñān kī paribhāṣā’ dī hai. Us arth meṃ ham ‘bhāratīy khrīstīy dharmavijñān’ ko svikār karte haiṃ.”
 - 139 Khan, *Bīsvīm Śatābdī ke Pramukh Dharmavijñānī*, xi: “Bahut se pāṭhak jo semanarī meṃ dharm adhyayan ke liye jāte haiṃ ve śāyad aṃgrezī bhāṣā meṃ itne nīpun nahīn hote ki masihī-sāhity par aṃgrezī meṃ likhī pustakon kī pūrī samajh ke sāth adhyayan kar sakeṃ. Isī prakār sādharan masihī bhī bāibāl ke atirikt any masihī sāhity kī vicārdhārāon se anabhiñ rahtā hai kyōnki use mātṛbhāṣā meṃ koi eīsī pustak upalabd nahīn jis ke adhyayan se vah masihī dharmavijñān kī pramukh vicārdhārāon ko padh sake. Is rīktatā ko maiṃ kāfī lambe samay se mahasūs kar rahā thā.”
 - 140 Khan, *Bīsvīm Śatābdī ke Pramukh Dharmavijñānī*, xii: “Bhāṣā kī jahām tak sambandh hai, mainne vicāron ko bahut saral bhāṣā meṃ vyakt karne kī prayās kiya hai.”
 - 141 David’s preface in Khan, *Bīsvīm Śatābdī ke Pramukh Dharmavijñānī*, ix: “[P]reranā bhī prāpt hogī ki ve bhārat ke saṃskṛtik pariveś meṃ nayā cintan kareṃ aur yahām ke dharm aur karm siddhānt kī vicār koṭiyon meṃ masihī dharmavijñān ko prastut bhī kareṃ.”
 - 142 Khan, *Bīsvīm Śatābdī ke Pramukh Dharmavijñānī*, 211: “Yah īśvar kī śabd yīśu masih hai jo dehadhāri huā, jisne apne jīvan, mṛtyu aur punarutthān meṃ manuśy kī īśvar se milāp karāyā. Is masih ka eīsā prastutikaran āvaśyak hai jo āj ke manuśy ko, jo apnī buddhi aur vijñān kī nāī nāī khojōn ko dvārā ātm nirbhar honā cāhtā hai aur paripakv avasthā ko prāpt kar cukā hai, māny ho.”
 - 143 Khan, *Bīsvīm Śatābdī ke Pramukh Dharmavijñānī*, 213–214: “Hamne bāuyad ke granth ‘indīyan kṛīścīyan thiyāulojī’ kī adhyayan kiya. Idhar dalit dharmavijñān par bhī kucch lekh aur ek pustak prakāśit huī hai. Hamārī vinamr mānyatā hai ki aṃgrezī meṃ bhāratīy khrīstīy dharmavijñān likhne meṃ bhāratīy vicār koṭiyon kī jūṭhā prayog hī ho saktā hai. Hamārī āśh hai ki nikaṭ bhaviśy meṃ bhāratīy vidvān evam cintak paidā hoṃge jo vyavasthit dharmavijñān likhenge jise vāstav meṃ masihī dharmavijñān kahā jā sakegā.”
- 1 For this paragraph, I rely on Doniger, *The Hindus*.
 - 2 For the edict’s languages, see Thapar, *Reading History from Inscriptions*.
 - 3 Shackle and Snell, *Hindi and Urdu Since 1800*.
 - 4 McGregor, “The Rise of Standard Hindi,” 114.
 - 5 Aquil, *The Muslim Question*, 1, 2, 133–136. See also Eaton, “Sufi Folk Literature,” 120–121.
 - 6 Thapar, *The Penguin History of Early India*, 470; Aquil, *The Muslim Question*, 134–135.
 - 7 Orsini, “Introduction,” 3.
 - 8 Guha, *India After Gandhi*, 130.
 - 9 Guha, *India After Gandhi*, 128, 189–208.
 - 10 Nehru, *The Unity of India*, 244.
 - 11 *Collected Works*, “National Language” (*Young India*, 10–2–1927), 38:104.
 - 12 *Collected Works*, “Note to Amritlal T. Nanavati” (On or before July 5, 1946), 91:241.
 - 13 Urdu script uses a modified form of Arabic that includes additional letters that represent sounds exclusive to Persian and/or Urdu. Naim, *Introductory Urdu*, 15.
 - 14 *Collected Works*, “Hindi + Urdu = Hindustani” (*Harijan*, 8–2–1942), 81:486.
 - 15 *Collected Works*, “Hindustani, Hindi and Urdu” (*Harijan*, 29–10–1938), 74:126.
 - 16 Nehru, *The Unity of India*, 247.

- 17 Orsini, *The Hindi Public Sphere 1920–1940*.
- 18 Guha, *India After Gandhi*, 192.
- 19 *Collected Works*, “Hindi + Urdu = Hindustani” (*Harijan*, 8–2–1942), 81:486.
- 20 Guha, *India After Gandhi*, 394.
- 21 Keay, *A History of Hindī Literature*, 8–9.
- 22 Guha, *India After Gandhi*, 1.
- 23 Guha, *India After Gandhi*, 8–9.
- 24 Recent projects include a ten-volume Pastors Pulpit Bible Commentary in Hindi in 2011–2014. I advised the Editorial Board of the Pastors Pulpit Bible Commentary series. In 2010, the second edition of *The Oxford Hindī Dictionary of the Christian Church* was printed. This is the official Hindi translation of *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (ed. F.L. Cross and E.A. Livingstone) under license from Oxford University Press.
- 25 www.ntcdoon.org/index.php/publications
- 26 For instance, see Sugirtharajah, *Asian Faces of Jesus*, and Chhungi. *Theologizing Tribal Heritage*.
- 27 Dongre, *Prem Īsvarīy* (1960); Chauhan, *Viśvās Cattān* (1962); Yesudas, *Kṛpā Mārg* (1965); Zahir, *Svarg aur Uske Uparānt* (1968); Lall, *Susamācār-Pracār* (1970); Khan, *Sacchī Śānti* (1971); Singh, *Masīhī Ādhyātmik Śikṣā* (1975); and, Dayal, *Masīhī Dharm Vijñān* (2005).
- 28 Bishop Dayal was born in 1925 in a Christian family in north India (Uttar Pradesh). He received his Bachelor of Arts from Allahabad University in 1949 and a Bachelor of Divinity from Leonard Theological College, Jabalpur, in 1952. He was ordained in 1953. He served as Chaplain at the Allahabad Agricultural Institute and was missionary in South Africa from 1955–1964. He completed a Master of Theology from Pittsburgh Seminary in 1965 and served as pastor in India from 1965–1970. In 1970, he was elected Moderator of the North India Synod of the United Church of Northern India, a founding member of the Church of North India. Dayal served as Bishop of the Lucknow Diocese, Deputy Moderator, and Moderator of the Church of North India. He retired in 1990.
- 29 Dayal, *Masīhī Dharm Vijñān*, 148–149.
- 30 Dayal, *Masīhī Dharm Vijñān*, 144. For an excellent history of the formula of Chalcedon, see Chadwick, *The Early Church*, especially 200–212. For the text of the Chalcedonian statement, see Hardy, *Christology of the Later Fathers*, 371–374.
- 31 Dayal, *Masīhī Dharm Vijñān*, 142.
- 32 Dayal, *Masīhī Dharm Vijñān*, 170: [S]ṛṣṭi, uddhār aur antim samāpan ke siddhānt ek dūstre se juḍe hue haiṁ.
- 33 Dayal, *Masīhī Dharm Vijñān*, 3–4. “Yadī dharm vijñān ek prakār kā vijñān hai to vijñān ke samān usme spaṣṭā honī chāhiye, aur uskī vyākhyā me sāmañjasyatā aur vyāpakatā āvashyak hai.”
- 34 Dayal, *Masīhī Dharm Vijñān*, 31.
- 35 Dayal, *Masīhī Dharm Vijñān*, 148–149.
- 36 Mahendra earned degrees in social science, theology, translation, divinity, and Hindi. He has translated five books into Hindi – on interreligious relations, history of the Indian church, prayer, and the ecumenical movement – and managed *Jivan Darpan* (“Life Mirror”), a Christian radio program, from 2002 to 2004. Biography from Mahendra, *Masīh Merī Manzil*, 70–73.
- 37 Mahendra, *Masīh Merī Manzil*, xv–xvii: “Masīh Merī Manzil ke prakāśan kā avasar atyant mahattvapūrṇ hai. Yah masīhī viśvās aur sevakāi meṁ mere 12 varṣ pūre karne ke ānand, dhanyavād aur ābhār kī abhivyakti ko darśātā hai. Yah mere abhiṣek (ārḍhīnēśan) ko bhī cinhit kartā hai. Iske sāth hī, mere ab tak ke safar meṁ param pitā paramēśvar kī aśim krupā, prem, anugrah, kṣamā,

āśiṣ, dekhbbhāl aur satat protsāhan kī gavāhī bhī detā hai. . . . Merī āśā aur prārthanā hai ki prastut kavītā-saṅgrah masīhī bahno-bhāīyo ke lie, viśeṣakar unke lie jo viśvās mein nae hai, protsāhan kā kāraṇ hogā aur prabhu paramēśvar kī mahimā ke lie upayogī siddh hogā.”

38 Mahendra, *Masīh Merī Manzil*, 25, 30.

39 Mahendra, *Masīh Merī Manzil*, 55–56.

40 Mahendra, *Masīh Merī Manzil*, 38–39.

41 Frykenberg, *Christianity in India*, 458.

42 Fernando and Gispert-Sauch, *Christianity in India*, 239–242.

43 Anand, *O Mrtyu!*

44 Komal Masih was born in Uttar Pradesh. He earned a Bachelor of Divinity and Master of Theology from Leonard Theological College, Jabalpur, in 1960. After serving as a parish priest for two years in the Methodist Church of India, he joined as professor the Bareilly Theological Seminary (1962–1965) and North India Theological College (1967–1976). He obtained a Master of Sacred Theology degree from Wesley Theological Seminary in Washington, DC (1965–1967). He then served as District Superintendent of the Muradabad Conference of the Methodist Church, and from 1981–82 as Vice-President of the Hindi Theological Literature Committee.

Christopher B. Peter was also born in Uttar Pradesh. He completed a Bachelor of Theology from North India Theological College in 1973 and completed a Bachelor of Divinity from Leonard Theological College in 1975. He was ordained a pastor of the Methodist Church in 1974. From 1976–1979, he taught the Old Testament at North India Theological College. He earned a Master of Theology in 1981 from United Theological College, Bangalore and rejoined North India Theological College as a professor in 1981.

45 Masih and Peter, *Prabhu Yeśu kī Jīvanī aur Sevākāry*, 9: “Yīśu ke jīvan evam sevā kāry ke sambandh mein sabse mahatvapūrṇ khristīy srot hain (mattī, markus, lūkā aur yūhannā).”

46 Masih and Peter, *Prabhu Yeśu kī Jīvanī aur Sevākāry*, 3.

47 Masih and Peter, *Prabhu Yeśu kī Jīvanī aur Sevākāry*, 19.

48 Frei, *The Identity of Jesus Christ*, 5. Emphasis added.

49 Frei, *The Identity of Jesus Christ*, 12.

50 Frei, *The Identity of Jesus Christ*, 95.

51 Thiemann, *Revelation and Theology*, 90.

52 Masih and Peter, *Prabhu Yeśu kī Jīvanī aur Sevākāry*, 133–134: “Yīśu ke dṛṣṭāntom ko paḍhkar hamen yīśu ke nijī vyaktitv ke viśay mein bhī mahatvapūrṇ va rocak jānkārī miltī hai.”

53 Masih and Peter, *Prabhu Yeśu kī Jīvanī aur Sevākāry*, 133: “Sencurī dīkṣanārī ke anusār dṛṣṭānt ek aiśī kathā hai, jo sac ho saktī hai aur jo kiśī naitik saty kī śikshā dene ke lie bolī jāī.”

54 Arya was a research assistant in India’s Ministry of Education, Assistant Director at the Bureau of Indian Standards, and a Joint Director at India’s Home Ministry. She has published 11 Hindi books on education, science and technology, handicrafts, and stories of the Bible. She was awarded the Hindi Millennium Award for her various contributions to Hindi literature. (Biography from Arya, *Kavītā mein Subh Sandeś*)

55 *Ārādhānā ke Gīt*, Number 70.

56 *Ārādhānā ke Gīt*, Number 310.

57 *Ārādhānā ke Gīt*, Number 311.

58 For the order, see note 36.

59 In *An Intermediate Greek-English Lexicon* (798), Liddell and Scott note that *teleou* can represent both “to complete” and “to pay what one owes.”

- 60 Anand, *Śubh Śukravār ki Ārādhānā*, 45: “Sab prakār ke pāp bhī paramēśvar ke prati hamārā karj haiṁ. Paramēśvar hamēṁ tab tak svīkār nahīṁ kar saktā jab tak yah karj cuktā nahīṁ ho jātā.”
- 61 Anand, *Śubh Śukravār ki Ārādhānā*, 47: “Kyā pūrā huā? Kyā samāpt huā? Pāp ke viruddh yuddh, burāi ke viruddh yuddh. Paramēśvar se hamārā sambandh punah sthāpit huā.”
- 62 Sona, *Antīm Sāt Vacan*, 54–55.
- 63 Prasad, *Krūs kā Bhed*, 24: “Nahīṁ, prabhu jūthakar apne pitā ke pās svarg meṁ uske dāhine hāth baiṭhā mere aur āpke liye kāry kar rahā hai.”
- 64 Khan, *Māno Yā Na Māno*, xiii: “Maimne yīśu masīh ke jīvan kī is kahānī ko likhne meṁ sant yūhannā dvārā racit susamācār ke mārg par calā hūṁ. Kyomki . . . cauthā susamācār yīśu masīh ke jīvan kā ek viśāl citr prastut kartā hai jismeṁ hum keval bāhy ghaṭanāom ko silsilevār hī nahīṁ dekhṭe varan uddhārtkartā yīśu masīh ke citr ke āntarik rūp kī pratyek kaḍī ko āpas meṁ juḍe hue dekhṭe haiṁ. Aur yah susamācār any susamācārom kī ghaṭanāom meṁ jo darāreṁ dikhāi detī haiṁ unki pūrti kartā hai.”
- 65 Khan, *Māno Yā Na Māno*, 52: “Paramēśvar ke rājy kī āśā yahūdī dharm kā hrday thī aur purāne niyam kī śikṣā kā kendr bindu.”
- 66 Khan, *Māno Yā Na Māno*, 53: “Ek sāmāny vyakti paścāttāp kā pracār kartā huā aur baptismā kī ek naī paramparā kā śubhārambh kartā huā, na keval hazārom ādmiyom ko apnī or khec rahā thā balki isne dhārmik netāom ko bhī majbūr kiyā ki ve patā lagāyem ki yah vyakti kaon hai?”
- 67 Khan, *Māno Yā Na Māno*, 144: “Khatrā yah thā ki unke āścaryakarm dekh aur yah jān ki āp hī āne vāle masīhā haiṁ to ho saktā thā ki log unheṁ zabardastī pakaḍ yahūdīyom kā rājā ghoṣit kar dete aur deś meṁ ek vidroh kī āg bhaḍak uṭhatī.”
- 68 D’Mello, *Īśvānī kā Sāthī*, 53: “Prasād kaī sālom se sarpanc banā rahā. Uske śāsan ke samāy usne kaitholikom ke yājak ko va dharmabahinom ke bahut hī satāyā thā. Garīb logom ko uske prati nafrat bhī thī. Ek bār vah bahut bīmār pad gayā. Usne yah icchā prakat ki ki use śahar ke kaitholik aspatāl meṁ hī ilāj ke lie bhartī kiyā jāy aur any kisī aspatāl meṁ nahīṁ. Kāraṇ pūchne par usne batāyā, “kaitholik log kisī kā pratiśodh nahīṁ karte, imāndāri se ilāj karte haiṁ aur ve isā ke anuyāyī hone ke kāraṇ kṣamā kar dete haiṁ.”
- 69 D’Mello, *Īśvānī kā Sāthī*, 91: “Sampat isāi ban gayā thā. Uske sambandhiyom ke yah acchā nahīṁ lagā. Ek din uske donom bhāī uske yahām āye aur bole, “tum kyom isāi ban gaye ho? Hamāre dharm meṁ kyā kamī hai? Log meṁ mālum hai isā kaun the, uske mām-bāp kaun the? . . .” Sampat ne śānt hokar apne bhāīyom ke praśn sune aur sockar kahā, “isāi banne ke pūrv maim durācār kartā thā, mere bāl-bacce mujhse darte the, mere ghar meṁ khāne kā anāj nahīṁ thā, merī aurat dukhī thī . . . jab se maimne isā ko svīkār kiyā hai, maimne dārū pīnā choḍ diyā hai, mere ghar meṁ ab śānti hai, baccom ko bhar-pet khānā milā hai, ham pyār se jīte haiṁ. Mere lie isā jīvit haiṁ. Unki śikṣā ke anusār hum jī rahe haiṁ, ghar meṁ prārthanā, bhajan-kīrtan hotā hai. Hamēṁ isā se nayā jīvan milā hai.”
- 70 Khan, *Khrīstīy Nītiśāstr*, 16–17: “Khrīstīy nītiśāstr kā dharmavijñān ke sāth ghaṇiṣṭh sambandh hai. Do rūpom meṁ khrīstīy nītiśāstr dharmavijñān par ādhārit hai: (1) Khrīstīy nītiśāstr apnī viśay sāmagrī yīśu khrīst kī jīvanī aur śikṣā tatvā vyaktitv se prāpt kartā hai. (2) Khrīstīy nītiśāstr kā kāry yah hai ki khrīstīy siddhāntom yā viśvās kī naitik vyākhyā kare. Is drṣṭikon se nītiśāstr dharmavijñān kā sevak hai. Khrīstīy nītiśāstr saṅkalp aur khrīstī jan aur khrīstī samāj ke sandarbh meṁ khrīstīy viśvās-sāmagrī par vicār karatā hai.”
- 71 Khan, *Khrīstīy Nītiśāstr*, 65–66.
- 72 Khan, *Khrīstīy Nītiśāstr*, 76.
- 73 Khan, *Khrīstīy Nītiśāstr*, 165–176.

