DIRECTORATE OF DISTANCE EDUCATION

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH BENGAL

MASTER OF ARTS-HISTORY

SEMESTER -III

HISTORY OF IDEAS (ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL)

CORE 302

BLOCK-2

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH BENGAL

Postal Address:

The Registrar,

University of North Bengal,

Raja Rammohunpur,

P.O.-N.B.U., Dist-Darjeeling,

West Bengal, Pin-734013,

India.

Phone: (O) +91 0353-2776331/2699008

Fax: (0353) 2776313, 2699001

Email: regnbu@sancharnet.in ; regnbu@nbu.ac.in

Wesbsite: www.nbu.ac.in

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FOREWORD

The Self Learning Material (SLM) is written with the aim of providing simple and organized study content to all the learners. The SLMs are prepared on the framework of being mutually cohesive, internally consistent and structured as per the university's syllabi. It is a humble attempt to give glimpses of the various approaches and dimensions to the topic of study and to kindle the learner's interest to the subject

We have tried to put together information from various sources into this book that has been written in an engaging style with interesting and relevant examples. It introduces you to the insights of subject concepts and theories and presents them in a way that is easy to understand and comprehend.

We always believe in continuous improvement and would periodically update the content in the very interest of the learners. It may be added that despite enormous efforts and coordination, there is every possibility for some omission or inadequacy in few areas or topics, which would definitely be rectified in future.

We hope you enjoy learning from this book and the experience truly enrich your learning and help you to advance in your career and future endeavours.

HISTORY OF IDEAS (ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL)

BLOCK-1

BLOCK-2

BLOCK 2 HISTORY OF IDEAS (ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL)

Introduction to the Block

Unit 8 deals with Social Ideas: Varna, Jati. In this unit, you will learn about social organisation of different religious groups in India. In this unit, we deal with the social organisation of the Hindus. Generally speaking, the process of doing things in an orderly fashion is called organisation.

Unit 9 deals with Social Issues: Women. In the unit we learnt the basis for the emergence of women's issues as a theme of study. In the past few decades growing attention is paid towards women's problems all over the world

Unit 10 deals with Political Ideas (Medieval Period): Monarchy. Medieval philosophy is the philosophy produced in Western Europe during the middle ages. There is no consensus, even among medievalists, as to when this period begins or ends; however, it is conventional—and probably neither fully correct nor incorrect

Unit 11 deals with Philosophy of Islam. Among the philosophical disciplines transmitted to the Arabic and Islamic world from the Greeks, metaphysics was of paramount importance, as its pivotal role in the overall history of the transmission of Greek thought into Arabic makes evident.

Unit 12 deals with Formation of religious thought and cultural synthesis. Of the two towards, Society and Culture, culture is the most difficult word to define.

Unit 13 deals with Regional Developments, Bhakti movement: Shaivite and Vaishnavite Sikhism, Din-I-llahi. Regional development is the provision of aid and other assistance to regions which are less economically developed. Regional development may be domestic or international in nature.

Unit 14 deals wih Intellectual traditions, Identity Formations, Temple Desecration and the Indo-Muslim States, Rhetoric of State- Building. Marcia's identity status paradigm (Marcia 1966), originally developed as an attempt to classify an adolescent's identity status at a certain point in time (Marcia 2007), has inspired hundreds of empirical investigations of identity formation

UNIT 8: SOCIAL IDEAS: VARNA, JATI

STRUCTURE

8.0 OBJECTIVES

When you have read this unit you should be able to

- To describe the concepts of dharma, karma, artha and moksha and their relevance to Hindu social structure
- To list and describe some aspects of Hindu marriage and family
- To describe varna, jati, caste councils and associations and jajmani system among the Hindus
- To explain and describe some Hindu festivals.

8.1 INTRODUCTION

In this unit, you will learn about social organisation of different religious groups in India. In this unit, we deal with the social organisation of the Hindus. Generally speaking, the process of doing things in an orderly fashion is called organisation. When we speak of social organisation, we talk about the arrangement of actions which conform with the norms and values of society. Thus, to understand the social organisation of a particular society, in this case Hindu society, we need to study the systematic ordering of social relations, including changes that have taken place over time in them. In any description of social organisation of a people we need to refer to the ideological basis of the way the people act. In this unit also, in section 8.2 we introduce you to some fundamental concepts of Hindu religion upon which Hindu social institutions and collective activities are based. The religious concepts of the Hindus give us the ideological basis of the ways they organise their socio-economic activities, their festivals and rituals. We have, therefore, discussed some of the major ideas of Hinduism. In section 8.3 we give a demographic profile of the Hindu community in India. In section 8.4 are discussed aspects of its basic social institutions, namely, of marriage and family. In section 8.5, we describe the arrangements of Hindu social categories which operate within a well-ordered Hindu social system across regions. As examples of collective behaviour of the community, the festivals and pilgrimage among the Hindu are discussed in section 8.6. Thus, our description of social life around marriage, family, inheritance, caste and festivals gives us a comprehensive picture of Hindu social organisation.

8.2 RELIGIOUS CONCEPTS AND HINDU SOCIAL ORGANISATION

Hinduism is one of the oldest religions in the world. It is a religion followed by several racial and ethnic groups. The Hindu sacred texts deal with the ethical behaviour of an individual of a family and of society in general. They also discuss and prescribe rules of administration, politics, statesmanship, legal principles and statecraft. The rules of conduct apply to personal and social life. Here, we will discuss only some religious concepts, which provide an understanding of the ways in which Hindu society is organised.

8.2.1 Concepts of Dharma, Artha, Kama and Moksha

A life of righteousness for a Hindu is possible through the fourfold scheme of practical endeavour. It comprises the concepts of dharma, artha, kama and moksha.

i) Dharma is honest and upright conduct or righteous action.
ii) Artha means a righteous and honest pursuit of economic activities.
iii) Kama is the fulfillment of one's normal desires.
iv) Moksha is liberation, that is absorption of the self into eternal bliss.

Related to these four concepts are the concepts of karma and samsara. Hindu Social Organisation Depending upon one's deeds (karma) one is able to reach the stage of moksha or liberation. The stage of moksha or liberation is a term for describing the end of the cycle of birth and rebirth. The cycle of birth and rebirth is known as samsara. The Hindus believe that each human being has a soul and that this soul is immortal. It does not perish at the time of death. The process of birth and rebirth goes on until moksha is attained. This cycle of transmigration is also known as samsara, which is the arena where the cycle of birth and rebirth operates. One's birth and rebirth in a particular state of existence is believed by the Hindus to be dependent on the quality of one's deeds (karma). For a

Hindu, the issue of liberation is of paramount significance (Prabhu 1979: 43-48). Let us discuss a little more about these two concepts, i.e., Karma and Samsara.

8.2.2 Karma and Samsara

The concepts of dharma, artha, kama and moksha are related to tenets of karma and samsara. Karma is a word used for all activity or work. Samsara is the term used for the arena where the cycle of birth and rebirth continues to operate until one attains liberation. This is also called the theory of reincarnation or punarjanma. Actions are divided into good or bad on the basis of their intrinsic worth. Good deeds bring fame, merit and are the path to heaven. Bad deeds bring notoriety and lead to punishment and life in hell. It is recognised that an individual's overall position in a future life depends on the way he or she lives the present one. This belief, which gave a positive or negative value to certain actions, developed into a general theory of actions and is called the karma theory. The concept of karma is fully developed and woven into the belief in re-birth, which in turn is related to the belief concerning heaven, hell, and moksha. An individual's fate after death is determined by the sum total of grades and attributes of his or her actions or deeds (karma) during his or her life. Better birth and status is obtained if there is a surplus of many good deeds in a person's life. Otherwise one's status falls in the next life. Another related belief-is that the world moves in a cyclical process (birth and death follow one another). By following one's karma prescribed within the fourfold scheme of dharma, artha, kama, moksha an individual strives to get out of this otherwise infinite cyclical process of birth and death. Depending on one's previous and present karma, one prospers or suffers in this world. Later after death he either gains heaven or is punished with life in hell. Thus a human being after death may become a denizen or inhabitant of heaven or hell, may be reborn as an animal, or even be reborn as a tree. All this depends on one's karma. An individual usually wanders through many births till he or she finds final release or moksha.

Activity 1 Make a list at least six of the Hindu sacred books, which mention the four concepts of dharma, artha, karma and moksha.

Compare, if possible, your list with those prepared by other students in the Study Centre.

8.2.3 Relevance to Hindu Social Structure

The belief in karma and dharma has direct relevance to Hindu social organisation, which is based on an arrangement of castes into a graded order.

This hierarchy, in turn, is linked with the quality of one's karma. One can say that if one's actions are good, one will be born in a higher caste in the next birth. Hindu society is supposed to be governed by rather strict rules of caste behaviour. There are, on the other hand, some general rules governing the behaviour of all members irrespective of caste. Castes coexist with different norms of behaviour and a continuity with the past in terms of one's actions in the previous birth. Whatever position one may be born into, one must fulfil the functions, without attachment, without hatred and resentment. Whatever may be one's dharma, its performance through one's karma brings blessings. Each person has a duty (dharma) appropriate to one's caste and one's station in life. As mentioned before, the term dharma refers to honest and upright conduct or righteous action. Dharma has two aspects; one normative and the other naturalistic. The normative aspect refers to duty or path to be followed. The naturalistic meaning implies the essential attributes or nature, for example, the dharma or nature of water is to flow. The Hindus believe that one must follow one's dharma to achieve ultimate liberation from the cycle of births and deaths in this world. An individual belongs to a family and a caste group and has to perform his or her dharma (in the sense of its naturalistic aspect) accordingly. The main aim of following one's dharma is to eventually achieve moksha or liberation. Dharma relates not only to the caste but also to the different stages in one's life. As part of following one's dharma a Hindu goes through the life cycle rituals which are carried out in the context of marriage, family and caste. Let us now look at the size and spread of the Hindu community in India.

Check Your Progress 1

1. Describe briefly the concepts of dharma, artha, kama, and moksha.

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2. How is the belief in Karma relevent to Hindu social organisation? Use two lines for your answer.

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8.3 PROFILE OF HINDU COMMUNITY IN INDIA

Hinduism is one of the most ancient religions of the world. Its earliest literary productions were the four Vedas. These comprise hymns and ritual ceremonies of the early Aryan settlers, who were a pastoral and agricultural people. The Vedic period covers about 2500 B.C. to 600 B.C. The Upanishadic teachings, Hindu Social Organisation also of this period, contain philosophical reflection of human life. The period of the Epics succeeded that of the Upanishads. In the Ramayana and Mahabharata philosophical doctrines were often presented in the form of stories and parables. Many other doctrines followed including the Bhakti movement of Ramanuja, Vaishnavism, Saktism, Brahmo and Arya Samaj, Ramakrishna, and Aurobindo. Thus, Hindu doctrine developed in several stages. Demographically the Hindus are the largest percentage of the population of India comprising 82.64 percent in 1981 (G0l l984). Even though the absolute number of people who follow Hinduism increased from 549 million in 1981 to 672 million (82.4 percent) in 1991, there was a marginal decrease in terms of percentage points (Census of India 1991). We find that in some states of India the percentage of Hindus is somewhat higher or much lower than the national average. In 1981, those above it included Himachal Pradesh (95.4), Orissa (95.4) and Madhya Pradesh (92.9). In 1991, in ten States the percentage of Hindus was above the national average. Himachal Pradesh (95.8 percent) has the highest concentration of Hindus. In 1981 those below the national average included the States of West Bengal (76.9), Sikkim (67.2), Manipur (60.0), Kerala (58.1), Punjab (36.9), Jammu and Kashmir

(32.2), Meghalaya (18.0) and Nagaland (14.4). In comparison, a total of four States had Hindu population less than 50 percent in 1991 with the lowest being in Meghalaya (5.04 percent). The low figures are due to other religious denominations being higher. The percentage increase for 1971-81 among Hindus was highest in Nagaland (88.4) followed by Sikkim (47.2). Total population rose by 24.69 per cent during 1971-81 and for Hindus the rise was 24.8 per cent. This was in keeping with high fertility and low mortality rates found in this community.

8.4 MARRIAGE AND FAMILY AMONG THE HINDUS

Before we discuss specific institutions of the Hindus in India, let us emphasise how widely spread this community is. Consequently, in the areas of marriage or family, there are regional variations. What you will read in these pages is a generalisation covering the common elements and mentioning in passing about the variations. By and large, to marry and raise a family is a sacramental activity for the Hindus. Let us first look at the institution of marriage and then at the family in the Hindu community.

8.4.1 Hindu Marriage

Marriage is a sacred duty for all Hindus. It is an obligatory sacrament because the birth of a son is considered by many Hindus as necessary for obtaining moksha. In order to perform important rituals towards gods and ancestors, the sacred texts decree that it is obligatory for a Hindu to be married and have male descendants. Today, a large number of Hindus may, however, not believe in and practice these traditional ideas and associated customs. Marriage is considered to be one of the sacraments sanctifying the body, mind and soul of the groom and bride. Therefore at the proper age and time, every Hindu woman and man is expected to get married. A wife is considered to be instrumental in helping her husband fulfil the four kinds of purushartha, namely, dharma, artha, kama and moksha (see Section 8.2). According to this view of marriage, a man is thought to be incomplete without wife and children. Figure 8.1 demonstrates the traditional Hindu marriage. When we discuss Hindu

marriage, we should also speak of the eight forms of marriage, which describe the ways marriages are traditionally consecrated among the Hindus.

8.4.2 Eight Forms of Hindu Marriage

Before enumerating these eight forms, let us make it clear that here we are not talking about the usual usage in sociology regarding the forms of marriage. In sociology we discuss monogamy, polygamy and group marriage etc. under the topic of forms of marriage. In that respect, it will suffice to note here that monogamy (i.e., a man is married to one woman at a time) is the usual form of marriage among the Hindus. But various forms of polygamy are also found in the Hindu community. A widow is allowed to remarry among lower castes.

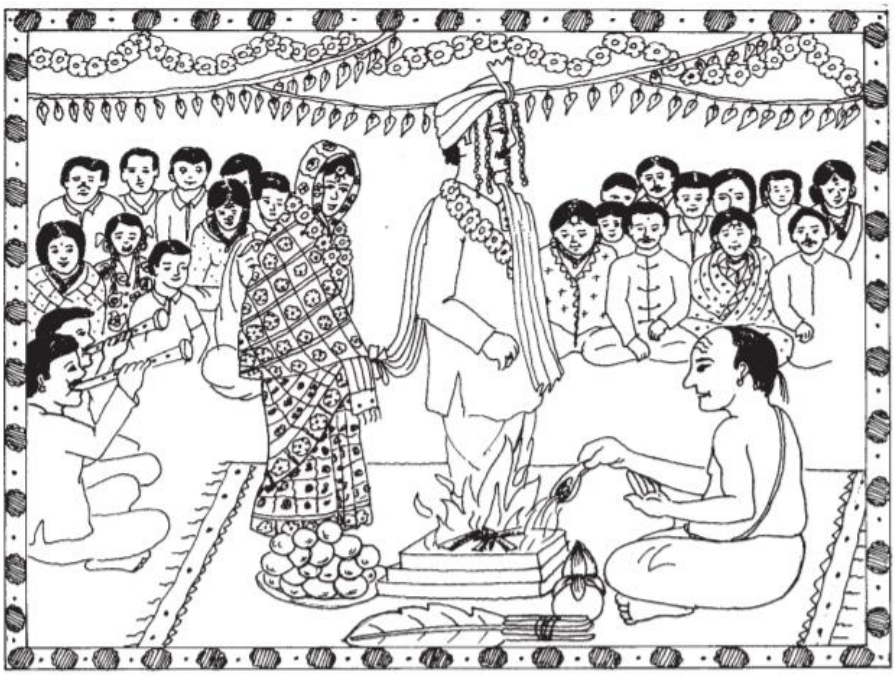

Fig. 8.1: A Hindu marriage

Higher castes usually prohibit widow marriage. The Hindu Marriage Act of 1955 permits divorce on the grounds of insanity, leprosy, adultery, etc. A detailed discussion on these points has already been given in unit 7 of Block 2 of this course. Coming back to the forms of marriage among the Hindus, only the first four of the following eight forms bring purification to ancestors on the sides of father and mother, the remaining four forms

produce no such value (Pandey 1976: 159-169). The eight forms are given below. i) The Brahma form: It comprises the gift or giving away of the daughter by the father to a man, who has learnt the Veda. (ii) The Daiva form: It involves the giving away of the daughter by the father to a priest, who duly officiates at a sacrifice, during the course of its performance.

(iii) The Arsha form: It consists of the daughter being given away by the Hindu Social Organisation father to a man after receiving a cow and a bull from the bridegroom, not with an intention of selling the child, but in accordance with the requirement of the dharma. (iv) The Prajapatya form: In this form of marriage, the father gives away his daughter to the bridegroom and addresses the couple to perform their dharma together. (v) The Asura form: It involves a payment by the bridegroom to the bride's father for obtaining a wife. (vi) The Gandharva form: Here the bride and the bridegroom agree to marry at their own consent. Such a decision to marry is consequently consecrated by going through the sacred rites of marriage. (vii) The Rakshasa form: This is described as a marriage, through force. (viii)The Paishacha form: In this form, a man first seduces a woman (who may be intoxicated or mentally retarded) and subsequently marries her. Of these eight forms of marriage, the giving away the daughter by her father described in the first four is considered as the ideal form. The right to give a maiden in marriage is held by the father, the grandfather, the brothers, the kinspersons and the mother, in that order. The Hindus lay stress on pre-marital chastity on the part of both the male and the female (Prabhu 1979: 153-154). The marital bond is also to be respected through mutual fidelity. There are also forms of endogamy (marriage within a certain group) and exogamy (marriage outside the group) for which rules are laid down. These rules are designed to regulate the Hindu marriage in the sense of specifying the choice of spouses within specific groups

8.4.3 Endogamy

The widest category of endogamy for a Hindu is his or her varna. Within each varna are several castes and sub-castes which are considered to be

the categories for endogamy in the region. We do also come across some intercaste/ inter-subcaste marriages in contemporary times. Yet, these are few and far between. The rule of caste/ subcaste endogamy is the prescribed mode followed by most of the Hindus all over India.

8.4.4 Exogamy

As regards the rule of exogamy, a Hindu is enjoined not to marry within his own gotra. The word 'gotra' in this context denotes one's extended family or the clan. The gotra of a family is usually named after the ancestor who founded the family. People with a common ancestor are not allowed to marry each other. At present, the rule of exogamy is usually defined in terms of prohibition of marriage within five generations on the mother's side and seven generations on the father's side. However this rule can be circumvented by letting someone of a different gotra do the kanyadaan, that is the rite of giving the daughter away in marriage (Madan 1965). There is a clearly defined limit upto which persons are considered to be related in such a way that their marriage cannot be permitted.

There are marked differences in north India and south India in this regard. In north India, a marriage between both the cross and parallel cousins is prohibited while in south India, cross-cousins are allowed to marry. Thus, the gotra rule, as understood in north India, does not apply to the Hindus of south India. The most common form of marriage is that the bridegroom and his group goes to the bride's home. There the bride is given away by the father or her guardian with due rituals and ceremonies. Variations, of course, occur according to the region and caste. The salient features of the marriage rites and their significance are described.The continuity of the family is one of the objects of marriage. We will now examine the family in the context of the Hindu community

8.4.5 The Hindu Family

For a Hindu, the event of marriage signifies the completion of the brahmacharya ashrama i.e., the stage of a celibate-life. Marriage heralds the beginning of the householder stage (grihastha). Now, begins the process of the preservation and continuity of the kula or the family. A Hindu home symbolises the continuity of its living members, past

members that are no more and future members that are yet to come. The living members are considered to be the trustees of the home. It is supposed to belong to the ancestors and includes the interests of the male descendants of the family. The individual as such does not belong to the home. One only performs one's dharma. The home is the place where dharma and karma are practised by the people who are enjoined to remain detached yet conduct the affairs of the world (Prabhu 1979: 216-217). For a Hindu, his or her life in the stage of a householder is lived and regulated in terms of dharma and karma. In performing these two activities, one also performs one's artha and kama. This process leads one towards the final goal, moksha.

8.4.6 The Form of Hindu Family

The most striking feature of a Hindu family is its jointness. That is to say the unit of residence is often not confined to the parents and their children only. It usually includes three generations living under the same roof and sharing the family property in common. Concerning the joint family and the nuclear family among the Hindus, unit 6 of Block 2 of ESO-12 gives a fairly detailed description. What we need to emphasise again is that the joint family (in India in general, and among the Hindus in particular) is believed to be the ideal form of family. In practice, we find many combinations and permutations of family living among the Hindus. Whether living in a nuclear or a joint family most Hindu families prefer that each member goes through some basic life-cycle rituals. These sacraments have been prescribed by the sacred texts and are meant for purifying body and mind. The sacraments are supposed to help make the human being into a social being. Some of them purify a human being in the present life and others help in the life-after-death. From birth to death, the sacraments (rituals) help in organising and disciplining the life of the Hindus, and enabling them to perform the dharma in accordance with their status. There is diversity in the observance 13 of the sacrament. Depending on the region and caste, different numbers of Hindu Social Organisation sacraments are observed. There are rituals from which women are excluded. Yet other rituals have special significance for them. Thus for a female the nuptial ceremony is

regarded as being of equal significance to the sacrament of upanayan (the stage when a male child is initiated into the study of the Veda).

Activity 2 If you live in a nuclear family then stay for some days in the joint family of one of your close relatives. If you live in a joint family then arrange to stay with relatives who live in a nuclear family for some days. In either case make comparisons, in terms of the following points, between the two types of family life in your notebook: i) size, ii) range of kin relationships, iii) pattern of authority and iv) division of labour. Write a note of 1000 words on comparisons observed by you.

8.4.7 Relations among Family Members

As the concepts of dharma and karma are so much a part of the Hindu way of life both at normative and behavioural levels, we find that each member in the family has his or her prescribed sacred duty. General principles of differentiation on the basis of age and sex regulate the relations within the Hindu family, in terms of precedence, obedience and subservience. Males are more respected than females, and members senior in age command more respect than the younger members. For example, the father is respected more than the mother and has greater authority. The father's mother by virtue of her age, is respected by all members who are younger to her. It is considered ideal for a man and wife to live with all their married sons in a joint family. They are to be respected and cared for by the sons and their wives and children. It is expected that the sons and their wives will perform their duties to the satisfaction of the parents, and thereby earn their blessings and religious merit. The sons have a right in their fathers' ancestral property. The age old rules of inheritance which are still customary gave ownership and inheritance rights to males, while they give only maintenance rights to females. These customary rules continue to prevail even today. The Hindu Succession Act and the Hindu Adoptions and Maintenance Act, 1956, however, introduced some changes. The Act makes the husband legally responsible for the maintenance of his wife and children. According to this Act (which is also applicable to Jains, Buddhists and Sikhs), the property of a Hindu comes down to his sons, daughters, widow and mother. Daughters legally have a share equal to that of sons

in their father's property. In actual practice customs and tradition continue to be so powerful that very few women are able to take advantage of their rights. From being a member of the primary group, such as the family, one goes on to being a part of one's lineage and subcaste/caste. The largest category of this belongingness for a Hindu can be expressed in terms of the idea of varna. Let us now understand the varna system among the Hindus.

Check Your Progress 2

1. Describe the rule of exogamy among the Hindus.

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2. Discuss family interaction among the Hindus

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8.5 THE VARNA SYSTEM

The broader aspects of activities in the sphere of economy and polity form a very important part of social life. For a Hindu, these activities take place within the context of a Hindu view of life. A Hindu is born into a jati (caste) and follows his dharma in this birth to improve the future birth. A discussion of the four stages, called ashrama, of a Hindu's life, and the divisions of the Hindu community into the varna categories and caste groups, would provide us a framework to look at the bases of the politico-economic activities of the Hindus.

8.5.1 The Four Varna

The Hindus are divided into four varna namely, Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Sudra. These four categories are ranked from higher to lower in the order mentioned here. This means that Brahman is ranked as the highest and the Sudra the lowest. The varna system of dividing the members of the Hindu society is an ideological construct which is mentioned in their religious texts. Each varna is also associated with

particular occupations. A Brahman is supposed to be a priest by profession, a Kshatriya to be a warrior; a Vaishya to be a trader; and a Sudra to be a worker. All Hindus recognise this system and can place their identity in terms of one of the four varna. Most of the basic ideas on varna system and its links to the concepts of karma and dharma are generally present in the thinking of Hindus (Prabhu 1979: 321). Village studies carried out by Marriott (1959), Dube (1955), Srinivas (1977) and Carstairs (1957) also confirm this view. This division of society into four categories is however better visualised in terms of caste groups into which the Hindu society is divided. Before we proceed to the discussion of caste groups, Hindu Social Organisation let us also briefly talk about the four stages of a man's life, which provide us an understanding of the Hindu view of the various socio-economic and political activities, to be performed at different stages.

8.5.2 The Four Stages of Life

The Life of a Hindu is considered to be divisible into four stages, namely i) brahmacharya ashram ii) grihastha ashram iii) vanaprastha ashram iv) sanyasa ashram It is the dharma of a Hindu to pass through these stages in one's life. The male members of Brahman, Kshatriya and Vaishya varna pass through four different ashram (stages) in their life. The first ashram is called brahmacharya ashram (the educational stage) from which the fourth varna, viz., Sudra and women of the first three varna are barred Brahmacharyashram ends (after studentship) at marriage. Celibacy is prescribed till marriage. The second stage of life is called the grihasthashram. During this a man rears a family, earns a living and performs his daily personal and social duties. Following this a man gradually enters the third stage of life called the vanaprashthashram. During this stage the householder relinquishes his duties in the household, and devotes his time to religious pursuits. His links with his family are weakened. During this ashram a man retires into the forest with or without his wife leaving behind the householder's cares and duties. The final phase of a Hindu's life begins with the stage known as the sanyasashram. In this stage one attempts to totally withdraw oneself from the world and its cares by going to the forest and spending the rest

of life in pursuit of moksha. The four stages of a Hindu's life just described are together called the varnashrama system. There is an ideal scheme, which correlates the vamashrama phases to ages at which a particular ashram begins. However, it is the endeavour that is important and not the age at which this begins. Thus Hinduism permits young unmarried sanyasi, as well as those who never go beyond grihasthashrama. Thus there is nothing compulsory about living life in the varnashram scheme. It is, however, highly recommended (Prabhu 1979:73-100). At present most Hindus do not systematically go through the varnashrama. They do, however, accept these stages to be the ideal ways in which a Hindu should spend his life. Like the four varna, the four stages of life are models. In real life, we find that occupations associated with each varna are not followed precisely in accordance with what is written in the sacred texts. Today a Brahman may be employed in a shoe company, selling shoes to all the customers irrespective of their varna or caste. As we said before, the Hindus are divided into castes or jati which are hereditary groups.

8.5.3 Jati

Jati or castes are hereditary groups in hierarchical relation to one another, similar to the hierarchy among varna. Brahman castes are the highest while 16 Social Organisation untouchable castes are the lowest. Those between these two extremes are placed according to regional hierarchies. A caste group can be seen as an extended kin group because members of a caste marry among themselves. Caste endogamy is also explained by the term beti vyavahar as against roti vyavahar. Beti vyavahar refers to the practice of giving and taking of the daughters (beti) of different families within a caste. Roti vyavahar means only the giving and taking of food (roti) with certain categories of people. It is possible to have roti vyavahar with people of castes other than one's own. Lower castes accept cooked food and water from higher castes but the opposite is traditionally not permitted. There are certain rules and conditions which regulate the type of food which is accepted when offered to a person of higher caste. The caste groups claim their superior status by showing the evidence of their dietary practices in terms of acceptance/nonacceptance

of food and water from particular castes. Besides food, there are also customary discriminatory practices related to different caste groups. For example, the untouchable castes were not permitted to enter certain parts of upper caste streets or houses and temples. This is a typical example of the idea of purity and pollution on which the ideology of caste is supposed to be based. When we consider a caste to be high or low on the basis of its purity or pollution level, we refer to it as a ritual hierarchy of castes. The level of purity/ pollution is judged by the prevalent practices relating to acceptance/nonacceptance of food, entry to sacred places and widow-remarriage. In all these hierarchically arranged caste-groups, the scheme of dharma, artha, kama and moksha is followed without hatred or resentment towards the lower or the higher group. In other words, people born into a caste accept the sacred duty (dharma) of their caste and do not question the right to the higher caste-people to social privileges. Within their own caste they organise themselves for fulfilling several purposes. Let us say a few words about caste councils, which have specific functions in regulating the behaviour of their caste members.

8.5.4 Caste Councils and Caste Associations

Generally each caste has its council. The leaders in the council are usually the elderly members of the caste. Caste councils act as a judiciary for caste groups and help settle disputes related to marriage, separation, divorce or any other untoward behaviour of their caste members. The caste councils are localised covering many villages. Caste associations are recent phenomena. They are engaged in various activities. For example, they run educational institutions, cooperatives, hospitals, old age homes and orphanages. From time to time they print and distribute among their members pamphlets containing information about new rules of behaviour regarding marriage ceremonies, gifts, widow remarriage, etc. They also publicise the nature of punishment to be meted out to defaulters. These associations are generally regional. They also act as political pressure groups. The caste councils and caste associations regulate the behaviour of caste members.

8.5.5 Interdependence among Castes

There is interdependence among caste groups. A member of a caste not only interacts within his own caste but also with other castes. Both aspects are very important for the socio-economic and political organisation of the Hindus. We shall now discuss a little about the inter-caste relationships.

For the Hindus, the caste system is a coherent and comprehensive system Hindu Social Organisation with rituals and occupational hierarchy. The occupational division of castes also helps to maintain equilibrium in the economic sphere. Being religiously oriented, members of different castes accept their rituals and occupational position. Within the framework of caste ideology, they perform their dharma and karma and endeavour to improve their present and future life. In both the ritual and economic spheres, members of different castes are dependent on one another. Members of different castes are vertically organised which is more manifest in the rural society. The context of Hindu social organisation is to be seen as a system of interdependence among the members of different caste groups. The jajmani system is an important aspect of this interdependence.

8.5.6 Jajmani System

In rural areas of India, it was found that a village generally comprises several Hindu castes, each living in different clusters. These castes have relationships of giving and taking of services among one another. Usually the peasant castes are numerically preponderant. Due to their numerical majority and also their economic power they have been called dominant castes by sociologists. The dominant caste needs services of the carpenters, blacksmith, potter, barber, washerman for various farming and ritual activities. The peasants pay in cash and kind for these services from other castes. The castes providing these services depend for their livelihood on the patronage of the dominant caste. In turn, the servicing castes also give support to their patrons in matters of political group formation. The relationship of patron and client among these interacting caste groups usually continue from generation to generation. Thus, the villagers are bound in a system of the exchange of services. Without this exchange the normal day-to-day life may not run smoothly. This is why

this aspect is a very important part of Hindu social organisation. The interdependence among caste groups is also evident in the ritual sphere apart from politico-economic activities. Pilgrimage, worship, recitation of holy texts, life cycle ritual ceremonies, fairs and festivals are rituals which bring together members of different castes. Without a whole series of interaction among them, these activities are just not possible. The instance of a Hindu wedding (one of the life cycle ritual ceremonies) is a case which illustrates this point. Here, a Brahman priest is needed to perform the sacred rites, the barber is required for the shaving and bathing, the drummer beats the drums, the washerman brings freshly laundered clothes, the untouchable takes the charge of sweeping the floor, the gardeners bring flowers and so on. We can also look at the temple activities as an example of interdependence among castes. Members of different castes perform their respective sacred duties (sva-dharma) for the up-keep of the temple. The priestly castes perform the worship, the goldsmith caste provides ornaments for the idols, other castes provide services like cooking, tailoring, filling water, playing drums and so on. Among the Hindus, temples do not figure as prominently in terms of organised systems, as such institutions as the Mosque and Church of the Muslims and Christians respectively. People belonging to different castes organise and perform their duties to earn religious merit and improve their life after death. Each person considers his or her contribution to the temple as one's duty and improves his or her karma. No task is less or more important when performed in the context of one's caste membership and one's ashram in life. This shows that the ritual aspect of social activities of caste groups forms an important part of social organisation. This aspect is most reflected in collective behaviour at festivals, fairs and pilgrimages. This is the reason why we are now going to discuss here the festivals, fairs and pilgrimages among the Hindus.

8.6 FESTIVALS AND PILGRIMAGES

Festivals, pilgrimages and other ceremonial occasions are usually linked with religion. As such they show how both personal identity of the individuals as well as collective identity of the groups are highlighted by

the patterns of interaction during these events. Festivals manifest the social cohesion and solidarity of the community. We begin our discussion of this aspect of social organisation by describing festivals, fairs and pilgrimages among the Hindus.

8.6.1 Festivals

Most of the Hindu festivals are linked to the arrival of particular seasons. For example, the festival of Diwali marks the arrival of winter season while that of Holi signifies the beginning of summer season. Some festivals are associated with eclipses and movements of the heavenly bodies such as the moon and other planets. Many festivals are held in the honour of the deities like Krishna, Siva, Durga, Lakshmi and Rama, e.g., Dussehra, Durgapuja, Janmashtami, etc. Local festivals have their roots in the ecology of the region, celebrating myths associated with plants like coconuts, tulsi (basil), the sacred tree, or with animals, like elephants, snakes and monkeys. There are regional festivals connected with the agricultural cycle such as the occasion of first ploughing, sowing or harvest. Among the artisans, carpenter, blacksmith and brass-workers, people worship the deity called Vishwakarma. We shall not go into the ritualistic aspect of these festivals. The emphasis here is on the role these festivals play in social life of the people. During festivals, people in a locality get together and their participation in a common activity enhances their feeling of belonging to a community. These occasions also provide the chance to people for buying and selling special commodities. By preparing special food and wearing special clothes, people bring about the feelings of freshness and change in their day-to-day life. This regenerates them for carrying the routine activities. Recurrence of festivals and associated rituals strengthens their faith in the stability and integrity of their social order. Festivals like Holi, Diwali and Dussehra are celebrated on a scale, which includes participation of Hindus as well as non-Hindus. They provide occasions for a meeting across religions. Associated with festivals are fairs, which are held at prescribed times on a holy spot. Sometimes, fairs assume independent significance and attract the participation of cross-section of society. Some famous fairs such as the fair of Sonepur or Pushkar draw people

from all over the country. In these fairs, craftsmen bring their special artware, artists come to present their shows, agricultural surplus is brought for selling, brisk trading is carried on in cattle, 19 horses, elephants. Each fair is both a religious and a secular occasion and Hindu Social Organisation people participate in both with equal enthusiasm.

Activity 3 Describe in five pages at least two festivals of your area in terms of the following points. i) major social groups celebrating them, ii) main events taking place during their celebration, iii) time of the year for their celebration, andi v) special significance of these festivals. Compare, if possible, your description with those of the other students of your Study Centre.

8.6.2 Pilgrimage

Not very different from a fair is a pilgrimage. The cultural unity of the Hindus is expressed in the institution of pilgrimage. When a pilgrim goes to the southern pilgrim centre at Rameshwaram, he or she also aspires to reach the northern end of the country, at Badrinath. Most pilgrims also aspire to go to Puri in the east and to Dwarikanath in the west. In these places of pilgrimage, there is often a fair being held during the periods pilgrims arrive in large numbers. Generally, people go to these places in large groups. Such groups are mostly formed on the basis of kin relationships. They may also include neighbours, friends and business partners. Different sects of Hinduism have acquired pilgrim centres around the whole country over time. Besides the four centres in the four directions, the Sakta sect has more than fifty centres of pilgrimage. There are seven places of pilgrimage, dedicated to the Sun god, Surya. One of them is in Multan, in West Pakistan. Despite linguistic, racial, and cultural differences, most Hindus undertake long and arduous journeys to the many varied pilgrim places. This adds an important dimension to their social life.

Check Your Progress 3

1. Show the difference between a caste council and a caste association.

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2. Name six pilgrim places associated with Hinduism.

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8.7 LET US SUM UP

In this unit we have studied the social organisation of the Hindus. We began with religious concepts like dharma, artha, kama, moksha, karma and samsara which are the basis of Hindu social organisation. We discussed marriage and family, among the Hindus including forms of marriage and family, endogamy, exogamy and family relations. We then examined caste groups among Hindus. We discussed the varna system, jati and the jajmani system. Finally we described festivals and pilgrimages among the Hindus.

8.8 KEY WORDS

Artha: Activities pertaining to the economic aspects of life. e.g., earning a livelihood.

Beti Vyavahar: The phrase refers to a relationship in which social groups can intermarry

Brahmcharya Ashram: That stage in life, which is associated with studentship and celibacy.

Dharma: Good, upright, and righteous conduct.

Grihasta Ashram The stage of the householder, earning a living and rearing a family.

Hierarchical An order of ranking which goes from top to bottom, or vice versa. The caste system is an example of this kind of ranking

Jati Caste groups arranged in a hierarchical order. There are very many jatis in India, running into thousands.

Karma The concept of karma refers to a belief in the efficacy of actions of a person, either good or bad.

Moksha Liberation from birth and death and regaining of oneness with the Supreme Being.

Roti Vyavahar The phrase refers to a relation of exchange of food between two social groups.

Sanyasa Ashrama That stage in life when free from family life one devotes oneself solely to deeds leading to moksha.

Samsara The process of birth and rebirth, which continues till the soul is finally free.

Vanaprastha Ashram The life of a forest wanderer who lives a detached life free from all bondages. This is a stage before sanyasa.

8.9 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. Show the difference between a caste council and a caste association.
2. Name six pilgrim places associated with Hinduism.

8.10 SUGGESTED READINGS AND REFERENCES

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8.11 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

1. A Hindu can live a righteous life by following the fourfold scheme of practical endeavour. Thus dharma is honest and upright conduct or righteous action. Artha means a righteous pursuit of economic activities. Kama is the fulfillment of normal desires or cravings. Moksha is the culmination of the self into eternal bliss.

2. Hindu social organization is based on an arrangement of castes into a graded order. One's birth in a particular caste depends on that person's karma in post-life.

Check Your Progress 2

1. The rule of exogamy among the Hindus is mainly guided by the rule of gotra exogamy. This means that persons of similar gotra cannot marry each other. Secondly, in north India, relations of certain degree on both father's and mother's side cannot marry each other. In south India, parallel cousins cannot marry each other. Then, there are various rules of exogamy applied in particular regions.

2. In the Hindu family, interaction is arranged along the lines of precedence, obedience and subservience. Males are usually more respected than females, and the old are given more respect than the young. A joint family life is considered an ideal form of family. Only sons have a right in ancestral property, while females have only maintenance rights. The Hindu Succession Act and Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Act (1956) have made women eligible for inheritance.

Check Your Progress 3

1. Traditionally, each caste has a caste council. Its jurisdiction covers several villages. It acts as a judiciary for settling disputes related to marriage, separation, divorce or any other untoward behaviour of a caste-fellow. A caste association is, on the other

hand, a recent phenomenon, arising out of the needs of many castes or sub-castes to merge in order to involve in multi-faced activities. Such association covers a much larger area in its jurisdiction. It also acts as a political pressure group.

2. The four pilgrim centres of Hindus are in four directions, Badrinath in the north, Rameshwaram in the south, Dwaraka in the west and Puri in the east. The Kashi and Prayag are also considered as holy places, which devout Hindus like to visit at least once in their lifetime. In south India, Tirupati in Andhra Pradesh, Guruvayur in Kerala and Mantralaya in Karnataka are famous pilgrim places, which Hindus of all denominations visit.

UNIT 9 SOCIAL ISSUES: WOMEN

STRUCTURE

9.0 OBJECTIVES

In the unit we learnt the basis for the emergence of women's issues as a theme of study. In the past few decades growing attention is paid towards women's problems all over the world. The equality of opportunity of women with men has become a very important and burning issue today. Like any social change, the establishment of sex-equality is a multi-faceted process, which cannot be attained overnight. An analysis of

status of women in societies around us will enable us to draw more general conclusions regarding the factors, which promote and which hamper the full participation of women in all aspects of social activity. Before we go ahead in learning the contours of social construction of gender — the foundation of gender inequality in society, it is essential to get to know more on the status of women both in historical and contemporary society.

. After reading the present unit you will be able to

• Identify the complexity of roles of women in society in comparison to men and the rights and obligations associated with these roles,

• Know the extent of actual "access" and "control" of women over societal resources and to assess their position in different historical phases,

• Understand the gender inequality persistent in society in different spheres of life, in different historical periods,

• Know about the status of women in different religions over the world in different periods,

• Know about the important agents of enhancement of status of women in different historical phases – reforms, state policies, economic development, education, women's movement, empowerment of women, etc. towards equality

9.1 INTRODUCTION

In the present Unit we shall discuss about the Status of Women in Society form a historical perspective; how the status of women change with historical shifts in society and what are the prime factors that affect the status of women in society. At the beginning of the unit, we define status of women and then explore the various factors, which are intricately connected with women's status. The position of women in different historical phases has been discussed in Section 2.3. A glimpse

of the status of women under different religions in historical perspective is being presented in the subsequent section. The last section of this unit deals with the changing status of women in Indian society in different historical phases. This section attempts to provide historical contexts to the study of the position of women in contemporary Indian society. For a better understanding of present social structure and position of women in it, it is essential to know the various social, historical, economic, religious and political factors which mould the society. To know the status of women in India certain historicity is essential because India has a cultural heritage and continuous history of more than three thousand years. The last section mainly emphasises the important agents for enhancement of status of women in Indian society towards equality.

9.2 STATUS OF WOMEN: DIFFERENT PARAMETERS TO UNDERSTAND STATUS OF WOMEN

The concept of "status of women" can be perceived in different ways: the extent of women's access to social and material resources within family, community and society (Dixon 1978) or her power and authority within the family and community and the prestige commanded from other male members or the position in the social system distinguishable from, yet related to other positions (Committee on the Status of Women in India 1974) or the extent to which women have access to knowledge, economic resources and political power as well as the degree of autonomy they have in decision-making and making personal choices at crucial points in their life-cycle (United Nations 1975). "Status" of women is correlated to the participatory rights and obligations of women in the managing of society. The term refers to the position of women vis-à-vis men in the social structure in terms of rights and obligations. Status of women in society is explained in terms of "role" which is assigned to them by tradition, religion, ideology and the state of economic development. The enhancement of status essentially means the enlargement of the scope of participatory rights in society. The more balanced the opportunity structure for men and women, the larger the role women have in society and consequently higher their status. The

idea of status also connotes the notion of equality (Krishnaraj 1986). If we want to study the status of women in any society, we must study the complexity of roles which women perform in society in the socio-economic, cultural, religious and political fields. It is also important to find out such factors as how they face the problems and situations that are connected with their sex roles from birth to death and how they adjust themselves to these role situations. The role of women has differed from society to society and from time to time. Within one society itself, it has changed over time. There were societies where women performed important economic roles. In these societies women had complete, or at least major, control over the economic activity. However, the model pattern has been the societies where the status of women is inferior to men. It is important to note that the inferior status of women in societies also coincides with the denial of property rights and education, as well as denial of certain occupations to them. There are certain constraints, historical, traditional and constitutional, which are responsible for lowering of women's status in society. The (low) status of women constitutes a problem in almost all societies and it has emerged today as a fundamental issue in human development. Studying women's status means a sensitive diagnosis of the nature of gender subordination through an understanding of gender relations in a specific context. Gender based role differentiation is basic to the understanding of the status of women in society. A gender-based concept of status denotes women's social, legal and ideological position and rights and privileges in a given social set up. It is very often conditioned by the prevalent ideas and functions in that society, the attitudes and behaviours of men towards women and their acceptance and rejection of women's role in society. Women's status, which encompasses their traditional as well as changing position in a society, is a dynamic concept where both their present and emerging status is based on the prevalent ideas, functions, norms and traditions. The corresponding changes in the status of women is directly linked with social and cultural traditions, stages of economic development, level of education and political participation. Sociologists while doing women's studies often refer the term "changing status of women" rather than the term status of women in society. However, in a

complex and stratified social structure and cultural plurality two other dimensions have been introduced in recent times to facilitate status assessment, particularly in a period of change (Mazumdar 1978). These are: a) the extent to actual control enjoyed by women over their own lives, b) the extent to which they have access to decision-making processes and are effective in positions of power and authority.

Think It Over 1 Sociologists while doing women's studies often refer the term "changing status of women" rather than the term status of women in society. Why?

Power and Status: Status and role are interlinked with the concepts of power and position. A role confers social, economic, political and cultural power on the individual. In other words, status is determined to a great extent by the power enjoyed by men and women in the domestic and social spheres. Five key aspects have been identified over which women's control has to be assessed to understand status of women in society: (a) women's labour (b) control over resources i.e. economic, health, education and political (c) sexuality (their physical integrity and freedom from all types of physical and mental violence); (d) on their reproduction and (e) mobility. These are the most important parameters to measure and compare women's position in society vis-à-vis men and to define her status. Two other terms like "access" and "control" are important indices for women's autonomy and status in society. These two terms are of significance for comparing women's position in society with men and its changing nature in course of historical phases. The status of women correlates with the social space occupied by them in a particular society at a particular time. We can understand women's status through the examination of their:

- Access and control over private assets and resources,
- Access of public resources,
- Control over their labour and income,
- Control over their body – sexuality, reproduction and physical security
- Control over physical mobility,
- Access to and control over political spaces,

• Access to and control over intangible resources – such as self-confidence, self-worth, communication skills, information, knowledge and skill,

• Access to legal structure and redressal.

Learn From Your Experience 1 What are the criteria upon which you will analyse the status of women? Based on those criteria assess the status of women in your locality and prepare a note and compare with that of your fellow students.

Feminist epistemology is now grounded in the documentation of women's status from all over the world and in the context of culture-specific experiences of women. Gender inequality and women's subordination under over powering patriarchy are the key concepts to provide a framework for women's low status in society. The patriarchal misinterpretation of different religions in the world society is also responsible for inferior status of women. Now let us have a look at the status of women in earlier societies.

Do You Know?

1 What is Feminist Epistemology? Epistemology is the branch of philosophy that deals with questions concerning the nature, scope, and sources of knowledge. It, in other words, is the theory of knowledge. Feminist epistemology studies the ways in which gender does and ought to influence our conceptions of knowledge, the knowing subject, and practices of inquiry and justification. It identifies ways in which dominant conceptions and practices of knowledge attribution, acquisition, and justification systematically disadvantage women and other subordinated groups, and strives to reform these conceptions and practices so that they serve the interests of these groups. Various practitioners of feminist epistemology and philosophy of science argue that dominant knowledge practices disadvantage women by (a) excluding them from inquiry, (b) denying them epistemic authority, (c) denigrating their "feminine" cognitive styles and modes of knowledge, (d) producing theories of women that represent them as inferior, deviant, or significant only in the ways they serve male interests, (e) producing theories of social phenomena that render women's activities and interests, or

gendered power relations, invisible, and (f) producing knowledge (science and technology) that is not useful for people in subordinate positions, or that reinforces gender and other social hierarchies. Feminist epistemologists trace these failures to flawed conceptions of knowledge, knowers, objectivity, and scientific methodology. They offer diverse accounts of how to overcome these failures.

9.3 STATUS OF WOMEN IN SOCIETY: A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

The status of women is raising many questions today in almost every society. Studies on women's professional and economic activities, and their participation in political and social life, particularly their changing role in the family, give increasing evidence that the evolution of social structures is closely linked to the evolution of women's role in society.

During 1975, largely under the impetus of the women's movement and International Women's year, sociologists, anthropologists, ethnographers and other social scientists – notably the female professionals – have begun a reassessment and re-evaluation of women's status, role and experience and outlook. As a result, it is becoming clear that, far from being a fact of life, "male supremacy" is relatively modern phenomenon and one that is largely an outgrowth of western capitalist social structure in which antagonism between men and women in the family hierarchy reflect antagonisms in the class hierarchy, and the exploitation of women is a logical extension of class exploitation. In pre-class societies, such as those based on hunting-gathering and horticulture, women in fact enjoyed almost total equality in subsistence and social activities (Rohrlich and Leavitt 1975).

9.3.1 Status of Women in Earlier Societies: Shift From Egalitarian to Patriarchal Societies

In the earliest phase of societal development (which Engels called savagery and barbarism) gender inequalities favoured women rather than men. A sex based division of labour existed, men was mainly responsible for procuring food and women were responsible for functions of

domestic sphere, but women were not subordinate to men. The concept of private property was only in a rudimentary form and consisted mainly of simple tools, utensils and weapons. What private property they own was passed down through female line. This was because monogamous marriage did not exist. Society was promiscuous and the women passed on property to children. To Engels it was from the period of barbarism the sufferings of women started. Primitive conditions gave men the advantage, which they relinquished only once – in early horticultural societies when they allowed women briefly to till and inherit land – but men reasserted themselves as agriculture developed and land once again became important property. Otherwise the march of masculine domination was unrelenting: in early agriculture communities men used their superior status and power to take control of land; they created religious belief systems which legitimated their domination; they established patriarchal families to ensure that property passed through male lines of inheritance; and as societies progressed they (men) established abstract laws and systems of social control which affirmed their dominance (Waters 1994). This has been an incremental process of social reproduction: "Little by little man has acted upon his experience, and in his symbolic representations, as in his practical life, it is the male principle that has triumphed" (Engels 1972: 106).

Learn From Your Experience 2 You might have heard about matrilineal and patrilineal descent and matriarchal and patriarchal families. Take 10 households in your locality and catagorise them according to the descent and family type. Now try to talk to women of those households and assess their status in terms of types of descent and family type.

Men gained the upper hand when the concept of private property emerged. Men overthrew power over the women in the household. In Engels own words "the men seized the reins in the house also, the woman was degraded, enthralled, the slave of the man's lust, a mere instrument for breeding children". Men gradually increasingly put control over women in selecting sexual partner and eventually during the following "civilization" period monogamy came into existence. By that time men had gained full control over women what was now the "patriarchy". Stephanie Coontz and Peta Hendersen (1986) however

disagree with Engels. They deny that history started with a female dominance. They argue that most early human societies began with equality between the sexes. They believe that roots of women's oppression today emerges due to certain social causes. They emphasize that the difference between roles of 33 Global Debates and their Impacts men and women in the production of goods resulted in gender inequality and low status of women, and not the difference between the contribution each makes to the reproduction of species. They, to some extent supported Engels that social inequalities emerged as a result of changes in property ownership. Introduction of herding and agriculture after communal property laid the foundations for gender inequalities and lower status of women. They have tried to account for the origins of gender inequality and according to them the key to gender inequality and male dominance lay in the marriage arrangements (i.e. patrilocality and polygamy where men could marry a number of women and thereby increase the labour force). They claimed that matrilocal societies were more egalitarian and here women retained more power. There was less scope for men to concentrate property in their own hands in matrilocal societies (Nongbri, T.).

Think It Over 2

What was the impact of the development of private property on the position of women in the society?

9.3.2 Women in Pre-Industrial Societies

A number of scholars addressed the issue of male domination and low status of women as a historical phenomenon, grounded in a particular set of circumstances rather than flowing from some universal aspect of human nature of culture. Many of the Marxist and socialist feminists claim that it is necessary to examine history to find out how and why inequality between the sexes came about. The most important factor in the transition to a society with gender stratification was the development of a form of communal property to a group of kin who had exclusive rights over property (Kin corporate property). The senior members of kinship group gained control over property. Women as gatherers were continued to act as producer and gradually lost control over their

products. In the course of history there developed of patrilocal, matri local and polygamous societies. Thus the position of women and gender inequalities vary from society to society in different pre-industrial societies and has altered in many ways after industrialization. The pre-industrial era saw a greater degree of sharing of work and emotional roles by men and women than the industrial era which followed (Bell 1981: 307). In colonial America, there was more equality of men and women in pre-industrial society; women worked to provide for the family, and men played a greater part in raising the children. The trend changed with industrialization, women often stayed home to take care of the children and men went to work in factories. Gender roles became more distinct with industrialization than they were before (Rothaman, 1978; Lerner, 1979; Bell, 1981)

9.3.3 Industrialisation and Changing Status of Women

In modern industrial societies also we find significant differences in gender roles. For example, in socialist societies there tends to be more equality between men and women than capitalist societies. In fact, even within a single society we often find important differences in gender roles for various classes and ethnic groups (Conklin 1984: 223). In Western European societies the consequence of industrialization was the modern role of housewife as the dominant mature feminine role. During the early stages of industrialization after the Industrial Revolution in England (dates from 1750 to 1841) the factory system steadily replaced the family as the unit of production. The women were employed in factories where they often continued their traditional work in textiles.

From 1841 until the outbreak of the First World War in 1914 a combination of pressure from male workers and reformers in Europe restricted female employment in industry and gradual withdrawal of all female labour from the factory. Ann Oakley (1974) states that from 1914 to 1950, there was a "tendency towards the growing employment of women coupled with a retention of housewifery role. During these years women received many legal and political rights in England but all these had little effect on the mother housewife role, which was central to their

lives. She concludes that industrialization has had many effects on the role of women. There was a "separation of men from the daily routines of domestic life" and emergence of the "economic dependence of women and children on men and "the isolation of housework and child care from other work. Thus in the twentieth-century British society housewife mother role became institutionalized as "the primary role for all women". These generalizations became less valid as the twentieth century progressed.

Do You Know 2 Women Suffrage Women were excluded from voting in ancient Greece and Republican Rome, as well as in the few democracies that had emerged in Europe by the end of the 18th century. When the franchise was widened, as it was in the United Kingdom in 1832, women continued to be denied all voting rights. The question of women's voting rights finally became an issue in the 19th century, and the struggle was particularly intense in Great Britain and the United States; but these countries were not the first to grant women the right to vote, at least not on a national basis. By the early years of the 20th century, women had won the right to vote in national elections in New Zealand (1893), Australia (1902), Finland (1906), and Norway (1913). In Sweden and the United States they had voting rights in some local elections. World War I and its aftermath speeded up the enfranchisement of women in the countries of Europe and elsewhere. In the period 1914–39, women in 28 additional countries acquired either equal voting rights with men or the right to vote in national elections. After World War II many more countries added to the list partly because nearly all countries that gained independence after World War II guaranteed equal voting rights to men and women in their constitutions. Full suffrage for women was introduced in India by the constitution in 1949; in Pakistan women received full voting rights in national elections in 1956. Source: Encyclopedia Britannica

In contemporary societies "patriarchy" is the most important and dominant concept for explaining gender inequalities, low status of women and sexual exploitation against women. Kate Millet (1970) gave the concept of relationship of domination and subordination based on sex and inherent politics based on male-centric power-structured

relationships where males controlled females in society. According to her such relationships are organized on the basis of "patriarchy" — a system in which "male dominate female. She believes that patriarchy is the most pervasive ideology and basis of power and more rigorous, more uniform and more enduring system existing in human society. She suggests that "gender" is the primary source of identity for all individuals in modern societies. She identifies eight factors for explaining the existence of patriarchy in human society: a) biological b) ideological c) sociological d) relationship between class and subordination e) educational factors; f) myth and religion g) psychological h) physical force. She attributes some importance to superior male strength and importance to socialization of male (aggressive) and female (passive) charactexistics for the formation of patriarchal ideology.

For Kate family is the pivotal institution of patriarchy although men also exercise power in the wider society through the state. Within the family there is a need for legitimization of children, i.e. to have a socially recognized father that also gives men a particularly dominant position. Mothers and children depend on the position of husbands and fathers. Thus family plays an important role in maintaining patriarchy across generations. She believes that women have a caste like status (ascribed) that operates beyond the social class. Even women from higher-class backgrounds are subordinate to men. Millet interprets that the economic dependency of women on men almost places them outside the class-system. Again lack of knowledge and education restricts the power of women. Economic inequalities are reinforced by education. Religion is also as a way of legitimating masculine dominance. Another source of men's power is psychology. Women develop a passive temperament and a sense of inferiority and accept men's dominance taken for granted. Finally Millet identifies physical force as the ultimate source of men's domination. She never admit that women are physically weaker but physical and emotional training make the women not to resist the force used against them by individual men. Millets contribution is however very important for understanding of disadvantaged position of women in society and the inequality practiced against her. Many scholars like Sheila Rowbotham (1973) Robert McDonough and Rachel Harrison

(1978) criticize Millet. Describing all societies as patriarchal she ignores the multiplicity of ways in which societies have defined gender. They also criticize Millet for ignoring women's lack of wealth and economic power as the most important factor for their disadvantaged position in society. For them It is capitalism rather than patriarchy that explains women's oppression and inferior position in modern societies.

Learn From Your Experience 3 Observe a household, which you are known to. Identify five markers of power in domestic circumstance. Make a hierarchy of all the individuals in the household as per power equations. Relate the position of women to other members of the family and assess her/their status.

M.Z. Rosaldo (1974) is of the opinion that women have been disadvantaged in every known society – women everywhere lack recognition and culturally valued authority. She was the first to argue that women's subordination was the consequence of a division between the public and the private (or domestic) world. To her domestic sphere includes the family and life in the place of residence of the family, while the public sphere includes the activities and institutions associated with rituals and religion, politics and economy. As a consequence of men's involvement in religious and political life, they can exercise power over the domestic units, which are the focus of women's lives. She does believe that inequalities between the sexes are grater in some societies than in others. Even through she does not appear to accept that there are prospects of a totally egalitarian society, women can come closer to equality if men became more involved in domestic activities. The Mbrite Pygmies of Africa have a relatively egalitarian society because men and women cooperate in both the domestic and economic life. Undoubtedly the separation of private and public spheres provide an useful way of analyzing and explaining the relative powerlessness and low status in many societies. However, there are difficulties involved. Linda Imary and Audrey Middleton (1983) argue that women's activities tend to be devalued even when it is in public sphere. Women's outside home employment are often regarded as less important than those of men. Certainly women's increasing employment has not produced equality for women within the domain of work.

Think It Over 3 Assess the role of industrialization in changing the status of women in the society

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

1. Discuss the Status of Women: Different Parameters to Understand Status of Women.

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2. Discuss the Status of Women in Society: A Historical Overview.

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9.4 STATUS OF WOMEN IN DIFFERENT RELIGIONS

A number of writers noted that historically women were not always been subordinate within world's most religions. Armstrong (1993) for example, argues that in early history women were considered central to the spiritual quest. In the Middle East, Asia and Europe archeologists have uncovered numerous symbols of great mother goddess. With the development of societies there were many gods and goddesses but Mother Goddess still played a crucial role. Armstrong noted, "mother goddess was absorbed into the pantheon of deities and remained as a powerful figure. She was called Inanna in summer, in ancient Mesopotemia; Ishtar in Baloylon; Anat or Asherah in Canaan; Isis in Egypt and Aphrodite in Greece. In all culture people told about the importance of Mother Goddess in their spiritual lives. Everywhere she was revered as the source of fertility (Armstrong 1993: 21). There was gradually the eventual decline of the Mother Goddesses. In Babylon, goddess Tiamot, the goddess of the sea was replaced by the male god Marduk. The final death knell of female goddesses came with the acceptance of monotheism – belief in single god rather than many. This

originated with Yahweh, the god of Abraham. Furthermore, this Hebrew "God of Israel" would later become the god of the Christians and the Muslims, who all regarded themselves as the spiritual offspring of Abraham, the father of all believers. Thus historically with the development of religion importantence was attributed to the masculine characteristics of the God. Christianity, Islam and Hinduism all have constituted through the important stages in the evolution of humanity. But when the cause of women was concerned they all added a new load on them in different historical phases. Therefore, for determining status of women in society, religion play a key role and the problems faced by women of a particular religion is not only peculiar to that religion. They are problems of women in general and that should be addressed and redressed as problems of gender bias, male domination, patriarchy and age old prejudice against women.

9.4.1 Subordinate Role of Women and Religious Rituals

In the classical teachings of many religions there was stress on equality between men and women, but in practice women have usually been far from equal. Women do, of course, have a part to play in many religions, but it is almost always subordinate to the role of men, and it is likely to be in the "private" rather than "public" sphere. Thus women are devalued by different religious beliefs. There is always a tendency of "patriarchal misinterpretation of religion". Holm (1994) gives a number of examples in this regard. In Buddhism, both men and women can have a religious role as monks and nuns respectively but all monks are seen as senior to all nuns. In Hinduism only men can become Brahminic priests. In Islam, in some regions women are not allowed to enter mosques for worship and men have made all the legal ruling. Orthodox Judaism only allows men to take a full part in ceremonies. In Japanese folk religions women can take part only in organizing public rituals, while only men can take part in public performances. In Chinese popular religion women are associated with less important spirits (Yin) whereas men are associated with more important and powerful spirits (Yang). Christianity has also been male dominated. Many of the most influential ideas were worked

out by celibate 37 Global Debates and their Impacts men in the first five centuries of the church's history and the significant developments of the medieval church and reformation were also shaped by men (Holm 1994: pxiii). Sikhism is perhaps the most egalitarian of the major religions of the world since all offices are equally open to men and women although in practice only a small minority of women have significant positions within the religion.

Do You Know? 3 According to Sikh ideology, all men and women possess equal status. All human beings, regardless of gender, caste, race, or birth, are judged only by their deeds. With this assertion, the Sikh Gurus invited women to join the holy congregation, work with men in the langar (common kitchen), and participate in all other religions, social, and cultural activities of the Gurdwaras (Sikh places of worship). The Gurus redefined marriage as wedded to one wife only and taught that male and female alike need to practice conjugal fidelity. The Gurus spoke against the practice of polygamy and preached to have only one wife. Guru Amar Das, the third Guru, advocated monogamy and also condemned the wearing of the veil, and female infanticide. The steps Gurus took to advocate the equality of women revolutionized the tradition of Indian society. As women began to partake in social, religious, and political affairs, their contribution and worth as equal partners of men became more obvious. The Gurus taught that men and women are equal in the eyes of God, so are equal in rights on Earth.

The second class status of women in different religion is often related to her sexuality. Menstruation and childbirth is often regarded as polluting. In many religions women are forbidden to enter the sacred places and to touch the sacred objects during the menstrual period. For example, Hindu women are forbidden to touch sacred objects and prohibited from entering family shrines when she is pregnant or menstruating. Muslim women are not allowed to touch a Koran, go to a mosque and to offer prayer during this period.

Think It Over 4 Compare and contrast the position of women as given in Hindu and Islam scriptures. Which one do you think is more egalitarian?

9.4.2 Religion as a Tool for Oppressing Women

Notes

According to Simone de Beauvoir (1949) Religion is used by the oppressors (men) to control the oppressed group (women) and it also serves as a weapon for the second class status of women in society. Men have generally exercised control over religious beliefs. He enjoys the great advantage of having a God endorse code he writes to support his dominance. Beauvoir writes from the perspective of a Western, Christian women. For all major religions man is master by divine right and thus repress the downtrodden female. However in modern societies show evidence of changes in which the inequality between men and women in religion is gradually reduced. Nawal El Saadwi (1980) considers the importance of religion in creating and perpetuating female oppression under Islam. According to her Christianity is much more rigid and orthodox and the oppression of women is caused by the patriarchal system which came into being when society had reached a certain stage of development. Nevertheless, she does see religion as a crucial instrument in women's oppression. "Men do distort religion to serve their own interests, to help justify or legitimate the oppression of women." She also believes that religion became oppressive to women since the development of monotheistic religions. Such religions drew inspiration and guidance from the values of patriarchy and class societies prevalent at that time. For example, the Jewish religion drew upon the patriarchal power of Abraham (Mythological father of all religions). Islamic society is also developed in a patriarchal way through the dominance of male "patriarch" under the authority of male head of the family, the supreme ruler, or the Khalifa (political ruler) or Imam (religious leader). Even today in countries like Egypt women are subject to extremely restricted marriage laws under religious dictum. El Saadwi describes Christ as a revolutionary leader who opposed female oppression. Early Christianity had stricter moral codes than other religious and codes which treated the sexes fairly equally. "Despite the limitations placed by Christianity on man's sexual freedom, women was maintained in her inferior underprivileged status as compared with man. The patriarchal system still reigned supreme and grew even more ferocious with the gradual shift to a feudal system" (El Saadwi 1980: 119)

Do You Know? 4 Women In Islam It is generally believed that women in pre-Islamic society were given an inferior status and they were treated as mere property and they were in a state of subjection of the nearest male patriarch who has rights over them. But Islam improved their status in many areas. Such as by restricting polygamy to four wives, by prohibiting female infanticide, by assigning a share of inheritance to women, by declaring mehr as a gift to the bride and by reorienting the Arale laws of marriage and divorce in favour of women. More specifically Islam contributed to the improvement of status of women in the following ways : (a) By stressing the need to respect and to give good treatment to a foster mother (b) by making woman the mistress of her own property in which the husband has no right to interfere except with her permission (c) by giving her the right of claiming divorce on certain grounds (d) by allowing her to hold any public office, including that of the head of an empire or minister or judge (e) by giving her freedom to remarry after divorce and (6) by encouraging her to study and acquire knowledge (Shushtrey, 1938: 674).