- 74 Khan, *Khristīy Nītiśāstr*, 170: “Paulus to keval yah dikhānā cāhtā hai ki yadi karm dvārā hī mukti hai to fir masih kā avatarit honā aur balidān vyarth hai. Vah to jo īśvar ne manuṣy ke lie kiya us par jor de rahā hai.”
- 75 Khan, *Khristīy Nītiśāstr*, 63: “Isse yah spaṣṭ hai ki paramēśvar ke sivāy aur koī śubh nahīm, aur paramēśvar hī naitikatā kā srot evam māpadand hai.”
- 76 Khan, *Khristīy Nītiśāstr*, 159–162.
- 77 D’Mello, *Īśvānī kā Sāthī*, 3, 6, 9, 15, 67.
- 78 Masih and Peter, *Prabhu Yeśu kī Jivanī aur Sevākāry*, 168.
- 79 Masih and Peter, *Prabhu Yeśu kī Jivanī aur Sevākāry*, 173: “Markus racit susamācār kā yīśu hamāre-āpke samān ek sādharmaṇ manuṣy hai.”
- 80 Masih and Peter, *Prabhu Yeśu kī Jivanī aur Sevākāry*, 174: “Mar. 1:1 me . . . yīśu kī divyatā uske Masih kahlāe jāne meṁ nahīm varan ‘paramēśvar kā putr’ hone meṁ hai.”
- 81 Masih and Peter, *Prabhu Yeśu kī Jivanī aur Sevākāry*, 177: “Yīśu paramēśvar kā putr hone ke kāraṇ paramēśvar ke sāth ādhyātmik drṣṭikon se ek hai.”
- 82 Masih and Peter, *Prabhu Yeśu kī Jivanī aur Sevākāry*, 131: “Yīśu kā daihik punarutthān to svīkāry hai parantu daihik svargārohan ko svīkār nahīm kiya jā saktā kyunki māns aur lahū paramēśvar ke rāy ke adhikārī nahīm ho sakte (1 kur. 15:50). Ataḥ paulus ne jo siddhānt prastut kiya hai vah adhik saraltāpūrvak svīkār kiya jā saktā hai.”
- 83 Masih and Peter, *Prabhu Yeśu kī Jivanī aur Sevākāry*, 131: “Yīśu kā sadeh punarutthān to huā parantu ek alaukik v rahasyapūrṇ proses ke dvārā uskī sthūl bhautik deh sūkṣm ātmik deh meṁ parivartit ho gai. . . . Antataḥ sūkṣm ātmik deh meṁ yīśu kā svargārohan huā.”
- 84 McGregor, *The Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary*, 1046.
- 85 Masih and Peter, *Prabhu Yeśu kī Jivanī aur Sevākāry*, 133–147.
- 86 Masih and Peter, *Prabhu Yeśu kī Jivanī aur Sevākāry*, 177: “Markus racit susamācār ke anusār prabhu yīśu masih do mahān kāry karne ke lie dehadhārī huā. Pahalā kāry hai – paramēśvar ke rāy ke nikāṭ hone kī ghoṣanā (1:15) . . . Markus ke anusār masih kā dūsrā kāry hai – chūḍautī.”
- 87 Masih and Peter, *Prabhu Yeśu kī Jivanī aur Sevākāry*, 138.
- 88 Khan, *Māno Yā Na Māno*, 191–192: “Paramēśvar pavitr pavitr pavitr hai aur yīśu niṣpāp thā. Hamare lie pāp banā. Pāp aur pavitratā donoṁ sāth nahīm ho sakte. Is kāraṇ pitā aur putr ke madhy āpsī rīstoṁ meṁ darār hī nahīm āi parantu pitā se prthak ho pāp kī śaktiyon se ghirā huā manuṣy ke uddhār ke lie apnā balidān dene ke lie yīśu akelā hī krūs par laṭkā huā thā. Manuṣy ke pāp kī kṣhatipūrti manuṣy hī de saktā thā.”
- 89 Khan, *Māno Yā Na Māno*, 33.
- 90 Khan, *Māno Yā Na Māno*, 45.
- 91 Khan, *Māno Yā Na Māno*, 89–90.
- 92 *Ārādhānā ke Gīt*, Number 311.
- 93 Amaladoss, *The Asian Jesus*; Premkumar, “The Commonwealth of Dalits and Tribals.”
- 94 D’Mello, *Īśvānī kā Sāthī*, Story 68, 33–34: “Vah maṭhvāsī thā. Uskā kām maṭh ke dvār par jo bhī garib madad ke lie āye uskī sahāyatā karnā thā. Ek din jaise hī vah kām ke lie nikal hī rahā thā ki isā ne use darśan diye. Use ab cunnā thā ki vah darśan meṁ dikhe isā ke sāth rahe yā garibon kī madad ke lie kartavy par lage rahe. Usne kartavy pālan karnā cun liyā. Garibon kī madad kar jab vah apne kamre meṁ lautā to aṁdherā ho calā thā. Jaise hī usne dīp jalāyā isā ā khade hue. Isā ko dekhkar vah ānand se fūlā na samāyā. Isā ne usse kahā, ‘agar tum kartavy pālan ke lie nahīm nikalte to main yahām se calā jātā’.”
- 95 D’Mello, *Īśvānī kā Sāthī*, Story 122, 60: “Naye naukar kī parikṣā ho rahī thī. Mālik ne pagār dete samay das-das rupaye ke not diye aur us rakam meṁ das

rupaye k̄a ek noṭ adhik rakhā. Naukar ne paise gine to das rupaye k̄a ek noṭ adhik niklā. Vah mālik se bolā, ‘das rupaye adhik haiṁ. Inheṁ lijiē.’ Mālik ne naukar kī saccāi kī praśamsā kī aur un das rupaye apne pās rakhne ko kahā.”

- 96 D’Mello, *Īśvānī k̄a Sāthī*, Story 178, 87: “Deś meṁ samyavād kī sarkār thī. Īsāiyom ko dharm pālan karnā sakht manā thā. Sānketik bhāṣā dvārā ek yājak īsāiyom se sampark kiyā karte the. Vah logom ko sūcit karte the ki ve unse kis jagah mileṁ, jaise sarakom ke kināre, sāmān becte hue yā samācār patr becte. Īsāi log jab unse sāmān kharīdte to ve sāmān ke sāth param-prasād rakhkar de dete. Viśvāsi us prasād ko upne ghar le jākar apne privārom meṁ param-prasād svikār karne kī vidhi racte. Jahām cāh vahām rāh.”
- 97 McGregor, *The Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary*, 666.
- 1 Doniger, *The Hindus*; Khilnani, *The Idea of India*; Varshney, *Battles Half Won*.
- 2 Nandy, *Time Warps*, 62.
- 3 Guha, *India After Gandhi*.
- 4 King, *One Language, Two Scripts*, 173–176.
- 5 Nandy, *Time Warps*, 73–76.
- 6 Guha, *India After Gandhi*, 118.
- 7 Khilnani, *The Idea of India*.
- 8 Varshney, *Battles Half Won*.
- 9 See the riot database in Varshney, *Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life*.
- 10 King, *One Language, Two Scripts*, 15.
- 11 Pollock, *The Language of the Gods*, 11–12.
- 12 Cf. Pollock, *The Language of the Gods*, 21.
- 13 “Now the birth of Jesus the Messiah took place in this way. When his mother Mary had been engaged to Joseph, but before they lived together, she was found to be with child from the Holy Spirit” (NRSV).
- 14 *Dharmāpustak k̄a Antbhāg*, [or, The New Testament in Hindi], 2.
- 15 *Hindī Bāibil* (“Hindi Bible”), 1–2.
- 16 *Pavitr Bāibil* (“Holy Bible”), 1.
- 17 Cf. Allen, *Ocean of Inquiry*, 12.
- 18 Shukla, *Hindī Sāhity k̄a Itihās*, 299–301.
- 19 Shukla, *Hindī Sāhity k̄a Itihās*, 301; Das, *Sahibs and Munshis*, 18.
- 20 Anand, *Pāścāty Vidvānom k̄a Hindī Sāhity*, 78–80.
- 21 Kraput, “Postcolonialism,” 177.
- 22 The London-based Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge was formed on March 8, 1698. Its missionary activities led to the formation of the Indian Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in 1710. Under the Societies Registration Act of 1860, Indian Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge constituted itself as a self-governing body independent of the London-based Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. On October 15, 2010, Indian Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge celebrated its tercentenary in India.
- 23 Textual data from field research, partly funded by the South Asia Institute at Harvard University, covered central and North Indian collections, including those at the Hindi Theological Literature Committee, the Indian Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and Lucknow Publishing House, a Methodist publishing house.
- 24 Yale Digital Library Collection, digcoll 183956, page 106.
- 25 Greaves and Mukerji, *A Descriptive and Classified Catalogue*, iii–iv.
- 26 The American Tract Society, Allahabad; Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta; Bengal Sunday School Union, Calcutta; Christian Literature Society, Allahabad; Christian Mission Press, Jabalpur; Canadian Presbyterian Mission Press, Rasalpur, Mhow; Calcutta Tract Society, Calcutta; Epworth League Office, Lucknow; Gossner Evangelical Lutheran Mission Press, Ranchi; Methodist Publishing

- House, Lucknow; North India Christian Tract and Book Society, Allahabad; Punjab Religious Book Society, Lahore; and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Mission Book Depot, Ranchi. (Greaves and Mukerji, *A Descriptive and Classified Catalogue*, v).
- 27 Ruark *El Paso Herald*; Ruark, *Spokane Daily*; and, Ruark, *Winona Daily*.
 - 28 English titles as given in the 1917 catalogue. Greaves and Mukerji, *Descriptive and Classified Catalogue*, 17–21.
 - 29 Sharma, *Christian Missions in North India*, 16.
 - 30 Moget, *Vagabonds for God*, 1.
 - 31 Tete, *Constant Lievens*, 13–15. See also, Mahto, *Hundred Years of Christian Mission*.
 - 32 Das, *Sahibs and Munshis*, 154–164; Augustine, *Fort William*, 166–168.
 - 33 Das, *Sahibs and Munshis*, ix, 112–118.
 - 34 Das, *Sahibs and Munshis*, 8.
 - 35 Mayhew, *Christianity and the Government of India*, 160–161. Mayhew (1878–1948), a Classics master at Eton in the 1920s and an educator in the Colonial Education Service, was director of Public Instruction, Central Provinces, India. An Oxford graduate, he was first assigned to Madras in India in 1903, was deputy director of Public Instruction in Madras by 1907, and by 1916, at age 38, was appointed director of Public Instruction in the Central Provinces (Whitehead, *Colonial Educators*, 149–153).
 - 36 Ingleby, *Missionaries, Education and India*.
 - 37 Duff, *India, and India Missions*, 518.
 - 38 Duff, *India, and India Missions*, 519–520.
 - 39 Sahu, *The Church of North India*, 9.
 - 40 Sahu, *The Church of North India*, 101–103.
 - 41 Dayal, *Uttar Bhārat aur Pākistān meṃ Masīhī Dharm*, 151.
 - 42 Dayal, *Uttar Bhārat aur Pākistān meṃ Masīhī Dharm*, 170.
 - 43 Tete, *Constant Lievens*, 2.
 - 44 Tete, *Constant Lievens*, 57.
 - 45 Different dates are claimed for the start of the Catholic church in Sardhana. Sardhana's Catholic Basilica, *The Church Basilica of our Lady of Graces*, lists two possible dates for the beginning of the church: 1809 and 1820 (www.sardhanachurch.org/TheChurch-Basilicaof.aspx; accessed April 10, 2015). Sharma lists the completion of the church in 1821 (Sharma, *Christian Missions in North India*, 58). According to Sharma, the church's beginning must have preceded 1821.
 - 46 Moget, *Vagabonds for God*, 101.
 - 47 Moget, *Vagabonds for God*, 49.
 - 48 Moget, *Vagabonds for God*, 126.
 - 49 Moget, *Vagabonds for God*, 57.
 - 50 Hutton, *Census of India*, 423, cited in Webster, *The Dalit Christians*, 73.
 - 51 Webster is critical of the term “mass movement,” popularized by Pickett's *Christian Mass Movement in India* (1933), whose distinguishing features are a group decision in favor of Christianity and the “consequent preservation of the converts' social integration” (Pickett, *Christian Mass Movements in India*, 22). Webster argues the conversions were neither the product of group think nor did they succeed in preserving the converts' social integration. He prefers “large-scale conversions” to highlight the personal choice central to the act of conversion and the converts' move from an assigned social hierarchy to a “new ‘mixed’ community of unclear social status” (Webster, *The Dalit Christians*, 45).
 - 52 Webster, *The Dalit Christians*, 47.
 - 53 Webster, *The Dalit Christians*, 48–50.
 - 54 Kim, *In Search of Identity*, 35–36, 190–200.
 - 55 Stewart, “In Search of Equivalence,” 269–270.