The Quran and other religious books of Islam evidenced that women are not badly treated in Islam. El. Saadawi believes that the recent enhancement of the status of Arab women have been due to a combination of social, economic and political changes of the country and the women's own struggles. The socialist revolution has a positive impact. Revolutions will further the cause of women even more if the positive aspects of Quran can be emphasized and the patriarchal misinterpretations abandoned. According to many non-Muslim writers veil is variously depicted as a tangible symbol of women's oppression, a form of social control, religiously sanctioning women's invisibility and subordinate socio-political status. However, there is another view point: Idijale, or religious modestly maintained through veil, actually has advantage for women, which can reduce or allow them to cope with male oppression.

9.4.3 Position of Women in Hindu Religion

Nowhere else in the world did religion dominate and determine the life of a woman as Hinduism in India. "Her economic activity, her social life, her marriage, birth and death, her physical movements were strictly and minutely controlled by religion" (Kripalni, S. 1975: 16, 29). In order to understand the role of women in Hinduism it is necessary to attempt a historical analysis of the development of an ideology that, on the one hand, embodies an elevated status of womanhood, and on the other, assign her to a subordinate role in society. Dominant patriarchal social forces along with Brahminical culture attempted to erode the basic concept of original female power, which was seen to exist in early historical Hindu society. When patriarchy attempted to 39 Global Debates and their Impacts assert its power by relegating women to a social position – as a pativrata, the basic power of the feminine principle – Sakti reasserted itself in the image of powerful religious symbol, the goddess. Thus, the complex religious and social system that is Hinduism with its variety of beliefs, codes of conduct and modes of worship fostered the development of these contradictory images of women. The image of the ideal woman embodying the attributes of obedience, subservience and moral duties was eventually codified in the Hindu laws and institutionalizing the subordinate status of women. Furthermore, it was stated that any power attributed to woman under Hinduism was in fact a result of her relation to a man – be her father, husband or son. Hindu women's access to knowledge was curtailed by restricting their entrance into the formal religious education system, religious education being regarded as the only source of the knowledge. The great religions of the world uphold similar principles so far as the dominance of men and submission of women is concerned.

Do You Know? 5 Female Goddesses in Hinduism The archeological evidence unearthed with the discovery of pre-Aryan Indus Valley Civilization brought to light numerous female figures leading to the confirmation of the notion of female dominance in the religious sphere. Hindu religion carried a highly positive concept of feminine principle. Unlike Christianity, Judaism and islam, the image of God in Hinduism is not exclusively male. The female principle complements and completes the male. The Polytheistic Hindu pantheon consists of many divine

couples such as Shiva and Shakti, Narayan and Laxmi, etc. In addition Hindu pantheon consists of number of goddess or devis, such as Devi Durga, Chandika (Goddess of power), Laxmi (goddess of wealth); Saraswati (goddess of knowledge), Sitala (Goddess of small-pox), etc. But females, such as the mother goddeses, who protect most villages in India, are nevertheless, frequent objects of worship by both men and women.

In Hindu religion women are active religious practitioners, but they have little religious authority – legitimate, textually sanctioned religious power – which is only limited to a small group of men. Paradoxically, at the popular level women are prominent religious participants, both as specialist and non-specialist. Women's access to the Vedas and other authoritative texts apparently underwent revision sometime around 600 B.C. Previously, women had been able to undertake fasting to hear and learn the Vedas, etc. By the time of Manu, women were no longer allowed to hear the Vedas or to be major participants in rituals. During this time perception of women as pollutants at the same time dangerous (malevolent) were developing among the Aryan population. Fortunately, Hindu religious activity is not solely based on Vedicrituals. The dominant form of ritual activity today is that of Bhakti, or devotion to a deity. Stemming from the Bhagavad Gita and gaining strength from an anti-Brahman, anti-Vedic movement, which started about 700 AD. Bhakti (devotion) and associated rituals do not require the services of a man priest to approach one's chosen deity. One result is that women have direct access to the gods and thus to salvation. Today Vedic rituals are reserved for lifecycle rites and other male dominated occasion. Although women may approach the deities directly through bhakti rituals, men continue to be recognized as legitimate religious specialists. Males are temple priests (pandits), males conduct life-cycle rites (purohits) males are the leaders of most public rituals. Less legitimate participants in public rituals, are more likely to be non-Brahmin males, Procession rituals are not textually sanctioned, appear to be male dominated. All exorcists and shamans are non-Brahman male, occasionally a shaman may be a female. We may conclude that Hindu women have considerable religious involvement. Women as

nonspecialists are “invisible” religious practitioners, since most of their observances are performed non-publicly and their role is not textually sanctioned (Wadley 1988).

Learn From Your Experience 4 You may be aware of the religious doctrines of at least some religions. Try to relate the status of women in day-to-day practical life to that of her position depicted in any of the religious doctrines.

9.5 CHANGING STATUS OF WOMEN IN INDIAN SOCIETY: PRE-COLONIAL, COLONIAL AND INDEPENDENCE PERIOD

Many important changes have taken place in India in the last two hundred years. Some of these are more apparent than real. This is particularly so in relation to the status of women. During the last two hundred years a large number of women have marched out of their segregated households into the public life. However, the position of contemporary Hindu women in India is full of familiar contradictions. There are women politicians who hold high positions, yet men control politics both at the grass roots and at the top. There are some important women intellectuals and professionals in India who occupy top position while the vast majority are still ignorant and illiterate. A large number of women are in the workforce and are landless labourers in the remote villages. There are female deities like Durga, Kali, Chandika, Manasa, etc. who are worshipped and feared by most yet the majority of women at home have low ritual status and live in depressed conditions. Women are revered as mothers at the same time they suffer from brutal violence like rape and physical molestation. They are also worshipped as pure beings, but in order to elevate the status of their men folk rather than themselves. Thus there are seeming paradoxes in the social life of women in India. The historians argue that despite of many legislations and other changes that have occurred in favour of women over the past two hundred years there has been little significant alteration to the traditional structure of male dominance and authority because still there are some deep ideological and structural roots through which this

domination has been perpetuated (Allen and Mukherjee 1982). Women in India constitute nearly fifty percent of the total population. Yet they do not seem to have enjoyed equal status with men. Women's status, by and large, has been one of general subordination to men in societies known for the perpetuation of cultural heritage and tradition. It has been observed that women in India seem to have experienced various problems, particularly those that are socio-cultural over a period of time. India is a multicultural society with a great diversity and various forms of social hierarchy and inequality like caste and class. Women's role, rights, norms, values, customs, etc. are greatly influenced by religion, institutions of family, marriage, kinship, descent, inheritance, caste hierarchy, and other cultural traditions. Hindu society is a complex phenomenon, developed by the integration of a system of theology with a system of social organization. It is often said that Hinduism is not just a religion but a way of life. As a way of life, Hindu society cannot be regarded as being homogenous, for the religious influences have varied through the ages and among peoples at different levels of the social hierarchy (Ponniah 1989).

9.5.1 Women in Pre-colonial India

The status of women in Indian society has changed from time to time. Their status has been variously estimated and there are many views regarding her place in civilization. There is so much variability in the relation of women to society during different time period that it is difficult to make a general statement. Categorically, her utility, resourcefulness in domestic life, refreshing company and affectionate care for children have always proved a great asset to her partner in life and have to a considerable extent determined her status at different stages of civilization. Throughout the Vedic period, women in India especially of the upper caste were given equal status with men. In view of this equality of status, women participated in sacrificial rites and had to be men's equals in upholding "Dharma". Women had been able to hear and learn the Vedas, during 600 B.C. In Rig-Veda, the husband and wife appear to have occupied equal status – both of them were designated as "Dampati". In Indian culture, since the post Vedic period the overall

status of women in family and society has been low. This low status of Indian women were mainly emerged from overpowering patriarchy and male domination, economic dependence of women over men, various caste restrictions, religious prohibitions and prejudices, illiteracy, lack of leadership quality, low self esteem and apathetic and indifferent attitude of men. It was the age of Sutras and Epics (500 BC to A.D. 500) that the status of women changed considerably. Procreation of a son became a religious necessity for he alone could discharge certain ritual obligations to the ancestors. A wife was expected to provide all services needed by her husband and to keep him satisfied. The religious dictum (Manu's) was that a wife ought to respect her husband as a "god" even if he was a drunkard or dumb headed or lunatic was accepted and applying to all women. Practice of Sati was gradually established by A.D. 700. The women were socialized and were expected to play the completely dependent role on men with no opportunity to take decisions of her own. The status of women continued to deteriorate during the age of Smriti (A.D. 500 – A.D. 1800) and Muslim rule till they almost lost all status in society. Scholars like Matson Everett (1981) have identified five specific factors responsible for low status of women in India, both in the family and society and also for seclusion of women. There are Hindu religion, caste system, joint family system, Islamic rule and British colonialism. The values of Hinduism support the male supremacy over female, women's "mother-housewife" role in private domain and men's "public" role in economic and political spheres. Hindu religious scripture prescribed inferior positions of women in ritual activities and a dependent position of woman on man throughout her lifetime. For the first time in Indian history, Indian women were subjected to cruelty during the Mughal period. In view of the Muslim invasion, the indigenous culture had been subjected to acculturation. The customs and traditions of Islam had made in-roads into the native culture. For example, the "purdah" system was widely practiced among the middle classes. According to Altekar (1956) for nearly 2000 years from B.C. to 1800 AD, the status of women steadily deteriorated. The revival of Sati, the prohibition of remarriage, spread of purdah system, and the greater prevalence of polygamy made the position of women worst. Generally

speaking, before the advent of Muslims, the status of Hindu women were certainly better. There were many factors directly or indirectly responsible for the continuous deterioration of the status of Indian women in medieval times. Early marriage became a rule – to safeguard the honour and chastity of girls. The Hindu laws gave unequal and discriminated treatment to women. They were discriminated in marriage, marital status, divorce, widowhood and inheritance. Very few women received education even in the 1850s. Literacy reached such low ebb after 1857 that there was hardly one woman in a hundred who could read and write. This was so because of the evil socio-religious practices, sinister customs, irrational religious rites and inhuman superstitions and ceremonies unknown in ancient periods, which had crept into Hinduism such as child marriage, enforced widowhood, sati temple prostitution (devadasi), purdah, dowry, female infanticides, polygamy, etc. All these made Hindu society a huge, static and immobile one where women had practically no positive role. In this period Hindu women were in a perpetual depressive state. The social structure allowed men greater freedom and liberty and greater access and control over resources, from which women were excluded. Different standards were adapted to judge the individual and social conduct of man and women. The laws did not recognize equality of sexes and equal rights for men and women. Thus there was perpetual decline of status of women for several centuries, had reached its lowest ebb in the nineteenth century

Think It Over 5 What are the factors that contributed to the deterioration of status of women in India since Vedic period?

9.5.2 Colonial Period

There was much unrest among women in India during colonial period; a general desire to change the existing state of things. This had become possible because the 1920's were a period of social and political awakening in India, followed by intense reformist efforts made by social reformers with or without organized support. Thus, the issue of women's status, which had long become the focus of social reform, was also reflected in a series of legal enactments relating to or affecting women. To mention only a few, the Sati Abolition Act was passed in 1829 and

the Widow Remarriage Act in 1854. By 1929, Indian Women had been granted the right to vote. The Sarda Act, which fixed the minimum age at marriage for girls at 14 was enacted in 1929. Mahatma Gandhi stressed the need for educating women. Women's education and amelioration of their status had received a great deal of impetus by the third decade of nineteenth century (Chanana, 1996: 116-121). One of the outstanding features of modern India has been the unprecedented awakening of Indian women during nineteenth and twentieth century. A number of movements, both religious and social like Brahmo samaj, Aryasamaj and Prarthana samaj were launched in the middle of nineteenth century, reforming Hinduism and Indian society. These movements have had a deep impact on the women's identity and women's life in India. The social reformers like Raja Rammohan Roy, Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar in Bengal, Malabari, Ranade in Bombay and Dayananda Saraswati in Punjab and many others and their ideas changed the total atmosphere in India and brought about a near revolution through laws which started the new era of emancipation for women in India. The political upheaval under Mahatma Gandhi marked the climax when women participated in the independence movement. In the 1930s and 1940s the outlook of leaders of the nationalist movement became more egalitarian and less hierarchical. The nationalist leaders' commitment to equality influenced the Indian women's movement to turn to liberal egalitarian values. Some women's organizations were formed to promote modern ideals to women on a nationalist basis. Of these Bharat Stri Mahamandal (BSM) was founded in 1910, Women's India Association (WIA) founded in 1917 by Madame Annie Besant, National Council for Women in India (NCWI) founded in 1925 by Lady Aberdeen, Lady Tata and others and All India women's Conference (AIWC) founded in 1927 by the efforts of Margaret Cousins and others. These organizations took up various issues like women's education; abolition of social evils, Hindu law reform; moral and material progress of women, equality of rights and opportunities and women's suffrage. According to Ahuja (1992) the Indian Women's movement worked for two goals: 1) uplift the status of women in India, that is, reforming social practices so as to enable women to play a more important and constructive role in society

and ii) equal rights for men and women, that is, extension of civil rights enjoyed by men in the political, economic and familial spheres to women also.

9.5.3 Indian Government and Women's Equality

What Indian women achieved after independence of India and the provisions for gender equality in the Indian Constitution was a consequence of their participation in the freedom struggle. The Constitution of India brought Indian women at par with men. Article 326 gave them the right to vote. Articles 14, 15 and 16 ensure equality of opportunity and equality before the law. The state can make special provisions for women. Thus, the Constitution gives equality to Indian women through its fundamental rights and Directive Principles of State Policy.

The adult franchise brought Indian women on an equal footing with men. The Constitution of India guarantees all those rights to women which are given to men. The Central Social Welfare Board (CSWB) was established by the Government of India 1953 to promote and strengthen voluntary efforts for the welfare of women. The Five Years Plans also laid emphasis on women's rights and stressed on the welfare activities, education, health and family planning for women. After Independence in 1947, there was an acceptance of professional life for women although they were not encouraged in scientific and technological vocations. It has been observed that women of the upper classes have better educational and job opportunities whereas the rural and lower-middle class women do not enjoy such wide perspectives because they unfortunately still believe in traditional social taboos. Many of them are still confined to the four walls of domesticity and strict patriarchy. The appointment of the National Committee on the status of women in India 1972, and the publication of its report in 1975 marked the first comprehensive official attempt in contemporary times to study the status of Indian women and recommend changes to improve their position. The report highlighted that despite constitutional guarantees the roles, rights and participation of women in all spheres of life were limited. The literacy rate of Indian women in still half of the literacy rate of men; sex ratio is still very low

and life expectancy at birth for females is still lower than males and the economic participation rate of women is still very low when compared to men.

The National Commission for Women (NCW) was set up on January 31, 1992 to look into women related issues, to probe into the status of women, to study various legislations and point out the gaps, to look into the discrimination and violence against women and analyse possible remedies. Still the status of Indian women is not up to the mark or to the desired level. The question looks large that even in the twenty first century are Indian women belong to the category of second sex? It is true that one set of disabilities of women like – Sati, child marriage, female infanticide, widowhood, denial of property rights, devadasi system, etc. have been removed by social reforms and legislations but others have taken their place in some new forms and practices such as bride-price, female foeticide, girl trafficking, divorce, etc. A series of laws have been passed in last five decades since independence for the upliftment of status of women in India but it is really pity for Indian women that all these are far from reality. A handful of womenfolk only enjoys the benefits form the state who belongs to a small section of privileged educated women of urban upper economic strata. We cannot deny that various opportunities for women have considerably widened certain levels and enabled them to achieve numerous advances/gains in various spheres. But the process of modernization, westernization and of latest globalization further complicated the situation. A large section of the population of India lives in rural areas with traditional mentality and it is difficult for them to accept modern role of women in India based on equality, rationality and progressive mind. Society's attitude in general is changing slowly towards women's due role and status, but the pattern of male superiority is still dominating. Although legally and theoretically women are now recognized as the social equal of men, the patriarchal family, the caste system, religious mores and prevailing value system are still surcharged with the spirit of male domination.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

1. Discuss the Status of Women in Different Religions.

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2. Discuss the Changing Status of Women in Indian Society: Pre-colonial, Colonial and Independence Period.

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9.6 LET US SUM UP

The attitude, which determines behaviour and the ideology, is the crucial variable affecting the changing process of status of women. People act on the values or beliefs of the society. Hence a change in status of women can come about only through persuading the public that a given set of values is wrong and must be modified. The attitudes related to women's low position and inequality is very difficult to change except under compulsion. Nevertheless, higher education and employment operated as an effective engine of change in the lives of women. Holding a job has involved women in a role — that of breadearner — which by all accounts is most salient in defining the differences between the sexes. The change in women's economic role has provided a necessary precondition for the revival of the drive for equality. As more and more women become educated and join in the labour force they will gain personal knowledge of discrimination and the need to correct it. The present unit examines the status of women from a historical perspective. At the outset the unit discusses the different parameters through which one can understand the very concept of status of women and against which the status of women can be analyzed.

Then it goes on discussing the status of women in earlier societies. Earlier societies are said to be egalitarian in terms of gender. But with the economic development of the society the status of women deteriorated. An array of factors that collectively contributed to this process. The patriarchal system found a stronghold with industrialization pushing

women to secondary position in all arenas of social life. Section 9.3 deals with the changing status of women at different historical periods. This is followed by a discussion on the status assigned to women in different religious groups. The last section is devoted to the discussion on changing status of women in Indian society, taking Hindu women a point of analysis.

9.7 KEY WORDS

Ideology : Generally the term ideology is used to represent a total system of thought and emotion and attitude to the world, to society and human beings. It is used to mean any conception of the world which of its nature goes beyond what positive science can validate and which carries an emotive tone relevant to social action.

Egalitarian : the word refers to a set of prescriptions between individuals and groups. It advocates equal treatment for equal cases and seeks to eliminate the use of irrelevant criteria in classifying cases.

Stratification : Social differences become stratification when people are ranked hierarchically along some dimension of inequality, whether this be income, wealth, prestige, age, ethnicity, gender etc.

Hierarchy : A hierarchy is a system of ranking and organizing things or people in an ascending chain of power or authority, where each element of the system (except for the top element) is subordinate to a single other element. Originally, the term was used to mean government by a body of priests. Currently, a hierarchy is used to denote any body of individuals arranged or classified according to capacity, authority, position, or rank.

Autonomy : Autonomy means freedom from all external constraints. An autonomous being is one that has the power of self-direction, possessing the ability to act as it decides, independent of the will of others and of other internal or external factors.

9.8 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. Discuss the Status of Women: Different Parameters to Understand Status of Women
2. Discuss the Status of Women in Society: A Historical Overview
3. Discuss the Status of Women in Different Religions
4. Discuss the Changing Status of Women in Indian Society: Pre-colonial, Colonial and Independence Period.

9.9 SUGGESTED READINGS AND REFERENCES

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9.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

1. See Section 9.2
2. See Section 9.3

Check Your Progress 2

1. See Section 9.4
2. See Section 9.5

UNIT 10: POLITICAL IDEAS (MEDIEVAL PERIOD): MONARCHY

STRUCTURE

10.0 OBJECTIVES

After this unit, we can able to know:

- To discuss about the Scope of Medieval Political Philosophy
- To know about the Carolingian Political Thought
- To know Civil and Canon Law
- To discuss the Aristotle's Politics
- To know The Medieval Tradition of Political Philosophy
- To highlight the Monarchy

10.1 INTRODUCTION

Medieval philosophy is the philosophy produced in Western Europe during the middle ages. There is no consensus, even among medievalists, as to when this period begins or ends; however, it is conventional—and probably neither fully correct nor incorrect—to begin with Augustine (354–430), and note that the influence of medieval philosophy continued past even the birth of Descartes (1596–1650). Medieval political philosophy is the part of medieval philosophy that is concerned with political matters. Philosophical writing about politics during the middle ages (as during the early modern period) was often an attempt to influence public events, and the history of the subject therefore involves reference to those events. It also involves reference to developments in medieval culture, e.g., the renaissances of the ninth and twelfth centuries, and to the development of institutions such as the legal system and the universities. The strong relationship during this period between philosophy and religion also complicates the story. These "extra-philosophical" connections are among the reasons why political philosophy underwent considerable development in the course of the

middle ages, as religious and political thinking was modified by cultural developments and the stress of events. The focus is on the theologians and philosophers of the Latin Middle Ages, and the general arrangement of this article is chronological.

10.2 THE SCOPE OF MEDIEVAL POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

"Medieval" refers primarily to Europe (the term being applied to other cultures by analogy). Medieval philosophy includes the "pre-scholastic", "scholastic" and "late scholastic" periods.

"Scholasticism" refers to the intellectual culture characteristic of the medieval schools. In the twelfth century schooling became a flourishing industry in Paris, Bologna and many other places. By the early thirteenth century the masters of the schools in some places had formed corporations generally called universities. The working language of the schools was Latin, and teachers and students were clergy. The universities got a great boost from the translation into Latin of the works of Aristotle, commentaries on Aristotle and related works in Greek or Arabic. These translations were made and copied because there was a public whose interest in Aristotle had been formed by the schools of the twelfth century, in which some works of Aristotle that had been translated earlier (part of the logica vetus, the "old logic") were already objects of close study. In the universities, philosophy was studied in the Arts faculties, but philosophy was developed and employed also in the faculties of theology. The study of law was important in medieval universities and ideas derived from the law were influential in political thinking. Writers on political philosophy used a number of the literary genres characteristic of scholasticism, such as the commentary, the disputed question, the dialogue, and the treatise (see the entry on literary forms of medieval philosophy).

"Late scholasticism" conventionally begins with the fourteenth century and overlaps with the early modern period. The people we think of as the early modern philosophers were trained in the universities (or, in Descartes' case, in a Jesuit school), but they wrote mostly outside the universities and mostly in vernacular languages. Philosophy of the

scholastic kind continued, taught and written in Latin, throughout the seventeenth century in the universities, especially in Italy, Spain, and the Netherlands, in the Jesuit schools in many countries, and in some Protestant schools.

The "pre-scholastic" medieval period includes Abelard (1079–1142), and Anselm (1033–1109) and the writers of the Carolingian age, but it is difficult to say how far back this period should be traced. Perhaps it should include Boethius (c. 475/7–526) and Augustine, who were deeply influential in Europe from their own time until the end of the middle ages (and beyond), though they might also be regarded as belonging to late Antiquity. Boethius had written or translated from Greek into Latin some of the logical works studied in the twelfth century schools; Augustine was the dominant influence in medieval theology. Boethius wrote nothing directly relevant to political philosophy, but Augustine certainly did, so for the purposes of this article "medieval" begins with Augustine.

By medieval political philosophy we understand the medieval writings on politics that are recognizably akin to the modern writings we class as political philosophy. Their authors were usually academics who wrote with university-educated readers in mind; they drew upon ideas explored in the schools and they wrote in an academic way. Some wrote commentaries on Aristotle's Politics and academic "disputed questions" related to topics of political philosophy. However, political philosophy was not part of the university core curriculum (Miethke 2000b). The authors of political writings generally did not write these works in the course of their teaching duties. Generally they wrote in response to some political event. Some wrote for the edification of a king or other ruler, others sought to influence conflicts between the Church and secular rulers, others were concerned with conflicts within the Church about the constitution of the Church and the powers of popes and councils. Often they were committed to one or other side in these conflicts—many clerics supported secular rulers in their conflicts with the Church.

This article describes the most important sources of medieval political ideas and the work of some of the most interesting writers. The main sources were the Bible, the Fathers of the Church, the textbooks of canon and civil law, and the works of Aristotle, especially the Politics. Sections

2 and 3 will outline what medieval political thought took from the Bible and the Fathers. Sections 4 and 5 will sketch the ideas of political thinkers of the pre-scholastic period, including Augustine. Sections 6 and 7 will sketch the sources that became influential during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, namely Aristotle and the law textbooks. Section 8 will outline one of the main issues of medieval political thought from the thirteenth century onwards, namely the political power of the pope. Section 9 will outline the work of a major thirteenth century writer, Thomas Aquinas. Sections 10–14 will be concerned with writers on political philosophy during the 14th and 15th centuries, including Marsilius of Padua and William of Ockham.

10.3 THE BIBLE

For medieval Christians the Bible was what we call the Vulgate, a Latin translation of the Old Testament (as Christians called the Jewish scriptures) and the New Testament. The Protestant reformers have persuaded many that the Bible was neglected during the middle ages—according to Luther the Bible "has come to lie forgotten in the dust under the bench" (see Luther [1539] 1915: vol. 1, 7; cf. 2 Kings 22:8). However, the many copies of the Bible made during the middle ages, the many commentaries on books of the Bible made by medieval scholars and the constant references to the Bible in their writings show that the Bible was a very familiar book.

10.3.1 Obedience to the Powers That Be

Political ideas conveyed by the Bible include the following:

The human race is normally ruled by kings or emperors. There are very few traces of republican institutions in the Bible. (There is one exception: 1 Machabees 8:14–16 is an admiring description of Roman republican government.)

Kings are very often wicked tyrants and enemies of God. The peoples often share the vices of their rulers.

The kingship of King David is a model (though David also often sinned).

Subjects must obey rulers, even the wicked. It is wrong to rebel, and especially to make any attack on the person of the ruler—see 2 Samuel 1:14–16. But obedience to rulers is always limited by obedience to the commands of God. The New Testament writers teach that Christians must obey their rulers:

Let every soul be subject to higher powers: for there is no power but from God: and those that are, are ordained of God. Therefore he that resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God. And they that resist, purchase to themselves damnation. … For he is God's minister to thee, for good. But if thou do that which is evil, fear: for he beareth not the sword in vain. For he is God's minister: an avenger to execute wrath upon him that doth evil. Wherefore be subject of necessity, not only for wrath, but also for conscience' sake. (Romans 13:1–5). Be ye subject therefore to every human creature for God's sake: whether it be to the king as excelling; or to governors as sent by him … For so is the will of God. (1 Peter 2:13–15). In the seventeenth century most Protestants and some Catholics inferred from these texts that subjects always have a religious duty to obey their rulers, reconciling this with the text "We ought to obey God, rather than men" (Acts 5:29) by means of a doctrine of "passive obedience".[5] Some of the Fathers and the Carolingian writers held a similar position, but most scholastic authors, under the influence of ideas drawn partly from Aristotle and partly from the law texts, held that under some circumstances disobedience and rebellion may be justified.

10.3.2 Slavery

New Testament writers say that whether a Christian is slave or free is a matter indifferent:

Let every man abide in the same calling in which he was called. Wast thou called, being a bondman? care not for it … For he that is called in the Lord, being a bondman, is the freeman of the Lord. Likewise he that is called, being free, is the bondman of Christ. (1 Corinthians 7:20–22)

There is neither Jew nor Greek: there is neither bond nor free: there is neither male nor female. For you are all one in Christ Jesus. (Galatians 3:28)

The ancient Cynics and Stoics also held that a slave may attain virtue and happiness, since the essential freedom of a human being is not incompatible with external constraint.

Since being a slave is a matter indifferent, Christianity did not condemn slavery. Several New Testament texts exhort slaves to obedience (the Vulgate servi, which is normally and properly translated "slaves", is in the Douai version translated "servants"):

Servants, be subject to your masters with all fear, not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward. (1 Peter 2:18)

Servants, be obedient to them that are your lords according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in the simplicity of your heart, as to Christ. (Ephesians 6:5; cf. Colossians 3:22)

Paul wrote a letter to the Christian slave owner, Philemon, exhorting him to treat well a fugitive slave "whom I have sent back to thee" (Philemon 1:12).

10.3.3 Property

"Thou shalt not steal" was one of the ten commandments (Exodus 20:15). Medieval writers assumed that the institution of private property was normal and right and that property should be respected. However, the New Testament encouraged voluntary poverty:

Jesus saith to him: If thou wilt be perfect, go sell what thou hast, and give to the poor…Then Jesus said to his disciples: Amen, I say to you, that a rich man shall hardly enter into the kingdom of heaven. And again I say to you: It is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven. (Matthew 19:21–24; cf. Luke 18:22)

The New Testament also seemed to recommend voluntary communism as an ideal. The early Christian community in Jerusalem had but one heart and one soul: neither did any one say that aught of the things which he possessed, was his own; but all things were common unto them. … neither was there any one needy among them. For as many as were owners of lands or houses, sold them, and brought the price of the things they sold, and laid it down before the feet of the apostles. And distribution was made to every one, according as he had need. (Acts

4:32–35; cf. Acts 2:44–45) The leading institutions of medieval Europe included monasticism and other forms of religious life based on a vow of poverty and communal living.

10.3.4 Pacifism

The New Testament included texts that seemed to forbid Christians to use force:

But I say to you not to resist evil: but if one strike thee on thy right cheek, turn to him also the other…Love your enemies: do good to them that hate you: and pray for them that persecute and calumniate you. (Matthew 5:39–44).

10.3.5 Christ's Kingdom

Medieval Christians held that Christ was in some sense a king.[6] However, Jesus said "My kingdom is not of this world" (John 18:36), and he seemed to recommend obedience to the Roman Emperor: "Render therefore to Caesar the things that are Caesar's; and to God, the things that are God's" (Matthew 22:21). None of Christ's followers would have power over the others:

You know that the princes of the Gentiles lord it over them; and they that are the greater, exercise power upon them. It shall not be so among you. (Matthew 20:25–26)

Be not you called rabbi. For one is your master, and all you are brethren. And call none your father upon earth: for one is your father, who is in heaven. Neither be ye called masters: for one is your master, Christ. (Matthew 23:8–10)

Despite these texts the clergy accepted titles of honour and claimed authority and power: the Church saw itself as Christ's kingdom on earth, and claimed a share in Christ's power.

Paul's text,

For what have I to do to judge them that are without? Do not you judge them that are within? For them that are without, God will judge, (1 Corinthians 5:12–13) was usually taken to imply that the Church has no jurisdiction over non-Christians ("them that are without", i.e., outside the Church).

10.4 THE FATHERS OF THE CHURCH

The Christian theologians of late antiquity are referred to as the Fathers of the Church.[7] The most influential of them in medieval Europe was Augustine; others included Cyprian, Ambrose and Gregory. The Greek Fathers (Origen, Chrysostom, etc.) were not so influential at first, but during the scholastic period many of their writings were translated into Latin.[8] The Fathers were influential partly through their originalia (i.e., their original writings in their complete text), but perhaps more through extracts included in "glosses" on the Bible and in anthologies and through extensive quotations made by later writers. Many of the Fathers were influenced by the Platonism and Stoicism that every educated person became acquainted with in the ancient world. Augustine was particularly influenced by Platonism, in the version modern scholars call Neoplatonism, and by Plotinus especially.

The Fathers passed down to the middle ages the idea that certain key social institutions were not part of God's original plan for mankind, namely the institutions of coercive government, slavery and property. The idea found in Seneca and other ancient Stoics of a Golden Age had a parallel in Christian thinking, namely the age of innocence in the Garden of Eden, from which mankind were expelled because of the sin of Adam and Eve (the "Fall").[9] Just as Seneca ([c. 60 CE] 1917–25: vol. II, 397, Letter 90) held that originally there would have been no need for coercion, since human beings would voluntarily have accepted the guidance of the wise, and no need for property, since no one would have sought to control more resources than they needed to support a temperate way of life, and no slavery, since a slave is a human being treated as property, so, according to the Fathers, these institutions would not have existed if Adam had not sinned. But because of sin they do exist, both as a result of sinfulness (the power-hungry and greedy amass coercive power and property), and as a necessary and justified remedy for sin—ideally, governments should use coercion to repress wrongdoing, with slavery used only as a punishment, milder than execution, for wrongdoing, and property should be of moderate extent, its purpose being to protect possession of necessities from the greed of those who would otherwise try to control everything.

10.5 AUGUSTINE

10.5.1 The City of God

The work of Augustine's most likely to be known to modern students of political thought is The City of God. Although this work was often copied in the middle ages (382 manuscripts have survived), a reading of the whole work was never part of the university curriculum. Extracts from it were included in influential anthologies, such as Gratian's Decretum and Peter Lombard's Sentences (c. 1150).

Two cities, the city of God and the earthly city, are distinguished by two loves, love of God and (misdirected) love of self, and by two destinies, heaven and hell. Augustine's most famous contribution to theology was the doctrine of predestination, a position that only became pronounced later in life. God has decreed from all eternity that to some he will give the grace (special help) needed to attain eternal salvation, while the rest of mankind (the majority) will go to eternal damnation—the massa damnata (City of God, XXI.12, p. 1070). Salvation requires the grace of "final perseverance", i.e., the grace of being in friendship with God at the moment of death. Some who live well for most of their lives may fall away at the very end. Thus we cannot tell for sure who is predestined to salvation. Since the city of God consists of those predestined to salvation, we cannot be sure of its membership. The city of God is not identical with the Church, since not all members of the Church will be saved. The earthly city is not identical with any particular state, since some members of a state may be predestined to salvation. A particular state may include citizens of both cities.