- 56 Compare Richard M. Eaton's 1974 study of the expansion of Indian Islam in "Sufi Folk Literature and the Expansion of Indian Islam," *History of Religion*, 127. Eaton contends that the Sufis of the Deccan made "no conscious effort" to gain non-Muslim followers and hence cannot be called missionaries seeking conversions akin to that of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century Christianity movement in India. He describes "conversion," which has been aligned with Christian missionary activity, as a sort of "self-conscious, sudden and total change of belief" and hence "inadequate" to describe the "process" by which Sufis of the Deccan found non-Muslim followers. Rather than a sudden conversion to Islam, these followers are "still undergoing a gradual process of Islamic acculturation" (Eaton, "Sufi Folk Literature, 127). This study of Hindi Christians questions Eaton's ascription of Christian conversion as sudden and total change. Gradual acculturation – in theology, practice, and liturgy – better explain the ongoing transformation of Hindi-language Christian communities in India.
- 57 Stewart, "In Search of Equivalence," 261–262.
- 58 *Ārādhānā ke Gīt*, Number 267.
- 59 *Dharmputstak kā Antbhāg*, 9–10.
- 60 *Hindī Bāibil*, 6.
- 61 *Dharmputstak kā Antbhāg*, 175.
- 62 *Hindī Bāibil*, 101–102.
- 63 The transition is in the concluding vowel, from *gay-ā*, *baith-ā*, (*dene*) *lag-ā*, and *khaḍ-ā hu-ā* to *ga-e*, *baith ga-e*, (*dene*) *lag-e* and *uth-e*.
- 64 See, for instance, Sheth, "Hindu Avatar and Christian Incarnation."
- 65 Vivekananda, *The Complete Works*, 7:1; see also Amaladoss, *The Asian Jesus*, 21–24.
- 66 Thangaraj, *The Crucified Guru*, 75.
- 67 Amaladoss, *The Asian Jesus*, 117.
- 68 Amaladoss, *The Asian Jesus*, 121.
- 69 Mohammed, "Jesus and Krishna," 11. Mohammed, a Jesuit, is professor of systematic theology at Regis College, the Jesuit School of Theology at the University of Toronto. Mohammed has published on Ignatian spirituality and the *Bhagavad Gītā*, Hinduism, and spirituality and on the theology of religions and interfaith hermeneutics.
- 70 Mohammed, "Jesus and Krishna," 22.
- 71 Chakkarai, *Jesus the Avātār*, 5–6, 48. Chakkarai (1880–1958) was from a wealthy Chettiar family in Madras. After practicing law (1908–1913) he joined the Danish Mission in Madras. Inspired by Mahatma Gandhi, in 1917 he joined the Home Rule Movement. He was a theologian and wrote *Jesus the Avātār* and *The Cross and Indian Thought*. He was also an influential public figure and was elected mayor of Madras (1941), chairman of the All-India Trade Union Congress (1951), and member of the Legislative Council (1954) (England et al., *Asian Christian Theologies*, 224–225).
- 72 Boyd, *An Introduction to Indian Christian Theology*, 170; Thangaraj, *The Crucified Guru*, 76.
- 73 Singh, *Wisdom of the Sadhu*, 63–69. Singh (1889–1929) was born in a well-to-do family of Jat Sikhs. His mother deeply influenced his early religious life and introduced him to Sanskrit and Hinduism. His mother's death in his teens left him spiritually troubled and in urgent need to connect with God. This struggle lasted for two years, when at the age of sixteen, on a cold December night in 1904, Singh saw Yesu (Jesus) in a vision. He was baptized on his sixteenth birthday and soon thereafter became an itinerant preacher of the gospel in the mode of one who renounces the world. He travelled extensively throughout North India, visited Tibet regularly, and preached far and wide in Ceylon, Japan, China, France,

- Switzerland, England, and the United States. His works – mostly pamphlets and letters – include *At the Master's Feet, Reality and Religion, Visions of the Spiritual World*, and *With and Without Christ*. (Riddle, *The Vision and the Call*)
- 74 Boyd, *An Introduction to Indian Christian Theology*, 98; Heiler, *The Gospel of Sādhū Sundar Singh*, 95–98.
- 75 Bulcke, *Amgrezi-Hindī Koś*, 413.
- 76 Tsoukalas compares chapter 4 of the Bhagavad Gītā (with Krishna's *avātār*) and commentaries on it by Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja with notions of incarnation in Orthodox Christianity to reach his conclusion. (Tsoukalas, *Kṛṣṇa and Christ*, 117–130)
- 77 Tsoukalas, *Kṛṣṇa and Christ*, 225–228.
- 78 Thangaraj, *The Crucified Guru*, 27.
- 79 Yale Digital Library Collection, digcoll 184118, page 318.
- 80 Sen, quoted in Boyd, *Introduction to Indian Christian Theology*, 81.
- 81 Boyd, *Introduction to Indian Christian Theology*, 81.
- 82 Greek text from Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 247.
- 83 *Ārādhānā ke Gīt*, Hymn 88.
- 84 McGregor, *The Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary*, 945.
- 85 Bahri, *Rājapāl Hindī Śabdakoś*, 407.
- 86 Dayal, *Masihī Dharmvīgyān kā Paricay*, 148.
- 87 Dayal, *Masihī Dharmvīgyān kā Paricay*, 148.
- 88 Dayal, *Masihī Dharmvīgyān kā Paricay*, 149.
- 89 Dayal, *Masihī Dharmvīgyān kā Paricay*, 149. English word in original.
- 90 Tsoukalas points to Telugu hymns that use *avātār*. Tsoukalas, *Kṛṣṇa and Christ*, 225.
- 91 Howell, *Parivartan*, 194–195. At the time of publication of *Parivartan*, Howell was President of the Evangelical Fellowship of India (EFI). Founded in 1951 as a national alliance of evangelical Christians, EFI trains missionaries to witness the good news, seeks to transform India, and advocates for the poor and marginalized. Its legal arm (the Christian Legal Association) advocates on behalf of the rights and freedom of Christian converts and institutions.
- 92 Tsoukalas, *Kṛṣṇa and Christ*, 165.
- 93 Howell, *Parivartan*, 170–171.
- 94 Howell, *Parivartan*, 171: *Jo śabd hamerī āge badhne merī sabāyak hai āie ham apne miśan ke śabdome ko pavitr śāstr kī vicārādhārā se lenē kā prayatn karēm.*
- 95 *Evangelical Lutheran Worship*, number 283.
- 96 *Ārādhānā ke Gīt*, number 86.
- 97 Sham Rao, *Five Contemporary Gurus*, 46; cited in Thangaraj, *The Crucified Guru*, 87.
- 98 Amalados, *The Asian Jesus*, 147ff.
- 99 Clarke, *Dalits and Christianity*.
- 100 Appasamy, *The Theology of Hindu Bhakti*; also see Boyd, *An Introduction to Indian Christian Theology*, 121.
- 101 McGregor, *The Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary*, 780.
- 102 Abbott-Smith, *A Manual Greek Lexicon*, 300.
- 103 A title of Viṣṇu or Śiva. McGregor, *The Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary*, 604.
- 104 Arya, *Kavitā merī Śubh Saṁdeś*, xiv–xv: “Maine is prastuti ko is tarīke se sāvajanik aur vyāpak banāne kā pyrays kiyā hai, tāki kisī bhī dharm/samudāy ke pāthak ise padh sakate haiṁ. Maine ise apnī saṁskṛti ke nikaṭ bhī rakhane kā prayās kiyā aur “prabhu” śabd “yīs’u” ke lie aur “paramēśvar” śabd “khudā” ke lie istemāl kiyā hai.”
- 105 Hymns from *Ārādhānā ke Gīt*.
- 1 Babb and Wadley, *Media and the Transformation of Religion*, 1–5, 191, 212.
- 2 Babb and Wadley, *Media and the Transformation of Religion*, 198.

- 3 Asad, *Genealogies of Religion*, 77–134.
- 4 Bonhoeffer, *The Cost of Discipleship*, 59.
- 5 Bonhoeffer, *The Cost of Discipleship*, 96.
- 6 Metaxas, *Bonhoeffer*, 140–143, 154, 172, 226, 262–263.
- 7 Bonhoeffer, *The Cost of Discipleship*, 117.
- 8 Bonhoeffer, *The Cost of Discipleship*, 119.
- 9 Bonhoeffer, *The Cost of Discipleship*, 248.
- 10 Bonhoeffer, *The Cost of Discipleship*, 155.
- 11 Bonhoeffer, *The Cost of Discipleship*, 158.
- 12 Barclay, *Through the Year*, 7.
- 13 Barclay, *Viliyam Bärkle ke Sāth*, I: “Dr. Viliyam Bärkle un thode se bāibil paṇḍitom meṁ se haīm jinhoṇne bahut sahaṁ-saral śabdōm meṁ bāibil kī mahān saccāiyom ko viśv ke sāmāny pāthkom tak pahuñcāyā hai. Bhāratīy pāṣṭarom meṁ Viliyam Bärkle bahut lokpriy haīm.”
- 14 Anand’s Preface in Sinha, *Masīhī Ācaraṇ*: “[A]ṁgrezī pustak ‘di kriściyans god’ kā hindī anuvād . . . Dr. Sī. Dablu. Devid ke karvākar . . . [y]ah pustak itnī lokā-piry hūi kī dekhṭe-dekhṭe ek hī varṣ meṁ ise do bār chāpnā padā. Āge calkar har varṣ iskā nayā samskaraṇ prakāśit hotā rahā.”
- 15 Anand’s Preface in Sinha, *Masīhī Ācaraṇ*.
- 16 David’s Foreword in Sinha, *Masīhī Ācaraṇ*, ii (kb): “Hindī masīhī sābhity kā durbhāgy hai kī uske pāthak bahut kam hai. Is sābhity ko na to kalisiyā kī or se na bhāratīy samāj kī or se koī praśansā yā viśeṣ protsāhan prāpt hai. Hindī bhāsi-yom se āgrah hai kī ve jāgem aur acchī pustakom ko paḍhne se apnī badnāmī ko dūr karen aur prabuddh hom.”
- 17 Anand’s Preface in Sinha, *Masīhī Ācaraṇ*: “Hindī kṣetrom ke thiyolājikal kale-jom ke prinsipal, carc ke biśap, pāṣṭar, prakāśan samsthāem, hamārī pustakom ke vitrak, bords, miśnarī samsthāem hamārī bharsak madad kartī haīm. Hamem viśvās aur āśā hai kī unkā prem hamāre prati bhaviṣy meṁ bhī banā rahegā.”
- 18 *The Hindu Speaks*, 530.
- 19 *The Hindu Speaks*, 482–483.
- 20 *The Hindu Speaks*, 83.
- 21 *The Hindu Speaks*, 42.
- 22 *The Hindu Speaks*, 13.
- 23 *The Hindu Speaks*, 24–25.
- 24 *The Hindu Speaks*, 249.
- 25 *The Hindu Speaks*, 212–213.
- 26 *The Hindu Speaks*, 40.
- 27 Lall, *Susamācār-Pracār Darśan*, 62: “Sākṣī denā pratyek viśvāsī ke lie anivāry hai, jis viśvāsī ne prabhu yīśu ko apnā nijī muktidātā grahaṇ kar liyā hai. Cāhe vah baḍe vyākhyān na de sakegā, cāhe baḍī sabhā meṁ kuch bolne se hickicāegā parantu nijī rūp se ek-ek jan ke āge apnī sākṣī dene se na ḍaregā. Kabhī-kabhī ismeṁ adbhik safaltā bhī miltī hai. Vyaktigat pracār kī viśeṣatā yahī hai.”
- 28 Lall, *Susamācār-Pracār Darśan*, 41: “Susamācār pracār meṁ is bāt par viśeṣ dhyān rahe kī kisī ke dharm aur viśvās kā koī khandan na hove. Khandan karnā āsān hai aur ho saktā hai kī baḍī āsānī se ham bahas meṁ dūse ko harā deṁ. Par-antu isase koī lābh na hogā. Mujhe ek bhāī ne kahā, ‘ek khristī pracārak ne ek sanātani ko bahas meṁ burī tarah harāyā aur us samay se main khristīy dharm kā virodhī ho gayā.’ Hamārā kām kisī kā khandan karnā nahīm hai. Hamārā kām yah hai kī apnī sākṣī se prabhu se kisī vyakti ko milāem kī usī daśā meṁ prabhu yīśu uskī sahāyā kar sake.”
- 29 Lall, *Susamācār-Pracār Darśan*, 59–60: “Jab ek masīhī dūse vyakti ko akele meṁ baithkar bātchit karke susamācār kā saty samjhātā hai, aur apne jīvan kā anubhav bharose ke sāth dūse ke sāmne rakhtā hai tab susamācār śrotā mitr

kī samajh mein ātā hai aur use viśvās ho jātā hai. Yadi koī prāśn utpann hote hain to ve mitratā se hal kiye jāte hain. Bāibal ke pad kholkhol kar padhnā aur samjhānā, śrotā ke hriday par lāgū karnā hotā hai. Yahi vyaktigat pracār hai. Vyaktigat pracār ek-ek jan se milnā hai. Prabhu ne lūkā 15:1–7 mein khoī huī bhed kā driṣṭānt dekar samjhāyā ki rakhvālā ek bhed kī khoj mein kitnā kaṣṭ uṭhātā hai, aur usko ḍhūndh kar lātā hai. Isī prakār vyaktigat pracār-kāry karne vālā ek ke pīche pariśram karne aur kaṣṭ uṭhāne mein āge badhtā hai, aur use parameśvar se milātā hai.

Vyaktigat pracār kā lābh is bāt se bhī samajhie. Bājār v bhīḍ ke pracār mein kai log susamācār pracār sunkar prabhāvit to hote hai parantu apnī buddhi, yogyatā, dharmaparāyanā dikhāne ke lie pracārak se kai prakār ke vyarth prāśn karte hai, pracārak ko mūrkh aur jhūthe dharm kā pracārak dikhāte hai. Kai log to pustakeri kharīdkar fāḍerenge, fekēnge. Parntu maine dekhā hai ki unhīn se alag mein milo, bāt karo, to ek dūsri havā ho jātī hai.”

- 30 Anand and Vashisht, Merā Parosī, 9–10: “Is addhyayan kā uddeśy yah bhī nahī hai ki any dharmaviśvāsom kī jānkārī prastut kare. Iske viprit iskā uddeśy yah hai ki hum apne paḍosiyoṃ ke sambandh mein apne is bodh ko āge badhāe ki ve āj tak jīvit dharmom ke māne vāle log hai. Unke dharm siddhānt evam ācār-vyavhār jagat evam mānav samāj sambandhī masihī logom ke dharmavaigyānik cintan ke abhinna ang hone cāhiyeṃ. Dūsre śabdom mein kabe to yah, ki yah addhayan masihī logom ko ek āvāhan hai ki ve apne paḍosiyoṃ ke dharm-viśvāsom ko masihī dharmavaigyānik bodh yā cetnā kā ang banāe. Ab tak masihī cintan mein iske prati gambhīr driṣṭi nahīn apnāī gai hai. Par jab hamāre paḍosiyoṃ ke dharm-viśvās hamēn is bāt kī jānkārī dete hai ki hum kis rūp mein apne dharmasiddhāntom ko mānte aur samajhte hai, to hamāre liye yah anivāry ho jātā hai ki hum apne hī dharmaviśvās ke naye āyānom ko khojne kī cunautī prāpt karen. Aisā karne se hum ek naye rūp mein apne paḍosiyoṃ ke sambandh mein nayī jānkārī bhī prāpt kay sakenge aur ek adhik ghaṇiṣṭ samāj mein hum unke sāth miljul kar rah sakenge. Hamāre deś mein iski sabse badī āvaśyakatā hai.”
- 31 Anand and Vashisht, Merā Parosī, 55: “Vibhinna dharm paramparāom mein bhī unke anuyāyī mānte hai ki unhe upne dharm viśvās ke liye sākṣī dene kā ādeś hai. Islām mein dharm pracār ek kartavy mānā gayā hai, kyomki islām kā sandeś sārubbhaumik mānā jātā hai. Bauddh dharm ke pāth mein bhī isi bāt par bal diyā gayā hai. Bauddh mārg ko aisā mānā gayā hai ki vah sab logom ko mokṣ uplabdh karāegā. Par bauddh miśnom ko yah āvāhan hai ki ve gahan prem aur mānav kī cintā aur dūsrom ke dharm viśvāsom ke prati ādar rakheṃ. [Hindu] āvāhan karte hai ki bhārat ke riṣi-muniyoṃ kā sandeś sansār ko turant pahumcāeṃ, kyomki iske binā ‘sansār kā vināś ho jaegā.’ . . . Masihī hone ke nāte humne bahudhā yah socā hai ki hum sandeś ke dene vāle hai aur dūsre log grahaṇ karne vāle. Humne gavāhī ko ekmukhī prakriyā hī mānā hai. To any dharm māne vāle logom ke uprokt kathanom ke prati hamārī kyā pratikriyā hai, jab ki un kathanom mein sansār ko gavāhī dene ke sambandh mein samān tīvr āgrah-bhāvanā, samarpaṇ aur dāyitu kī abhivyakti hai?”
- 32 Lall, Susamācār-Pracār Darśan, 57: “Kai deś picchle pacās varṣom mein sāmrajy-vād se ājād hue hai. Ab ve svatantratā pā gae hai. Svatantratā pānā acchī bāt hai. Parantu is svatantratā ke sāth rāṣṭrīy bhāvanāe tīvr rūp mein kām karne lagī hain jinke kāran apne-apne deś kī sanskriti ityādi ko badhāne kā prayatn kiyā jā rahā hai. Masihī viśvās ko sanskriti-ghātak batāyā jātā hai. Islie jo vidēś se pracārak āte the un par pratibandh lagā kar kah diyā gayā hai ki unke āne kī āvaśyakatā nahīn hai. Deś kī apnī maṇḍli sankhyā v dhan mein itnī śaktiśālī nahīn hai ki apne kāry ko sambhāl sake, badhānā to asambhav hai. Kai prakār ke sarkārī dabāv se nirbal viśvāsī maṇḍli ko choḍ kar fir se purāne dharmom mein cale jāte hain.”

33 Anand, *Samprêṣan*, 32–34: “Mukti kā śubh sandeś hamēn likhit rūp mēn hī prāpt hai: pavitr bāibil. Hamāre lie yah paramēśvar kā vacan hai. Yah hamārī ‘altīmeṭ athorītī’ hai. Is altīmeṭ athorītī ko dūsroṃ par dikhāne ke pūrv hamēn pahle apne jīvan mēn apnānā hogā. Vyākhyā logōṃ ko ākarṣit nahīn kartī, par ācaran. . . . 21-vīm śatābdī kā uttar bhārat kā hindī kṣetr, hamāre sāmne ek gambhīr samasyā hai. Jab main mukti kā śubh sandeś sunāne kī bāt kartā hūn tab mere śrotā, darśak, pāthak, gair masihī, viśeṣakar mere Paṛosī hindū hote hai. . . .

Uttar bhārat kā masihī samāj bhāṣā kī dṛiṣṭi se triśanku hai: kadācit hindī filmōṃ kā koī isāī pātr jo bhāṣā boltā hai, usse hum is tathy ko samajh sakte haiṃ. Hamāre vidēśī bhāiyōṃ ne hamēn sikhāyā kī hindī hinduōṃ kī bhāṣā hai, aur urdū musulmānōṃ kī. Aur isāī āngrezī . . . Isāī dharmaguru kesak pahanne vālā keval roman kaiṭholik fādar hī ho saktā hai.

Hindī bāibil jo āpke hāth mēn hai uskā anuvād san 1905 mēn ilāhābād ke presbitīri miśnarī ḍr. es. ec. kailāg ne kiya thā. Sau varṣ pūrv hindī keval ek bolī thī jo uttar pradeś ke kucch jilōṃ aur madhy pradeś ke mahākośal kṣetr mēn prayukt hotī thī. Ḍr. kailāg ne sau varṣ pūrv kī sthiti ke anurūp kāry kiya thā. Aj stithi bilkul bhinn hai. Hindī rāṣṭr bhāṣā hai – sampark bhāṣā hai aur ākāśvānī, dūr-darśan, samācār-patṛōṃ, patrikāōṃ ke mādhyam se śrīnagar se kanyākumārī, kucch-saurāṣṭr se aruṇācal tak prayukt ho rahī hai. Uskī śabdāvalī aur rūp bilkul badal gae hai. Pramukh śabdōṃ ke arth badal gae aur nae-nae bhāvōṃ ko abhiyukt karne ke lie nae-nae śabd hindī bhāṣā mēn ā gae haiṃ.

‘Mukti kā śubh samācār’ ghoṣit karte samay yadi sampreṣak us bhāṣā kā prayog nahī kartā jo sandeś grahan karne vālā samajhtā hai to śubh sandeś aśubh sandeś ho jātā hai, arth kā anarth ho jātā hai.”

34 Schüssler Fiorenza, *Jesus and the Politics of Interpretation*.

35 Pintchman, *Women’s Lives*, 4.

36 James, *Mahilā Dharmavijñān*, 227: “[S]amāj mēn rahnevālī bahanōṃ se aur any sadasyōṃ se prem ke sāth vyavahār kar sake . . . dukhbharī kahānīyām sun saktī hai aur dukhit bṛidayōṃ ko śānti de saktī hai . . . samarpit masihī mahilā . . . saccī, mītrātāpūrṇ aur śālīn . . . logōṃ kī bāt sunne, unko ucit smay par salāh dene, aur gopānīy bātōṃ ko man mēn rakhne kī kṣamatā honī cāhiye.

37 James, *Mahilā Dharmavijñān*, 228: Pati ke samast dāyitv mēn uskā saprem sāth de.

38 James, *Mahilā Dharmavijñān*, 231–232: Kalīsiyā ke jīvan aur pracār kāry mēn striyōṃ kā bhāri hāth rahā hai. Hamāre prabhu ne ārambh se hī strī ko anugrah aur sevā mēn puruṣ ke barābar mānā hai (dekhie yūhannā 4:7 kramik pad; markus 5:23 se āge; lūkā 10”38–42). Yah mānā kī striyōṃ ko celōṃ ke samān āścaryakarm karne kī sāmāth sahit prabh ne nahīn bhejā, parantu celōṃ ke samudāy mēn sevā, sahāyatā aur ātithy satkāṛ mēn unkā viśeṣ bhāg rahā (lūkā 8:2; markus 15:40 se āge). Unmēn se kucch striyām punurutthit khrist kī sarvpratham gavāh thīn (markus 16:1). Yīśu ke dṛiṣṭāntōṃ mēn striyōṃ ko mahatvapūrṇ sthān hai. Preritōṃ ke kām aur patriyōṃ mēn anek striyōṃ kā ullekḥ hai jo susamācār pracār mēn sahāyak thīn (preritōṃ ke kām 1:14; 12:12; 16:13 se āge; romiyōṃ 16:1, 3; 1 kurinṭhiyōṃ 1:11; kulusiyōṃ 4:15; 2 tīmuthiyus 1:5; filemon 4:2–3). Kalīsiyā mēn striyām anek prakār kī jimmedāriyām sambhālṭī thīn. Udāharan ke liye, fībe krīvrayā kī maṇḍlī mēn ḍikanēs thī (romiyōṃ 16:1); priskillā ne apullos kā praśikṣan kiya (pre. 18:24–26); tītus 2:3–5 mēn presbitar mahilāōṃ kā ullekḥ hai; vidhvānēn parhit prārthanā kī sevā mēn lagī rabṭī thī (1 tīm. 5:5). Aisā pratīt hotā hai kī prārambhik kalīsiyā mēn nabīyā bhī thī (pre. 21:9). Sant paulus striyōṃ ko ‘mere sahakarmī’ kahtā hai (ro. 16:3). Yah mānā jā saktā hai kī hamāre prabhu yīśu khrist ke dvārā aur striyōṃ ke prati prārambhik kalīsiyā kī abhivṛitti ke kāran mānav samāj mēn striyōṃ kā star ūncā huā hai.

Is paramparā ke anurūp āj mahilāem kalīsiyā meṁ anek prakār se sevā kar rahī haiṁ, yahām tak ki kucch kalīsiyāom meṁ unko pādri yā presbiṭar bhī banāyā gayā hai. Striyom ko kalīsiyā meṁ matdān kā adhikār haiṁ; ve maṇḍali meṁ anek rūpom meṁ sevā kartī hai, bāibil vīmen pracār kāry kartī haiṁ, mahilāyem skūlom meṁ śikṣā detī haiṁ, aspatālom meṁ kāry kartī haiṁ, miṣṇarī haiṁ, sahāyak pādri haiṁ, ādi.

Mahilāom kī kalīsiyā, antar-kalīsiyā aur antarāśtrīy sabhāem aur sangathan haiṁ. Yah bade śrey kī bāt hai ki ve hoṣtel, skūl, aspatāl aur samsthāem jo mahilāom ke hāth meṁ haiṁ kāi bātom meṁ śreṣṭh haiṁ.”

39 Schüssler Fiorenza, *Discipleship of Equals*, 159–161.

40 Schüssler Fiorenza, *Discipleship of Equals*, 157.

41 James, *Mahilā Dharmavijñān*, 234–235: “Sab se acche pad aur viṣay vahīm hote haiṁ jo ghuṭnom par prārthanā ke samay updeśak ko milte haiṁ . . . Yah kabhī na kariye ki āp updeś pahle taiyār kar leṁ aur tab pad dhūndhate fireṁ . . . Āp ke jordār vicār binduom ko ākbir meṁ aur kamjor vicār binduom ko pahle rakhie . . . Updeś ko jīvan par lāgū karnā cāhiye aur usmeṁ vyaktigat apil bhī honā cāhiye . . . Apne updeś ko soc lene ke bād updeś dene kā abhyās kijie. Āp ke uccāraṇ, abhiyakti, bāibal ke sandarbh thik se niścīt hoṁ. Āp apnā updeś likh leṁ yā uske noṭs banā leṁ. Yah pakkā bharosā rakhie ki paramēśvar āpke kām par āśiṣ degā.”

42 Paul, *Striyom kā Paramēśvar ke Sāth Calnā*, 217: “Ādhunik striyām anek prakār se yogy hotī haiṁ. Vah kāi tarah ke kāryom ke liye ucit rahtī hai . . . Vah kalīsiyā kī sammatiyom par salāhakārī ke vibhāv meṁ, ātmā jīne kī upcārikā ke rūp meṁ, prabhuhoj taiyār karne ke lie, baccom ko susamācār ke bāre meṁ batāne ke liye, prārthanā maṇḍaliyom ko calāne ke lie, yuvā kī aguvāi karne ke dvārā, sande skūl meṁ kāry karke, striyom kī sangati ko calākar, kalīsiyā ke bīmārom ke pā jākar, vidhavāom evam anāthom kī dekhbhāl karke, ṭankaṇ kāry (tāiping) karke, dān ekatrit karke, āgantuk satkāri hokar, aur in sabke ūpar muskurā kar, kalīsiyā kī sevakāi kar saktī hai.”

43 Paul, *Striyom kā Paramēśvar ke Sāth Calnā*, 116: “Masih kī driṣṭi meṁ striyām achūt nahīm thī.”

44 Cf. Schüssler Fiorenza, *Discipleship of Equals*, 152, note 2.

45 Paul, *Striyom kā Paramēśvar ke Sāth Calnā*, 15.

46 Paul, *Striyom kā Paramēśvar ke Sāth Calnā*, 32: “Uskā yah bhī adhikār hai ki manuṣy kī apekṣā paramēśvar kī āgyā pālan kare.”

47 Paul, *Striyom kā Paramēśvar ke Sāth Calnā*, 31: “Svarg meṁ koī striling athavā purling nahīm hai. Ling bhed keval is dhartī par hī hai, svarg meṁ koī ling bhed nahīm hai.”

48 Paul, *Striyom kā Paramēśvar ke Sāth Calnā*, 31: “Ek strī kā apne pati, bacce evam ghar ke ūpar adhikār hotā hai.”

49 Paul, *Striyom kā Paramēśvar ke Sāth Calnā*, 132: “Striyom ko puruṣom ke ūpar adhikār nahīm jamānā cāhiye.”

50 David in James, *Mahilā Dharmavijñān*, xii: “Kalīsiyā aur bhārat bhūmi ke kalyāṇ ke nimitt pustak ke lekhakom aur sankalan kartī ke sāth hum bhī apne ārādhya prabhu yīśu khrisṭ ke carnom meṁ ise samarpit karte haiṁ.”

51 James, *Mahilā Dharmavijñān*, 103: “Khristīy jīvan duhrā jīvan hai. Ismeṁ ādh-yātmik aur naitikāṭā donom kā gahrā sambandh hai.”

52 James, *Mahilā Dharmavijñān*, 102: “Pratyek khristīy jan ke liye yah āvaśyak hai ki vah apne ācaraṇ banānevāle siddhāntom ko jāne aur unke sambandh meṁ use niścay ho.”

53 James, *Mahilā Dharmavijñān*, 108: “Parivār ke prati kartavy; samāj aur samudāy ke any logom ke prati kartavy; deś ke prati kartavy.”

- 54 James, *Mahilā Dharmavijñān*, 107–108: “Adhikār jinke pās haiṁ unkā yah naitik dāyitv hai ki ve sab ke kalyāṇ ke liye uskā upayog karēṁ . . . jīvan ke prati ādar; ātmā-rakṣā; svāsthy rakṣā; ātm hatyā na karnā aur na dūsroṁ kī hatyā karnā . . . dhan ko sādhy rūp meṁ nahīṁ daran dūsroṁ kī bhalāi ke sādhan ke rūp meṁ arjit karnā cāhiye. Dūsroṁ kī sampatti kā ādar karnā cāhiye . . . buddhi, gyān, kauśal ādi kā vikāś [karnā] . . . saty bolnā, apnī icchāoṁ, abhivṛttiyoṁ aur vāsnāoṁ par saṁyam rakhnā . . . ātm-nigrah aur ātm-sammān rakhnā, caritr aur sāmājīk vyavasthā kā sammān karnā; gati tathā imāṇdārī se kathor śram karnā.”
- 55 James, *Mahilā Dharmavijñān*, 107: “Samāj adhikār kā srot hai. Kucch śartoṁ ke sāth samāj vyaktiyoṁ ko adhikār pradān kartā hai. Śart yah hai ki jinko adhikār die jāte haiṁ ve unkā ucit upayog karēṁ aur dūsroṁ ko asuvidhā na pahūncāne hetu unko kāṁ meṁ leṁ. Khrīstīy nītiśāstr meṁ manuṣy ko jo abhikār prāpt haiṁ unmeṁ vyakti ke sammān evam mūly jhalakte haiṁ. Manuṣy ke adhikār ye haiṁ: (1) jīvan aur śram kā adhikār, (2) śikṣaṇ kā adhikār. (3) Svatantratā kā adhikār. (4) Sampatti kā adhikār. (5) Ikrānāmā yā anubandh karne kā adhikār.”
- 56 Dayal, *Vyaktigat Manan-Cintan*, 10: “Var de ki maiṁ ne jo pahle pratigyāyēṁ kī haiṁ, unhe na toḍū aur jo galtiṁ kī haiṁ, unko binā sudhāre na choḍū. Var de ki yadi maiṁ kisī humrāhī ko sankat meṁ dekhūṁ to katrā kar na calā jāūṁ. Var de ki maiṁ kartavy ko pūrā kiy bagair na choḍ dūṁ aur na kisī burī ādat ko kāyam rahne dūṁ. Jahām merā koī kāry sansār ko manuṣyoṁ ke rahne ke lie behtar banā saktā hai, jahām merā vacan kisī nirāś man ko protsāhan de saktā hai yā kamjor icchā-śaktivāle ko driḍh kar saktā hai, jahām merī prārthanā muktidātā prabhu yeṣu ke rāḥy ko vistrī kar saktī hai, vahām mujhe karne, bolne aur prārthanā karne kī sāmārthy de.”
- 57 Dayal, *Vyaktigat Manan-Cintan*, 34: “Pyāre pitā, āj din bhar mere jīvan kī tū rakṣā karnā. Mere samast vicāroṁ aur bhāvanāoṁ ko niyantraṇ meṁ rakhnā, merī yogyatāoṁ kā sancālan karnā. Merī buddhi ko sikhānā. Merī icchā-śakti ko sambhālānā. Mere hāthoṁ ko lekar apnī āgyāoṁ kā pālan karne ke lie mujhe furtilā banānā. Merī ākhōṁ ko lenā aur unheṁ apnī anant sundartā par lagā kar rakhnā. Mere mūṁh ko lenā aur use apne prem kī gavāhī kā prabal vaktā banānā. Is din ko āgyāpālan kā din, ātmīk ānand aur śānti kā din banānā. Is din ke kāryo ko muktidātā prabhu yeṣu ke rāḥy kā hissā banānā.”
- 58 Jonathan, *Biśap*, 22: “Kalīsiyā se bāhar ke logoṁ meṁ, vistrī samudāy meṁ hamāre jīvan kā vah sevā pakṣ, jo hamāri saṁsthāoṁ, prayojanāoṁ, sāmājīk kārykrmōṁ ke mādhyam seṁ vyakt hotā hai, hamāri pahcān kā cinh hai. Hamāri pahcān hamāre dāyitvoṁ ko . . . vahan karne se honī cāhiye.”
- 59 Patlia, *Pāstarī Viddhyā*, 49–50: “Sambhav hai ki vah bahusankhyak samudāy ke hathkaṇḍoṁ ke kāraṇ apne adhikāroṁ kā upayog [pūre] rūp se na kar sake. . . [par] āvaśyakatā padne par śānti aur prem kā aisā sangharṣ kar saktā hai ki mahān se mahān śaktiyāṁ bhī jhuk jāeṁ, uttam sākṣī utpann ho aur parameśvar kā rāḥy pragatiśīl ho sake.”
- 60 Patlia, *Pāstarī Viddhyā*, 50.
- 61 Patlia, *Pāstarī Viddhyā*, 49: “Jahām gaṇtantrātmac svatantratā kā adhikār hai, vahām ek samāj ko, cāhe alpsankhyak hī kyoṁ na ho, apne nāgrik adhikāroṁ ko prāpt karne ke lie sangharṣ karne kī pūrī svatantratā hai.”
- 62 David’s preface in *Sinha, Masīhī Ācaraṇ*, i (k): “Masīhī ācaraṇ kī prāpti evam prasār viśv kalyāṇ evam pragati ke liye anivāry hai.”
- 63 *Sinha, Masīhī Ācaraṇ*, 1: “Ve log bhī, jo masīhī nahīṁ haiṁ, is bāt se paricī haiṁ ki masīhiyoṁ ko masīh ke samān honā hai. Sansār meṁ bahut log, jo masīhī nahīṁ haiṁ, prabhu yeṣu ke caritr ko bhalibhānti jānte haiṁ. Unhe is bāt kā gyān hai ki prabhu yeṣu nyāyapriy, namr aur śuddh ācaraṇ karne vālā tathā satybhāṣī jan thā.”