Although the members of the two cities have different ultimate values, they may have intermediate ends in common—for example, they all desire peace on earth. Insofar as any particular state serves such common ends it will have the cooperation of members of the city of God (City of God, XIX.17, p. 945–7). As a Platonist Augustine thought in terms of a hierarchy of levels of reality, in which lower levels imitate or reflect the higher levels. Augustine's is not a philosophy of "black and white", of stark opposition between the forces of light and the forces of darkness—this was the Manichean philosophy, to which Augustine at one time

subscribed, until the reading of certain works of the Platonists had led him to reject it. According to Augustine there is no absolute evil (see City of God XI.22, XII.2, 3, 7; Confessions VII.xii.18–xiii.19; Enchiridion 11–12). Anything evil must be to some extent good, or it could not exist at all. Its evil consists in disorder or misdirection, in its failing to attain all the goodness appropriate to it.

10.5.2 Warfare

Augustine insists, against the Manichees, that the God of the Old Testament is the same God as the God of the New Testament. One of the most striking differences between the two testaments was in relation to warfare. In the Old Testament God permits, in fact requires, the Israelites to engage in massacres. In the land God has given to the Israelites, the inhabitants of a city that surrenders will be enslaved, but if the city resists, "you shall not leave a single soul alive" (Deuteronomy 20:11, 16). "You must utterly destroy them; you shall make no covenant with them, and show no mercy to them" (Deuteronomy 7:2). If in some Israelite city some inhabitants practice idolatry, "you shall surely put the inhabitants of that city to the sword, destroying it utterly, all who are in it and its cattle" (Deuteronomy 13:16). Moses himself carried out a massacre of Israelites who had practiced idolatry (Exodus 32:25–9). Moses was angry when the Israelites spared women and children, and ordered them to kill all the prisoners except the virgins, whom they could keep for themselves (Numbers 31:13–18). Samuel was angry with Saul when the army let some animals live; for that sin, God deprived Saul of the kingdom (1 Samuel 15). Samuel himself hewed a prisoner to pieces (1 Kings 15:32–3). In the New Testament, in contrast, Christ says: "if one strike thee on thy right cheek, turn to him also the other" (Matthew 5:39). Can the New Testament be reconciled with the Old Testament? On Augustine's view, the two Testaments must be reconcilable, since everything in the Bible is true.

10.5.3 Coercion of Heretics

In accordance with Augustine's view of warfare, Christians were entitled to ask the Roman authorities, including those among them who were

Christian, for military protection against the violence of heretics and anti-Christians. But it was a further step to ask the authorities to coerce heretics to convert them to orthodox Christianity. At first Augustine disapproved of such coercion: "A man cannot believe unless he is willing" (Tractates on the Gospel of John, XXVI.2). But after a while he was persuaded and became an advocate of the use of force to "compel them to come in" (Luke 14:16–24). He was persuaded by converted Donatists who expressed gratitude to those who had compelled them to convert (Letter 93 V.17–19).

According to Augustine, the property of heretical sects may rightly be confiscated (Tractates on the Gospel of John, VI.25), in which Augustine justifies government seizure of Donatist property. He does not argue that only orthodox Christians can rightly possess property. Rather, his point is that whoever possesses property possesses it only by virtue of human laws made by kings and emperors. Therefore, if the ruler decides to confiscate the property of heretics, he has the right to do so. This passage, which Gratian quoted in the Decretum (D. 8 c. 1), was often used in the middle ages to support the doctrine that property exists only by human law. Gratian's extensive use of Augustine in the Decretum arguably greatly increased Augustine's influence on the topic of warfare, property, and the coercion of heretics (for Augustine's views on property, see MacQueen 1972).

10.6 CAROLINGIAN POLITICAL THOUGHT

The period in the history of Latin Europe after that of the "Fathers of the Church" has traditionally been called the "dark age", because very few writings were produced then. It was followed by what has sometimes been called "The Carolingian Renaissance", associated with the court of Charlemagne, toward the end of the eighth century. The political writers of the ninth century—e.g., Hincmar of Rheims (c. 805/6–81), Rabanus Maurus (780–856), Jonas of Orléans (c. 780–842/3)—are not household names, yet they gave expression to ideas that were important throughout the rest of the middle ages, in particular ideas about the role of a king and the difference between king and tyrant.

According to these writers, the king is in some sense a religious figure (Oakley 2010: 143ff.). This meant that the king could involve himself in religious matters much more than would later be acceptable to the medieval church, but it also meant that the king was to be instructed in his duties by the clergy. Some of the writings of this period belong to what modern scholars call the "mirror of princes" genre. An early example was written by Jonas of Orléans (1983) in about 831, which is a good example, too, of how the genre was rarely limited to only discussions of the secular power. Writers taught the king that he had a duty to do justice. This was often construed as meaning that the king had a duty to enforce and also to obey the law, and the law was thought of as partly custom, partly royal decree, but also as something based on the consent of the people. It was suggested—notably, e.g., by Hincmar of Rheims—that a king might be deposed if he failed to obey the laws and lost the consent of the people (Carlyle and Carlyle 1903: vol. 1, 242–52).

10.7 CIVIL AND CANON LAW

Historians point to another "renaissance" (i.e., another stage in the re-appropriation of the culture of antiquity) during the twelfth century. This "renaissance of the twelfth century" included a revival in the study of civil law, i.e., the Roman law as codified and digested by Justinian and his officials (the Corpus iuris civilis, 533/4), and this stimulated and influenced the study of canon law, beginning with Gratian's Decretum.

Ideas that medieval political thinkers took—in different ways and to different degrees—from the law texts included the following:

A distinction among kinds of laws, namely natural law (ius naturale), law of nations (ius gentium), and civil law (i.e., the law of a particular community). The law textbooks were perhaps the main source of the idea of natural law, so important to later medieval political thought. This idea can be traced back to Cicero, to the Stoics, and to Aristotle, but most medieval political philosophers encountered it in Gratian's Decretum. (As a rule, medieval theologians and philosophers evince a greater familiarity with the collections of canon law than with the Corpus iuris civilis.)

A notion of rights, including natural rights ("human rights" as we would say), attributable to individuals. It is noteworthy that the language of rights, without which many people these days would not know how to talk about politics, did not fully enter political philosophy until the fourteenth century as a borrowing from the law.

A belief in "the one liberty of all men", that is, the idea that human beings are basically equal and that slavery is contrary to natural law, though in accordance with the law of nations.

An account, or rather two accounts, of the origin of property: according to some Roman law texts, property originated by natural law; according to others by the law of nations. According to canon law, property exists by human law (which includes the law of nations and the civil law); compare Augustine's statement that property exists by the laws of the emperors (§4.3 above).

A canon law doctrine that human law cannot altogether abolish the original commonness of things under natural law. Property owners must help the poor (see Ambrose, end of §3 above), and in cases of necessity, a person may assert the natural right to use anything needed to sustain life. The doctrine that the source of political authority is the people, who have, however, entrusted their power to the emperor or other ruler.

The doctrine that either the pope or emperor (or both) has a "fullness of power" (see §8 below).

The doctrine that natural law permits an individual to resist force by force (Digest 1.1.3; D. 1 c. 7, trans. in Gratian [c. 1140] 1993: 7). This doctrine would provide a premise for arguments for the right to resist a tyrannical government, used later by Locke.

A distinction between Church and State—more exactly, between the priesthood and the power of the emperor, each independent in its own sphere, though the priesthood has the higher function. The classic place for this doctrine is the canon Duo sunt. Another canon, Cum ad verum, gave reasons for the separation: mutual limitation of their powers would restrain the pride of priest and emperor, and those on God's service (the clergy) should be kept free of worldly entanglements (D. 96 c. 6; translated in Tierney 1980: 14–15). This was also the force of the canons Sicut enim and Te quidem.

Various legal ideas relating to corporations and representation (including the distinction between a head's capacity as head and his private capacity), the need for meetings to deal with common concerns ("what touches everyone must be discussed and approved by everyone"), and majority decision (or some qualified version thereof) when there is no unanimity (decision by "the greater and sounder part").

Of these points, what was probably most important for medieval political philosophy was the idea of natural law.

10.7.1 Natural Law and Natural Rights

Complex reflections on natural law were prompted by a text of Isidore of Seville (quoted in D. 1 c. 7; Gratian 1993: 6–7). According to Isidore, natural law includes the common possession of all things, the one liberty of all, and the acquisition of what is taken from air, land and sea; also, the restitution of a thing or money left for safekeeping.

The common possession of all things seems inconsistent with the acquisition and restitution of property.

One of the early commentators on Gratian, Rufinus, distinguished within natural law between commands or prohibitions, to which there can be no exceptions, and "indications" (demonstrationes) pointing out what is better but not always obligatory. Thus natural law not only lays down rules but also recommends ideals. The "one liberty of all men" and "common possession of all things" belong to the "indications". Since the indications do not impose strict obligations, human laws can for good reasons set them aside. To do so may even serve the recommended ideals, under some circumstances.

For example… it was established that those who pertinaciously rebelled against those who have authority over them would be perpetually slaves when defeated and captured in war… that [they]… should thereafter become gentle…

—a purpose recommended by natural law (trans. Lewis 1954: vol. 1, 38; see Tierney 2014: 23–8). One of the founders of Franciscan theology, Alexander of Hales, reported Rufinus's distinction and a similar distinction by Hugh of St Victor (Alexander of Hales [c. 1240] 1948: vol. 4, 348, 351–2) but also suggested another way of resolving the

inconsistency in Isidore's list, based on Augustine's explanation of how the same God can be the author of the Old Law and of the New: namely, that the same principles may require different particular rules for different circumstances. According to Alexander, Isidore's list is not inconsistent after all, since natural law prescribes community for the state of innocence and respect for property for the fallen state. The leading Franciscan theologian of the next generation, Bonaventure, adopted a similar position.

Building on these ideas, Ockham developed a distinction between three kinds of natural law, according to which some principles of natural law apply everywhere and always, some applied only in the state of innocence, and some apply only "on supposition", viz. on the supposition of some voluntary act (e.g., an agreement or an act of legislation), unless those concerned agree on something else. Thus "the common possession of all things, the one liberty of all" belonged to the natural law in the state of innocence, but "the acquisition of what is taken from air, land and sea; also, the restitution of a thing or money left for safekeeping" belonged to natural law "on supposition"—supposing Adam's sin, and supposing that human law has since made a division of property, it is a requirement of natural law to respect others' property (William of Ockham, Letter: 286–93; commentary in Kilcullen 2001a, Tierney 2014: 103–16). Many things that belong to the law of nations are also natural laws of the third kind.

Besides natural law, scholastic thinkers developed a notion of natural rights, borrowing the notion of a right from the canon lawyers. A natural right may be simply something that natural law requires or permits. But according to some, natural rights to certain freedoms belong to natural law "positively", in the sense that there is a presumption in their favour, so that they cannot be abolished, at least not for all circumstances, or cannot be abolished except for good reasons. Medieval natural rights foreshadow modern "human rights" (Tierney 1997; Mäkinen and Korkman 2006; Mäkinen 2010; Kilcullen 2010c,d; and Robinson 2014a).

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

1. Discuss about the Scope of Medieval Political Philosophy.

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2. How do you know about the Carolingian Political Thought?

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3. What do know Civil and Canon Law?

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10.8 ARISTOTLE'S POLITICS

Another aspect of the "renaissance of the twelfth century" was the translation into Latin of many Greek and Arabic philosophical and scientific writings (see the section on "new translations" in the entry on medieval philosophy). The market for these translations included the teachers, students and alumni of the urban schools, which in the early thirteenth century began to form universities. The universities set the curriculum followed in the schools of the town, and, given Aristotle's fame, competition for students between the schools of different towns soon meant that Aristotle's works became the main element in the Arts curriculum (despite the misgivings of the theologians, who noted the conflicts between Aristotle's philosophy and Christian belief).

In their interpretations of Aristotle's natural philosophy and metaphysics and in philosophical thinking generally, the medieval schools were much influenced by Muslim and Jewish thinkers. This was not true, however, in political philosophy. By some accident of transmission, the Islamic world does not seem to have known Aristotle's Politics, but the Muslims did become acquainted with Plato's Republic—which, however, was not translated into Latin during the middle ages. In Arabic there was a good deal of political philosophy showing the influence of Plato (for some information, see the entry on Greek Sources in Arabic and Islamic

Philosophy), but it had little or no influence over political philosophy in medieval Europe.

Aristotle's Politics was translated into Latin for the first time in the mid-1260s by William of Moerbeke (Schütrumpf 2014) (An incomplete translation had been made a few years earlier, possibly by Moerbeke, and the Nicomachean Ethics, some parts of which relate to politics, had been translated by Robert Grosseteste a little earlier.) Although the Politics did not become part of the core curriculum, it was closely studied by many of the leading philosophers of the scholastic period (Flüeler 1993). Notable commentaries on the Politics were written by Thomas Aquinas and Peter of Auvergne.[38] Ockham drew on their commentaries to give a clear and concise summary of Aristotle's political theory (William of Ockham [c. 1334] Letter: 133–143; Lambertini 2000: 269ff.). (For a modern account of the work see the entry on Aristotle's political theory.)

Ideas which medieval political writers took from Aristotle (or which Aristotle reinforced) include the following:

It is natural for human beings to form cities. "Political" [i.e., city] life is natural to human kind.[39] On the face of it, this is in conflict with Augustine (see §4 above).

The city or state exists not just for security and trade, but to foster the "good life", the life according to virtue (Politics III.9, 1280 a32–b35).

Some human beings are slaves "by nature", i.e., there are, or may be, human beings marked out by nature for subordination to the interests of others. Natural slaves are human beings naturally lacking in intelligence and in capacity to achieve virtue or happiness.[40] This conflicted with the thinking of the New Testament (see §2.2), the lawyers (§6) and the Stoics and the Fathers of the Church (§3).

Women should, in general, be ruled by men (Politics I.5, 1254 b13). The inferiority of women was already the general opinion, but Aristotle reinforced it, not only by what he said in the Politics but also by his biological theories.

There are various forms of government, of which some are good and some are perversions. The good forms seek "the common good", i.e., the good of both ruler and ruled. The best is kingship, the worst tyranny. "The common good" became a basic conception in medieval political

philosophy (Kempshall 1999; McGrade, Kilcullen, and Kempshall 2001).

There is a "best" regime, the form of government that best fosters the common good. The "ideal polity" was not a topic of pre-Aristotelian medieval thought, but it became a common theme (e.g., William of Ockham, Letter: 311–23; see Blythe 1992).

"The rule of law" is better than "the rule of men", i.e., it is better to have rules impartially applied than to leave every decision to the unfettered discretion of the rulers. This accorded with the earlier medieval idea that the difference between a king and a tyrant is that the king observes the law (see §6).

However, since no legislator can foresee every case that may arise, the rule of law must be tempered by epieikeia, "equity", the making of exceptions to general rules when exceptional cases arise (Nicomachean Ethics V.10, and Politics III.16, 1287 a23–28, 1287 b15–27).

A good form of government must be stable, not liable to revolution (Politics V, and VI.5). Medieval Aristotelians gave some thought to precautions against the degeneration of kingship into tyranny. Marsilius presents Defensor pacis as a supplement to Aristotle's discussion of the causes of revolution.

Although Aristotle regarded kingship as ideally best (and medieval writers agreed), Aristotle also gives an argument for democracy—or, more exactly, an argument that in good government there is a role for ordinary people. If ordinary people deliberate as a body they may make sound decisions (Politics III.11). Marsilius (and others) used Aristotle's remarks to support the proposition that the people are the ultimate political authority, an idea also found in the Roman law.

All of Aristotle's works supported one of the central institutions of medieval university life, disputation, in which the master states opposing positions and supports them with strong arguments, then evaluates the arguments by criticism. The practice of disputing about important questions, including questions relating to politics, was deeply ingrained in medieval culture.

10.9 PAPAL FULLNESS OF POWER

So much for the sources of medieval political philosophy and its early stages. Let us turn now to the contributions made by scholastic and late scholastic writers, who often became involved in conflict between secular rulers and the papacy.

One focus of controversy was the papal claim to "fullness of power". Originally the claim meant that the pope had preeminently whatever power any other authority had within the Church, so that he could intervene by full right in any Church affair (Rivière 1925). Pope Innocent III (1198–1216), whose decretals repeatedly "exalted papal political power" (Pennington 2007: 165), provided the fodder for subsequent jurists to develop the notion of papal fullness of power. During the thirteenth century this conception was also invoked when the pope authorised the mendicant friars to preach and perform religious functions in a diocese even without the consent of the diocesan bishop. Such interventions were strongly opposed by many secular clerics who argued that bishops had their authority by divine law and were not merely agents of the pope.

During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries popes also claimed the right to intervene in affairs normally the province of secular rulers. This claim was made especially in reference to the Roman Empire. Pope Leo III had crowned Charlemagne as Roman Emperor in 800, and in 962 Pope John XII gave the title "Roman Emperor" to the German prince Otto I. From then until 1806 a succession of German princes claimed the title. The popes took the view that they had transferred the Empire from the Greeks to the Franks in the person of Charlemagne, and from the Franks to the Germans in the person of Otto I, thereby showing that the Roman Empire was subject to the popes, and in particular that the pope had a right to approve or reject the candidate elected to be emperor. (The emperor was elected by the German princes who constituted the electoral college—like the pope, the emperor was a monarch chosen by an electoral college to hold office for life.) The subject of the "translation" of the empire often became a subject of intense debate. Spain, France, England and some other places rejected the authority of the "Roman Empire", but incidents in the history of various kingdoms supported papal claims to authority over kings.

10.10 THOMAS AQUINAS

Thomas Aquinas wrote a work in the "mirror of princes" genre, namely On Kingship, to the King of Cyprus, but otherwise his political writing was incidental to his academic work, and not, as was the case with most medieval political writers, an attempt to influence contemporary events. The Summa theologiae includes discussions of dominion in the state of innocence, natural law and other kinds of law, property, the best form of government, the duty of obedience, war, coercion of heretics and infidels, and other political matters. These discussions are not organised into a separate treatise on politics but distributed through the work in accordance with its plan as a summary of theology.

Whereas Augustine had held that in the state of innocence there would have been no lordship of man over man, Thomas says that there would have been dominium [lordship] in the state of innocence (Summa, 1, q. 96, a. 4). This has sometimes been taken as a rejection of Augustine in favour of Aristotle's doctrine that politics is natural. However, Thomas says that in the state of innocence there would have been no coercion, but there would have been government in the sense of wise leadership voluntarily accepted by the less wise. This is a view found not in Aristotle but in earlier Latin writers, for example Seneca (see §3), and the contradiction with Augustine is merely verbal—for Augustine dominium implies coercion, for Thomas its sense is broader.

10.10.1 Secular and Spiritual Power

The relationship between secular and spiritual power is discussed briefly at the end of an early work, the Scripta super libros sententiarum (see 2, dist. 44, Expositio textus). When two authorities conflict, Thomas asks, how should we decide which to obey? He answers that if one authority originates totally from the other (as, he says, the authority of a bishop derives from the pope), greater obedience in all matters is due to the originating authority. If, however, both powers originate from a higher authority, the higher authority will determine which of them takes precedence on which occasion. Spiritual and secular power, he says, both come from God, so we should obey the spiritual over the secular only in

matters which God has specified, namely matters concerning the salvation of the soul, and in civic matters we should obey the secular power—

unless spiritual and secular power are joined in one person, as they are in the pope, who by God's arrangement holds the apex of both spiritual and secular powers.

In other words, the pope has supreme authority in both secular and spiritual matters.

In De regno Thomas constructs an Aristotelian teleological argument to the same conclusion. A polity has an end, purpose or goal, which may be sought in a variety of ways, effectively or not, and it is a composite entity consisting of many individuals with their own individual purposes. For both reasons there is needed some directing agency to guide the potentially conflicting individuals effectively to their common goal. Every being is in some way one; a composite entity has a unity of order, i.e., of direction to a single end. In preserving its being, therefore, the directing agency has to preserve the polity in peace and unity by ordering it to a common goal. There is a hierarchy of goals, that is, there are intermediate ends which are also means to higher ends. A polity exists to secure its citizens' lives, but above living there is living well, i.e., virtuously, and above that there is living so as to attain the "beatific vision" of God (the Christian heaven). If all these ordered ends were attainable simply by human effort, the one supreme directing agency would be concerned with them all; however, to attain the beatific vision requires "grace", i.e., God's special help, which natural human activity cannot earn. Besides the state, humanity therefore needs the Church, a human agency God has established to confer grace through the sacraments. Hence there is a distinction between secular government, which uses naturally available means to guide citizens to their final goal, and ecclesiastical government, which uses supernatural means, the sacraments. Secular rulers must be subject to the pope, "for those to whom pertains the care of intermediate ends should be subject to him to whom pertains the care of the ultimate end".

For more detail see the section on Political Community in the entry on Aquinas's moral, political and legal philosophy.

10.11 GILES OF ROME

Philip IV, King of France (1285–1314), was one of the most ruthless of medieval rulers. He came into conflict with Pope Boniface VIII (1294–1303), one of the most arrogant of medieval popes, and with Pope Clement V (1305–1314), one of the most timid. Clement acquiesced in Philip's attack on the Templar Order and other outrages to evade the king's pressure to condemn his predecessor, Boniface, as a heretic. These conflicts gave rise to a body of writings of great interest to the history of political thought.[53] Of these the most important were Giles of Rome's De ecclesiastica potestate (On Ecclesiastical Power)[54] and John of Paris's De potestate regia et papali (On Royal and Papal Power), both c. 1302, respectively an assertion of supreme papal power and an attempt to restate the dualism of Duo sunt (see §6 and note 29).

Giles argues that the pope's fullness of power extends to political matters, so that the pope is the supreme ruler of the world, God's deputy on earth, who delegates power to governments and supervises their activities. Giles's term for governmental power is dominium, which was also a term for property; Giles assimilates the two kinds of dominium, so that he holds that the pope is also the supreme owner. He supports his position with many arguments, of which the following two are perhaps most significant. (1) He appeals to the idea that the universe is a single unity with a hierarchical ordering in which the pope is the supreme hierarch among mankind: there are two swords, but the temporal sword must be subject to the spiritual, i.e., secular rulers must be subject to the pope.[56] (2) He applies Augustine's discussion of the question whether the Romans had a true republic (see §4.1) to argue that no one who does not submit to Christ's dominium, and therefore to the dominium of the pope as Christ's vicar, can have any just dominium himself. As Augustine said, property is possessed by the laws of emperors and kings (§4.3), which presupposes the authority of a community: so, Giles argues, since people who fail to honour the true God cannot belong to a community, only members of the community of the faithful can have any right to political power or property. John Wyclif (c. 1330–84) later took these arguments further to the conclusion that no sinner, indeed only the predestined, can have any just dominium, a doctrine condemned by the

Council of Constance. The thesis that only Christians can have lordship was inconsistent with the theological tradition and was generally rejected.

10.12 JOHN OF PARIS

John of Paris (d. 1306) reasserts the traditional distinction between ownership and rulership. The fact that a ruler adjudicates property disputes does not make him supreme owner. A community (a state, or the Church, or particular communities) acquires property only from individuals, and the head of the community is the administrator of the community's property, not its owner. This is true also of the pope, who does not have unrestricted power over Church property, still less over the properties of lay people (96–105). John's assumption that original appropriation is by individuals, and his remark that individuals acquire property by "labour and industry" (86, 103), have led to suggestions that he anticipated Locke's theory of property. However, John indicates that individuals acquire property under human law (148, 154, 225–6), which is the view traditional among medieval theologians, following Augustine (see §4.3). Property is acquired under human law, but it is acquired by individuals, not directly by rulers.

As for rulership, John argues that the pope cannot be the supreme temporal ruler because the spiritual and temporal powers should be held by different persons. John gives the traditional reasons (see §6), emphasizing the argument that the priest should be exclusively devoted to spiritual affairs (117–8). The temporal power is not established by, or in any way caused by, the spiritual power. Both come from God, but neither comes through the other. The spiritual is in some sense superior, but not as being the cause of the temporal power (93, 192). The basis of the distinction between the two powers is not subject matter or ends, but means. Each power is limited to its own appropriate means of action; the secular power uses natural means, the Church uses supernatural means (142–61). This is very much like Thomas Aquinas's picture of two powers leading mankind toward the goals of human life in ordered hierarchy, one using natural means and the other supernatural. Thomas infers from the fact that the Church is concerned with the highest end the

conclusion that the pope ought to direct the secular ruler (see above, §9.1). John explicitly rejects this line of argument. Teaching is a spiritual function, but in a household the teacher does not direct the physician. The physician exercises a higher art than the pharmacist, but, though the physician guides the pharmacist, he cannot give authoritative directions or dismiss the pharmacist. Such officials in a great household do not direct one another, but are all under the direction of the head of the family. Similarly both pope and prince derive their authority from God, who sets the limits of their power, and he has not subordinated one to the other (182, 184–93).

10.13 MARSILIUS OF PADUA

Another upsurge in writing about politics was prompted by the actions of Pope John XXII (r. 1316–34). John's opponents included Marsilius of Padua and William of Ockham. Pope John rejected the Franciscan doctrine that those who practice the highest form of religious poverty, like Christ and the Apostles, will own nothing whatever, either as individuals or as a body. Relying on arguments drawn from the civil law, John held that no one can justly use consumables, such as food, without owning what they use. Since no one can live without using things, at least food, no one can justly live without property, as the Franciscans claimed to do (Robinson 2012: 29ff.; Miethke 2012). John also became involved in conflict with Ludwig of Bavaria. Relying on the papal claim that the emperor-elect requires papal approval, John rejected the electors' choice of Ludwig as Roman Emperor (see §8; Lambertini 2012).

Marsilius of Padua's Defensor pacis (1324)[62] set out to refute the doctrine of papal fullness of power and, in particular, to prove that the pope is not the source of government power. He argues that all coercive power comes from the people (44–9, 61–3/65–72, 88–90), and that no people can have more than one supreme ruler, who is the source of all coercive power in that community (80–6/114–22). (Marsilius is the first exponent of the doctrine of sovereignty later put forward by Hobbes and many others, i.e., the doctrine that there must be ultimately just one coercive power in a state.) The supreme ruler cannot be a cleric, since Christ has forbidden the clergy to become involved in temporal affairs

(113–40/159–92). And the supreme ruler does not enforce divine law as such, since God wills that divine law should be enforced by sanctions only in the next world, to give every opportunity for repentance before death (164, 175–9/221, 235–9). The supreme ruler is therefore not an enforcer of religion and his rule is not subject to direction by the clergy. Within the Church, the pope has from Christ no more authority than any other cleric. Christ did not appoint Peter as head of the Church, Peter never went to Rome, the bishop of Rome is not Peter's successor as head of the Church (44–9/61–3). As for religious poverty, Marsilius sides with the Franciscans and takes their doctrine further: not only is it legitimate for religious to live entirely without ownership of property (they can use what they need with the owner's permission), but this is what Christ intended for all the clergy (183–4, 196–215/244–6, 262–86). Thus on his view the pope and clergy should have no lordship at all, either in the sense of coercive jurisdiction or in the sense of ownership of property. His position is diametrically opposite that of Giles of Rome.

10.14 WILLIAM OF OCKHAM

When his authorship of Defensor pacis was discovered, Marsilius hastily left Paris and took refuge at the court of Ludwig of Bavaria in Munich. Not long afterwards a number of dissident Franciscans also took refuge in Munich, among them William of Ockham. From about 1332 until his death in 1347 Ockham wrote a series of books and pamphlets, now usually called his political writings, arguing that Pope John XXII and his successor Benedict XII ought to be deposed.

10.14.1 Property

In the first of these, the Work of Ninety Days, Ockham defended against Pope John XXII the Franciscan claim that the highest form of religious poverty is to live without property or any other right enforceable by a human court. John had argued that no one can justly consume something without owning it. Marsilius and others had answered that we can justly consume things we don't own if we have the owner's permission. It was objected that permission confers a right, and permission to consume transfers ownership. Ockham answers by means of a distinction between

natural rights and legal rights. In the state of innocence ownership would have been contrary to natural law because everyone had a natural right to use any thing (27.80–3, 313), but after the Fall natural law gave (or God gave) to human communities the right to enact human law assigning property, i.e., assigning to individuals or groups the right to exclude others from using certain things.[66] This law binds morally, since we must respect agreements. Thus the institution of property morally "ties" or impedes the natural right to use things, so that in ordinary circumstances we cannot justly use another's things. However, the original natural right is not altogether abolished; on some occasions we can still exercise it. For example, if an object is unappropriated, we can use it without asserting property rights over it. In circumstances of extreme need, we can use another's property to sustain life. Even outside a situation of necessity, we can use another's property with the owner's permission, not only to preserve life but for any legitimate purpose. Permission sometimes confers a legal right, but sometimes the person giving permission does not intend to give, nor does the person granted the permission intend to accept, any right enforceable in a human court; in such a case, if the permission is withdrawn, for good reason or not, the person who previously had permission has no legal remedy. Such permission to use property does not confer ownership or any other legal right, or any new right of any kind, but merely "unties" the natural right to use. The natural right is enough to make use, even consumption, just. The Franciscans can therefore justly use and consume things that belong to others without having any legal rights, relying on the natural right to use untied by the owner's permission.

Echoes of the debate over property continued to reverberate down the centuries, thanks in part to the inclusion of several of Pope John XXII's bulls in what became the Corpus iuris canonici. Notable figures in this regard include Richard FitzRalph, John Wyclif, Conrad Summenhart (Varkemaa 2012), Fernando Vázquez de Menchaca (1572 [post.]), Francisco Suárez (1548–1617), Hugo Grotius, Samuel Pufendorf, and Locke.

10.14.2 Papal Power Limited

Soon Ockham began to write about the conflict between John and the Roman Empire, and, like Marsilius, he saw the papal claim to fullness of power as the root of many evils. Unlike Marsilius, however, he did not reject the idea of papal fullness of power in every sense. Against Marsilius (whom he quotes extensively on this topic), Ockham defended the traditional belief that Christ appointed Peter as head of the Church, and he held that the pope, as Peter's successor, has supreme power in the Church. The pope and other clergy must not become involved in secular affairs, regularly, but in exceptional circumstances, Ockham says, when no lay person is able or willing to take the lead in some matter necessary to the welfare of the Christian community, the pope may intervene in secular matters. This is an application of Aristotle's notion of epieikeia (see §7). The pope's regular power in religious matters and occasional power to intervene in secular matters justify the traditional ascription to the pope of fullness of power. However, this fullness of power is not omnipotence. Not only must the pope respect the moral law and the teachings of the Church, but he must also respect rights based on human law and compact, and he must respect the Gospel liberty of Christians.[70] A pope who oversteps these bounds may be deposed; indeed, if his action involves heresy, he is deposed ipso facto—and according to Ockham, Popes John XXII and Benedict XII were heretics.

10.14.3 Secular Power also Limited

Besides disagreeing with Marsilius over the status of Peter and the extent of the pope's power, Ockham rejected his thesis that a community cannot be well governed unless all coercive power is concentrated in one sovereign authority Ockham argues that, on the contrary, such concentration is dangerous and incompatible with freedom. Just as he had argued that the extreme version of the doctrine of papal fullness of power would make Christians the pope's slaves, contrary to the gospel liberty, so he argues that the corresponding doctrine of fullness of power for the emperor would be incompatible with the best form of government, in which subjects are free persons and not slaves. Accordingly, Ockham argues for limitations on the power of the secular ruler. He glosses the famous absolutist texts of the Roman law (see

above §6 and note 28). That the emperor is "released from the laws" (legibus solutus) is not true, because he is bound not only by natural and divine law but also by the law of nations (a branch of human positive law), according to which some are not slaves but free. "What pleases the prince has the force of law", but only when it is something reasonable and just for the sake of the common good and when this is manifestly expressed (3.2 Dialogus 2.26–28).

10.14.4 Rights of the Community

According to the canon "Ius civile" (D. 1 c. 8), "Civil law is the law proper to itself that each people or city establishes, for divine and human reason". Ockham took this as a statement of a natural right belonging to each "free" community, i.e., one not already under government, to establish its own law and its own government.[73] This right exists by natural law in the third sense (§6.1 above), i.e. "on supposition", namely on the supposition that the community needs law and government. This is true of every community after the Fall. After the Fall natural law gave (or God gave) the human race the power to establish both property and government; God gave these powers not only to believers but also to unbelievers. A particular community exercises the power to establish government by choosing a ruler and a form of government; the ruler's power therefore comes from God, but also "from the people", i.e. from the community. But although power comes to the ruler by the community's agreement, disagreement is not enough to remove it: the ruler has a right to the power the community has conferred as long as he exercises it properly, and he cannot normally be corrected or removed. But in exceptional circumstances, if the ruler becomes a tyrant, or if there is some other pressing reason in terms of the common good, the community can depose its ruler or change its form of government (Breviloquium 6.2; trans. Short Discourse: 158–63; Octo questiones 3.3, in Letter, 310–11; Miethke 2004). This is true also of the Church. Although Christ gave headship in the Church to Peter and his successors, each Christian community has power by natural law to elect its own head. The Christian community can depose a wicked pope and could perhaps even change the constitution of the Church, at least temporarily,

from the papal monarchy Christ established to some other form (3.2 Dialogus 3. 6; 3.1 Dialogus 2.20–28; in Letter: 290–3, 171–203).