- 64 Sinha, *Masihī Ācaran*, 2: “Hum to prabhu yīśu ko dekh nahīm sakte, parantu hum āpko dekh sakte haiṁ.”
- 65 David’s preface in Sinha, *Masihī Ācaran*, i (k): “Is pustak mein masihī ācaran kā ādarś, masihī sadgun, tathā is ādarś evam in sadgunom ko apnāne ke sāmārth srot kā atyant sundar aur rocak vivecan kiyā gayā hai.”
- 66 Howell, *Parivartan*, 170–171.
- 67 Howell, *Parivartan*, 171: “Hamēn lagātār apne vyavāhār aur bhāṣā ko jāmcte rahnā cāhie.”
- 68 Anand, *Samprēṣan*, 6–7.
- 69 Rajagopal, *Politics after Television*, 84, 326.
- 70 Rajagopal, *Politics after Television*, 76–77.
- 71 Mankekar, *Screening Culture*, 5.
- 72 See also Mankekar, *Screening Culture*, 255.
- 73 Rajagopal, *Politics after Television*, 76ff.
- 74 Mankekar, “Epic Contests,” 143.
- 75 Rajagopal, *Politics after Television*, 73.
- 76 King, *Nehru and the Language Politics of India*, 78.
- 77 Gill, “Why Ramayan on Doordarshan.”
- 78 Scharf, *Rāmopākhyāna*.
- 79 Mankekar, “Epic Contests,” 143.
- 80 Rajagopal, *Politics after Television*, 327.
- 81 Engineer, *Babri-Masjid*, 1ff.
- 82 Khan, *The Great Partition*, 62.
- 83 Khan, *The Great Partition*, 129.
- 84 Khan, *The Great Partition*, 135.
- 85 Khan, *The Great Partition*, 156.
- 86 Khan, *The Great Partition*, 176.
- 87 Quoted in Engineer, *Babri-Masjid*, 8.
- 88 Engineer, *Babri-Masjid*, 10–13.
- 89 Varshney, “Contested Meanings,” 232.
- 90 Varshney, “Contested Meanings,” 253.
- 91 Varshney, “Contested Meanings,” 247.
- 92 Varshney, “Contested Meanings,” 249.
- 93 Rajagopal, *Politics after Television*, 81ff.
- 94 Rajagopal, *Politics after Television*, 83.
- 95 Mankekar, “Epic Contests,” 145.
- 96 Rajagopal, *Politics after Television*, 84, 117–118.
- 97 Also see, Rajagopal, “Ram Janmbhoomi,” 1661.
- 98 Varshney, “Contested Meanings,” 232–233.
- 99 Rajagopal, *Politics after Television*, 84, 161–162.
- 100 Mankekar, “Epic Contests,” 140.
- 101 Varshney, “Contested Meanings,” 230.
- 102 Andersen and Damle, *The Brotherhood in Saffron*, 33–34.
- 103 Varshney, “Contested Meanings,” 230–231.
- 104 Pollock, “*Ramayan*,” 264; referenced in Mankekar, “Epic Contests,” 143.
- 105 Pollock, “*Ramayan*,” 289.
- 106 Thapar, “The Ramayan Syndrome.”
- 107 Mankekar, “National texts and gendered lives,” 545–546.
- 108 Anand spelled the Hindi (“*Bāibil kī Kahāniyām*”) differently than Doordarshan did (“*Bāibal kī Kahāniyām*”) – with no difference in meaning.
- 109 The original Hindi pronoun (*unhone*) is gender non-specific.
- 110 Anand, *Samprēṣan*, 35–36: “‘*Bāibil kī kahāniyām*’ dūrdarśan sīriyal ek aur mahatvapūrn udāharan hai. Jis utsāh aur utsuktā se lagh-bhag 10 karoḍ darsakom ne

iskā pahlā-dūsra epīsoḍ dekhā thā aur tisre-cauthe epīsoḍ meṁ darśakoṁ ne apne-apne ṭi.vī. seṭ āf kar diye the. Kāraṇ arbī-fārsī se bojhil urdū. Hamare paḍosiyōṁ ne hum se pūchā ki kyā bāibil kī bhāṣā bhī ‘kurān’ kī bhāṣā jaisī hai? Kitnā galat Samprēṣaṇ huā thā. Śubh sandeś āsubh sandeś ban gayā thā. . . . ‘Bāibil kī kahāniyāṁ’ sīriyal kī pāṇḍulipi ke sambandh meṁ dūrdarśan ke uccādhikārī se bāt ho rahī thī. Bhāṣā ke sambandh meṁ unhoṁme kahā, ‘ānand sāhab, kyā aīsī bhāṣā rāṣṭrīy kārykram ke lie upyukt hai?’

Mukti kā jīvīt śubh sandeś jīvīt bhāṣā ke mādhyam se hī karodōṁ logoṁ meṁ sārthak ḍhang se sampreṣīt honā cāhie. Aur iske lie āvaśyak hai bhārat kī bhāṣāoṁ kā pūrṇagyān. Yadi main hindī bhāṣā kā nivāsī hūṁ, merā kāry kṣetr hindī bhāṣā kṣetr hai to mujhe hindī bhāṣā kā gyān honā cāhiy. Uskā vidhivat adhyayan karnā cāhie.”

- 111 Bhajan and Khan, *Islām*, 234–246.
- 112 Dayal, *Uttar Bhārat aur Pākistān*, 201.
- 113 Anand and Warne, *Samprēṣaṇ*, 156–157.
- 114 Union of Catholic Asian News, “Bible series taken off national television after alleged Muslim threats,” March 31, 1993.
- 115 Mankekar, “*Epic Contests*,” 149, note 25.
- 116 Anand’s preface in Khan, *Samvād*, I: “*Paramēśvar ne hum-masīhiyōṁ ko ek viśeṣ sthiti meṁ rakhā hai: hamāre Paṛosī hindū, musalmān, jain, bauddh ādi haiṁ. Inkā dharm, viśvās, bhāṣā tathā sanskriti bhī bhinn hai. Vāstav meṁ hum bahudharm tathā bahusankriti ke pariveś meṁ rah rahe haiṁ. Dūsra or alp-sankhyak dharmāvlambī samāj hone ke kāraṇ hum kis prakār apne Paṛosī ko prabhu yīśu kā antīm ādeś sunā sakte haiṁ?*”
- 117 Anand, *Samprēṣaṇ*, 35: “*Ek aur mahatvapūrṇ bāt: āp apnī bāt-cīt meṁ, prārthanā meṁ prabhu paramēśvar ke lie ādar sūcak sarvnām ‘āp’ kā prayog karte haiṁ. Yah hamārī bhāratīy sanskriti hai. Lekin jab hum ākāśavāṇī, dūrdarśan, lok sabhāoṁ meṁ bāibil paḍhte haiṁ aur tu, terā jaise sarvnāmoṁ kā prayog karte haiṁ, to lajjā se sir jhukānā paḍtā hai. ‘Yeśu gayā’, ‘yeśu bolā!’.*”
- 1 McGregor, *The Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary*, 606, lists the following as translations of *paricay*: acquaintance (with); knowledge, experience (of); information, data; to introduce (one to); to acquaint (with); to make known (to); or, to demonstrate.
- 2 Biographical details are from Khan’s *Khrīstīy Nītiśāstr* (1981: viii) and *Bīsaviṁ Śatābdī ke Pramukh Dharmavijñānī* (1990: v–vi).
- 3 Khan’s doctoral dissertation was published in English as *The Concept of Dharma in Valmiki Ramayana* by Munshi Ram Manohar Lal press (Delhi) in 1965.
- 4 Both *Khrīstīy Nītiśāstr* (viii) and *Islām: Ek Paricay* (“Islam: An Introduction”; vi) were first and original books in Hindi Christian literature on their subjects. Both books have been quite popular: due to continued demand, *Khrīstīy Nītiśāstr* was republished in 2009. *Islām* went through a new edition in 1987 and was republished in 2004.
- 5 Bhajan and Khan, *Islām*, viii.
- 6 Khan, *Khrīstīy Nītiśāstr*, v: “*Mere śodh prabandh ‘vālmīki rāmāyaṇ meṁ dharm kā svarūp’ ke prakāśan uparānt merī yah hārdik abhilāṣā rahī ki main hindī meṁ khrīstīy nītiśāstr par bhī pustak likhūṁ aur us samay se hī main is viśay kā viśeṣ adhyayan kartā rahā hūṁ.*”
- 7 Scharf, *Rāmopākhyāna*, 8–15.
- 8 Scharf, *Rāmopākhyāna*, 429–437.
- 9 Flood, *Hinduism*, 66.
- 10 Flood, *Hinduism*, 109.

- 11 Khan, *Khristiyy Nītiśāstr*, vi: “H.T.L.C [kā] āgrah rahā ki sirāmpur kāmlej kī bhī. *ṭīec. evam bhī. dī. parikṣāom ke chātroin ke hitārth tathā unke pāṭhykr̥m ke ādhār par khristiyy nītiśāstr pustak likhī jāe.*”
- 12 Bhajan and Khan, *Islām*, vi: “[Yah] *pustak sirāmpur sinet ke bhī. ṭīec., evam bhī. dī. ke chātroin kī āvaśyakatāom kī pūrti hetu bhī likhī gai hai.*”
- 13 Bhajan and Khan, *Islām*, vi: “*Hamārā viśvās hai kī samast hindī bhāṣī pāṭha-koim tathā saty ke anveṣakoim ke liye hamārā vinamr prayās mūlyavān aur mil-stambh hogā.*”
- 14 David, in Bhajan and Khan, *Islām*, viii: “*Yah saty ke anveṣakoim ko preranaṁ pradān karegī, aur paraspar saṁwād evam deś kī ekatā ko baḍhāne mein sahāyag hogī.*”
- 15 Khan, *The Concept of Dharma*, 40.
- 16 Khan, *The Concept of Dharma*, 135.
- 17 Khan, *Khristiyy Nītiśāstr*, v-vi: “[K]hristiyy dharm evam nītiśāstr, khristiyy dharmavijñān evam nītiśāstr aur khristiyy viśvās evam nītiśāstr mein ek aṭuṭ sambandh hai. . . .
[Masīhiyatā mein] pāpī manuṣy kā paramēśvar se mel-milāp pramukh siddhānt hai aur yah khrist ke balidān ko svikār karne mein sambhāv hai. Manuṣy kī saccī dhārmiktā uske apne prayās, apnī dhāritā, apne dharmakāry par nirbhar nahīn varan is anubhav par ādhārit hai kī paramēśvar se uskā mel-milāp (Reconciliation) huā hai athvā nahīn. Manuṣy apnī śakti aur prayās dvārā dhārmik nahīn ban saktā. Yah to usmein aham paidā kartā hai. Īśvar ke samakṣ pāpī samarpaṇ kar, īśvar se śakti prāpt kar naitik-kāry kar saktā hai. Isī anubhav se manuṣy ke jīvan, uske kāry aur uske sambandhoim mein ek nayā mod ātā hai aur vah naitik jīvan vyatīt karne lagtā hai. Isilie khristiyy dharm aur khristiyy nītiśāstr ek dūse se prthak nahīn varan anany hai aur yah bhī saty hai kī khristiyy dharm mein hum naitik jīvan vyatīt kar īśvar se milāp nahīn karte varan īśvar se milāp kar naitik jīvan vyatīt karne kī śakti prāpt karte hai. Isī pūrvdhāranā ko samakṣ rakḥkar main khristiyy nītiśāstr par ek pustak likhne kā ek choṭā-sā prayās kar rahā hūm.”
- 18 Khan, *The Concept of Dharma*, v: “*Vah vrtti yā ācaran jo lok yā samāj kī sthiti ke lie āvaśyak hai; vah ācār jiske dvārā samāj kī rakṣā tathā sukh-śānti kī vṛddhi ho aur parlok mein bhī uttam gati prāpt ho.*”
- 19 The feminine possessive is my addition; the original possessive (*uskā*) is gender non-specific.
- 20 Khan, *Khristiyy Nītiśāstr*, 18: “*Dharm īśvar ko sat cit ānand kahtā hai. Kucch vidvān satyam-śivam-sundaram kahte haiin. Yadi yah paribhāṣā saty hai to nītiśāstr aur dharm mein aṭuṭ sambandh pramāṇit hotā hai, kyomki jis śubh (śivam, Good) kā naitik śāstr adhyayan kartā hai, vah dharm ke īśvar kā guṇ hai. Fir hum yah bhī jānte haiin kī hum naitik prāśnoim kā us vakt tak koī sahī uttar nahīn de sakte jab tak hum is bāt ko niścit na kar lein kī manuṣy kī prakṛti kyā hai, brahmāṇḍ mein uskā kyā sthān hai, aur brahmāṇḍ kā kyā svarūp hai. Aṭah hum is niṣkarṣ par pahūmcte hai kī tārkik evam vyāvahārik rūp se dharm aur nītiśāstr mein ghaniṣṭh sambandh hai.*”
- 21 Khan, *Khristiyy Nītiśāstr*, 30: “*Nītiśāstr manuṣy ke vyavahār mein śubh aur aśubh ke adhyayan kā sāmāny vijñān hai. Iske adhyayan se hamein mānaviyy mūlyoim kā gyān hotā hai aur hum yah bhī jānte haiin kī vyāpār mein, cikitsā mein, āpsī sambandhoim mein kaun sā vyavahār ucit hai aur kaunsā anucit hai; kyā śubh aur kyā aśubh hai.*”
- 22 Bhajan and Khan, *Islām*, v: “*Āj kal masīhiyoim mein bhī ek nayā āndolan cal rahā hai jis kā lakṣy sansār ke vibhin dharmoim ke mānne vāloim ke madhy prem kā sambandh sthāpit karnā hai. Āvaśyakatā is bāt kī hai kī vibhin dharmoim ke mānne vāle āpas mein prempūrvak baith kar ek dūse kī bāt sunen aur mil jul kar paramsaty kī khoj karen. Aisā saty jo bṛday mein us śānti ko bhar*

de jis se ek nav-mānav kā uday ho aur jo prem aur āsā se paripūrṇ ho. Is naye āndolan kā nām saṃvād (Dialogue) hai. Is kā matlab yah nahīn ki hum ek dūse par kicad ucchālēm, varan yah hai ki hum premamay vātāvaran meṃ baith kar dhairy aur śānti se ek dūse kī bāt sahānubhūti se sunēm aur samjheṃ, ek dūse se sikhēṃ aur jahām tak ban paḍe jantā kī bhalāi ke liye ek dūse kī sahāyā kareṃ. Is āndolan ko safal banāne ke liye yah āvaśyak hai ki hum dūse dharmoṃ ke viśvāsoṃ aur rīti rivājōṃ se bhalī bhānti paricay prāpt kareṃ. Is lie aisi pustakeṃ, jo vibhinn dharmoṃ ke viśvāsoṃ, rasmorivājōṃ, naitikatā ādi ko ucit dhang se prastut kareṃ, avaśy hī samay kī ek baḍī āvaśyakatā ko pūrā kareṃgī.”

23 Lossky, *Dictionary of the Ecumenical Movement*, 311–317.

24 Robinson, *Christians Meeting Hindus*, 4–5.

25 Robinson, *Christians Meeting Hindus*, 21.

26 Robinson, *Christians Meeting Hindus*, 32–34.

27 Robinson, *Christians Meeting Hindus*, 60–77.

28 Balagangadhara, *Reconceptualizing India Studies*.

29 Balagangadhara, *Reconceptualizing India Studies*, 159.

30 Balagangadhara, *Reconceptualizing India Studies*, 164.

31 Robinson, *Christians Meeting Hindus*, 77.

32 McGregor, *The Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary*, 913.

33 McGregor, *The Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary*, 967.

34 Bonhoeffer, *Letters and Papers*, 359–360.

35 Bonhoeffer, *Letters and Papers*, 359.

36 Bonhoeffer, *Letters and Papers*, 346.

37 Bonhoeffer, *Letters and Papers*, 326.

38 Bonhoeffer, *Letters and Papers*, 361.

39 Bonhoeffer, *Ethics*, 132 (emphasis added).

40 Bonhoeffer, *Ethics*, 130–132.

41 Metaxas, *Bonhoeffer*, 155.

42 Bonhoeffer, *Ethics*, 193ff.

43 In Bonhoeffer's words: "Ethical thinking in terms of spheres, then, is invalidated by faith in the revelation of the ultimate reality in Jesus Christ, and this means there is no real possibility of being a Christian outside the reality of the world and that there is no real worldly existence outside the reality of Jesus Christ. There is no place to which the Christian can withdraw from the world, whether it be outwardly or in the sphere of the inner life." (Bonhoeffer, *Ethics*, 198)

44 Khan, *Khristīy Nītiśāstr*, 161–162: "Bāṃnahūfar apnī pustak 'ethiks' meṃ lūthar kī us ālocanā ko jo lūthar ne dvaitavād (*Thinking in Terms of Two Spheres*) ke viruddh kī thī, svikār kartā huā manuṣy ke prākṛtik evam aprākṛtik staroṃ kī ghor ālocanā kartā hai. . . . Is dvaitavād ke anusār naitikatā ke bhī do star māne jāne lage . . . niyam, un logoṃ ke lie jo ki prākṛtik star par rahte haiṃ aur ādhyātmik pūrṇatā un logoṃ ke lie jo dharmī haiṃ, jinhoṃne masihī jīvan vyatīt karne kā niścay kar liyā hai. . . .

Bāṃnahūfar is dvaitavād ko avāstavik kahtā huā likhtā hai: "Ek masihī, masih ko svikār karne ke paścāt kisī antardvand kā kṣetr nahīn ban jātā par-antu jis prakār masih ek hai vah bhī antardvand se mukti pā ek avibhājīt ikāi ban jātā hai aur vah do staroṃ par nahīn rahtā, sadaiv ek star par rahtā hai." . . . Bāṃnahūfar likhtā hai ki is prākṛtik jīvan ko hum yah nān baithēṃ ki yah masih ko svikār karne se pahle kā jīvan hai parantu yah jīvan to vah hai jo masih yēśu dvārā mānyatā prāpt hai.

Sārāṃś meṃ hum kah sakte haiṃ ki bāṃnahūfar ne upāntim par jor dekar is duniyāvī jīvan ko nayā arth pradān kiyā aur nāi mahattvatā dī. Isī prakār do staroṃ athavā dvaitavād ko dhaḥ kar yah pramāṇit kiyā ki yah jagat masih ko is duniyā kā prabhu mānne meṃ avarodh utpann nahīn kartā varan sahāyatā detā

hai. Ek masīhī ko yah jānnā cāhie ki ek masīhī manuṣy hai aur vahī manuṣy, manuṣy hai jisne ki dehadhārī masīh ko svīkār kiyā hai.”

- 45 McGregor, *The Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary*, 44.
- 46 Bonhoeffer, *Ethics*, 196.
- 47 McGregor, *The Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary*, 60; Bulcke, *Amgrezī-Hindī Koś*, 835.
- 48 Bonhoeffer, *Ethics*, 198.
- 49 Khan, *Khrīstīy Nītīśāstr*, 162: “Masīh mānav jīvan ke lie ek udāharan hai. Usne kyā kiya, kaise rahā, kyā uskā jīvan thā; vah manuṣyo me rahtā thā, unke sāth kbātā-pitā thā, unkī bhāntī sotā-uthtā thā aur unme ek naī mānavatā ko jograt kartā thā. Yahī ek masīhī kā naitik jīvan honā cāhie. Jagat se dūr nahīm varan jagat ke madhy aur yahī carc kā kāry bhī honā cāhie.”
- 50 Khan, *Khrīstīy Nītīśāstr*, 162: “Carc kā is jagat mein ek sthān hai. Carc is jagat kā ek tukdā hai. Carc kā is jagat ke prati ek uttardāyitv hai, islie carc ek vah samāj hai jiskā uttardāyitv jagat ke prati hai. Use is sansār mein kūd jānā hai, jo īśvar ko nahīm māntā. Vah usse dūr rahkar koī kāry nahīm kar saktā.”
- 51 Bonhoeffer, *Ethics*, 199–200.
- 52 Bonhoeffer, *Ethics*, 72.
- 53 Khan, *Bīsaviṃ Śatābdī ke Pramukh Dharmavijñānī*, 146: “Ādarśon, kāryakrom, antarātmā, kartavy, uttardāyitv aur sadguṇ dvārā hum sattā kā na to sāmnā kar sakte hain aur na hī us par vijay pā sakte hain. Yah kāry hum īśvar se prem ke dvārā, aise prem ke dvārā, jo ek sāmāny pratyay nahīm parantu sampūrn prem hai, kar sakte hain.”
- 54 Khan, *Bīsaviṃ Śatābdī ke Pramukh Dharmavijñānī*, 146: “Is prem ko bānnahūfar masīh mein īśvar se prem kī sagyā detā hai, aur use vah ‘īśvar se prem mein jīnā’ kahtā hai.”
- 55 Khan, *Bīsaviṃ Śatābdī ke Pramukh Dharmavijñānī*, 146: “[Yah prem] manuṣy ko sansār se bhāgne kī preraṇā nahīm detā parantu is bāt kī kṣamatā pradān kartā hai ki vah sansā kī sab vipattiyon ko jhele, jaise yīśu-masīh kī deh ne pāp ke krodh ko sahan kiya. Carc ke liye bhī yah jarūrī hai ki vah sansār ke liye apne āpko jokhim mein dāle. Ek masīhī, masīh mein hotā huā bhī sansār mein sthit hai.”
- 56 Khan, *Bīsaviṃ Śatābdī ke Pramukh Dharmavijñānī*, 147: “Bānnahūfar . . . hamen batātā hai ki hamen is sansār ko baḍī sanjīdagī se lenā cāhie. Ise pyār karnā cāhie, isī mein rahnā cāhie aur yadi jarūrī ho to iske liye mar mītnā bhī cāhie. Hamārā susamācār kisī palāyanvādī dharm kī sthāpanā nahīm kartā.”
- 57 Khan, *Bīsaviṃ Śatābdī ke Pramukh Dharmavijñānī*, 162: “[Dharmanirpekṣavādī] dharmavijñān ne carc ko nīscit rūp se ek nayā pāth padhāyā. Vah yah hai ki carc manuṣyon kī sānsārik kathināiyon aur samasyāon mein pūrā sakriy yogdān de. Jis prakār purānā niyan kā īśvar isrāel kaum ke ādhyātmik, sāmājik aur bhautik pahaluon ko barābar chūtā hai usī prakār āj aise īśvar kī, jo is sansār mein samast mānav-jāti kī ādhyātmik aur bhautik sahāyatā kare, āvāsyakatā hai.”
- 58 A ‘crore’ equals ten million.
- 59 A ‘lakh’ equals hundred thousand.
- 60 Bulcke, *Amgrezī-Hindī Koś*, 744.
- 61 Bhajan and Khan, *Islām*, vii: “Islām sansār ke pramukh dharmon mein se ek hai. Vartamān bhārat mein islām ke anuyāyiyon kī sankhyā bahusankhyak hindū dharmāvalambiyon ke bād hī hai. Inmein se adhikāns hindī bhāṣī kṣetr mein rahte hain. 1971 kī jangānanā ke anusār bhārat mein 45.3 karoḍ hindū, 6.1 karoḍ muslim, 1.4 karoḍ khrīstī, 1 karoḍ sikkh, 38 lākh bauddh aur 20 lākh jain dharmon ke pālan karne vāle hain. Ye ank yahām rāṣṭr kī prthakatā ke liye nahīm, varan is tathy ke mahatv ko samajhane ke liye die gae hain ki hamāre deś mein dharm-viśvāsom evam dharmanītiyon mein antar hai aur kī hum ek

dūstre ke dharm kā adhyayan karēm aur yah jānte hue bhī ki sab dharm samān nahīm haim hum ek dūstre kī bhāvanāon kī ādar karēm.

Islām ek paricay pustak ke taiyār karne mein tīn uddeśy haim jin mein se do kā ullekh lekhakom ne apne prākkathan mein bhī kiyā hai: pahlā paraspar samvād (Dialogue) mein sahāyatā prāpt ho; dūsrā sirāmpur sīnet ke bī. tīec. aur bī. dī. parikṣāom ke kṣātroṃ kī āvaśyakatāom kī pūrti ho; tīsrā hamāre deś aur viśesakār hindī-bhāṣī yah samjheṃ ki dharmom me samāntā na hote hue bhī dharm ke nām par deś mein aur viśeṣ kar hindī bhāṣī kṣetr mein rāṣṭrīy aur naitik jīvan samrddh ho. Is ke sāth hī kīśī bhī dharm kā samyak gyān apne hī mein ek apūrv lābh hotā hai.”

- 62 Khan, *Khrīstīy Nītiśāstr*, 71: “Masīh ke prem niyam kā dūsrā pakṣ Paṛosī se prem karnā hai. Paṛosī koī amūrt pratyay nahīm, varan ek vāstavik sattā hai. Masīh ne yah ādeś nahīm diyā ki tū mānavatā athavā manuṣyatā se prem kar. Islīe prem kā viṣay Paṛosī hai. Merā Paṛosī kaun hai? Is praśn kā uttar dete huy masīh ne ek sundar dṛṣṭānt prastut kar Paṛosī se prem ke samast tatvom ko pradarśit kiyā hai. Hum aupcārik rīstom kī duniyā mein rah rahe haim. Arthāt hum yah jānte haim athavā jāne kī kośis karte haim ki amuk vyakti kyā hai? Athavā kyā kartā hai? . . . Uske kitne bacce haim? Vah apnā jīvan kis prakār nirvāh kar rahā hai? Vah kitnā sukhī athavā dukhī ādmī hai? Kyā koī uske ghar mein bimār hai? Ityadi. Hamārā paricay ek ūprī paricay rahtā hai, arthāt vah kyā kām kartā hai? Aur is dṛṣṭi se hī hamārā aur uskā sambandh juḍtā hai. Yah durbhāgy kī bāt hai ki hum keval uske ek āyām (dimension) ko hī jāne kā prayās karte haim.”
- 63 Khan, *Khrīstīy Nītiśāstr*, 73–74: “Kucch logom ko apne gyān, pūmjī, sārīrik sundartā, varg ādi kā ghamand hotā hai aur yah ghamand mānavīy rīstom mein dīvār khaḍī kar detā hai. Ye hamē apne Paṛosī kī āvaśyakatāom ko dekhne nahīm dete. Bhārat mein varṇ-ghamand aur kucch paścīmī deśom mein rang-garv iske udāharaṇ haim. Khrīst ek aur ghamand kī or dhyān ākarṣit karte haim jo us kāl kī naitik evam dhārmik avasthā ko dīmak kī bhānti khāe jā rahā thā. Vah thā dhārmik ghamand athavā ādhyātmik hone kā garv . . . [is dhārmik garv] ko bhāri dhakkā lagā, jab unhone yah dekhā ki yīśu to ām logom mein uṭhtā-baiṭhtā hai; unke sāth khātā-pītā hai aur unko chūtā bhī hai. . . . Khrīst ne ‘Paṛosī ke prem’ ke ādeś mein is sārī vidhivādī naitikatā kā khaṇḍan kiyā, aur us dīvār ko, jo vidhivādī naitikatā dharmī aur adharmī ke bīc khaḍī kartī hai, garībom aur pāpiyom ke sāth baiṭhkar toḍ diyā.”
- 64 Khan, *Khrīstīy Nītiśāstr*, 214–215: “Hum masīhī jo bhārat mein rahte haim, is bāt ko avāśy dhyān mein rakheṃ ki bhāratvarṣ yadyapi dharmanirpekṣ deś hai, tathāpi dharmanirpekṣatā kā arth adharm nahīm hai. Pratyek vyakti ko apne-apne dharm ke pālan aur prasār karne kī svatantratā hai aur dūstre ke dharm ke prati ādar kā ādeś hai.”
- 65 McGregor, *The Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary*, 25.
- 66 Khan, *Khrīstīy Nītiśāstr*, 215: “Hamāre deś kā pratik hai ‘satyamev jayate’ arthāt saty kī hī vijay hai, aur saty kā abhiprāy bhāratīy darśan mein īśvar hai . . . Masīhī ke lie masīh saty hai.”
- 67 Khan presents a non-exclusive decision involving membership in two distinct realms that, Khan argues, should not be mutually exclusive: *paramēśvar* kā rāy and *prthvī* kā rāy (literally, “Kingdom of God” and “kingdom of earth”).
- 68 Khan, *Khrīstīy Nītiśāstr*, 216–217: “Pahlā, ek masīhī ko yah kahkar ki vah *paramēśvar* ke rāy kā sadasy hai rājanīti se bhāgnā nahīm cāhie kyonki vah *prthvī* ke rāy kā bhī sadasy hai.

Dūsrā, masīhī ko nakārātmak rūp se nāgrik hokar deś mein nahīm rahnā cāhie. Vah keval yahī na kahtā rahe ki deś mein bhraṣṭācār hai, nyāy durlabh

hai. Vah iskā doṣ dūsrom par na lagāe, vah svayam bhī doṣī hai kyomki vah masihī prabhāv ko prabhāvākārī karne meṁ asafal rahā hai.

Tisrā, use is vicār ko choḍ denā cāhie ki rājanīti meṁ kisi prakār kī svacchatā hotī hai, aur ki rājanīti śaitān kī ānt hai. Rājanīti svacchatā aur śaitānī kā mīśraṇ hai aur masihī kā yah kartavy hai ki vah rājanīti meṁ sakriy bhāg lekar śubh śakti ko prabhal kare.

Cauthā, masihī kisi pārtī kā mohrā hī na ban kar rahe parantu ek aisā vyakti bane jo apne adbhikār aur mat ko masih kī śikṣāom ke anusār vyakt kartā hai.

Pāncvā, use sadā yah nahīm socnā cāhie ki uskā drṣṭikon sarvaśreṣṭh hai. Use apnā prabhāv vinamr rūp se dālnā cāhie.

Chāthvān, masihī ko yah nahīm socnā cāhie ki ek hī samasyā ke hul ho jāne se deś kī pratyek samasyā hul ho jāegī. Udāharan ke lie nasbandī, jūāvarjan ityādī. Use jankalyān, nyāy, svatantratā aur surakṣā kī bhāvanā ko sadṛṣh banāne ke lie sadā prayatnśīl rahnā cāhie.”