According to Paul, "there is no power but from God" (Romans 13:1), and according to a gloss on a canon from the Decretum, the emperor's power is "from God alone" (D. 96 c. 11, s.v. "divinitus"). Ockham quotes these texts, and says that although the secular ruler's power is "from the people", yet it is also "from God alone", and not only indirectly (i.e., from God as ultimate cause) but directly, "without intermediary". These propositions are not obviously reconcilable. In a work apparently not circulated during the middle ages, the Breviloquium, Ockham tries to reconcile them: political power comes from God, but God confers it on the ruler selected the community; once rulership has been conferred, the ruler is subject to God alone—regularly, though on occasion a community can correct or depose its ruler (Breviloquium 4.2–8; Short Discourse: 110–21; Potestà 1986).

10.14.5 Freedom of Discussion within the Church

In part I of his Dialogus, books 3 and 4 (c. 1334) Ockham discusses heresy and heretics, arguing that for someone to be a heretic it is not enough that something that person believes is heresy, he or she must also believe it "pertinaciously", and to discover pertinacity it is often necessary to enter into discussion to find whether the person is ready to abandon the error when it is shown to be such. For example, a layperson who believes undogmatically a doctrine that is in fact heresy, until it has been shown to be heresy in a way adapted to that person's understanding, may maintain it "a thousand times", even in the face of contradiction by bishop or pope, without being a heretic (1 Dialogus 4.23). On the other hand, a pope who tries to impose a false doctrine on others is known to be pertinacious precisely from the fact that he is trying to impose false doctrine on others, and a pope who becomes a heretic automatically ceases to be pope. Thus ordinary Christians (or a pope arguing as a theologian and not purporting to exercise papal authority) can argue for a heresy as long as they are open to evidence and make no attempt to impose their belief on others, whereas a pope who tries to impose a heresy immediately ceases to be pope and loses all authority. Christians

must defend dissidents who are upholding a position that may possibly be the truth against a possibly heretical pope, until the uncertainty is resolved by discussion. This is an argument for freedom of discussion within the Church, though not for toleration in general (McGrade 1974: 47–77; McGrade, Kilcullen, and Kempshall 2001: 484–95; Kilcullen 2010a).

10.15 THE CONCILIAR MOVEMENT

In 1378 some of the cardinals who had elected Pope Urban VI met again and elected another pope, claiming that their earlier choice had been coerced. This was the beginning of the Great Western Schism. Various possible solutions were debated. One proposal was to call a General Council of the Church to end the schism. To this it was objected that only a pope could call a council and that its decisions needed papal confirmation. The prominent French churchman and academic, Jean Gerson (1363–1429), argued that such requirements were a matter of human ecclesiastical law, which should be set aside if it impedes the reformation of the Church. The arguments of Gerson and others prevailed, and the schism was in the end healed by a council. The Council of Constance, 1414–1418, deposed two rival popes (by then there were three, one of whom resigned) and elected a new pope. The Council also passed the decrees Sacrosancta (otherwise called Haec Sancta), which claimed that a council has power over a pope in all matters pertaining to faith and the reformation of the Church and in particular the present schism, and Frequens, which required the calling of a council every ten years (both in Other Internet Resources).

The conciliarists were those who argued that, at least in extraordinary circumstances, a council could be called, if necessary without papal permission, to deal with schism, with authority over even a true pope. They included Pierre d'Ailly, Jean Gerson, Henry of Langenstein, John Maior, Jaques Almain, Nicholas of Cusa, and others. They argued that every corporation has the power to take the measures that may be necessary if its survival is endangered by failure in its head. The Church must be able to deal with situations in which the papacy is vacant or uncertain or corrupt; otherwise its existence would be more precarious

than the existence of a secular body politic, which can replace its head if necessary. The analogy between the Church and a secular body politic ran through much conciliarist thinking.

As the conciliar movement developed, some argued, more radically, that even in ordinary circumstances the judgment of a council prevailed over that of a pope. Later popes (though they owed their position to Constance) opposed conciliarism, at least in its more radical form, and warned secular rulers that conciliarist ideas also threatened the power of kings—they were aware of the analogy between conciliarist views of church government and anti-monarchical views of secular government. The analogy was also noticed by some of those who wrote during the quarrel between Parliament and the King in seventeenth-century England (Oakley 1962: 3–11). Despite its possible anti-monarchical implications, the notion that the pope was subordinate to a council remained attractive to the French monarchy, and in France conciliarism was one of the sources of Gallicanism.

There were a number of strands in conciliarist thought. One important influence was the tradition of canon law, in which it had been acknowledged that a pope could be judged and deposed if he became a heretic or notorious sinner (Tierney 1955). Ockham had likewise argued that "on occasion" anyone able to do so could rightly do whatever was necessary to preserve the Church, for example by deposing a pope who had become a heretic or notorious sinner. An unacknowledged influence was Marsilius, who had argued that the ultimate authority in the Church was the Christian people, that councils should be convened by the secular ruler and that a council could not err in matters of faith. Many conciliarists held that Christ's commission (Mark 16:15, "Go ye into the whole world, and preach the gospel to every creature") was primarily to the Church as a whole, and held either that the authority of the whole Church is vested in the pope, or in the council when papal power is obstructed or abused, or else that the authority of the whole Church is normally vested in a council (while a council is in session). On either view, the council could depose an unsatisfactory pope, but on the second view the council is the chief organ of Church authority even in normal circumstances. Ockham's view was that the normal constitution of the

Church is monarchical (according to Ockham, Christ had appointed Peter as sole head of the Church), and a council or indeed someone else may acquire power over a pope, or in place of a pope, only in exceptional circumstances.

10.16 THE MEDIEVAL TRADITION OF POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

Although political philosophy was not part of the core curriculum in the universities, and although the writings surveyed above were generally not produced with the idea of contributing to a philosophical discipline, by the end of the middle ages the discipline of political philosophy (or political theology) had attained self-consciousness and a sense of constituting a tradition. Manuscript copies of political writings by different authors were often bound together as volumes (Ouy 1979). There was a readership to which such works could be addressed (Miethke 1980, 2000b). Suárez and other late scholastic writers gave an outline of the history of a problem and surveyed what others had said about it. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a number of collections of political writings were published, e.g., by Dupuy (1655) and Goldast (1611–4). Early modern writers such as Hooker, Grotius, Hobbes, and Locke could easily find the works of at least some writers who had written on politics during the middle ages or would know of their ideas at least by hearsay

If there is a theme to this history, it is perhaps the development of political liberalism, though, to be sure, ideals of constitutionalism (see, e.g., Tierney 1982, Pennington 1993a, Lee 2016), civic humanism, and republicanism (on these last two, see, e.g., Skinner 1978; Hankins 2000) may be found among different medieval authors.[79] The liberal trend was helped, perhaps paradoxically, by the close interweaving of religion with other threads of medieval life. This meant not only that religion influenced all aspects of life, but also, reciprocally, that the other departments of life influenced religious thinking. The influence of the Roman Law and Aristotle, and of the culture of late antiquity familiar to the Fathers of the Church, also meant that ideas originating outside the framework of the Christian religion had an impact on religious thinking.

The duality between kingship and priesthood (perhaps originally due merely to the fact that Christians had no political power), and the conflicts that resulted from that duality, meant that religious thinking had to accommodate the concerns of powerful people who were not officials in the religious institutions.

From the time of Constantine, and in the west especially from the time of Augustine, Christians practiced the coercion of heretics and the repression of unbelief. However, their regime was never completely repressive. Among medieval political philosopher-theologians there was always some acknowledgment of the rights of unbelievers (e.g., of the rights of Jewish parents, the Church's lack of jurisdiction over "those without", the property rights of unbelievers). There was a recognition of the duty to reason and persuade ("A man cannot believe unless he is willing"). In social relations there was a belief in an underlying liberty and equality, and a belief that originally government and slavery did not exist, an idea that government, law, and property arose by "pact" or custom, and an idea that originally government belonged to "the people" and was entrusted to rulers by the consent of the people. These beliefs were akin to the modern liberal presumption in favour of personal liberty. There was a belief in the "rule of law", in a distinction between good government and tyranny, in "natural rights". There was a belief in limited government (see Ockham in §13.3) and in a distinction (not yet a separation) between Church and State. Concerning the constitution of the Church, a strong claim for unfettered papal power was made by some popes and their supporters, but this was strongly resisted by writers who argued that a heretic or sinful pope, including one who violated the rights of the laity and of unbelievers, could be deposed. Something like freedom of speech was embodied in the practice of disputation. Ockham explicitly advocated free discussion of disagreements among Christians. Where all this still fell short of political liberalism was the absence of any argument for equal freedom of all religions. Locke, Bayle, and others in the seventeenth century advocated toleration, though not for Catholics, since Catholics themselves rejected equal freedom of religion and were dangerous to others.

The arguments of medieval political philosophers are only partly available in modern political philosophy. Non-believers cannot make much use of arguments with theological premises. But even for us, there is perhaps some value in the reminder that, under some circumstances, a religious tradition is capable of developing—not only in response to external pressure but even out of its own resources—in the direction of peace and cooperation between members of the two cities.

10.17 MONARCHY

A monarchy is a form of government in which a person, the monarch, is head of state until death or abdication. The legitimation and governing power of the monarch may vary from purely symbolic (crowned republic), to restricted (constitutional monarchy), to fully autocratic (absolute monarchy), combining executive, legislative and judicial power.

In most cases, the succession of monarchies is hereditary, but there are also elective and self-proclaimed monarchies, often building dynastic periods. Aristocrats, though not inherent to monarchies, often serve as the pool of persons to draw the monarch from and fill the constituting institutions (e.g. diet and court), giving many monarchies oligarchic elements.

A monarchy can be a polity through unity, personal union, vassalage or federation. Its authorities are proclaimed and recognized through the different seats, insignia and titles that a monarch can occupy and be invested with. For example, monarchs can carry titles such as king, queen, emperor, khan, caliph, tsar, or sultan, and can be bound to territories (e.g., the Emperor of Japan) and peoples (e.g., the King of the Belgians).

The republican form of government has been established as the opposing and main alternative to monarchy. Republics though have seen infringements through lifelong or even hereditary heads of state. Republics' heads of state are often styled "President" or a variant thereof.

Monarchy was the most common form of government until the 20th century. Forty-five sovereign nations in the world have a monarch as head of state, including sixteen Commonwealth realms that each have

Queen Elizabeth II (in separate capacities). Most modern monarchs are constitutional monarchs, who retains a unique legal and ceremonial role but exercise limited or no political power under the nation's constitution. In some nations, however, such as Brunei, Morocco, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Eswatini and Thailand, the hereditary monarch has more political influence than any other single source of authority in the nation, either by tradition or by a constitutional mandate.

Historically, monarchies pre-dated such polities as nation states and even territorial states. A nation or constitution is not necessary in a monarchy since a person, the monarch, binds the separate territories and political legitimacy (e.g. in personal union) together

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

1. Discuss the Aristotle's Politics.

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2. How do you know The Medieval Tradition of Political Philosophy.

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3. Highlight the Monarchy.

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10.18 LET US SUM UP

Feudalism was the leading way of political and economic life in the Medieval era. Monarchs, like kings and queens, maintained control and power by the support of other powerful people called lords. ... Lords provided some of their land to vassals, or tenants, in exchange for their support to the Lord. A monarchy is a form of government in which a person, the monarch, is head of state until death or abdication. The

legitimation and governing power of the monarch may vary from purely symbolic, to restricted, to fully autocratic, combining executive, legislative and judicial power.

10.19 KEY WORDS

Carolingian: The Carolingian dynasty was a Frankish noble family founded by Charles Martel with origins in the Arnulfing and Pippinid clans of the 7th century AD.

Canon Law: Canon law is a set of ordinances and regulations made by ecclesiastical authority, for the government of a Christian organization or church and its members.

Monarchy: A monarchy is a form of government in which a person, the monarch, is head of state until death or abdication. The legitimation and governing power of the monarch may vary from purely symbolic, to restricted, to fully autocratic, combining executive, legislative and judicial power.

10.20 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. Discuss about the Scope of Medieval Political Philosophy.
2. How do you know about the Carolingian Political Thought?
3. What do know Civil and Canon Law?
4. Discuss the Aristotle's Politics
5. How do you know The Medieval Tradition of Political Philosophy
6. Highlight the Monarchy.

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10.22 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 2

1. See Section 10.2
2. See Section 10.6
3. See Section 10.7

Check Your Progress 2

1. See Section 10.8
2. See Section 10.16
3. See Section 10.17

UNIT 11: PHILOSOPHY OF ISLAM

STRUCTURE

11.0 OBJECTIVES

After this unit, we can able to know:

- Islamic philosophy
- Religion and philosophy
- Formative influences
- Early and classical Islamic philosophy
- Main protagonists of Falsafa and their critics
- Jewish philosophy in the Arab world in the classical period
- Later Islamic philosophy
- Post-classical Islamic philosophy
- Modern Islamic philosophy

11.1 INTRODUCTION

Among the philosophical disciplines transmitted to the Arabic and Islamic world from the Greeks, metaphysics was of paramount importance, as its pivotal role in the overall history of the transmission of Greek thought into Arabic makes evident. The beginnings of Arabic philosophy coincide with the production of the first extensive translation of Aristotle's Metaphysics, within the circle of translators associated with the founder of Arabic philosophy, al-Kindī. The so-called "early" or "classical" phase of falsafa ends with the largest commentary on the Metaphysics available in Western philosophy, by Ibn Rushd (Averroes). The following "golden" age of Arabic thought continues to be primarily concerned with metaphysics, turning from the effort of interpreting the intricacies of Aristotle's canonical text towards the process of assimilating the model of metaphysical science first outlined by al-Fārābī and then implemented by Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna).

In the incipit of the Metaphysics according to the Arabic way of ordering the books of this work (book Alpha Elatton, chapter 1), Arabic philosophers could even find the justification of their Greek pedigree and their raison d'être in a predominantly religious society: philosophy is said there to be constitutively a "search" and to be directed towards a goal—truth—that surpasses human individual capacities both objectively, for its extremely wide scope, and subjectively, for the weakness of man's cognitive faculties, thus obliging its followers to join their efforts with all previous and present investigators of truth. This explains the large fortune of this proemium, and of the similitude accompanying it (the human intellect, with respect to the most knowable things, is like bats' eyes with respect to daylight), not only in philosophy, but also in theology and literature, to such an extent that its different versions can be taken as specimens of the various understandings of the nature and possibilities of falsafa, and of the degree of its dependence on Greek thought, in the history of Arabic-Islamic philosophy.

This impression of centrality is confirmed by the large number and great variety of works pertaining to metaphysics written in Arabic—translations of the basic Greek texts, different kinds of commentaries on the translated material, original works with various degrees of comprehensiveness and doctrinal depth, etc.—all of which provide clear

evidence of the intellectual vivacity and the productive energy of this philosophical area. Such an intensive reflection on metaphysics leads to what represents the specific Arabic contribution to the history of this discipline, namely the progressive devising of a new standard of metaphysics, in which this discipline assumes the form of a comprehensive and articulated synthesis of the Greek heritage, undergoes a process of epistemological refinement—in terms of definition of scope, coherence of structure, rigorousness of arguments, etc.—and ascends to the role of cornerstone of philosophy. This process brings forth a real "second beginning" of metaphysics in the history of philosophy, whose model eventually prevailed in philosophical circles, despite occasional criticisms motivated by an anachronistic desire to defend the Greek legacy in its uncontaminated form. Non-philosophical forms of knowledge—above all revealed theology—also had to confront the challenge posed by metaphysics. The vigorous and long-lasting impact of this metaphysical paradigm in non-Arabic and non-Muslim cultural areas, like the Latin-Christian and the Hebrew-Jewish, attests to its great doctrinal and epistemological attractiveness.

In the light of the Qur'an and Hadith in both of which the term hikmah has been used,1 Muslim authorities belonging to different schools of thought have sought over the ages to define the meaning of hikmah as well as falsafah, a term which entered Arabic through the Greek translations of the second/eighth and third/ninth centuries. On the one hand what is called philosophy in English must be sought in the context of Islamic civilization not only in the various schools of Islamic philosophy but also in schools bearing other names, especially kalam, ma`rifah, usul al-fiqh as well as the awa'il sciences, not to speak of such subjects as grammar and history which developed particular branches of philosophy. On the other hand each school of thought sought to define what is meant by hikmah or falsafah according to its own perspective and this question has remained an important concern of various schools of Islamic thought especially as far as the schools of Islamic philosophy are concerned.

During Islamic history, the terms used for Islamic philosophy as well as the debates between the philosophers, the theologians and sometimes the

Sufis as to the meaning of these terms varied to some extent from one period to another but not completely. Hikmah and falsafah continued to be used while such terms as al-hikmat al-ilahiyyah and alhikmat al-muta`aliyah gained new meaning and usage in later centuries of Islamic history, especially in the school of Mulla Sadra. The term over which there was the greatest debate was hikmah, which was claimed by the Sufis and mutakallimun as well as the philosophers, all appealing to such Hadith as "The acquisition of hikmah is incumbent upon you and the good resides in hikmah." Some Sufis such as Tirmidhi were called hakim and Ibn Arabi refers to the wisdom which has been unveiled through each manifestation of the logos as hikmah as seen in the very title of his masterpiece Fusus al-hikam, while many mutakallimun such as Fakhr al-Din al-Razi claimed that kalam and not falsafah was hikmah,4 Ibn Khaldun confirming this view in calling the later kalam (kalam al-muta'akhkhirin) philosophy or hikmah.

Our discussion in this chapter is concerned, however, primarily with the Islamic philosophers' understanding of the definition and meaning of the concept of philosophy and the terms hikmah and falsafah. This understanding includes of course what the Greeks had comprehended by the term philosophia and many of the definitions from Greek sources which were to find their way into Arabic sometimes with only slight modifications. Some of the definitions of Greek origin most common among Islamic philosophers are as follows:

1 Philosophy (al falsafah) is the knowledge of all existing things qua existents (ashya' al-maujudah bi ma hiya maujudah).8

2 Philosophy is knowledge of divine and human matters.

3 Philosophy is taking refuge in death, that is, love of death.

4 Philosophy is becoming God-like to the extent of human ability.

5 It [philosophy] is the art (sind'ah) of arts and the science (ilm) of sciences.

6 Philosophy is predilection for hikmah.

The Islamic philosophers meditated upon these definitions of falsafah which they inherited from ancient sources and which they identified with the Qur'anic term hikmah believing the origin of hikmah to be divine. The first of the Islamic philosophers, Abu Ya`qub al-Kindi wrote in his On First Philosophy, "Philosophy is the knowledge of the reality of things within people's possibility, because the philosopher's end in theoretical knowledge is to gain truth and in practical knowledge to behave in accordance with truth." Al-Farabi, while accepting this definition, added the distinction between philosophy based on certainty (al-yaqiniyyah) hence demonstration and philosophy based on opinion (al-maznunah),10 hence dialectic and sophistry, and insisted that philosophy was the mother of the sciences and dealt with everything that exists.

Ibn Sina again accepted these earlier definitions while making certain precisions of his own. In his `Uyun al-hikmah he says "Al-hikmah [which he uses as being the same as philosophy] is the perfection of the human soul through conceptualization [tasawwur] of things and judgment [tasdiq] of theoretical and practical realities to the measure of human ability." But, he went further in later life to distinguish between Peripatetic philosophy and what he called "Oriental philosophy" (al-hikmat almashriqi'yah) which was not based on ratiocination alone but included realized knowledge and which set the stage for the hikmat al-ishraq of Suhrawardi. Ibn Sina's foremost student Bahmanyar meanwhile identified falsafah closely with the study of existents as Ibn Sina had done in his Peripatetic works such as the Shifa' repeating the Aristotelian dictum that philosophy is the study of existents qua existents. Bahmanyar wrote in the introduction to his Tahlil, "The aim of the philosophical sciences is knowledge of existents."

Isma'ili and Hermetico-Pythagorean thought, which paralleled in development the better-known Peripatetic philosophy but with a different philosophical perspective, nevertheless gave definitions of philosophy not far removed from those of the Peripatetics, emphasizing perhaps even more the relation between the theoretical aspect of philosophy and its practical dimension, between thinking philosophically and leading a

virtuous life. This nexus, which is to be seen in all schools of earlier Islamic philosophy, became even more evident from Suhrawardi onward and the hakim came to be seen throughout Islamic society not as someone who could only discuss mental concepts in a clever manner but as one who also lived according to the wisdom which he knew theoretically. The modern Western idea of the philosopher never developed in the Islamic world and the ideal stated by the Ikhwan al-Safa' who lived in the fourth/ tenth century and who were contemporary with Ibn Sina was to echo ever more loudly over the ages wherever Islamic philosophy was cultivated. The Ikhwan wrote, "The beginning of philosophy (falsafah) is the love of the sciences, its middle knowledge of the realities of existents to the measure of human ability and its end words and deeds in accordance with knowledge."

With Suhrawardi we enter not only a new period but also another realm of Islamic philosophy. The founder of a new intellectual perspective in Islam, Suhrawardi used the term hikmat al-ishraq rather than falsafat al-ishraq for both the title of his philosophical masterpiece and the school which he inaugurated. The ardent student of Suhrawardi and the translator of Hikmat al-ishraq into French, Henry Corbin, employed the term theosophie rather than philosophy to translate into French the term hikmah as understood by Suhrawardi and later sages such as Mulla Sadra, and we have also rendered al-hikmat al-muta aliyah of Mulla Sadra into English as "transcendent theosophy"t6 and have sympathy for Corbin's translation of the term. There is of course the partly justified argument that in recent times the term "theosophy" has gained pejorative connotations in European languages, especially English, and has become associated with occultism and pseudo-esoterism. And yet the term.

philosophy also suffers from limitations imposed upon it by those who have practised it during the past few centuries. If Hobbes, Hume and Ayer are philosophers, then those whom Suhrawardi calls hukama' are not philosophers and vice versa. The narrowing of the meaning of philosophy, the divorce between philosophy and spiritual practice in the West and especially the reduction of philosophy to either rationalism or .empiricism necessitate making a distinction between the meaning given to hikmah by a Suhrawardi or Mulla Sadra and the purely mental activity

called philosophy in certain circles in* the West today. The use of the term theosophy to render this later understanding of the term hikmah is based on the older and time-honoured meaning of this term in European intellectual history as associated with such figures as Jakob Bohme and not as the term became used in the late thirteenth/nineteenth century by some British occultists. Be that as it may, it is important to emphasize the understanding that Suhrawardi and all later Islamic philosophers have of hikmah as primarily al-hikmat al-ildhiyyah (literally divine wisdom or theosophia) which must be realized within one's whole being and not only mentally. Suhrawardi saw this hikmah as being present also in ancient Greece before the advent of Aristotelian rationalism and identifies hikmah with coming out of one's body and ascending to the world of lights, as did Plato.17 Similar ideas are to be found throughout his works, and he insisted that the highest level of hikmah requires both the perfection of the theoretical faculty and the purification of the soul.'

With Mulla Sadra, one finds not only a synthesis of various earlier schools of Islamic thought but also a synthesis of the earlier views concerning the meaning of the term and concept philosophy. At the beginning of the Asfar he writes, repeating verbatim and summarizing some of the earlier definitions, "falsafah is the perfecting of the human soul to the extent of human ability through the knowledge of the essential reality of things as they are in themselves and through judgment concerning their existence established upon demonstration and not derived from opinion or through imitation". And in al-Shawdhid al-rububiyyah he adds, "[through bikmah] man becomes an intelligible world resembling the objective world and similar to the order of universal existence"

In the first book of the Air dealing with being, Mulla Sadra discusses extensively the various definitions of hikmah, emphasizing not only theoretical knowledge and "becoming an intelligible world reflecting the objective intelligible world" but also detachment from passions and purification of the soul from its material defilements or what the Islamic philosophers call tajarrud or catharsis. Mull! Sadra accepts the meaning of hikmah as understood by Suhrawardi and then expands the meaning of falsafah to include the dimension of illumination and realization implied

by the ishrdgi and also Sufi understanding of the term. For him as for his contemporaries, as well as most of his successors, falsafah or philosophy was seen as the supreme science of ultimately divine origin, derived from "the niche of prophecy" and the hukama' as the most perfect of human beings standing in rank only below the prophets and Imams.

This conception of philosophy as dealing with the discovering of the truth concerning the nature of things and combining mental knowledge with the purification and perfection of one's being has lasted to this day wherever the tradition of Islamic philosophy has continued and is in fact embodied in the very being of the most eminent representatives of the Islamic philosophical tradition to this day. Such fourteenth/twentiethcentury masters as Mirth Ahmad Ashtiyani, the author of Ndmayi rahbardn-i dmuzish-i kitdb-i takwin ("Treatise of the Guides to the Teaching of the Book of Creation"); Sayyid Muhammad Kazim `Ansar, author of many treatises including Wahdat al-wujud ("The Transcendent Unity of Being"); Mahdi Ilahi Qumsha'i, author of Hikmat-i ildhi khwdss wa amm ("Philosophy/Theosophy - General and Particular") and Allamah Sayyid Muhammad Husayn Tabataba'i, author of numerous treatises especially Usul--i falsafa -yi ri dlixm ("Principles of the Philosophy of Realism") all wrote of the definition of philosophy along lines mentioned above and lived accordingly. Both their works and their lives were testimony not only to over a millennium of concern by Islamic philosophers as to the meaning of the concept and the term philosophy but also to the significance of the Islamic definition of philosophy as that reality which transforms both the mind and the soul and which is ultimately never separated from spiritual purity and ultimately sanctity that the .very term hikmah implies in the Islamic context.

11.2 ISLAMIC PHILOSOPHY

Islamic philosophy (الإسلامية الفلسفة) is a branch of Islamic studies, and is a longstanding attempt to create harmony between philosophy (reason) and the religious teachings of Islam (faith). Islamic philosophy, as the name implies, refers to philosophical activity within the Islamic milieu. The main sources of classical or early Islamic philosophy are the

religion of Islam itself (especially ideas derived and interpreted from the Quran); Greek philosophy which the early Muslims inherited as a result of conquests when Alexandria, Syria and Jundishapur came under Muslim rule; and pre-Islamic Iranian and Indian philosophy. Many of the early philosophical debates centered around reconciling religion and reason as exemplified by Greek philosophy. In early Islamic thought two main currents may be distinguished, Kalam, dealing mainly with theological questions, and Falsafa, founded on interpretation of Aristotelian and Neoplatonic philosophy. From the ninth century onward, owing to Caliph al-Ma'mun and his successor, Greek philosophy was introduced among the Persians and Arabs, and the Peripatetic school found representation in Al-Kindi, Al-Farabi, Ibn Sina (Avicenna), and Ibn Rushd (Averroës).

During the Abbasid caliphate in Spain, Arabic philosophic literature, translated into Hebrew and Latin, transmitted Greek, Hindu, and other pre-Islamic knowledge to the Christian West and helped to make Aristotle known in Christian Europe. Islamic philosophy influenced Judaic and Christian thinkers, and contributed to the development of modern European philosophy. Ibn Rushd's ideas on the separation of philosophy and religion, further developed by the Averroist school of philosophy in Europe, were later influential in the development of modern secularism.

11.3 RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

The attempt to fuse religion and philosophy is difficult because there are no clear preconditions. Philosophers typically hold that one must accept the possibility of truth from any source and follow the argument wherever it leads. On the other hand, classical religious believers have a set of religious principles that they hold to be unchallengeable fact. Given these divergent goals and views, some believe that it is not possible to be simultaneously a philosopher and a true adherent of Islam, which is believed to be a revealed religion. In this view, all attempts at synthesis ultimately fail.

Others believe that a synthesis between Islam and philosophy is possible. One way to find a synthesis is to use philosophical arguments to prove that accepted religious principles are true, a technique commonly found in the writings of many religious traditions, including Judaism, Christianity and Islam. Another way to approach a synthesis is to abstain from holding any religious principles of one's faith as true, unless they can be independently arrived at from a philosophical analysis. A third path is to apply analytical philosophy to religious questions, such as the nature and existence of God, the nature of revelation and revealed truth, the role of human beings in the universe, the reconciliation of religious truth with science, and the meaning and interpretation of religious doctrines.

Islamic philosophy may be defined in a number of different ways, but the perspective taken here is that it represents the style of philosophy produced within the framework of Islamic culture. This description does not suggest that it is necessarily concerned with religious issues, nor even that it is exclusively produced by Muslims (Oliver Leaman, Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy).

11.4 FORMATIVE INFLUENCES

Formative influences

Islamic philosophy, as the name implies, refers to philosophical activity within the Islamic milieu. The main sources of classical or early Islamic philosophy are the religion of Islam itself (especially ideas derived and interpreted from the Quran); Greek philosophy which the early Muslims inherited as a result of conquests when Alexandria, Syria and Jundishapur came under Muslim rule; and pre-Islamic Iranian and Indian philosophy. Many of the early philosophical debates centered around reconciling religion and reason as exemplified by Greek philosophy.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

1. How to know the Islamic philosophy?

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2. Discuss the Religion and philosophy.

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3. Discuss the Formative influences.

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11.5 EARLY AND CLASSICAL ISLAMIC PHILOSOPHY

Early Islamic philosophical activity centered around the Academy (House of Wisdom) in Baghdad, which was supported by the caliphs and was known for its tolerance and freedom of scientific inquiry. Within the Academy, there were groups who questioned the authority of the caliph, introducing political issues and theoretical problems. Another group drew upon older traditions (materialist, Manichaean, Jewish, Christian, Zoroastrian, Arabian, and Indian) to identify supposed contradictions and inconsistencies in the fundamental Islamic doctrine of revealed truth. Greek thought became a popular tool for constructing and defining Islamic theology, and for providing a rational defense of Revealed teachings.[1] In early Islamic thought two main currents may be distinguished. The first is Kalam, that mainly dealt with theological questions, and the other is Falsafa, founded on interpretation of Aristotelian and Neoplatonic philosophy.

Kalam

Ijtihad ("to endeavor" or "to exert effort") was a method of discourse used in Islam before the second century to develop legal or doctrinal solutions, based on the Q'uran and the Hadith, to new problems as they arose. Since it generally took the form of individual opinion (ra'y), ijtihad

gave rise to a wealth of conflicting and chaotic opinions, and was replaced in the second century by a formal procedure of deduction based on the texts of the Qur'an and the Hadith, called qiyas (reasoning by strict analogy). Certain outstanding Muslim thinkers, such as al-Ghazali (died 1111 C.E.) continued to claim the right to use ijtihad. Independent minds exploiting the methods of ijtihad sought to investigate the doctrines of the Qur'an, which until then had been accepted in faith on the authority of divine revelation. One of first debates was that between partisan of the *Qadar* (Arabic: *Qadara*, to have power), who affirmed free will, and the *Jabarites* (jabar, force, constraint), who maintained the belief in fatalism. At the second century of the Hijra, a new movement arose in the theological school of Basra, Iraq. A pupil, Wasil ibn Ata, who was expelled from the school because his answers were contrary to then-orthodox Islamic tradition, became the leader of a new school, and systematized the radical opinions of preceding sects, particularly those of the Qadarites. This new school was called *Mutazilite* ("Muʿtazilah" (Arabic المعتزلة *al-mu`tazilah*) (from i'tazala, to separate oneself, to dissent). Its principal dogmas were three:

1. God is an absolute unity, and no attribute can be ascribed to Him.
2. Man is a free agent. (It is on account of these two principles that the Mu'tazilites designated themselves the "Partisans of Justice and Unity.")
3. All knowledge necessary for the salvation of man emanates from his reason; humans were able to acquire knowledge before, as well as after, the existence of Revelation, solely by the light of reason. This fact makes knowledge obligatory upon all men, at all times, and in all places.

The Mutazilites, compelled to defend their principles against the orthodox Islam of their day, looked for support in philosophy, and were among the first to pursue a rational theology called *Ilm-al-Kalam* (Scholastic theology); those professing it were called *Mutakallamin.* This appellation became the common name for anyone seeking philosophical demonstration in confirmation of religious

principles. The first Mutakallamin had to debate both the orthodox Muslims and the non-Muslims, and they may be described as occupying the middle ground between those two parties. But subsequent generations were, to a large extent, critical towards the Mutazilite school, especially after formation of the Asharite concepts.