69 Khan, Khristīy Nitiśāstr, 234: “Rājanīti meṁ bhāg lenā khristīy jīvan kā uttar-dāyitv hai.”

70 Khan, Saṁvād, 1: “Vartamān sāmpradāyik, asahiṣṇutā, kaṭṭartāvād evam rūḍhivād vibhinn dharmoṁ ke anuyāyīyom meṁ aise bhedabhāv kī bhāvanā ko utpann kar rahā hai jisse ki hamārā āpsī rahan-sahan dūṣit ho gayā hai aur hum ek dūse ko ghrṇā aur sanśay kī drṣṭi se dekh rahe haim. Isī sthiti meṁ āpsī rahan-sahan hamāre naitik, sāmājīk evam ārthīk mūlyom par anucit prabhāv dāl rahā hai. Kucch log dharm kā durupayog kar apne rājanaitik svārth kī pūrti meṁ lage haim. Sāmpradāyīk dange, nity-prati jor pakad rahe haim aur alpasankhyak samudāy bhay ke vātāvaran meṁ jī rahe haim. Ek dūse ke dharm ke prati nity nāī galatfahmiyom kā pracār kiyā jā rahā hai. Naitik mūly, viśeṣ kar nyāy durlabh haim. Kucch dharm kurītiyām bhī punaḥ apnā sir ūthā rahī haim. In hālāt meṁ ‘antardhārmīk saṁvād’ ek āvaśyakatā bantā jā rahā hai. Is antardhārmīk saṁvād dvārā hum mil julkar naitik patan aur girte hue dhārmīk mūlyom ko sambhālne ke lie sāmūhīk prayās kar sakte haim. Antardhārmīk saṁvād keval pūrvāgrhoṁ kā hī unmulan nahīm parantu vah vibhinn dharmoṁ ke anuyāyīyom meṁ mil-jul kar rahne kī samājh ko badhāvā detā hai. Jaisā hum piche likh āye haim antardhārmīk saṁvād ek aisī prakriyā hai jiske dvārā hum dūse dharm kī rītiyom, mūlyom evam dhārmīk anubhavoṁ ko samājhne kā prayās karte haim. Yadi iske piche ek saccī bhāvanā hai to samast dūriyom kā vilop ho jātā hai aur hum ek dūse ke itne nikaṭ jā tēte haim ki hummeṁ dabi hūī bhrātr bhāvanā punaḥ jāg jātī hai aur hum ek dūse ke hāth meṁ hāth dāl dharm ke us śikhar kī or badhne lagte haim jabām par manuṣy aur paramēśvar kā milan evam manuṣy aur manuṣy kā milan vāstavīkatā meṁ badal jātā hai.”

71 i.e., minority religious communities.

72 Khan, Saṁvād, 1–2: “Antardhārmīk saṁvād ke kucch śatru bhī haim aur in śatruom meṁ pramukh śatru sāmpradāyīkatāvād hai. Sāmpradāyīkatāvād kā arth hai rājanaitik lābh ke lie dharm kā durupayog. Antardhārmīk saṁvād kā dūsrā śatru ‘kaṭṭartāvād’ hai arthāt ‘mere pās hī saty kā thekā hai, merā hī dharm saccā hai aur any dharm śaitān den hai.’ Yah unmād ādhyātmīk ahankār kī nīmv par khaḍā hai. Yah ghrṇā ke bīj botā hai aur vibhinn dharmoṁ ke anuyāyīyom ke mil julkar rahne meṁ bādhā utpann kartā hai. Antardhārmīk saṁvād kā tisrā śatru hamārā agyān hai arthāt ek dūse ke dharm ke prati hamārā sankucit gyān aur galatfahmiyom athavā tathākathit burāiyom kī apār jānkārī. Jaise hī antardhārmīk saṁvād śurū hotā hai kucch agyānī dūsrom ke dharm kī burāiyom kā vyākhyān kar ek aisā prabhār śurū kar dete haim jo saṁvād ko vād-vivād meṁ aur vād-vivād ko mārādhād meṁ badal detā hai. Ek dūse ko samājhne ke sthān par ek dūse se ghrṇā karne lagte haim. Islie jab tak apne dharm aur dūse ke dharm kā sahī-sahī gyān na ho, saṁvād apne uddeśy meṁ vīfal ho

jātā hai. Antardhārmik samvād kā cauthā mukhy śatru rūdhivād (Fundamentalism) hai. Hindī, hindū, hindustān! Islām khatre mem hai! Lekhakom, cintakom, dārśnikom ko dharm, śarīyat ke nām par deś-nikālā denā, maut kā fatvā jāri karnā, yah dhārmik kaṭṭarvād, rūdhivād kā udāharan hai. Inke nāre din prati-din vāyumaṇḍal ko garmā rahe haiṁ. Udhār masihī dharm, sikkhdharm, buddh dharm, jain dharm ityādi bhī rūdhivād ke śikār hote jā rahe haiṁ. Bhārat-varṣ mem ‘garv se kaho hum hindū hai’ kā nārā buland ho rahā hai.”

- 73 Khan, *Samvād*, 2: “Is yug mem antardhārmik samvād kī atyant āvaśyakatā hai. Śāyad in samvādom ke dvārā hī hum vah ekatā jo hum kho cuke haiṁ vāpas pā leṁ. Dhārmik kurītiyām jo apnā sir uṭhā rahī haiṁ unkā unmūlan kar sakem. Mil-julkar girte hue naitik, sāmājik mūlyom kā bacāv kar sakem. Sāmājik jīvan bhay se mukt kar sakem aur ek dharm viśvāsī, dūse dharm viśvāsī kī nissvārth kalyān kī kāmā kar sakem.

Bhārat varṣ bahu samudāy, bahu jāti evam bahudharmom kā ek jītā jāgtā udāharan hai kintu yah bahuvād anekatā mem ekatā aur ekatā mem anekatā kā darśan ubharte hue sāmpradāyikatāvād mem ek thothā sā niyam pratīt hone lagā hai. Anekātā, ekatā kī or to nahīm le jā rahī varan vah hamem vibhājan kī or le jā rahī hai. Prati din hum ek dūse ke lie ajnabī bante jā rahe haiṁ. Rājanīti ne dharm ko dūṣit kar use apne lakṣy se bhaṭkā diyā hai. Deś mem ghaṭtī hū in vartamān paristhitiyom ko dekhkar antardhārmik samvād kī āvaśyakatā hai jabām hum baḍe khule dimāg se aur ek dūse ke dharm ke prati sakārātmak ravaiyā apnāte hue aur kaṭutā aur viṣamatā ko man se dūr karte hue, un samast galatfahmiyom ko dūr karem aur yah svīkār karem kī rājanaitik evam ārthik lābhom ke lie dharm kā upayog ati nindaniya hai. Dharm manuṣy ko apne kartavyom kā pālan sikhātā hai, viśeṣakar ve kartavy jo manuṣy ko īśvar se joḍte haiṁ aur uskī ātmā mem śānti aur ānand ko bhar dete haiṁ aur manuṣy is sansār mem ‘īśvar rājy’ athavā ‘īśvar nagari’ kā svapn sākār karne mem agrasar ho jātā hai.”

- 74 Which he described in *Life Together* (orig. German 1938). For an introduction to the experiment, see Bonhoeffer, *Life Together*, 10–11 and Metaxas, *Bonhoeffer*, 262–277.

- 75 Biography from Dayal, *Uttar Bhārat*, iv–v and Dayal, *Masihī Dharm Vijñān*, iv–v.

- 76 1951 election results at www.elections.in/parliamentary-constituencies/1951-election-results.html (accessed 24 July 2015).

- 77 Anand’s “brief introduction of the author,” in Dayal, *Uttar Bhārat*, iv.

- 78 Dayal, *Masihī Dharm Vijñān*, 29–30: “Prabhu yeśu kā śubh samācār kisī viśeṣ sabhyatā ko sthāpit karne ke lie nahīm hai balki śubh samācār manuṣy ke uddhār ke lie hai. Sabhyatā aur sanskr̥ti kā nirmāṇ manuṣy ke hāth mem hai. Nissandeh masihīyat namak ke samān hai. Islie masihī jan ke viśvās kā prabhāv sanskr̥ti par padhnā anivāry hai. Masihīyom kā kartavy hai ki ve apne samāj aur rāṣṭr ke sandarbh mem sanskr̥ti ke nirmāṇ mem yogdān deṁ. Masihīyom ke pās sanskr̥ti ke lie koi masihī yojanā nahīm hai.”

- 79 Dayal, *Masihī Dharm Vijñān*, 187: “Praśn hai ki kyā paramēśvar ke rājy kā hamāre dharm nirpekṣ evam ārthik aur vaigyānik unnati ke kāl mem mahatv rah gayā hai? Uttar hai, hām. Śānti kī lālsā hameśā se rahī hai. . . . Sansār mem laḍāiyom aur bhayaṅkar hathiyārom kā ant nahīm huā hai. Kyā anyāy, garibī, ṣoṣan, bhayaṅkar bīmāriyām khatm ho gāi haiṁ? . . . Khr̥st ke śubh-sandēś ko hamem vartamān sansār ko sunānā hai.”

- 80 Dayal, *Masihī Dharm Vijñān*, 28–29: “Anekavād (Pluralism) sanskr̥ti kī mahatvapūrn viśiṣṭatā hai. Islie sanskr̥ti ke sāmne bahut sī mānyatāom ko svīkār karne kī cunautī rahti hai. Koi bhī samāj sāre guṇom ko cāhne ke bāvajūd unhem prāpt nahīm kar saktā. Samāj kī mānyatāem anek haiṁ, kyōnki manuṣy anek haiṁ aur unke uddeśy aur āvaśyakatāem anek haiṁ. . . . Anekavādī samāj mem paramēśvar kā rājy, prabhu yeśu masih, pitā paramēśvar aur śubhasamācār

ye bātem masihī viśvāsiyom ke lie bahut hī mahatvapūrṇ mānyatāem haiṁ. Kintu ye keval masihīyom ke lie mahatvapūrṇ haiṁ.”

- 81 Dayal, *Masihī Dharm Vijnān*, 22: “Ek vyakti dūsre vyakti ko pūrṇ rūp se jān [nahīm] saktā hai jab tak dūsarā vyakti svayam apne bāre meṁ na batāe. . . . Paramēśvar svayam apne ko prakaṭ kartā hai. Vah apnī sāmarthy aur svabhāva ko prakaṭ kartā hai. Paramēśvar hī sāre jagat aur sāre dharmom ke logom par svayam prakaṭ huā hai. Isilie sabhī dharmom ke anuyāyī kahte haiṁ ki paramēśvar hai. Yah bāt alag hai ki paramēśvar ke viśay meṁ viśvāsom meṁ bhinnatā hai. Adhiktar hindū anek devī-devatāom ko mānte haiṁ. Kintu inke samarthak vicāraṣil hindū kahte haiṁ ki sāre devī-devatā ek hī īśvar kī śakti haiṁ. Isilie ve kisī bhī rūp meṁ īśvar kī bhakti kar sakte haiṁ. Vāstav meṁ bahut kam hindū nirguṇ brahm ki Arādhānā karte haiṁ. . . . Islām meṁ allāh ke anek sundar nām haiṁ jinse uske guṇom kā sanket hotā hai. Allāh sarvaśaktimān aur nryāyapūrṇ hai. Anek dārśanik kahte haiṁ ki param tatva samast prāṇiyom kā mūl ādhār haiṁ. Vah hamāre sarvottam naitik aur bauddhik ākāṅkṣāom kā srot hai. Vah sajjv śakti hai jo samast sṛṣṭi ko sancālīt aur ākarṣīt kartī hai.”
- 82 Dayal, *Masihī Dharm Vijnān*, 127: “[Manuṣy ke] buddhi aur vivek meṁ paramēśvar kā svarūp hai. Yadi paramēśvar aur manuṣy meṁ samāntā nahīm hotī to donom meṁ sangati sambhav nahīm hotī. Paramēśvar svayam ko manuṣy par prakaṭ nahīm kartā yadi manuṣy meṁ paramēśvar ko samajhane aur usse saṅgati karne kī kṣamatā na hotī.”
- 83 Howell was ordained by the Evangelical Church of India. From 1990–1996 he served as the Principal of Allahabad Bible Seminary and from 1996–1997 as the Associate General Secretary of E.F.I. He was elected General Secretary of E.F.I. in May 1997. He has also served as the Secretary of the Evangelical Fellowship of Asia, Member of the Continuation Committee of the Global Christian Forum, and Vice-Chairperson of the International Council of the World Evangelical Alliance. Howell’s works include *Free to Choose* and *Transformation at Work* (both in English) and *Mission* (in Hindi). He also serves as the chief editor of *Aim*, the monthly newsletter of E.F.I. (Biographic details from Howell, *Parivartan*)
- 84 Howell, *Parivartan*, 7: “Bāibāl hamerī paramēśvar kī kahānī batātī hai. Ye paramēśvar kī aur uski khoī huī sṛṣṭi evam use punahstāpīt karne kī kahānī hai.”
- 85 Howell, *Parivartan*, 10: “Islie bāibāl kā ārambh isī vicār ke sāth hotā hai ki paramēśvar ek srot ke rūp meṁ, sambandh ek prāthamikatā ke rūp meṁ aur paramēśvar ek adhikārī ke rūp meṁ hai.”
- 86 Howell, *Parivartan*, 11–12: “Is baḍī tasvīr meṁ hamārā niyantraṇ sīmit hai – balki sac kaherī to hamārā niyantraṇ thā hī nahīm. Parantu apne vyavahār par hamārā niyantraṇ avāśy hai aur hamerī apne vyavahār par niyantraṇ rakhnā bhī cāhie. Paramēśvar kī bhūmikā us baḍī tasvīr ko niyantraṇ meṁ hai aur hamārī bhūmikā svayam ko aur apnī jimmedāriyom ko niyantraṇ meṁ rakhnā hai. Kahne kā tātpary yah hai hamerī ‘ātm-niyantraṇ’ banāe rakhnā hai.”
- 87 Howell, *Parivartan*, 18: “Bāibil kī is pūrī kahānī meṁ hamāre jīvan kā ucit sthān kyā hai, aur paramēśvar is saṁsār meṁ kyā kucch kar rahā hai is bāt kā hamerī jñān prāpt karnā hai. Hamerī apne sangharṣom se āge barhnā hai aur paramēśvar ke us vṛhad aur baḍī yojanā meṁ hamārā sthān evam bhūmikā kyā hai isko jānnā hai. Paramēśvar se kahie ki ve āpko jīvan ke in viśayom ko jānne aur dekhne meṁ āpki madad karen.”
- 88 Howell, *Parivartan*, 15:

<i>Parameśvar</i>	<i>Manuṣy</i>
<i>Parameśvar srot hai</i>	<i>Hum parameśvar par nirbhar haiṁ</i>
<i>Parameśvar racayitā hai</i>	<i>Hum racnā hai aur uske binā vidvān nahīm rah sakte</i>
<i>Parameśvar ke pās samsār kā adbhikār hai aur vah us par niyantraṇ kartā hai</i>	<i>Hum svayam-kendrit hai arthāt apne ko niyantrit kar sakte haiṁ</i>
<i>Parameśvar jindagiyoṁ kā nyāy karne vālā hai</i>	<i>Hum jīvan kā anubhav karte haiṁ</i>
<i>Parameśvar ne manuṣy kī racnā kī aur uske lie niyam banāeṁ</i>	<i>Hum parameśvar dvārā batāe niyamoṁ kā apnī jindagiyoṁ meṁ pālan karte haiṁ.</i>