The *Ash'ari theology* was instrumental in drastically changing the direction of Islamic theology, separating its development radically from that of theology in the Christian world. In contrast to the Mutazilite school of theologians, the Asharite view was that comprehension of the unique nature and characteristics of God were beyond human capability, and that, while man had free will, he had no power to create anything. It was a Taqlid-based view which did not assume that human reason could discern morality.

Falsafa

Ibn Sina, Iranian scientist and philosopher

From the ninth century onward, owing to Caliph al-Ma'mun and his successor, Greek philosophy was introduced among the Persians and Arabs, and the Peripatetic school began to find able representatives among them, such as Al-Kindi, Al-Farabi, Ibn Sina (Avicenna), and Ibn Rushd (Averroës), all of whose fundamental principles were considered as criticized by the Mutakallamin.

During the Abbasid caliphate a number of thinkers and scientists, many of them non-Muslims or heretical Muslims, played a role in transmitting

Greek, Hindu, and other pre-Islamic knowledge to the Christian West. They contributed to making Aristotle known in Christian Europe. Three speculative thinkers, the two Persians al-Farabi and Avicenna and the Arab al-Kindi, combined Aristotelianism and Neoplatonism with other ideas introduced through Islam. They were considered by many as highly unorthodox and by some were even described as non-Islamic philosophers.

In Spain, Arabic philosophic literature was translated into Hebrew and Latin, contributing to the development of modern European philosophy. The philosopher Moses Maimonides (a Jew born in Muslim Spain) was also influenced by Arab philosophical literature.

Differences between *Kalam* and *Falsafa*

Aristotle attempted to demonstrate the unity of God; but his view that matter was eternal implied that God could not be the Creator of the world. The assertion that God's knowledge extends only to the general laws of the universe, and not to individual and accidental things, is tantamount to denying prophecy. The faith of the Mutakallamin was also challenged by the theory of intellect. The Peripatetics taught that the human soul was only an aptitude, a faculty capable of attaining every variety of passive perfection—and that through virtue and the acquisition of knowledge and understanding, it became qualified for union with the active intellect which emanates from God. To admit this theory would be to deny the immortality of the individual soul.

The Mutakallamin therefore sought to establish a system of philosophy which would demonstrate the creation of matter, and they adopted the theory of atoms as enunciated by Democritus. They taught that atoms possess neither quantity nor extension. Originally, atoms were created by God, and God continues to create them as occasion requires it. Bodies come into existence or die, through the aggregation or the separation of these atoms. This theory did not remove the objections of philosophy to a creation of matter.

If it is supposed that God commenced His work at a certain definite time by His "will," and for a certain definite object, it must be admitted that He was imperfect before accomplishing His will, or before attaining His object. In order to obviate this difficulty, the Motekallamin extended

their theory of the atoms to Time, and claimed that just as Space is constituted of atoms and vacuum, Time, likewise, is constituted of small indivisible moments. Once the creation of the world was established, it was easy for them to demonstrate the existence of a Creator, and that God is unique, omnipotent, and omniscient.

11.6 MAIN PROTAGONISTS OF FALSAFA AND THEIR CRITICS

The twelfth century saw the apotheosis of pure philosophy and the decline of the Kalam, which, attacked by both the philosophers and the orthodox, gradually perished. This supreme exaltation of philosophy may be attributed, in a sense, to two opponents of philosophy, the Sufi mystic theologian Al-Ghazali (1005-1111) among the Persians, and the poet Judah ha-Levi (1140) among the Jews. Ghazali wrote Tahafut al-Falasifa (The Destruction of the Philosophers), an attack on philosophers, asserting that philosophy had no role in the discovery of truth. This work produced a reaction favorable to philosophy, including a refutation by Ibn Rushdi, inducing the philosophers to make their theories clearer and their logic more consistent. The influence of this reaction brought forth the two greatest philosophers of the Islamic Peripatetic school, Ibn Bajjah (Avempace) and Ibn Rushd (Averroes), both of whom undertook the defense of philosophy.

The Jewish poet, Judah ha-Levi, also seeking to free his religion from what he saw as the shackles of speculative philosophy, wrote the "Kuzari," in which he sought to discredit all schools of philosophy. He censured the Mutakallamin severely for seeking to support religion by philosophy, saying, "I consider him to have attained the highest degree of perfection who is convinced of religious truths without having scrutinized them and reasoned over them" ("Kuzari," v.). He reduced the chief propositions of the Mutakallamin, to prove the unity of God, to ten in number, describing them at length, and concluding in these terms: "Does the Kalam give us more information concerning God and His attributes than the prophet did?" (Ib. iii. and iv.) Judah ha-Levi also opposed Aritotelianism for its preoccupation with details and criticism; Neoplatonism had some appeal to his poetic temperament.

Ibn Rushd (or Ibn Roshd or Averroës), the contemporary of Maimonides, closed the first great philosophical era of the Muslims. The boldness of this great commentator of Aristotle aroused the full fury of the orthodox, who, in their zeal, attacked all philosophers indiscriminately, and had all philosophical writings burned. The theories of Ibn Rushd did not differ fundamentally from those of Ibn Bajjah and Ibn Tufail, who follow the teachings of Ibn Sina and Al-Farabi. Like all Islamic Peripatetics, Ibn Rushd admitted the hypothesis of the intelligence of the spheres and the hypothesis of universal emanation. These hypotheses, in the mind of the Arabic philosophers, did away with the dualism involved in Aristotle's doctrine of pure energy and eternal matter. Ibn Rushd's ideas on the separation of philosophy and religion, further developed by the Averroist school of philosophy in Europe, were later influential in the development of modern secularism. Ibn Rushd is, thus, regarded as the founding father of secular thought in Western Europe.

While Al-Farabi, Ibn Sina, and other Persian and Muslim philosophers barely touched subjects that encroached on religious dogmas, Ibn Rushd devoted considerable attention to them. He said, "Not only is matter eternal, but form is potentially inherent in matter; otherwise, it were a creation ex nihilo" (Munk, "Mélanges," 444). According to this theory, the existence of this world is not only a possibility, as Ibn Sina declared—in order to make concessions to the orthodox—but is also a necessity.

Driven from the Islamic schools, Islamic philosophy found a refuge with the Jews, who transmitted it to the Christian world. A series of eminent thinkers, such as Ibn Tibbon, Narboni, and Gersonides—joined in translating the Arabic philosophical works into Hebrew and commenting upon them. The works of Ibn Rushd especially became the subject of their study, due in great measure to Maimonides, who, in a letter addressed to his pupil Joseph ben Judah, spoke in the highest terms of Ibn Rushd's commentary.

Some historians and philosophers do not agree with this account, claiming that it is based on Western understanding, and describe this era in a completely different way. Their main objection concerns the influence of different philosophers on Islamic philosophy, especially the

comparative importance of eastern intellectuals such as Ibn Sina and of western thinkers such as Ibn Rushd.

11.7 JEWISH PHILOSOPHY IN THE ARAB WORLD IN THE CLASSICAL PERIOD

The oldest Jewish religio-philosophical work extant is that of Saadia Gaon (892-942), Emunot ve-Deot, "The Book of Beliefs and Opinions." In this work, Saadia discusses the questions that interested the Mutakallamin, such as the creation of matter, the unity of God, the divine attributes, and the soul. Saadia criticized other philosophers severely. For Saadia there was no problem as to creation: God created the world ex nihilo, just as the Bible attests; and he contested the theory of the Mutakallamin in reference to atoms, which, he declares, is just as contrary to reason and religion as the theory of the philosophers professing the eternity of matter.

To prove the unity of God, Saadia used the demonstrations of the Mutakallamin. Only the attributes of essence (sifat al-dhatia) can be ascribed to God, but not the attributes of action (sifat-al-fi'aliya). The soul is a substance more delicate even than that of the celestial spheres. Here Saadia controverted the Mutakallamin, who considered the soul an "accident" 'arad (compare Guide for the Perplexed i. 74), and employed the following one of their premises to justify his position: "Only a substance can be the substratum of an accident" (that is, of a non-essential property of things). Saadia argues: "If the soul be an accident only, it can itself have no such accidents as wisdom, joy, or love." Saadia was thus in every way a supporter of the Kalam; and if at times he deviated from its doctrines, it was owing to his religious views; just as the Jewish and Muslim Peripatetics stopped short in their respective Aristotelianism whenever there was danger of contradicting orthodox religion.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

4. Describe Early and classical Islamic philosophy.

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5. Discuss the Main protagonists of Falsafa and their critics.

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6. Discuss the Jewish philosophy in the Arab world in the classical period.

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11.8 LATER ISLAMIC PHILOSOPHY

Ibn Rushd was the last major proponent of the discipline of Islamic philosophy usually called the Peripatetic Arabic School. After his death, philosophical activity declined significantly in western Islamic countries, Spain and North Africa, though it persisted for much longer in the Eastern countries, in particular Iran and India.

The shift of political power in Western Europe (Spain and Portugal) from Muslim to Christian control ended the practice of Muslim philosophy in Western Europe, and led to some loss of contact between the "west" and the "east" of the Islamic world. Muslims in the "east" continued to do philosophy, as is evident from the works of Ottoman scholars and especially those living in Muslim kingdoms within the territories of present day Iran and India, such as Shah Waliullah and Ahmad Sirhindi. Logic has continued to be taught in religious seminaries up to modern times.

Later schools of Islamic philosophy, such as those founded by Ibn Arabi, Suhrawardi and Mulla Sadra, are of particular importance, as they are still active in the Islamic world.

11.9 POST-CLASSICAL ISLAMIC PHILOSOPHY

Post-classical Islamic philosophers are usually divided into two main categories according to their affiliation with the *Sunni* and *Shia* denominations. Many contemporary philosophers and thinkers such as Professor Seyyed Hossein Nasr and Imam Musa Sadr do not accept the importance of this classification, but there is a general consensus that the thinkers of this era can be categorized into those who mainly worked within the Shi'a tradition, and those who did not. If this division is accepted, each category can be summarized as follows (it should be mentioned that this classification has many overlaps, is not very clear and precise):

Thinkers not primarily concerned with Shi'a beliefs:

- Philosophers:

1. Abhari ابهری
2. Ibn Sab'in (d. 1268) ابن سبعین
3. Kateb-e-Qazwini کاتبی قزوینی
4. Rashid-al-Din Fazlollah رشید الدین فضل الله
5. Qutb-al-din Razi قطب الدین رازی
6. Mohammad Baqir al-Sadr

- Theosophers:

1. Fakhr al-Din Razi (d. 1209) فخر الدین رازی
2. Iji ایجی
3. Taftazani تفتازانی
4. Jorjani جرجانی

- Opponents of Philosophy

1. Ibn Taymiya (d. 1328) and his students ابن تیمیه

- History of Philosophy

1. Zakariya Qazwini زکریای قزوینی
2. Shams al-Din Mohamamd Amuli شمس الدین محمد آملی
3. Ibn Khaldun (d. 1406) ابن خلدون

- Gnostic and Sufi thinkers

1. Roz bahan Balqi Shirazi روزبهان بقلی شیرازی
2. Farid al-Din Attar (Attar Nishpuri) عطار نیشابوری
3. Umar Suhrawardi عمر سهروردی
4. Ibn Arabi (d. 1240) & his School ابن عربی

Notes

5. Najmeddin Kubra کبری الدین نجم
6. Simnani سمنانی
7. Ali Hamedani هدانی علی
8. Mawlana Jalal al-Din Rumi مولانا
9. Mahmud Shabestari & Shams al-Din Lahiji محمود شبستری و لاهیجی الدین شمس
10. Abd-al-karim Jili عبدالکریم جیلی
11. Ne'mat-o-allah vali kermani نعمت الله ولی کرمانی
12. Huroofi & Baktashi حروفی و بکتاشی
13. Jami جامی
14. Hossein Kashefi حسین کاشفی
15. abd al-Qani Nablosi عبدالغنی نابلسی
16. Noor ali Shah نورعلي شاه
17. Zahbiyye ذهبیه

Thinkers primarily concerned with Shi'a beliefs:

1. Nasir al-Din Tusi (d.1274) نصیرالدین خواجه توسي
2. Isma'ili اسماعیلیان
3. Shahab al-Din Suhrawardi (d. 1191) and the Illumination School شهاب الدین سهروردی و مکتب اشراق
4. Jaldaki جلدکی
5. Sadr al-Din Dashtaki and the Shiraz School صدرالدین دشتکی و مکتب شیراز
6. Mir Damad (d. 1631) and the Isfahan School میرداماد و مکتب اصفهان
7. Mir Fendereski and his students میرفندرسکی
8. Mulla Sadra (d. 1640) and the Transcendent Philosophy ملاصدرا و حکمت متعالیه
9. Rajab Ali Tabrizi and his students رجبعلی تبریزی
10. Qazi Sa'id Qumi قاضی سعید قمی
11. Tehran and Qom School تهران و قم مکتب
12. Khorasan School خراسان مکتب
13. Mulla Hadi Sabzevari and the Neyshabor School ملاهادی سبزواری و نیشابور مکتب

Social philosophy

Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406), in his *Muqaddimah* (the introduction to a seven-volume analysis of universal history), advanced social philosophy in formulating theories of social cohesion and social conflict.

11.10 MODERN ISLAMIC PHILOSOPHY

The tradition of Islamic philosophy is still very much alive today, despite the belief in many Western circles that this tradition ceased after the golden ages of Suhrawardi's Hikmat al-Ishraq (Illumination Philosophy) or, at the latest, Mulla Sadra's Hikmat-e-Mota'aliye or Transcendent (Exalted) Philosophy. In the early twentieth century, Allama Muhammad Iqbal reshaped and revitalized Islamic philosophy amongst the Muslims of the Indian sub-continent. Besides his Urdu and Persian poetical work, The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam. is a milestone in the modern political philosophy of Islam.

From the mid-nineteenth century, Islamic philosophers have sought to redefine Islamic philosophy, seeking to establish a distinctive form of thought and the meet the challenge of Western culture. Writers such as Hasan Hanafi and Ali Mazrui have aimed to give Islamic thought a global perspective and provide an agenda for world unity. There is a continuing interest in mystical and illuminationist thought, especially in Iran. Modern Islamic philosophers also seek to relate non-Islamic philosophical concepts such as Hegelianism and existentialism to Islam.

Check Your Progress 3

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

1. Discuss the Later Islamic philosophy.

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2. Describe the Post-classical Islamic philosophy.

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3. Discuss the Modern Islamic philosophy.

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11.11 LET US SUM UP

Islamic philosophy is a development in philosophy that is characterised by coming from an Islamic tradition. Two terms traditionally used in the Islamic world are sometimes translated as philosophy—falsafa (literally: "philosophy"), which refers to philosophy as well as logic, mathematics, and physics;[1] and Kalam (literally "speech"), which refers to a rationalist form of Islamic theology.

Early Islamic philosophy began with al-Kindi in the 2nd century of the Islamic calendar (early 9th century CE) and ended with Averroes (Ibn Rushd) in the 6th century AH (late 12th century CE), broadly coinciding with the period known as the Golden Age of Islam. The death of Averroes effectively marked the end of a particular discipline of Islamic philosophy usually called the Peripatetic Arabic School, and philosophical activity declined significantly in Western Islamic countries such as Islamic Iberia and North Africa.

Islamic philosophy persisted for much longer in Muslim Eastern countries, in particular Safavid Persia, Ottoman and Mughal Empires, where several schools of philosophy continued to flourish: Avicennism, Averroism, Illuminationist philosophy, Mystical philosophy, Transcendent theosophy, and Isfahan philosophy. Ibn Khaldun, in his Muqaddimah, made important contributions to the philosophy of history. Interest in Islamic philosophy revived during the Nahda ("Awakening") movement in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and continues to the present day.

Islamic philosophy had a major impact in Christian Europe, where translation of Arabic philosophical texts into Latin "led to the transformation of almost all philosophical disciplines in the medieval Latin world", with a particularly strong influence of Muslim philosophers being felt in natural philosophy, psychology and metaphysics.

Islamic philosophy refers to philosophy produced in an Islamic society.

Islamic philosophy is a generic term that can be defined and used in different ways. In its broadest sense it means the world view of Islam, as derived from the Islamic texts concerning the creation of the universe and the will of the Creator. In another sense it refers to any of the schools of thought that flourished under the Islamic empire or in the shadow of the Arab-Islamic culture and Islamic civilization. In its narrowest sense it is a translation of Falsafa, meaning those particular schools of thought that most reflect the influence of Greek systems of philosophy such as Neoplatonism and Aristotelianism.

It is not necessarily concerned with religious issues, nor exclusively produced by Muslims. Nor do all schools of thought within Islam admit the usefulness or legitimacy of philosophical inquiry. Some argue that there is no indication that the limited knowledge and experience of humans can lead to truth. It is also important to observe that, while "reason" ('aql) is sometimes recognised as a source of Islamic law, this may have a totally different meaning from "reason" in philosophy.

The historiography of Islamic philosophy is marked by disputes as to how the subject should be properly interpreted. Some of the key issues involve the comparative importance of eastern intellectuals such as Ibn Sina (Avicenna) and of western thinkers such as Ibn Rushd, and also whether Islamic philosophy can be read at face value or should be interpreted in an esoteric fashion. Supporters of the latter thesis, like Leo Strauss, maintain that Islamic philosophers wrote so as to conceal their true meaning in order to avoid religious persecution, but scholars such as Oliver Leaman disagree.

11.12 KEY WORDS

Protagonists: A protagonist is the main character of a story. The protagonist is at the center of the story, makes the key decisions, and experiences the consequences of those decisions. The protagonist is the primary agent propelling the story forward, and is often the character who faces the most significant obstacles.

11.13 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. How to know the Islamic philosophy?
2. Discuss the Religion and philosophy.
3. Discuss the Formative influences.
4. Describe Early and classical Islamic philosophy.
5. Discuss the Main protagonists of Falsafa and their critics.
6. Discuss the Jewish philosophy in the Arab world in the classical period.
7. Discuss the Later Islamic philosophy.
8. Describe the Post-classical Islamic philosophy.
9. Discuss the Modern Islamic philosophy.

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11.15 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

1. See Section 11.2
2. See Section 11.3
3. See Section 11.4

Check Your Progress 2

1. See Section 11.5
2. See Section 11.6
3. See Section 11.7

Check Your Progress 3

1. See Section 11.8
2. See Section 11.9
3. See Section 11.10

UNIT 12: FORMATION OF RELIGIOUS THOUGHT AND CULTURAL SYNTHESIS

STRUCTURE

12.0 OBJECTIVES

After this unit, we can able to know:

- Perspectives on Culture
- Cultural Plurality
- Evolution of Culture
- Art and Culture
- Religion and Culture
- Media and Culture
- Cultural Synthesis
- Cultural Diversity and its Expression

12.1 INTRODUCTION

Of the two towards, Society and Culture, culture is the most difficult word to define. If a man is not regarded as conscious and regarded as an object of consciousness it would be easy to distinguish Mr. X from Mr. Y. In other words, if man is perceived as an item (them as person) then the distinctions become easy. Shall we similarly seek to identify cultures by their geographical boundaries? Underlining the role of Hindu religion in the formation India as a nation, Radhakumud Mookerji argued: "The name Bharatvarsha is thus not a mere geographical expression like the term India. ...It signifies the complete accomplishment of the work initiated by the Aryan forefathers colonizing the whole country and bringing its different parts under the unifying discipline of a common culture and civilization. Bharatvarsha is thus another name for Aryanised and Hinduised India."

12.2 PERSPECTIVES ON CULTURE

In contrast to this unified view is the evolutionary perspective, which underlines the synthetic and synthetic processes inherent in a multicultural situation. The complex history of the sub-continent experienced the coming together of a variety of cultural streaming drawn from different civilizational traditions. All communities (Hindu, Muslim, Christian or Parsi) experienced the influence of this multiple cultural interaction. Tarachand, an advocate of the synthetic character of Indian culture observed: (The) "Indian culture embraces in its orbit beliefs, customs, rites, institutions, arts, religions and philosophies belonging to strata of society in various stages of development. ...The complexity of Indian life is ancient, because from the dawn of history, India has been a melting place of conflicting civilizations.... As a matter of fact the process of its cultural development may be envisaged as the blending of intellectual, aristocratic, folk and foreign influences."

Music, fashion, technology, and values—all are products of culture. But what do they mean? How do sociologists perceive and interpret culture based on these material and nonmaterial items? Let’s finish our analysis of culture by reviewing them in the context of three theoretical perspectives: functionalism, conflict theory, and symbolic interactionism.

Functionalists view society as a system in which all parts work—or function—together to create society as a whole. In this way, societies need culture to exist. Cultural norms function to support the fluid operation of society, and cultural values guide people in making choices. Just as members of a society work together to fulfill a society's needs, culture exists to meet its members' basic needs.

Functionalists also study culture in terms of values. Education is an important concept in the United States because it is valued. The culture of education—including material culture such as classrooms, textbooks, libraries, dormitories—supports the emphasis placed on the value of educating a society's members.

A statue of Superman between two flagpoles and in front of a two-story brick building is shown.

This statue of Superman stands in the center of Metropolis, Illinois. His pedestal reads "Truth—Justice—The American Way." How would a functionalist interpret this statue? What does it reveal about the values of American culture? (Photo courtesy of David Wilson/flickr)

Conflict theorists view social structure as inherently unequal, based on power differentials related to issues like class, gender, race, and age. For a conflict theorist, culture is seen as reinforcing issues of "privilege" for certain groups based upon race, sex, class, and so on. Women strive for equality in a male-dominated society. Senior citizens struggle to protect their rights, their health care, and their independence from a younger generation of lawmakers. Advocacy groups such as the ACLU work to protect the rights of all races and ethnicities in the United States.

Inequalities exist within a culture's value system. Therefore, a society's cultural norms benefit some people but hurt others. Some norms, formal and informal, are practiced at the expense of others. Women were not allowed to vote in the United States until 1920. Gay and lesbian couples have been denied the right to marry in some states. Racism and bigotry are very much alive today. Although cultural diversity is supposedly valued in the United States, many people still frown upon interracial marriages. Same-sex marriages are banned in most states, and polygamy—common in some cultures—is unthinkable to most Americans.

At the core of conflict theory is the effect of economic production and materialism: dependence on technology in rich nations versus a lack of technology and education in poor nations. Conflict theorists believe that a society's system of material production has an effect on the rest of culture. People who have less power also have less ability to adapt to cultural change. This view contrasts with the perspective of functionalism. In the U.S. culture of capitalism, to illustrate, we continue to strive toward the promise of the American dream, which perpetuates the belief that the wealthy deserve their privileges.

Symbolic interactionism is a sociological perspective that is most concerned with the face-to-face interactions between members of society. Interactionists see culture as being created and maintained by the ways people interact and in how individuals interpret each other's actions. Proponents of this theory conceptualize human interactions as a continuous process of deriving meaning from both objects in the environment and the actions of others. This is where the term symbolic comes into play. Every object and action has a symbolic meaning, and language serves as a means for people to represent and communicate their interpretations of these meanings to others. Those who believe in symbolic interactionism perceive culture as highly dynamic and fluid, as it is dependent on how meaning is interpreted and how individuals interact when conveying these meanings.

We began this chapter by asking what culture is. Culture is comprised of all the practices, beliefs, and behaviors of a society. Because culture is learned, it includes how people think and express themselves. While we may like to consider ourselves individuals, we must acknowledge the impact of culture; we inherit thought language that shapes our perceptions and patterned behavior, including about issues of family and friends, and faith and politics.

To an extent, culture is a social comfort. After all, sharing a similar culture with others is precisely what defines societies. Nations would not exist if people did not coexist culturally. There could be no societies if people did not share heritage and language, and civilization would cease to function if people did not agree on similar values and systems of social control. Culture is preserved through transmission from one

generation to the next, but it also evolves through processes of innovation, discovery, and cultural diffusion. We may be restricted by the confines of our own culture, but as humans we have the ability to question values and make conscious decisions. No better evidence of this freedom exists than the amount of cultural diversity within our own society and around the world. The more we study another culture, the better we become at understanding our own.

12.3 CULTURAL PLURALITY

The cultural plurality is intelligible only in the context of relationship between religion and culture, which are interrelated but not synonymous in any society.There is no uniform religious culture in terms of Hindu, Muslim or Christian, but there is an uniformly shared culture throughout India. The different castes follow different patterns of rituals and customs. This is also true form of art. Almost, each caste has different art forms, music, dance, theatre and so on. In fact, the plurality is also an expression of resistance against any kind of domination and exploitation. The forces of history which shaped the society did not transform into an ideal cultural melting point. The interaction of people with diverse cultural moorings and traditions influenced the society also.

Cultural pluralism is the dynamic by which minority groups participate fully in the dominant society, yet maintain their cultural differences. A pluralistic society is one where different groups can interact while showing a certain degree of tolerance for one another, where different cultures can coexist without major conflicts, and where minority cultures are encouraged to uphold their customs.

A Jewish philosophy professor, Horace Kallen, coined the term pluralism in the early 1900s. He was proud of his country, and concerned for his beliefs and the beliefs of immigrants. He did not want to be assimilated by the majority. He felt that various distinguished cultures could offer a greater contribution to progress than a single culture could.

Cultural pluralism is compatible with biblical teaching to some extent. The Bible does teach absolute truth and claims exclusivity. This isn't to say that anything outside the Bible is false. Take, for example, Confucius' rule: "Do not do to others what you would not have them do

to you." Obviously this is compatible with the Bible -- it is a Biblical teaching! Another example: the law of gravity is not mentioned in the Bible but is true.

These two rules are mentioned in places apart from the Bible and yet can coexist with Christian philosophy. The Bible does teach, however, that any doctrine that contradicts the Bible is false. The Bible tells us that murder is wrong, so Christians must be intolerant of murder.

Cultural pluralism itself can break down at the practical level. Equality among men and women is one of the great accomplishments of Western society, while it is incompatible with a strict adherence to the Qur'an. Western adherence to cultural pluralism, and our tolerance, will break down in the light of the mistreatment of women. Cultural pluralism will involuntarily abolish some of the belief systems that it tries to protect.

Cultural pluralism can breakdown at the philosophical level as well. In order for cultural pluralism to have any application, it must itself be a belief held by all, or one that is enforced within the society. If cultural pluralism is to be understood as a correct philosophy, then it must exist in an authoritarian manner. It is a self-defeating philosophy.

Furthermore, the notion that cultural pluralism is a false concept must also be tolerated within a pluralistic society. This results in those who adhere to absolutes opposing those who disagree, and this notion again defeats the principles of cultural pluralism.

The Bible tells us to love our enemies, even those who persecute us. Christianity can certainly coexist with other cultures. Matthew 5:43-47 says, "You have heard that it was said, 'Love your neighbor and hate your enemy.' But I tell you: Love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you, that you may be sons of your Father in heaven. He causes his sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sends rain on the righteous and the unrighteous. If you love those who love you, what reward will you get? Are not even the tax collectors doing that? And if you greet only your brothers, what are you doing more than others? Do not even pagans do that?"

Christianity exists by faith. Cultural pluralism is not something on which you can place your faith. Christian love is something to strive toward. Pluralistic tolerance, without a basis in reason and love, is self-defeating.

Tolerance itself is only a reasonable goal when measured with the yardstick of love and spiritual well-being.

Cultural pluralism is a form of cultural diversity in certain countries where cultures can still maintain their unique qualities and combine to form a larger richer whole. In many countries, including the United States, the term multiculturalism is used synonymously or in place of cultural pluralism.

According to Newman (1973, p. 29), societies can range from those that are monistic (composed of one group) or dyadic (composed of two groups) to those that are pluralistic (composed of many groups). He goes on to point out that "societies that are customarily described as culturally pluralistic are those composed of numerous groups that, either by virtue of coalitions between minorities or on the basis of their own critical size, are able to resist being lumped into an undifferentiated mass" (p. 29). Finally, Newman noted that "cultural pluralism may be expressed in the formula A+B+C = A+B+C, where A, B, and C represent different social groups that, over time, maintain their own unique identities" (p. 67).

[Cultural pluralism] is a state of equal co-existence in a mutually supportive relationship within the boundaries or framework of one nation of people of diverse cultures with significantly different patterns of belief, behavior, color, and in many cases with different languages. To achieve cultural pluralism, there must be unity with diversity. Each person must be aware of and secure in his own identity, and be willing to extend to others the same respect and rights that he expects to enjoy himself: (p. 14)

Cultural PluralismA key feature of these definitions of cultural pluralism is their contrast to the earlier approach to cultural diversity in countries, namely assimilation as the desired and inevitable process. This process of assimilation assumes a unidirectional pattern of cultural change whereby new immigrant and refugee groups would eventually become more and more like the dominant group in the host country. In the United States, this process of assimilation was referred to as the "melting pot" notion whereby all cultural groups would eventually melt in the same pot that is the United States and the result would be Americans, indistinguishable from each other. Critics of the assimilation model or

the "melting pot" idea quickly pointed out that the actual process of cultural change was not the development of a new cultural identity for all who lived in the United States. Instead, the assimilation model involved the imposition of Western European cultures on all non-European groups with the accompanying loss of these groups' unique cultural heritage. According to Newman's mathematical model (1973), assimilation would be represented by A+B+C = A, where A, B, and C represent different social groups and A represents the dominant group" (p. 57).

Given this perspective on assimilation and the dangers of cultural monopoly where the dominant cultural group can impose its attitudes, values, beliefs, and customs onto the smaller or less powerful cultural groups, a key ingredient in the cultural pluralism perspective is the recognition, maintenance, and ultimately respect and appreciation of the uniqueness and distinctiveness of different cultures. To return to the earlier metaphor of the "melting pot" which represents the assimilation perspective, others have proposed the "salad" or "tapestry" as good metaphors for the cultural pluralism perspective since both involve the creation of a unified item which maintains the unique and distinctive qualities of the separate elements contained within the item. Berry (1997) has proposed acculturation as a useful framework for understanding different forms of cultural adaptation in a culturally pluralistic society.

Psychology > Social Psychology > Cultural Psychology > Cultural Pluralism

Cultural Pluralism

Cultural pluralism is a form of cultural diversity in certain countries where cultures can still maintain their unique qualities and combine to form a larger richer whole. In many countries, including the United States, the term multiculturalism is used synonymously or in place of cultural pluralism.

According to Newman (1973, p. 29), societies can range from those that are monistic (composed of one group) or dyadic (composed of two groups) to those that are pluralistic (composed of many groups). He goes on to point out that "societies that are customarily described as culturally pluralistic are those composed of numerous groups that, either by virtue of coalitions between minorities or on the basis of their own critical size,

are able to resist being lumped into an undifferentiated mass" (p. 29). Finally, Newman noted that "cultural pluralism may be expressed in the formula A+B+C = A+B+C, where A, B, and C represent different social groups that, over time, maintain their own unique identities" (p. 67).

Stent, Hazard, and Rivlin (1973) provide a similar definition by proposing that:

[Cultural pluralism] is a state of equal co-existence in a mutually supportive relationship within the boundaries or framework of one nation of people of diverse cultures with significantly different patterns of belief, behavior, color, and in many cases with different languages. To achieve cultural pluralism, there must be unity with diversity. Each person must be aware of and secure in his own identity, and be willing to extend to others the same respect and rights that he expects to enjoy himself: (p. 14)

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On the other hand, cultural pluralism can also be described from many different social science perspectives using different levels of analysis. In one sense, cultural pluralism can be viewed psychologically in terms of an individual's cultural orientation or multicultural ideology. At the same time, cultural pluralism is a demographic trend in many countries including the United States, occurring as a result of increasing cultural diversity of the population in a particular country. In another sense, cultural pluralism can also be viewed as a national policy. For example, many international social scientists who have traveled to both the United States and Canada have commented on how cultural pluralism is an explicit part of the national policy in Canada but not the United States. Relatedly, it can be analyzed from the perspective of social psychology and political science. For example, what political factors have created the ethnic conflict and warfare between the cultural groups in Yugoslavia which have occupied much of the I990s?

Given the increasing cultural diversity of the population in most countries, it can also become an educational philosophy on how we can and should educate the children of a country who come from many different cultural backgrounds. Finally, cultural pluralism has also become an issue of concern in organizations to the extent that cultural differences between workers and between workers and managers can lead to conflicts and misunderstandings that negatively affect productivity and morale. These last two perspectives on cultural pluralism have received the most attention from psychologists and will be discussed later in the current article.