- 89 Howell, *Parivartan*, 252: “Bhāratīy prajātantr naī cunautiyoṁ kā, sāmudāyik sangharṣ, ātankvād se larnā, yuvā samāj kī vicārdhārāoṁ ke sāth calnā, in sabkā sāmnnā kartā hai. Bhārat ko apnī paddhati ko behtar banāne kī āvaśyakatā hai. Iskā arth prajātantr ko nirṇay lenevālā, prabhāvi, samvidhānātmak, svatantratāvād ko prajātantr ke vyavahār meṁ jorñā, tūṭī aur bikhari huiṯ rājanītik samsthāoṁ kā purṇnirmāṇ karnā aur sabse baḍhkar sarkārī samsthāoṁ tathā sattādhāriyoṁ ko apnī jimmevārī samajhnā aur use nibhānā atyant āvaśyak hai. Unheṁ keval kāmūnī nahīm parantu naitik bātoṁ kā udāharan logoṁ ke sāmne rakhnā cāhie aur uskā svayam pālan karnā cāhie. Iske bagair prajātantr khokhlā ban jāegā, keval akṣam hī nahīm parantu khatarnāk bhī, iske sāth svatantratāvād naṣṭ ho jāegā, svatantratā kā upayog atyācār ke lie kiyā jāegā aur sāmāny jan jīvan naṣṭ ho jāegā.”
- 90 Howell, *Parivartan*, 252–253: “Masīhiyoṁ kā rājanīti ke kṣetr se haṭ jāne kā arth hai ki galat rīti se vartamān meṁ sthit sāmājik-rājanītik dṛṣṭikoṇ ko svīkār karnā. Kucch viśiṣṭ yojanāoṁ aur anyāy ke viruddh yadi dhārmik pratirodh nahīm kiyā gayā to vāstav meṁ hum unko sahmatī dete haiṁ. Deś ke rājanītik kāryoṁ meṁ sahbhāg denā yah masīhiyoṁ kā kartavy hai, tāki ve apne dṛṣṭikoṇ ko sāmne rakh sakeṁ. Bhārat meṁ masīhiyoṁ ko sarkārī yojanāoṁ se lagātār ṭakkar lenī paḍ rahī hai. Iskā ek choṭā udāharan hai, cār rājyoṁ meṁ dharm sambandhi bil kī manjūrī pradān karnā. To fir ab hamāre sāmne kyā mārg hai, rājanīti meṁ masīhiyoṁ kā adbhik sahyog yā fir rājanīti se pūrṇ rūp se dūr rahnā?
- Masīhī viśvās – dharm ke nijikaran ke, dharm ko sīmit karne, aur use keval jīvan ke āntarik kṣetr tak hī rakhne, kā virodh kartā hai. Dharm nijī nahīm ho saktā, dharm kiśī ek vyakti kā yā sāmudāy kā honā cāhie. Dharm sadaiv anek sāmājik tathā āpsī sambandho kī jimmedārī meṁ śāmil hotā jātā hai.”
- 91 Howell, *Parivartan*, 253: “Parameśvar ke rāy ko mānavatā meṁ mel-milāp karnā, śānti lānā prajātantr kā vistār karnā yā sāmājik tathā vyāvasāyik svatantratā lāne tak sīmit nahīm karnā cāhie. Pavitr śāstr kiśī ek viśiṣṭ prakār kī sarkār kī bāt nahīm kartā hai. Rājanīti ke sabhī prakāroṁ kā durupayog kiyā jā saktā hai. Agar jimmedār prajātantr rājanīti ke apne nirṇayoṁ kī rakṣā kar saktā hai, to vah arājakatā ko naṣṭ bhī kar saktā hai. Masīhiyoṁ ko do gambhīr galtiyoṁ se backar rahnā cāhie: pabli bāt yah kī yojanā yā paddhati ke badalne se samsār nae samāj yā parameśvar ke rāy meṁ badlā jā saktā hai aur dūsarī yah kī sāmājik-rājanītik paddhati yā yojanāeṁ vikās karnā mahattvapūrṇ nahīm hai kyōṁki hamēṁ susamācār pracār karne ke lie bulāyā gayā hai.”
- 92 Howell, *Parivartan*, 254: “Masīhī log, nāgarik hone ke nāte apne Paṛosī kī tathā rāṣṭr kī cintā karne ke dvārā parameśvar ke rāy kī sevā karte haiṁ. Parivartan lāne vālā mīśan vāstav meṁ sāmājik burāi hatāne tathā samāj meṁ parameśvar ke rāy ke mūlyoṁ ko lāne ke lie pavitr śāstr ke dṛṣṭikoṇ kā upayog kartā hai.”

93 Howell, *Parivartan*, 271: “*Jab carcā kā viṣay mānavīy jimmedārī kī or jātā hai tab log aksar becin ho jātē hai. Pavitr śāstr dūsrom ke adhikārom ke lie sangharṣ karne ke viṣay meṁ bahut kucch kahtā hai, parantu apne adhikārom ke lie sangharṣ karne ke viṣay meṁ bahut thoḍā batāyā gayā hai. Dūsri or jab vah hamāre viṣay meṁ kahtā hai to hamem apne adhikārom ke viṣay meṁ nahīm parantu jimmedāriyom ke viṣay meṁ batātā hai. Hamem parameśvar tathā apne Paṛosī se prem karne ke lie kahā gayā hai. Pavitr śāstr is bāt par jor detā hai ki dūse vyakti ke adhikārom kī rakṣā karnā hamārī jimmedārī hai; aur aisā karne ke lie hamem adhikār bhī choyne ke lie taiyār rahnā cāhie.*”

Hamem is bāt ko svikār karnā cāhie ki dūse logom ke adhikār hamārī jimmedārī hai. Sthānīy kalīsiyā kā jīvan parameśvar ke rājy ko pragaṭ karne ke lie hai. Kalīsiyā ko saṁsār meṁ ek samudāy ke rūp meṁ rahnā cāhie jabām mānav sammān aur samānatā ko sadaiv sthān diyā jātā hai, aur logom kī ek dūse ke prati jimmedārī ko svikār kiyā jātā hai jisemeṁ koī bhedbhāv nahīm, pakṣpāt nahīm, jabām garīb aur kamjorom ke lie sangharṣ kiyā jātā hai aur mānav ko mānav bankar rahne kā adhikār hai, ṭhik usī prakār jis prakār parameśvar ne unheṁ banāyā aur cāhā ki ve usī prakār rahem.”

94 Howell, *Parivartan*, 272: “*Parameśvar ne jin logom ko cunā aur bulāyā hai unke any logom ke sāth sambandh meṁ masih samudāy kā bhinn caritr va svabhāv dikhā detā hai. Kalīsiyā parameśvar ke log haiṁ, yah masih kā śarīr aur dulhan hai aur pavitr ātmā kā mandir hai. Jāgarūk kalīsiyā sampūrṇ rīti se ek parivār hai jo viśvās kā parivār hai. Aur jaise humne pable hī carcā kī hai masih ke samudāy ko bhinn saṁskṛti ko pragaṭ karnā cāhie. Parameśvar ke bulāe hue log hone ke nāte kalīsiyā kī ek jimmedārī hai – cinh honā, aur parameśvar ke rājy kā sādhan bannā. Iskā arth yah huā ki yah samudāy parameśvar ke āne vāle rājy kī or isārā kartā hai. Pavitr ātmā se paripūrṇ samudāy hone ke nāte, kalīsiyā ko apne sāmāny jīvan ke dvārā bhī parameśvar ke āne vāle rājy ko pragaṭ karnā cāhie. Masih kā samudāy hone ke nāte kalīsiyā ko us āne vāle rājy ko saṁsār meṁ vāstavik rūp meṁ pradārṣit karnā cāhie, kyomki vah rājy vyakti jīvan kī pūrṇatā aur samāj ke lie nyāy aur sampūrṇ srṣṭi ke lie ārogyatā pradān kartā hai.*”

95 Howell, *Parivartan*, 171. “*Hum bhārat ke bāhar sthit kalīsiyāom se kahnā cāhte haiṁ ki ve is bāt ke viṣay meṁ sacet rahem kī miśan kī ayogy bhāṣā ke prayog ke kāraṇ ve yahām any viśvās ke logom kī bhāvanāom ko hī keval thes nahīm pahumcāte parantu masihiyom ke lie bhī bādhā kā kāraṇ ban jātē haiṁ.*”

96 Khan, *Khrīstīy Nītiśāstr*, 214.

97 Or, the rule of one party, person, or institution. See Bahri, *Rājpāl Hindī Śabda-koś*, 128.

98 Khan, *Khrīstīy Nītiśāstr*, 214: “*Vah rājy jo parameśvar kī ājñāom kī avahelanā kare, uskā virodh karnā masihī naitikatā hai, aur jo rājanīti ekādhikār kī or ludhak rahī ho usko sidhe mārg par lānā masihiyom kā uttardāyitu haiṁ.*”

99 Dayal, *Masihī Dharm Vijnān*, 30.

100 Howell, *Parivartan*, 271.

1 Manorama, “Dalit Women: The Thrice Alienated.” Manorama has studied the exceptional impact of discrimination on the women of backward communities and has described such women as the “Dalits among the Dalits.”

2 Melanchthon, “A Dalit Reading of Genesis 10–11:9.” Melanchthon is currently an associate professor of Old Testament at the University of Divinity in Australia. She formerly taught at Gurukul Lutheran Theological College and Research Institute, Chennai, and was a member of the Senate of Serampore College, Serampore. She has written extensively on the intersection of Dalit studies, gender, and biblical interpretation.

- 3 Shiri, *The Plight of Christian Dalits*. Shiri's work has drawn attention to the reality of caste-discrimination *within* churches in India by shedding light on caste relations within Indian churches.
- 4 Larbeer, "The Story of the Dalits of India." Larbeer's work has reminded us of the continuing mistreatment of backward Christians as people who are still socially ostracized, subjected to violence, deprived of their rights, exploited for cheap labor, and denied justice and denied the equal protection of the State.
- 5 Harper, *In the Shadow of the Mahatma*, 355–357.
- 6 On 'vedantic' Christianity, see Ganeri, "Catholic Encounter with Hindus," 415–418.
- 7 Tharamangalam, "Whose Swadeshi?" 232–246.
- 8 Ganeri, "Catholic Encounter with Hindus," 426–427.
- 9 In the works of Dayal, James, Khan, and Howell discussed earlier.
- 10 In the works of Jonathan and Khan discussed earlier.
- 11 In the works of James and Howell discussed earlier.
- 12 In the work of Howell discussed earlier.
- 13 In the works of Anand, Dayal, Howell, James, Khan, Lall, and Paul discussed earlier.
- 14 Jain, "From Kil-Arni to Anthony," 17.
- 15 McGregor, *The Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary*, 66.
- 16 Anand, in a "Personal Request to Readers" (dated 2009) in Khan, *Khrīstīy Nītiśāstr*, iv: "*Ham āpse nijī nivedan karnā cāhte haiṁ ki jab ye pustakē prakāśit huī thī, un dinōm ādhyātmik śikṣā mālā ke sampādak tathā masīhī lekhakōm kā dhyān bhāṣā aur saṁskṛti jaise mahatvapūrṇ prāśn kī or nahīṁ gayā thā, aur unhorīne masīhī dharm ke saṁsthāpak prabhu yeṣu, evam masīhī dharmgu-ruōm, nabiyoṁ, preritoṁ ādi ke lie bhāratīy saṁskṛti ke anukūl, ādarsūcak sarvanām kā prayog nahīṁ kiyā thā, jiske kāraṁ carc meṁ āj bhī 'yeṣu bulātā hai', 'yeṣu kabtā hai' jaise aśiṣt sambodhan prayukt kie jāte haiṁ.*"
- 17 Yagi, "Christ and Buddha"; Pieris, "The Buddha and the Christ."
- 18 Khan, *Khrīstīy Nītiśāstr*, 216–217.
- 19 James, *Mahilā Dharmavijñān*, 108.
- 20 Khan, *Bīsvīm Śatābdī ke Pramukh Dharmavijñānī*, xi: "*Pratham prayās meṁ sadaiv kuch kamiyām, aur trūṭiyām rah jāti haiṁ. Pāṭhak evam ālocak in kamiyoṁ aur trūṭiyōm ko najarandāj karte huye us sāmagrī se lābh uthāyenge jo is pustak kā tānā bānā hai. Ālocakōm aur pāṭhakōm kā yah bhī kartavy hotā hai ki pustak kī kamiyoṁ aur trūṭiyōm ko lekhak tak pahūncāyem tāki vah dvitīy saṁskaraṁ meṁ in ko dūr kar sake.*" McGregor suggests "warp and woof" to translate 'tānā bānā.' McGregor, *The Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary*, 448. "Warp and woof" captures the intent of the phrase, which is to point the reader to the 'heart of the matter.'
- 21 King, *One Language, Two Scripts*, 15.
- 22 King, *One Language, Two Scripts*, 16.
- 23 King, *One Language, Two Scripts*, 17.
- 24 King, *One Language, Two Scripts*, 8.
- 25 King, *One Language, Two Scripts*, 129.
- 26 King, *One Language, Two Scripts*, 9.
- 27 King, *One Language, Two Scripts*, 129.
- 28 King, *One Language, Two Scripts*, 153.
- 29 King, *One Language, Two Scripts*, 29.
- 30 King, *One Language, Two Scripts*, 131; original emphasis.
- 31 King, *One Language, Two Scripts*, 134.
- 32 King, *One Language, Two Scripts*, 134.
- 33 King, *One Language, Two Scripts*, 134.
- 34 King, *One Language, Two Scripts*, 137.

- 35 King, *One Language, Two Scripts*, 139–142.
- 36 King, *One Language, Two Scripts*, 148.
- 37 King, *One Language, Two Scripts*, 175.
- 38 King, *One Language, Two Scripts*, 177.
- 39 King, *One Language, Two Scripts*, 177.
- 40 King, *One Language, Two Scripts*, 177.
- 41 Van der Veer, *Religious Nationalism*, 166.
- 42 D'Sa, "Christian Incarnation and Hindu Avatara."
- 43 Panikker, *The Unknown Christ of Hinduism*.
- 44 Clooney, *Hindu God, Christian God*.
- 45 Bauman, *Pentecostals*, 140.
- 46 Bauman, *Pentecostals*, 135.
- 47 Bauman, *Pentecostals*, 37.
- 48 Duff, *India, and India Missions*, 517. Emphasis added.
- 49 Yelle, *The Language of Disenchantment*, 85.
- 50 Ward, *A View of the History*, ciii; cited in Yelle, *The Language of Disenchantment*, 101.
- 51 Ward, *A View of the History*, xcvi–xcix.
- 52 Altman, *Heathen, Hindoo, Hindu*.
- 53 Ward, *A View of the History*, lxxx. Emphasis added.
- 54 Ward, *A View of the History*, ciii.
- 55 Duff, *India, and India Missions*, 129; see also Yelle, *The Language of Disenchantment*, 148–149.
- 56 Williams, *Original Papers*, 254–255.
- 57 Williams, *Original Papers*, 257.
- 58 Ward, *A View of the History*, lxxxvii–lxxxviii.
- 59 Duff, *India, and India Missions*, 556–559.
- 60 Duff, *India, and India Missions*, 556.
- 61 Duff, *India, and India Missions*, 558.
- 62 Duff, *India, and India Missions*, 559.
- 63 Duff, *India, and India Missions*, 560.
- 64 Duff, *India, and India Missions*, 557.
- 65 Duff, *India, and India Missions*, 274–276.
- 66 Duff, *India, and India Missions*, 596.
- 67 Williams, *Original Papers*, 269.
- 68 Williams, *Original Papers*, 264–265.
- 69 Lalhmangaiha, *Holistic Mission*, 88–94, 132–135.
- 70 Sugirtharajah, *The Bible and the Third World*; Yelle, *The Language of Disenchantment*.
- 71 King, *One Language, Two Scripts*, 199.
- 72 King, *One Language, Two Scripts*, 123.
- 73 King, *One Language, Two Scripts*, 127.
- 74 Mankekar, "Epic Contests."
- 75 King, *One Language, Two Scripts*, 131.
- 76 Van der Veer, *Religious Nationalism*, 10.
- 77 Prasad, quoted from King, *One Language, Two Scripts*, 131.
- 78 King, *One Language, Two Scripts*, 137.
- 79 King, *One Language, Two Scripts*, 144–145.
- 80 King, *Neburu and the Language Politics of India*, 55–57, 60.
- 81 Dalmia, *The Nationalization of Hindu Traditions*, 146–221.
- 82 Pandey, *The Construction of Communalism*, 216.
- 83 King, *Neburu and the Language Politics of India*, 70–73.

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