Next, it would be useful to delineate some psychological barriers to the achievement of cultural pluralism. Berry (1997) provides a useful conceptualization of the barriers to achieving cultural pluralism and recommends examining three levels, namely the national, institutional, and individual levels. At the individual level of analysis, Berry (1997) recommends examining the multicultural ideology of individuals. These attitudes and beliefs can serve as barriers to the achievement of cultural pluralism in day-to-day interactions and encounters. One important example of the barriers created by individual social cognition is ethnocentrism.

Many cross-cultural psychologists have pointed out that ethnocentrism is a natural and widespread phenomenon. Ethnocentrism is the belief that the customs, norms, values, and practices of one's culture represent the correct way of ordering society, and are, indeed, superior to those of other cultures (Triandis, 1994). Scholars studying cultural pluralism have pointed out that ethnocentrism is responsible for much of the resistance to the establishment of policies, practices, and procedures in educational and organizational settings based on cultural pluralism. Within the United States, ethnocentrism has been proposed to be primarily manifested as a Eurocentric bias since White European Americans dominate the country politically, economically, and demographically. In response to this Eurocentric bias, some scholars from Black studies have proposed an Afrocentric curriculum for African American children. This Afrocentric approach would embed not only the content but also the process of education in the African-centered experiences of African Americans.

Barriers at the national level can be manifested in explicit policies or official laws and procedures. Examples of national policies that serve as a barrier to the achievement of cultural pluralism include the contrast between Canada and the United States. As mentioned earlier, multiculturalism is an explicit national policy in Canada (Berry, 1997) while it is not in the United States. Many international visitors have observed that due to this difference in national policy, Canada does a better job of respecting and integrating the members of different cultural groups into its society than the United States. Some authors have pointed

out that another example of policies that seek to undermine cultural pluralism were attempts in the 1990s to pass laws in the state of California making English the official language. These authors argue that while English is the dominant language in the United States, passing a law to make English the official language would in effect encourage neglect and even discrimination against recent immigrants and refugees who have not yet mastered the English language.

At the institutional level, cultural pluralism has also become an important policy and practice issue in both work organizations and educational institutions. In educational settings ranging from elementary school to colleges and universities, the issue of cultural pluralism as an educational approach or educational philosophy has received increased attention during the last decade. Given the increasing cultural diversity of student populations in schools and universities, pressures to attend to the cultural differences, and sometimes cultural conflicts, created by these changes have been mounting. How to create a classroom and a general educational environment that promotes cultural pluralism have been discussed increasingly in many educational institutions. These discussions have occurred in student affairs conferences, continuing education workshops for teachers, courses in schools of education, and seminars for university administrators. The content of these discussions has ranged from policies about appearance and dress for students, to the underrepresentation of faculty of color in various university departments, to how many and what type of courses focusing on various cultural groups should be included in the curriculum.

The results of some of these discussions have sometimes been quite controversial. For example, there was an uproar at Stanford University when faculty selected mainly Western European works as the basic required material that Stanford undergraduates should be exposed to during their years in college. At the University of California-Berkeley, certain Asian American groups filed a lawsuit when they perceived the change in university policy about the cut-off scores for admission was changed selectively to discriminate against Asian Americans. The university had raised cut-off only on the verbal and not the math scores on the SAT for admission which these Asian American groups perceived

as targeted at them. Asian Americans tended to have lower verbal scores which they make up for with their high math scores, and many were getting admitted into the university based on the total score approach. The use of specific minimum cut-off scores for math and verbal meant that many Asian Americans would no longer be accepted into the university. In some school districts in the United States, heated debates have resulted from the African American community leaders' demand for Afrocentric schools as alternatives to the regular school systems which they perceive as ignoring or minimizing the educational coverage of the cultural heritage of their children. At the same time, many ethnic minority and cultural groups have perceived a backlash against the cultural pluralism movement in the schools with the attack on affirmative action programs in universities.

Within work organizations in the United States, the cultural pluralism movement has had a somewhat different track from that of educational institutions. The integration of a cultural pluralism approach has been a less contentious issue in organizations. This is due to the fact that organizations are perhaps more oriented toward effectiveness and the impact of ineffectiveness on the bottom line of productivity and profits. Starting around 1987 with the Workforce 2000 report (Johnson & Packer, 1987), organizations in the United States began to realize that a culturally diverse workforce was inevitable and that attention to cultural differences in the workplace was essential. With this recognition, many organizations began hiring consultants and trainers to help them deal with this cultural diversity issue. Not surprisingly, there was a parallel increase in the number of books and journal articles dealing with the issue of managing cultural diversity in organization (Triandis, Kurowski, & Gelfand. 1993). Many of these interventions involve providing training workshops and seminars for various levels of managers and supervisors on how to interact and communicate more effectively with the increasingly culturally diverse workers. Some critics of this approach to cultural pluralism in the workplace have accused organizations of making only superficial attempts at changes in the form of transient interventions such as workshops and seminars rather than structural changes (e.g., hiring more cultural and ethnic minorities as managers and

supervisors). The cultural pluralism movement in organizations is still relatively new and we will need more time to accurately determine if long-lasting changes have been effected with these current sets of interventions.

In summary, cultural pluralism is an issue which will remain central for many years to come and there is a great need for more cross-cultural studies to form the basis of the cultural pluralism movement. As pointed out by Berry (1997):

All contemporary societies are now culturally plural. There are no longer any societies that can claim to be homogeneous with respect to objective cultural markers (such as ethnic origin, language, and religion) or subjective indicators (such as one's ethnic identity or personal expressions of one's culture). Such diversity elicits a variety of responses at a number of levels: national societies, institutions. and individuals can celebrate or deny it: they can share it or isolate it: they can accommodate it or attempt to squash it. Whatever the attitude or course of action, however, both history and contemporary experience provide compelling evidence that cultural pluralism is durable, even if its forms and expressions evolve over time. . . . (p. 17)

12.4 EVOLUTION OF CULTURE

Modern anthropologists, archaeologists and historians consider the birth of civilization as a technological and organizational achievement. The ancient myths of humankind remember the dawn of civilization as a fall of humankind from simplicity. Increasing greed of man put him into the need of food production. Hot chase of the pot belly began. Man moved from 'the order of the ritual' to 'the order of machine' and 'super highway'. Myth of the fall of man is not memory but one of speculative imagination. The idea of progress also arose as a myth in the eighteenth century· long before the rise of archaeology as a science. In the Indian social tradition, these values were partially accepted. Nagara or urban came to be accepted as sophisticated in contrast to Gramya or rustic while sabhya or courtly came to mean well-bred and polished. Seers and prophets of all ages and Indian history preferred rural surroundings and disapproved materialistic civilization.

12.5 ART AND CULTURE

According to ancient Indian tradition the artist or si/pin (sculptor) is the intermediary who transmitted the revelation of Viswakarma, the artificer (Divine sculptor) to society. The Art or Silpa included ritual, skill, craft and imagination. Silpin was a member of an artisan caste, a guild or a court and the groups were an integral part of the larger social order. The relations between the silpin, the patron or yajamana and society were sacrificial. For example, construction of the vedic sacrificial altar or vedi within a series of concentric magic circles was the activity. The building of the altar was a symbolic reconstruction of the dismembered cosmic man, from whose limbs the divisions of the society sprang. The altar was a throne to be occupied by the individual gods to whom the sacrifice was addressed. The rite uniteda the human domain of whole society with the divine inside the sacred dimension of a tabernacle (a tent or sanctuary). The patron commissioning a temple, shrine, palace or city was the sacrificer who selected a priest as his sacrificer. The priest assumed the role of architect and the overseer of silpin hierarchy (the maker of the building, the surveyor, the sculptor, the plasterer and the painter). The artist's role was to restore the unity of society which is lost. Culture in its broadest sense is a search for meanings and values. It refers to the common orientation of a group of creative-appreciative persons towards the formation or discovery of such values. This orientation can take the form of religion, philosophy, art, political or social system and' so on.

India is known for its penchant for creating sculptural art in caves and temples out of rocks and mountains since the earliest of times. Indian architecture, sculpture and painting went hand-in-hand, creating the beautiful synthesis in the work you see today. The love for colour and design in painting, dance, music or drama has always been a part of the Indian soul. Miniature paintings date back to 11th and 12th Centuries AD. Indian art is deeply rooted in tradition, gods, deities, epical themes, and also warfare. Our classical dance and music is world renowned for its magnificence. Stunning handicrafts and textiles are carried home with a lot of pleasure and enthusiasm by tourists visiting India.

A country as diverse as India is symbolized by the plurality of its culture. India has one of the world's largest collection of songs, music, dance,

theatre, folk traditions, performing arts, rites and rituals, paintings and writings that are known as the 'Intangible Cultural Heritage' of humanity.

Culture plays an important role in the development of any nation. It represents a set of shared attitudes, values, goals and practices. Culture and creativity manifest themselves in almost all economic, social and other activities. A country as diverse as India is symbolized by the plurality of its culture.

India has one of the world's largest collections of songs, music, dance, theatre, folk traditions, performing arts, rites and rituals, paintings and writings that are known, as the 'Intangible Cultural Heritage' (ICH) of humanity. In order to preserve these elements, the Ministry of Culture implements a number of schemes and programmes aimed at providing financial support to individuals, groups and cultural organizations engaged in performing, visual and literary arts etc.

This section offers comprehensive information related to cultural heritage, ancient monuments, literary arts, visual arts, schemes, programmes, performing arts, fairs and festivals and handicraft of India. Detailed information on various organizations involved in promotion and propagation of Indian art and culture is also available in this section.

12.6 RELIGION AND CULTURE

Intellectual climate of India between 6th and 3rd centuries B.C. was characterized by rise of Buddhism, schools of metaphysics and ascetic sects. The new urban man felt increasingly alienated from nature. Social discipline created an anxiety resulting in non-conformism. There was withdrawal into the forest to recover the sense of identity. Upanishads were composed. Renunciation became a virtue. Caves served the needs of monks and laymen in search of ideal environment to practice meditation. Brahmanic religion reasserted itself by the end of T" century A.D. The cave sancturary of Buddhism resulted in chaityas while that of the Brahmanic religion produced the Hindu temple. Now, that the temple' was constructed of slabs of stone, sculpture itself had to be modified to fit the new scheme. Religious devotion (different from monastic meditation) demanded imposing structures and focused the attention of worshipper on a complicated mythology. The tower of the temple

combined the expression of both religious and temporal power. It became the emblem of a dominant ruling power of the king as well as the symbol of contact with God established by the king.

When discussing terms and processes in the study of religions, culture and religion constantly appear as important concepts. My argument is that the study of religions requires studying ethnicity and culture. This statement is framed within the South African post-colonial and post-Apartheid context. To formulate the issue at hand, a more appropriate question might be helpful: What are the implications of the relatedness of religion, ethnicity and culture for the process of reconciliation in a post-colonial and post-Apartheid South Africa? If this is our focus, we must recognise the relevance and meaning of related concepts. Culture, religion, anthropology, ethnography and reconciliation become central issues related to the conversation.

My arguments supporting the relevance of ethnicity and culture in studying religion will be built around three main points: Cultural migrations; religion as cultural identity marker; and the location of religion within culture. It will, however, be important to first of all discuss the ways in which religion, ethnicity and culture relate. After this brief discussion, the three arguments will be set and then the implications for reconciliation between cultures and religions in South Africa will be discussed.

What exactly is the problem?

If religion is a cultural tradition, is it possible to separate religion and culture? Can you belong to the Western culture and still practice Muslim religion (cf. Ramadan's [2004] inquiry)? To this question must be added, can you be a white Christian in Africa without being labelled a colonist and oppressor? Can you be African without being labelled as primitive and prone to animism and magic? Has religion become a cultural identity marker in a South African context, demarcating the borders between people? Belonging to a particular religion implies belonging to a particular culture. From this position follows a crude generalisation that to belong to a particular culture implies belonging to a particular religion. It is clear that religion and culture cannot be separated. Ramadan (2010:214), however, maintains that Islam, for one, must not be viewed

as a culture. The essence of Islam is religious (Ramadan 2010:214). Many adherents of different religions will agree to this when applied to their own religious convictions. However, it cannot be denied that religion is a cultural expression (Boyer 2001:47). In this regard, culture and religion must be viewed as relatives. This has implications on how to study religion. If religion is seen as a segment of culture, studying religion becomes an anthropological and ethnographic exercise.

The relation between culture and religion is an old and still on-going debate. Ever since Aristotle used the term ethnos to identify the groups of people living outside of the Greek polis, indicating them as primitive, people belonging to different cultures and religions could be labelled as 'outsiders, uncultured and irreligious' (MacKay 2000:98). During the Enlightenment period, Europeans took over this notion of Aristotle to label all non-Europeans as 'uncivilised' (MacKay 2000:98). The Enlightenment implication that all reality can be classified resulted in nations and people being hierarchically categorised. This classification was based on perceived natural mental, physical and spiritual abilities. The result was according to MacKay (2000:98) that 'group identity was essentially defined in terms of race'. David Chidester (1996:36, 41) alludes to this when he describes the European attitude towards the natural inhabitants encountered at the Cape Colony during the 16th and 17th century as being 'less than human'. This remained the dominant discourse between cultures and different religions in South Africa, culminating in the Apartheid laws.

In a post-colonial, post-Apartheid South Africa, a reconfiguration of social structures is taking place. The hierarchical structure of Enlightenment arrangements of cultures, races and religions needs to be reconsidered. This reconfiguration includes the consideration of how cultures, races and people with different religious affiliations relate to one another. This process may be labelled reconciliation, but in fact refers to a process of seeking identity. A survey of the religious landscape of South Africa should include taking cognisance of the immanent racial and cultural relations. Only then, a responsible reconfiguration (or reconciliation) of relations between races, religions and cultures is possible.

Interrelated concepts

In the cauldron from which we serve up our conversation are a great variety of concepts, some spicy and unfamiliar, some familiar and not as interesting, nevertheless all contributing to understanding and explaining the way in which religion can be studied.

Culture and religion

In our discussion on the relatedness of culture to religion, we should state it clearly that the approach in this conversation is not emphasising cultural materialism, although it must be recognised that cultural materialism might at some stage in the discussion play a role. My focus is much more concerned with an understanding of culture in terms of sociocultural systems.

Studying religion is an ambiguous task. With some uncertainty as to what exactly constitutes religion (cf. Braun 2000:4; Schilderman 2014:176), there may be uncertainty as to what ought to be studied and how to study it. What is clear is where to search for forms of religion. Mulder (1985:35) indicates that studying religion implies religion as an expression of human culture. Religion is, thus, expressed and clothed in cultural guise. Comprehending religion then implies studying human culture. The reciprocal interaction between culture and religion must be recognised: religion is determined by culture, but religion also influences culture. The fate of religion and culture is, thus, interwoven.

The definition of what religion is, however, still remains outstanding. The problem with defining religion is according to Braun (2000:4) that there are too many meanings and the meanings are too indeterminate to be of value. The purpose of this conversation is however not to attempt a discussion on the problem of defining religion. James Cox (2010:3-7) provides direction on this matter by suggesting that studying the groups of definitions has more value than studying the definitions themselves. For the sake of this study, a sociological understanding as to what constitutes religion is followed.

When religion is studied as being part of the Cultural Sciences (cf. Figl 2003:36), requiring an anthropological approach,1 where culture refers to the totality of human existence in the world,2 it can easily happen that

the concept of religion is absorbed in the concept of culture. Rosalind Hackett (2005:144) confirms the difficulty of indicating boundaries between religion and culture because of the fact that religion and anthropology share in many social and cultural theories.

The opposite relation between culture and religion is also possible: religion in opposition to culture (religion as anti-culture). Even when religion is part of culture, it is possible to differentiate religion from a worldview governing a cultural community. The conclusion Johann Figl (2003:36) comes to is that whatever the relation between culture and religion is, either absorbed or in opposition, it still remains identifiable what constitutes religion. There are many elements considered part of religion which are connected to cultural elements (i.e. politics, science, art and literature). Figl (2003:36) suggests that a Western understanding of religion is especially prone to understand religion as determined by culture. In the end, the intertwined relation of religion and culture cannot be denied or ignored (Figl 2003:37).

The debate on what constitutes culture is still a lively debate because of the 'multiplicity of its referents' as well as the 'studied vagueness' (Geertz 1973:89). There are, however, not a shortage of definitions as to what constitutes culture: From Max Weber's theorem that humans are animals suspended in webs of significance that they have spun themselves to E.B. Tylor's vague description of culture as 'most complex whole' to Kluckhohn's elaborate twenty-seven page long definition or Goodenough's inclusion of 'heart and mind' as the location of culture (Geertz 1973:4, 5, 11). The main elements as to what culture is must be understood as the result of a long line of research culminating in a wide variety of perspectives.

Clifford Geertz (1973) defines culture as follows:

Culture denotes a historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life. (p. 89)

For Geertz (1973:5), culture indeed reflects the webs Weber referred to. Studying culture, however, does not only intend description of these webs but also much rather intends a search for meaning.

Notes

Anthropology as the attempt at studying culture and religion requires a definition of what constitutes religion. As to his definition of religion, Geertz (1973) says:

religion is a system of symbols which acts to establish powerful, pervasive and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and clothing the conceptions with such an aura of factuality that the moods and motivation seem uniquely realistic. (p. 90)

As to the interrelatedness of culture and religion, Geertz (1973) emphasises:

The importance of religion lies in its capacity to serve for the individual or for a group, as a source of general, yet distinctive, conceptions of the world, the self and the relations between them … (p. 123)

Religion, thus, possesses an orientating function, providing society with criteria to find its place (identity) within the world.

Parsons' theory on culture consists of different elements as Parsons modified and elaborated on his theory on culture over time. Three phases of development of the concept of culture by Parsons are identified by Munch and Smelser (1992):

Phase 1: Culture did not apparently play a role in Parsons' theory of the structure of social action (Munch & Smelser 1992:89).

Phase 2: Action-theoretical definition: Culture is part of a comprehensive 'action system'. Two subsystems of the general action system can be identified: The Personal and Social systems. Later, a third subsystem was added, namely the 'behavioural system'. Even later a fourth subsystem was added: 'the cultural subsystem', a system consisting of abstract and symbolically mediated entities (Munch & Smelser 1992:93).

Phase 3: Parsons enriched his theory of culture by adding the perspective that the culture-constitutive set of standards is understood as code in correlation with Chomsky's theory of generative grammar (Munch & Smelser 1992:94). Parsons (1977) defines culture as:

Culture is understood as an ordered symbolic system that is, a symbolically mediated pattern of values or standards of appropriateness that permits the construction of a set of action-guiding, normative,

conventional rules through which significant cultural objects are generated and used. (p. 168)

Munch evaluates Parsons' theory on culture in an anti-reductionist way. For Munch and Smelser (1992:111), Parsons' utilitarian theory of action is only one theory part of a larger more comprehensive theoretical model. There are, thus, more views to consider than only the utilitarian. When comparing the definitions of culture as provided by Geertz and Parsons, Peacock (1981:123) comments on the similarities. Both Parsons and Geertz agree that society is subordinate to culture. Both follow Max Weber's suggestion of action theory.

It is, however, clear to me that both Parsons and Geertz approach religion from a functionalist position. Religion has a function within society (along the line of argumentation of Durkheim) to provide society with guidelines as to find identity. The emphasis in studying religion is to focus on the actions that what is done. Parsons and Geertz follow in a long line of scholars considering what constitutes culture. Both Parsons and Geertz follow Weber in discerning the relation of action and meaning. Human behaviour and activity (action) - including religion as human activity - must be interpreted to gain meaning from such activity. It is important to note that behaviour with meaning constitutes culture. Meaning is contextually assigned, and therefore, similar behaviour among different communities only differs in terms of the meaning assigned to such behaviour. Different ethnic groups will have different criteria by which meaning is determined.

Lourens Minnema (2014:3) identifies three stages of development in the understanding of culture:

Stage 1: Culture is a pre-given constant. Culture is seen as an all-encompassing reality, as a way of life of a people. Cultural patterns are pre-given. People belonging to a culture are only bearers of that culture. Culture is characterised by custom and habitual behaviour. This type of culture is typical of traditional cultures of small and non-complex societies.

Stage 2: Culture is a dominating power and a source of conflict and innovation. During the 1960s, culture became a source of conflict and a space for innovative initiatives. Cultural patterns are challenged as they

become subversive. Alternative cultures are perceived as being innovative. People belonging to this type of culture are producers of culture as well as sub-cultures. An example of this type of culture is the modern Western society since the Renaissance.

Stage 3: Culture is a domain of potentiality and choice. The way in which culture is interpreted today is that culture is perceived as providing room for freedom of choice and combinations of elements. Cultural patterns are marketable and transferable, and their power is negotiable. People belonging to this type of culture are mainly seen as consumers of culture although also as producers. They produce something new by way of combination and present it as commodity ready for consumption. Exponents of this type of culture are multi-cultural societies or mixed cultures or postmodern cultures subject to globalisation.

From this analysis, the constant production and consumption of culture are emphasised. When religion forms a segment of culture under the third stage described by Minnema, religion becomes a commodity prepared for utility and consumption. A problem, however, arises when people with a Stage 1 or 2 understanding of culture encounter a community where a Stage 3 understanding of culture is prevalent. If culture is perceived as a given, there can be no negotiation as to integration or accommodation. The different stages of cultural development must be taken into account when studying inter-cultural contact.

Ethnicity and religion

The relation between ethnicity and religion has been viewed differently over centuries. MacKay (2000) suggests two existing models of viewing the relationship. During the 19th century, the Primordialist view governed relations between religion and ethnicity. This changed to a Circumstantialist position during the late 20th century. MacKay (2000:104) suggests a third possible position for current times, that of Constructivism, combining the two preceding models.

The Primordialist theory (MacKay 2000:100) was the reigning theory during the 19th century, maintaining that ethnicity is a priori given and not determined by circumstances. This also applies to religion. Religion

is regarded as a priori given as part of identity of an ethnic group. This reflects Minnema's identification of Stage 1 of cultural development. There exists congruence between religion and ethnic identity. The core element determining identity in this case is religion.

The Circumstantialist theory (MacKay 2000:102) holds that the ethnic identity is determined by circumstances. As circumstances change so does identity. Social interactions determine group identity. The result is that identity is not perceived as fixed. The borders between ethnic groups are part of a dynamic process and not fixed. Religion is seen as part of a social system. The borders of religious and ethnic identity do not necessarily overlap. In communities where the relation between ethnicity and religion is viewed in this way, integration is much more likely to succeed.

MacKay (2000:104), however, suggests a third possibility with Constructivism. This model combines the Primordialist and Circumstantialist position. Constructivism recognises that ethnic identity is formed in part by birth and not by choice. This identity might be re-enforced by mythic traditions emphasising the uniqueness of a particular community. The Constructivistic position, however, also recognises that these (given) elements determining identity are also constantly but gradually reconstructed based on an interpretation of the context, emphasising the circumstantial influence on identity formation. Identity is then constantly under revision based on interaction and exposure to other group identities. Ethnic identity then becomes flexible.

To understand group identity, the circumstances of ethnic groups may then be studied to determine which circumstantial elements can contribute to formation of identity. According to Frederik Barth (1969:15-16), studying the boundaries between ethnic groups may, however, prove to be more revealing. It is the ethnic boundary that defines a group and not the cultural content it encloses (Barth 1969:15). It is especially at the boundaries that the identity stands out sharper. Studying ethnic communities at the boundaries of identity will highlight the decisions made in reaction to circumstantial elements determining identity. For example, how ethnic groups make a decision on what clothes to wear or music to listen to will be based on ethical convictions

that differ from another ethnic community. These ethical convictions function at the border between ethnic groups. There may be ethics that two groups may agree on. These convictions would rather stand at the centre of each group than at the periphery of identity. Studying the boundaries may prove important in understanding ethnic differences, and it may contribute to reconciling differences.

Why is it necessary to study ethnicity and culture when studying religion?

Can one study religion without studying ethnicity and culture? One can only understand the nature of religion when one understands its connectedness to ethnicity and culture. The interrelatedness and interaction of people from different cultures and races belonging to different religions are our focus here. This endeavour becomes even more urgent when considering current world events. Globalisation, post-colonialism and growing multi-cultural societies (because of migration nationally or internationally because of economic, social, political and health reasons) necessitate an understanding of the relatedness of culture, ethnicity and religion.

My argument here is that studying religion requires more emphasis on a study of culture and ethnicity. The goal is to suggest and argue the importance of studying culture and ethnicity to understand religious diversity especially in South Africa. Understanding ethnicity can contribute to enhanced inter-religious dialogue and provide possible guidelines as to inter-cultural reconciliation in South Africa.

Now that the interrelatedness of the concepts has been discussed, I now want to present three arguments why studying ethnicity and culture has become important in understanding religion. The three arguments are: Cultural migrations necessitate the studying of cultures; religion as cultural identity marker must be considered and the relocating of religion to culture needs to be taken into account.

Cultural migrations necessitate study of cultures when studying religions

There is currently a need for attention to anthropology of religion. This need is identified by Hackett (2005:144) as the result of three reasons: (1) The changing nature and location of people as manifested in mass migrations and mass conversion to different religions. In a post-Apartheid South African context a 'migration' took place. People encounter one another now in a different context, no longer oppressed and oppressor, but in new circumstances as equals. The reconfiguration of relations between races, cultures and religions requires a need for anthropology of religion. (2) Scholars studying religion work more inter-disciplinary and (3) new insights have come to the fore because of perspectives from post-colonialism, post-structuralism and postmodernism. To this list, I want to add globalisation and the growing multi-cultural communities. Changing paradigms cause reconfigurations in society, requiring new methods of studying society. Each case of religion must be studied within its own context in relation to other religions practiced among other racial groups. No universal theory of inter-cultural and inter-religious relations can be applied to every context. Each context must be studied on its own. This is confirmed by Scott and Hirschkind (2006):

The various traditions that anthropologists call religions cannot be understood as cultural elaborations of a universal form of experience, a sui generis category of human knowledge, but must be analysed in their particularity, as the products of specific practices of disciplines, authority and power. (pp. 6-7)

Tariq Ramadan (2004:200) in discussing the possibility of inter-religious dialogue also refers to the importance of culture. In the interactions between religions, Ramadan (2010:5) suggests that the principle of integration plays a dominant role. When cultures interact, there is no place for isolation, withdrawal and 'obsession with identity'. Rather entering into authentic dialogue as equals is necessary which will eventually lead to mutual enrichment and 'partners in action'. In the end, the interaction between religions is not about relativising one's own convictions and seeking universal neutral principles, it is rather about acceptance and respect of pluralism, diversity and the belief of the Other (Ramadan 2010:6).

How then to study religion when the borders of religion and other identifying elements overlap? For example, if religion, culture and ethnicity cannot be separated, does it influence the way in which religion is studied? There seem to be three scenarios to this problem (cf. MacKay 2000:96-97):

1. The ethnicity of a group is explained in terms of their religious beliefs. An example would be Jewish ethnicity as it is the result of practicing Judaism. Religion is the primary element in Jewish identity.

2. Religion is explained as the result of ethnicity. Muslim belief is the result of Arab ethnicity. The group's ethnic identity is the primary element in determining identity.

3. More elements than religion and ethnicity are at play determining group identity. Elements such as language, geography, values, worldview and a shared history come to mind.

In this construct of relatedness between religion and ethnicity, religion must be studied from an anthropological approach. Religion becomes one expression of human identity among many other different expressions of identity.
Religion either embraces or denies culture (cf. Figl 2003:35). As culture is associated with ethnicity, religion can easily be embraced by an ethnic group. Ramadan (2010:214) suggests the principle of integration as way of making religion at home within a cultural context. The result would be to distinguish between (Islamic) 'religion' and (Islamic) 'civilisation' (Ramadan 2010:214). The core of a religion is clothed in the forms of the various cultures in whose midst a religion exists (Ramadan 2010:215). Religion is expressed in cultural terms. So when an individual belonging to a particular religion comes from a specific cultural background and ends up in a different cultural environment, the individual integrates the religious convictions into the new cultural context, as there should be a clear difference between the religion and the culture of origin (Ramadan 2010:215).

Identity should be determined by multiple factors to which one remains open to. This, however, does not mean accepting everything of the culture. A critical evaluation of values is necessary. Together with being critical, Ramadan (2010:219) suggests a good dose of creativity to integrate in a responsible way.

The problem, however, arises when people with a particular religious affiliation coming from a particular culture enter a different culture where people have a different religious affiliation. Based on Lincoln's understanding of cultural encounter (1989:6-7), struggle between cultures may ensue. On a continuum, reactions towards the other may vary from 'polite disinterest', demarcation, conflict to outright war. Because of conflict of interest and added to that a stereotyped perception of the other culture, permanent animosity might result from that. The question would be how to have nations, religions and cultures co-exist peacefully, while maintaining their own unique identity.

Because of globalisation, religions all over the world rarely exist in isolation. Religions are constantly exposed to a multi-religious environment. In this plurality, each religion is in need of maintaining its unique identity. Studying religions will need to take into consideration not only the culture from which a religion originates but also the cultural network a religion ends up in because of globalisation and migration. Creating harmony between religious communities living in close proximity needs to take cultural and ethnic considerations into account.

Religion as cultural identity marker

Linda Woodhead (2011:112, 119) differentiates between religion as belief and religion as identity marker. Religion as belief refers to a religious interest in dogmas, doctrines and propositions. Religion as identity marker refers to religion as a source of identity, either socially or as personal choice. Based on Woodhead's differentiation, Kilp (2011:212) indicates how religion has currently excelled at being a cultural identity marker, increasingly so in Europe. As so many different factors are at play in determining identity, cultural identity must, however, be seen as in flux (Vroom 1996:118). The result is that people become alienated from the traditional religious beliefs and practices and

turn to cultural-religious identities, which do not necessarily include religious beliefs. At play here are the elements already identified: assigned meaning of behaviour; culture as utility; three stages of cultural development. These factors must be kept in mind when a cultural identity is created.

It is also important to note that cultural identity is ideologically motivated. People profess something about their culture to motivate the manifestation of a particular group (Vroom 1996:118). This cultural religious identity provides people with a feeling of certainty, order and meaning - a general feeling of belonging. This may serve as explanation to the struggle for power in multi-cultural societies, confirming Lincoln's (1989:6-7) theory of 'hegemonic struggle'. It is clear from this that struggle as well as attempts at reconciliation between cultures should be seen as efforts at establishing identity. Understanding the effort of creating identity requires an understanding of how people perceive the interplay of religion and ethnicity in creating identity. Religious affiliation does not need to overlap with aspects of ethnic identity. This reflects Minnema's Stages 2 and 3 of cultural development.

The Primordialist theory implies that one belonging to a specific religion can become part of a cultural group and still retain a religious identity. The result, however, may be that one will not be culturally equal to the cultural group into which one enters (Kilp 2011:202). We see the same situation with recent immigrants from Syria and Pakistan to Germany. Immigrants are welcomed into the German culture although they have a different religious affiliation. But still many Germans do not recognise the immigrants as equal members of society. To be part of the German people one has to subscribe to all that it means to be a German: language, clothing, religion and so on. Immigrants tend to become second-class citizens. Immigrants are still being identified in terms of their religious affiliation. Religion is still their main identity marker and not the new culture they are trying to adapt to. This sentiment is also witnessed in the discourse on immigration policies in the United States.

Based on religious grounds, differences are viewed from a value perspective. Differences are now viewed either as good or bad. The differences in relation to the own identity are perceived to be based on

being different, being 'bad' (Kilp 2011:203). The ethical evaluation of the other increases in content and is perceived as a growing threat requiring protection of the self, which is now polarised as being good as opposed to the other which is now perceived as bad. Kilp (2011:204) illustrates that the other is necessary to maintain the identity of the self. The other as evil is necessary to legitimise the self as good, pure and correct. The absence of the other (the cultural enemy) is dysfunctional.

Cultural identity is, however, not fixed but dynamic (Vroom 1996:118). Cultural identity can change over time. Cultural identity is an ideological interpretation as to how people view themselves and want to be viewed by others. People present their identity and thus communicate something about their culture. Cultural identity is, thus, constructed (Vroom 1996:118). The question would arise: in what does identity then lie? If identity is created, what criteria do people select to construct their identity? Cultural groups may make selections of events or elements in history to constitute their identity (Vroom 1996:119).

A problem arises when multiple cultures co-exist in close proximity and even more so in the same country. What and who determines cultural identity then? One can maintain one's cultural identity and still belong to a particular nation sharing another culture. It is then possible to belong to several cultures simultaneously. Interestingly, Vroom (1996:121) sees cultural exchange as more normal than maintaining cultural identity.

In the struggle to adapt and take refuge in a different culture, conflict might arise. Goodenough (1957:167) defines culture as a process: 'A society's culture consists of whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members'. Based on this definition, a strict exclusion is imprinted. One is only accepted when one knows, believes and acts in a familiar way to community. Part of the knowledge, convictions and actions is acceptance of a structure of meaning reached on consensus by a community (Geertz 1973:12). Meaning is negotiated through aesthetics.

It seems harmony between religious groups living in close proximity can only be reached when conformity from both sides is employed. Meeting one another at the borders of cultural identity and negotiating boundary markers can lead to a positive conformity. Conformity does not include

taking on the characteristics of another culture, but merely recognising differences at the borders and respecting them.

Religion relocated to culture

Matt Waggoner (2011:219) argues that religion has indeed relocated. The shift has taken place that religion no longer resides in the consciousness but within culture. Waggoner's argument in short is that a shift has taken place. Religion is no longer perceived to be subjectively imagined, locating religion in the bodies and brains of people participating in religion, but rather religion is located in culture or a social system. The implication is that studying religion requires a change in focus, away from the individual and group consciousness and finding the location of religion in the exterior to the subjective.

This argument by Waggoner goes back to Bruce Lincoln's (1989) contribution to the debate on religion and culture. Lincoln managed to combine Durkheim and Marx's orientation to the study of religion. The first step is to acknowledge that societies construct religion. Secondly, religion, as culture, is always associated with a struggle for power. Culture, especially religion, becomes a site where power and privileges in society are negotiated. Lincoln (1989:6, 174) refers to this as the 'hegemonic struggle'. Culture has an ideological role in this hegemonic struggle. Culture ignores its historical origin and makes transcendental claims to authorise its own position of power and discredit other claims. Further, the origin of religion is from the point of religion always an authoritative transcendent or supra-historical source, thereby concealing the cultural and historical origins.

Lincoln (2000:416), however, refrains from naming religion as a 'core component' of culture. Aesthetics and ethics are core components of culture as they are concerns for all human cultures. Kierkegaard (in Pattison 2004:4) seems to have added the element of religion to the two components constituting culture: aesthetics and ethics. The role of religion in culture, however, changes from one context to the other. Religion, however, does play a 'role of prime importance' in culture (Lincoln 2000:416) although this role is inconsistent. The argument by Lincoln makes provision for a situation, as Lincoln points out, how

religion as one of the essential elements in culture can from time to time dominate that which is considered as culture (Lincoln 2000:420).

The implication Waggoner (2011:219) draws from Lincoln's analysis is to point out that religion is in fact a subset of culture and not something sui generis. It is clear that religion participates in the hegemonic struggle in culture. Religion can then act as cultural identity marker. There are, however, many potential cultural markers (i.e. language, shared history, race and geography). People can view others not in terms of ethnicity but primarily in terms of religion. Ethnicity and religion overlap causing cultural or religious animosity to spill over to religious or cultural animosity.

This article does not pretend to have the solution to these cases of animosity. This article wants to argue that it is important in the study of religion to study ethnicity and culture as well.

12.7 MEDIA AND CULTURE

Art in all its form (story telling, dance, chanting, image-making) is a social activity which balances tensions within the collective.Plurality as an expression of resistance has ensured the stability of our society on the principle of co-existence of social inequalities. Tensions arising out of progressive division of labour, inter-caste rivalry, inequality in hierarchical status and disputes over property have been healed by the unifying function of art. For example, village India is very active during seasonal festivals.Any festival, with its oracles, trance dances, and collective rapture is a restorer of collective unity. All Indian cultural media ultimately derive from social culture. Brahmans have enjoyed a ritual monopoly in the Sanskrit medium while potters, weavers and basket-makers have been vernacular cultural performers. Drama and religious festivals at great temples were mixed media and drew from with classical and popular traditions. Popular inter-caste media emphasized devotional religisity which included bhajans, recitals or dance dramas from epics and puranas (Ram Lila) and folk dances on the festival days.

12.8 CULTURAL SYNTHESIS

Human species was given the name homo sapiens. In course of time the same human species was designated homo faber (man, the maker). There is another label called homo ludens which means man as player, play to be understood as a cultural phenomenon. The play element is found in language, law, war, art, poetry and philosophy.The play demands application, knowledge, skill and strength. The more difficult the game, the greater, the tension in the beholders. The primary thing in a competition is a desire to excel others and not a dsire for power or will to dominate. To dare, to take risks, to bear uncertainty and to endure tension are the essence of play spirit. We want to be honoured for our virtues. In order to excel, one must prove on's excellence; in order to merit recognition, merit must be made manifest. Competition serves to give proff of superiority. About Indian culture there are two diametrically opposite views. One is the segmented view of culture in terms of religion, i.e. a Hindu view of culture, a Muslim view of culture or a Christian view of culture etc.; or in terms of religion, i.e. Bengali, Assamese or Tarnil culture and so on. The second view is that Indian culture is composite. Gurudev Tagore highlighted India's culture as a living organism thus: The Aryan, the non-Aryan, the Dravidran, The Huns, the Pathans and the Moguls. They all have merged here into one body. We argue that culture is a though process while civilization is conduct. We have also thought that our culture can remain pure even if our conduct suffers degradation. The need to estabilish the interrelationship between the two is important. For a log period, science has not been viewed as part of a culture, even though science and OSC culture are after all products of the creative expression of human minds OSC role to neutralise the negative elements of a market economy. A sense of dignity and sense of self-confidence of among people is necessary to have control over lives as well as environment. There will be neither sustainable economic growth nor social progress and durable peace if they are not in tune with our cultural heritage.

12.9 CULTURAL DIVERSITY AND ITS EXPRESSION

The world has moved into the next millennium. Fears are expressed about the future of creative diversity and the plural character of culture. The change is being witnessed through media resolution, post-industrial technologies and global Religion, Society and Culture 21 Introduction to Indian Culture 22 communication networks. Number of scholars are talking about 'the clash of civilisations' and 'the end of history' . Hegemony of every kind - political, economic and cultural are anticipated. People world over are looking to India to see whether with its 5000 years of uninterrupted civilization, India can provide answers for social harmony and respect for creative diversity. India's great heritage have inspired Indians as well as others who came to be associated with. India is a country of over billions people, 18 languages, 1700 dialects, 4 main castes, thousands of sub-castes and 5 main religions. This cultural diversity is accompanied by immense biological diversity also. India is one of the 12 identified mega bio-diversity centres of the world. Among the finest expressions of India's culture, the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, the Vedas and the Upanishads are rooted in the family, the villages, religious practices and agricultural modes of production. Indian arts are crafts are illustrious expressions of Indian religious and spiritual experiences. The renewal that has taken place found expression in Sufism. . Vaisnavism and writing of Kabir, Nanak, Namdev and other Bhakti saints. The cultural renaissances of the 19th and 20th centuries are also deeply rooted within Indian social and cultural traditions. Poet Iqbal in his "Sare Jehan Se Achchha" claims that "there is something that does not allow the Indian continum to perish". Let us hope that Indian art, life, and thought shall find new expressions in the 2 pt century.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

1. How religious traditions help to make a culture unique?

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2. Define 'culture' in brief.

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3. Write a note on plurality of Indian culture.

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12.10 LET US SUM UP

Culture is an integral part of our lives. It gives a certain identity to a human being. In this unit we have tried to define the meaning and role of culture in our lives. Despite of having all types of diversities culture teaches us to be unite. As Jawahar Lal Nehru expressed it in these words- 'Unity in Diversity'. Unity of heart and mind inspires to work together. This experience is the rea1life foundation of Indian culture.

12.11 KEY WORDS

Cultural pluralism: Cultural pluralism is the dynamic by which minority groups participate fully in the dominant society, yet maintain their cultural differences. A pluralistic society is one where different groups can interact while showing a certain degree of tolerance for one another, where different cultures can coexist without major conflicts, and where minority cultures are encouraged to uphold their customs.

12.12 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. How religious traditions help to make a culture unique?
2. Define 'culture' in brief.
3. Write a note on plurality of Indian culture.

12.13 SUGGESTED READINGS AND REFERENCES

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12.14 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

1. In India there is no uniform culture in terms of Hindu, Muslim or Christian religions but there is uniformly shared culture throughout India. Indian society has undergone through many changes despite all that its harmony has been maintained. The basic principle of Indian culture was religious tolerance. Culture plays a spiritually balancing role to neutralize the negative element and this is its unique quality.

2. Culture can be defined as a mixture of knowledge, art, morals, customs, traditions and so on. Rabindra Nath Tagore defined Indian culture as living organism in these words- The Aryan, the non-Aryan, the Dravidian, the Huns, the Pathans and the Moughals. They all have emerged here into one body. The culture is seen or felt through our

language, thoughts, ideas and traditions. In this way it is like search for meaning and values.

3. Indian society is made of composite culture. Though we follow different religions yet there is always a sense of being Indian in all human beings. This shows the plurality of faiths. We also have different identities being Hindu, Muslim or Christian but we know how to live in harmony. In true words, plurality is an expression of resistance against all odds of society.

UNIT 13: REGIONAL DEVELOPMENTS, BHAKTI MOVEMENT: SHAIVITE AND VAISHNAVITE, SIKHISM, DIN-I-LLAHI

STRUCTURE

13.0 OBJECTIVES

After this unit, we can able to know:

- To know about the Regional development
- To discuss about the Bhakti movement
- To highlight the Shaivite and Vaishnavite
- To describe Sikhism
- To know about the Din-I-llahi

13.1 INTRODUCTION

Regional development is the provision of aid and other assistance to regions which are less economically developed. Regional development may be domestic or international in nature. The implications and scope of regional development may therefore vary in accordance with the

definition of a region, and how the region and its boundaries are perceived internally and externally.

Reading the historian Arnold Toynbee's lectures on the British Industrial Revolution, it is quickly apparent that conditions in England prior to 1760 were in many respects similar to those in developing countries today: Poor infrastructure and communication, lack of technological innovation, no division of labor, a focus on local commerce, and a weak banking system.

Surprisingly, the modern study of religion and economics begins with Adam Smith's An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations (1776), an examination of conditions leading to the Industrial Revolution. In his book, Smith applies his innovative laissez-faire philosophy to several aspects of religion. However, Smith's fundamental contribution to the modern study of religion was that religious beliefs and activities are rational choices. As in commercial activity, people respond to religious costs and benefits in a predictable, observable manner. People choose a religion and the degree to which they participate and believe (if at all).

13.2 REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Smith's contribution to the study of religion is not simply theoretical. He held substantive views, for example, on the relationship between organized religion and the state. Smith argued strongly for a disassociation between church and state. Such a separation, he said, allows for competition, thereby creating a plurality of religious faiths in society.

By showing no preference for one religion over others, but rather permitting any and all religions to be practiced, the lack of state intervention (short of violence, coercion, and repression) creates an open market in which religious groups engage in rational discussion about religious beliefs. This setting creates an atmosphere of "good temper and moderation." Where there is a state monopoly on religion or an oligopoly among religions, one will find zealousness and the imposition of ideas on the public. Where there is an open market for religion and freedom of speech, one will find moderation and reason.

A contemporary of Smith (though they were not acquainted) and a public intellectual during the British Industrial Revolution, John Wesley had much to say about the relationship between religion and economic development, though his perspective differed radically from Smith's. Wesley (1703–1791), a theologian and the founder of Methodism and the Holiness Movement, championed the two-way causation between religion and economic growth, preaching in 1744, "Gain all you can, Save all you can, Give all you can." Later, in his famous sermon of 1760, "The Use of Money," Wesley expounded upon these three points, emphasizing hard work, self-reliance, and mutual aid. Finally, just two years before his death (he lived to be 88), Wesley berated his congregants from the pulpit for their comfortable lifestyle and urged them to give away their fortunes. In the 45 years between these two sermons, Wesley's followers, by working hard and saving, had raised themselves up into the comfortable middle class. Wesley understood very well the direct causal relationship between religious beliefs and productivity. He also understood well that wealth accumulation could weaken religiosity both in terms of beliefs and participation. Wesley concluded that economic growth was detrimental to religion. Is it? And, if so, must it be?

The two-way causation

Let us look at the two-way causation and, thereby, the relationship between religion and development. First, how does a nation's economic and political development affect its level of religiosity? When we look at the effects of economic development on religion, we find that overall development — represented by per capita Gross Domestic Product (gdp) — tends to reduce religiosity.

The empirical evidence supports, to a degree, the secularization thesis which holds that with increased income, people tend to become less religious (as measured by religious attendance and religious beliefs). Economic development causes religion to play a lesser role in the political process and in policymaking, in the legal process, as well as in social arrangements (marriages, friendships, colleagues). There are four primary indicators of the influence of economic development on religion.

Economic development implies a rising opportunity cost of participating in religious services and prayer.

Education. The more educated a person is, the more likely he is to turn to science for explanations of natural phenomena, with religion intended to explain supernatural phenomena and psychological phenomena for which there is no rational explanation. According to this view, the higher the levels of educational attainment, the less religious people will be (negative effect). On the other hand, an increase in education will also spur participation in religious activities, because educated people tend to appreciate social networks and other forms of social capital. Education increases the returns from networks and networking. On this view, religion is just another type of social capital (positive effect). Thus, we cannot conclude that richer societies are less religious because people are better educated.

Value of time (measured by effects on per capita GDP). Economic reasoning tells us that anything that raises the cost of religious activities would — ceteris paribus — reduce these activities. We know that economic development and participation in the workforce raise the value of a person's time as measured by the value of market wages. Thus, economic development implies a rising opportunity cost of participating in time-intensive activities, such as religious services and prayer. Hence, people will participate less in religious activities because their time is now more valuable to them. So, as a country's per capita gdp increases, we expect to see a decrease in participation in formal religious activities. Older people and young people — in other words, those persons with a low value of time — will tend to participate more in religious activities.

Life expectancy. People are living longer all over the globe, not just in industrialized countries. Longevity has been rising almost everywhere in the world. Since 1950, it has climbed by larger absolute and percentage amounts in poor countries. With people living longer, participation in certain religions will be low and then rise as the population ages.

Urbanization. Urbanization is another aspect of economic growth that is said to have a substantial negative effect on religious participation. Why? Because in urban areas religious activities compete with others, such as the symphony, theatre, museums, and volunteer activities. Thus, religion

takes up your leisure time and competes with other leisure activities, not just work.

We know empirically by doing cross-country analysis that per capita gdp has a significantly negative effect on religion, both in terms of beliefs and participation. This tendency is gradual as countries grow richer. Furthermore, a steady pattern of secularization only applies to a few countries, such as Britain, France, and Germany. Although religiosity declines overall with economic development, the nature of the interaction varies with the dimension of development. For example, increased education has very different effects on religious participation and religiosity from rises in life expectancy or urbanization.

Second, how do religion and religiosity influence economic performance and the nature of political, economic, and cultural institutions? We find that, for a given level of religious participation, increases in core religious beliefs — notably belief in hell, heaven, and an afterlife — tend to increase economic growth. Our interpretation, reminiscent of Max Weber's famous thesis in The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, is that religious beliefs raise productivity by fostering individual traits such as honesty, work ethic, and thrift. In contrast, for given religious beliefs, increases in church attendance tend to reduce economic growth. We think that this negative effect reflects the time and resources used by the religion sector as well as adverse effects from organized religion on economic regulation — for example, restrictions on markets for credit and insurance. To put it another way, the main growth effect that we find is a positive response to an increase in believing relative to belonging (attending). Striking patterns of relatively high belief appear in the Scandinavian countries, Britain, and Japan. Although these countries are not generally viewed as religious, the belief levels are high when compared to the low levels of attendance at formal religious services. Countries with low levels of belief relative to religious participation are Latin American nations and India. We also have some evidence that the stick represented by the fear of damnation is more potent for growth than the carrot from the prospect of salvation.

Now let's look at how religion influences the four primary indicators of economic development.

Education. We find that religious beliefs are compatible with increased education and knowledge. Religion is attractive to people with higher levels of educational attainment because religious beliefs can be neither proved nor disproved. Educated people engage in speculative reasoning and are better able to think abstractly. Therefore, religion can offer something to them.

Religious beliefs matter for economic outcomes. They reinforce character traits such as hard work, honesty, thrift, and the value of time. Otherworldly compensators — such as belief in heaven, hell, the afterlife — can raise productivity by motivating people to work harder in this life. The Calvinist view of salvation through grace posits that since you cannot know whether or not you are saved, you work conscientiously your whole life (a life of good works). Religious rewards — such as absolution of sin, earning salvific merit by giving to charity — also motivate people to work hard and cultivate virtuous behavior.

Religious rewards motivate people to work hard and cultivate virtuous behavior.

Certain religions, such as Judaism, which highly value the reading of sacred texts early in life, value education. It is theorized that Jews invested in human capital because they were not permitted to own property, or, if they were, there existed insecure property rights. Human capital is "portable"; it migrates with you. The economist Evelyn Lehrer, who studies the relationship between economic development and religion, has found that the mean years of schooling is highest for Jews (16.9 males; 15.8 females); lowest among conservative Protestants (13.3, males; 12.9 females); with Roman Catholics (14.3 males, 13.7 females) and mainline Protestants (14.5 males; 14.0 females) in between.

Lehrer also finds that Jewish women attain very high levels of education. When female education is valued equally with male education, we find lower fertility rates. The small size of families means that more is invested in each child during the early, formative years. We find this across religions with increases in educational attainment by parents. That is, the smaller the family, the higher parental levels of educational attainment will be, and the more parents will invest in their children.

Conservative Protestants value educational attainment less than the other principal religion groups. One reason for this might be the historic lack of conservative post-secondary educational institutions in the United States. Conservative Christians as a group traditionally have not placed as high a value on education as other religious groups. For example, of the 102 U.S. members of the Council for Christian Colleges and Universities, the median year of founding is 1907. The Third Great Awakening, (1850–1907) led to the founding of 52 Christian educational institutions as seminaries, Bible institutes, and missions schools. Geographically, they were primarily located in the South and Midwest.

Value of time (measured by effects on per capita GDP). The main estimated growth effect is a positive response to an increase in believing relative to belonging (or attending). The results show that, for given religious beliefs, increases in church attendance tend to reduce economic growth. In contrast, for given church attendance, increases in some religious beliefs — notably otherworldly compensators — tend to increase economic growth. To put it another way, the main growth effect that we find is a positive response to an increase in believing relative to belonging (attending). A certain amount of participation in religious activities is positive, in that people acquire certain religious beliefs. But, if people spend too much time in religious activities, there is a negative effect on economic growth. As noted above, in prosperous Scandinavia as well as Britain and Japan, belief levels are high relative to the low levels of attendance at formal services.

Life expectancy. In certain religions, such as Hinduism, we know that the last stage of life is reserved for religious activities, free from familial and societal obligations. The Roman Catholic cycle of "sin, repentance, atonement, release, and sin again" can also predict a surge in church attendance at the end of one's life. Empirically it shows up across religions that as people age, their participation in religious activities increases, although not necessarily in attending religious rituals. Hence, in religions that permit a person to put off religious activity to the end of his life a reduction in religious participation occurs earlier on in life. This means that people spend more of their productive years at work rather than in religious activities.

The influence of religious participation and religious beliefs on life expectancy can be positive. For example, religious participation among young people is correlated with a lower probability of substance abuse and juvenile delinquency.

Religious participation and beliefs have a salutary effect on health and well-being. Religious participation lowers the incidence of depression.

Religious participation is correlated with more positive attitudes toward marriage and having children and negative attitudes toward cohabitation and premarital sex.

Urbanization. Overall, urbanization has a negative effect on religiosity, particularly in terms of participation, which tends to be higher in rural areas than in urban areas. One explanation for this is simply a lack of other leisure activities. Another is that rural dwellers need religion to explain uncertainties of nature (e.g., tornadoes, droughts, etc). Also, the daily frustrations and insecurities of living in developing countries, where you might find high levels of income inequality and unfulfilled promises of prosperity, give rise to new religions and strict orthodoxies. In other words, during the tumultuous period of rapid growth (or lack thereof) with high levels of inequality, people turn to new religions.

Why religion matters

When we look at the effects of religion on economic development, we find that attending religious activities on a monthly basis has a statistically negative effect on economic growth. We also find, according to the World Values Survey, that belief in hell is strong, with belief in heaven weaker. When looking at countries, measuring monthly attendance and belief in hell, we find that, for given levels of religious beliefs, notably in hell, heaven, and an afterlife, the effect of greater religious participation is to reduce economic growth.

When we look at religion across countries, we can see that the United States is an exception (60 percent monthly attendance; 75 percent belief in hell). It is a highly industrialized country with high religiosity — in terms of participation in formal religious activities, engaging in weekly prayer, and believing in hell. Singapore (44 percent attendance; 79 percent belief in hell) and Poland (78 percent attendance and 66 percent

belief in hell) are also developed countries with relatively high levels of religious participation and belief in hell. The most religious country in Western Europe is Ireland (68 percent attendance; 53 percent belief in hell), with Italy and Spain next and the United Kingdom, France, and Scandinavia coming in last.

In Muslim countries, we find high levels of belief in hell: Iran, 98 percent; Indonesia, 99; Pakistan, 94; Turkey, 94; Nigeria, 94. However, Muslim countries show a range of levels of participation in formal religious activities with Pakistan exhibiting the highest at 91 percent.

Analyzing data from the four waves of the World Values Survey (1981; 1990–1991; 1995–96; 2001), we conclude that Muslims are more likely than Catholics, Hindus, Buddhists, and Protestants to profess a belief in heaven and hell. These otherworldly compensators tend to play a larger role in Islam than in other religions.

Given that Protestants tend to believe in the eternal nature of heaven and hell with no intermediate degrees, and that a believer has only this lifetime to earn salvation, one would think they would express a higher belief than Muslims in the ends of the afterlife.

A possible explanation for the finding might be that whereas Christianity, and particularly Protestantism, places emphasis on individual responsibility for one's religious obligations, Islam is legalistic, stressing the fulfillment of laws that are communally enforced. The laxness of communal enforcement of religious beliefs in Protestantism creates an individualist approach to religious living, a focus on the inward, personal relationship with God. Communal enforcement in Islam stresses outward expressions of one's religiosity and accountability for one's actions to others. Therefore, in Islam belief in heaven and hell is reinforced through a communally shared understanding of life after death.

Economic development and religious terrorism

A commonly held view is that religious violence occurs because of poverty and high income inequality in a society or geographic region. Economist Alan Krueger's research challenges this assumption.

He finds that suicide bombers tend to be well-educated and not from the poorer levels of society. Islamic terrorists are more likely to be middle-class, with higher levels of educational attainment. Krueger reasons that high levels of educational attainment are a signal of a terrorist's commitment to the cause as well as his ability to prepare for and carry out the suicide assignment. The religious terrorist is the constituent (fanatic). As Hussein Mussawi, a founding member of Hezbollah, expressed it, "We are not fighting so that the enemy recognizes us and offers us something. We are fighting to wipe out the enemy." Not only is the constituency self-referring (oneself and one's community of believers) but the position is absolutist. Religious terrorists view violence as an end, not a means to political or economic ends. The secular terrorist views violence as a means to a political end. The religious terrorist sees himself engaging in the destruction of a system, a system that he does not identify with but, rather, is alienated from. By contrast, the secular terrorist seeks to renovate the system, not to totally destroy it. For the religious terrorist, the situation calls for no compromise — "Our attitude is dictated by our religious beliefs" — whereas the secular terrorist is utilitarian (violence as a means to an end).

Religious terrorists feel a sense of alienation from the larger society. Krueger defines this alienation not in religious terms but in political ones. In his research, he found that the deterioration in economic conditions over time is associated with the likelihood of educated men becoming terrorist attackers. During the 1980s, unemployment rose dramatically in the West Bank and Gaza Strip for college graduates relative to high school graduates. In other words, an increase in educational attainment in the 1980s coincided with a marked deterioration in the economic opportunities for educated Palestinians, particularly males. The loss in employment was attributed by Palestinians to the Israelis and the political situation. Krueger concludes that terrorist activity on the part of educated males is a response to political conditions and long-standing feelings of indignation and frustration that are fueled by religious beliefs and less to do with economics. Krueger's findings lead to the policy recommendation of finding a solution to the ongoing political crisis along with strengthening

private enterprise, promoting job creation, and attracting foreign investment.Deterioration in economic conditions is associated with the likelihood of educated men becoming terrorists.

Anthropologist Gananath Obeyesekere, in his analysis of the 1971 insurgency in Sri Lanka, which primarily involved Sinhalese Buddhist students, confirms Krueger's findings.

About 80 percent of the insurgents had a reasonable education, and had both the motivation and the capacity to participate in what they viewed as a rational choice. They saw the uprising as the only solution to the economic and political difficulties facing Sri Lanka. The students coming from the Maha Vidyalayas and Madya Maha Vidyalaya schools, established in villages in 1945 as part of the introduction of universal free education, had high expectations that they would be able to obtain a university degree and employment. By 1960, children of well-off villagers were entering the newly created universities and technical as well as teacher-training institutes. As the number of educated young men and women increased, economic opportunities remained stagnant. The supply was not meeting the demand. What happened was that the political patronage system had become closed, exclusive, and corrupt. Since there were many qualified applicants for a position, contacts and networks mattered more than merit. Very often the person who got the position was related by kin or had access to the patronage system through elite connections.

Rising unemployment meant that overqualified individuals had to accept positions that were beneath them. This translated into unfulfilled social and economic expectations, leading to increased frustration, also a key feature of Krueger's analysis. Along with the economic situation had come an increased political consciousness. Universal franchise had come with universal education. The lack of economic opportunity, joined with political enfranchisement for a large part of the educated populace, created the right combination for a religious-based insurgency.

Islamic violent sects are embedded in inefficient or failed states with few public services and poor economies.

Economists Laurence Iannaccone and Eli Berman offer an alternative explanation, using the club model to explain extreme violent behavior.

Iannaccone's cost-benefit analysis of strict religions led to the development of a club theoretical model of the evolution of organized religion.

Taking inspiration from theologian Ernst Troeltsch's sect-denomination distinction, Iannaccone applied a cost-induced commitment to organized religion.

He argued that denominations and extremist sects can be construed as distinct modes or "clubs" of religious organization based on consumer (believer) preferences. Using the club model of religion, Iannaccone sought to explain the success of strict religions (cults, sects). Using a cost-benefit analysis, he argued that people choose to undergo stigma and self-sacrifice, and engage in unconventional behavior, to eliminate free riders, thereby increasing the commitment of believers and benefits to members. Iannaccone's economic analysis provided a rational explanation for behavior that other professions categorize as brainwashing or a form of pathological behavior.

Eli Berman applied the club model to Israeli ultra-Orthodox Jews, as well as to Hamas and the Taliban.

Berman found in the case of the Israeli ultra-Orthodox community that the benefits of remaining in the group outweighed the costs of sacrifice and stigma. For the Taliban, the sacrifices demanded by the group included seemingly gratuitous acts of violence, destroying outside options and, thereby, increasing group loyalty. Contemporary radical Islamic sects diverge from Protestant Christian sects in that the latter are embedded in functioning economies, whereas Islamic violent sects are embedded in inefficient if not failed states where there are few public services provided and a poor economy. Protestant sects in the United States — Nazarenes, Mennonites, Brethren, Amish, and Hutterites — are embedded in a functioning state where the political and economic conditions allowed for an accommodation with the secular culture. The sects benefit from a functioning rule of law and economy. As a consequence of the political and economic stability of the society they are embedded in, Protestant radical sects perpetuate positive aspects of belonging to their religion: trust, lower divorce rates (marriage stability),

education for their children, improved physical and mental health, higher levels of happiness and fulfillment.

By contrast, sects that are found in failed states tend to emphasize the negative aspects of belonging: sacrifice, stigma, exclusivity, and use of violence as a means of keeping adherents in the sect. Eli Berman and David Laitin explain this "dark side" of religion, why sects enter a destructive pattern and continue until they destroy themselves along with their society, by showing that radical religious terrorist groups provide public goods to their members who are living in a failed or weak state with relatively poor economic opportunities outside the religious sect.

What appears to be gratuitous violence, such as the destruction of infrastructure, is in fact a mechanism for keeping adherents in the sect. Unlike Alan Krueger's work, the policy implication of Berman's and Laitin's research is two-pronged: strengthening the state and weakening the religious terrorist sects. Berman and Laitin favor foreign aid as long as it comes in the form of subsidies to governments to increase the provision of public goods (education, health, security) in geographically dispersed local areas, and not just concentrated in urban ones. By providing steady employment, enforcing rule of law, and social networks (for example, opportunities to meet future spouses), the terrorist groups can be seriously weakened.

What appears to be gratuitous violence is in fact a mechanism for keeping adherents in the sect.

The club model of religious sects can also be applied to historical Tibetan Buddhism.

The Geluk sect, of which the Dalai Lama is a member, rose to become the state religion in 1642. The Geluk sect was the last to form in a crowded religion market with schools and many sects. Unlike the existing religious sects, the Gelukpa introduced strictness in the sense of a monolithic orthodoxy and religious scholarship. They introduced "sacrifice" in the form of celibacy and required large monastic institutions to exclude lay abbots, thereby giving exclusive province to abbot monks. The Gelukpa were more successful than the other Buddhist schools and sects in Tibet in excluding the hereditary-succession practices for school leadership that underlay the usual clan politics,

creating instead a corporate monastic system. In this setup, the Geluk school was able to maintain institutional independence from kinship politics. Building on its institutional strengths and its innovative theology the Geluk school was able to create a brand or trademark by differentiating itself from the existing schools and sects. These advantages, when combined with the support of (foreign) Mongol patrons allowed rituals and doctrines particular to the Gelukpa to become Tibet's state religion in the seventeenth century.

Following the club model, the Gelukpa made a strategic alliance — with the Ölot Mongolian faction — and military victory was possible. This triumph was due to two main players, Gushri Khan, the financial advisor of the Dalai Lama, and Gendun-compel, the abbot of Drepung monastery. The Khan's troops were seriously weakened when they were unable to take the Shigatse fortress after a siege lasting several months. It was only when Gendun-compel arrived with monk warriors (many of these men had temporarily relinquished their monastic vows so as to be able to take up arms) that the Gelukpa were victorious. The Gelukpa reacted to this triumph by consolidating their religious authority over the other schools and sects. In particular, only the Geluk school was permitted to have monasteries in and around Lhasa.

The Geluk school, as the monopoly religion firm, made the state the legitimate interpreter of the religion and its tradition. The consequence of this arrangement between political authority and religion was the imposition of the Geluk school over the other schools and sects. The Geluk state secured its hold on the religion market through government subsidies to its own monasteries and special privileges, such as the Dalai Lama permitting monasteries to conscript children of hereditary households, especially when the monastery needed novices. For smaller monasteries with few agricultural resources, the Dalai Lama instituted state subsidies in barley, butter, and tea. Eventually, the monasteries of the other schools and sects would take on institutional features of the Geluk monastic system, so much so that today it is difficult to discern how the other schools and sects might have functioned independently prior to the ascendancy of the Geluk as the state religion.

In summary, the structural features unique to the club model work well in explaining how religious sects come to engage in extreme forms of violence. The club model advanced by Iannaccone and Berman is compatible with the findings of Krueger and Obeyesekere, in that educational attainment raises expectations of economic advancement and social status. When these expectations are not met, and the political institutions fail to exercise the political will to address systemic shortcomings, then religion can serve as an organizing principle around which people mobilize for political action, often violent.

13.3 BHAKTI MOVEMENT

An important landmark in the cultural history of medieval India was the silent revolution in society brought about by a galaxy of socio-religious reformers, a revolution known as the Bhakti Movement. This movement was responsible for many rites and rituals associated with the worship of God by Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs of Indian subcontinent. For example, Kirtan at a Hindu Temple, Qawaali at a Dargah (by Muslims), and singing of Gurbani at a Gurdwara are all derived from the Bhakti movement of medieval India (800-1700). The leader of this Hindu revivalist movement was Shankaracharya, a great thinker and a distinguished philosopher. And this movement was propounded by Chaitanya Mahaprabhu, Namadeva, Tukaram, Jayadeva. The movement's major achievement was its abolition of idol worship.

The leader of the bhakti movement focusing on the Lord as Rama was Ramananda. Very little is known about him, but he is believed to have lived in the first half of the 15th century. He taught that Lord Rama is the supreme Lord, and that salvation could be attained only through love for and devotion to him, and through the repetition of his sacred name.

Chaitanya Mahaprabhu was an ascetic Hindu monk and social reformer in 16th century Bengal. A great proponent of loving devotion for God, bhakti yoga, Chaitanya worshiped the Lord in the form of Krishna.

Sri Ramanuja Acharya was an Indian philosopher and is recognized as the most important saint of Sri Vaishnavism. Ramananda brought to North India what Ramanuja did in South India. He raised his voice against the increasing formalism of the orthodox cult and founded a new

school of Vaishnavism based on the gospel of love and devotion. His most outstanding contribution is the abolition of distinctions of caste among his followers.

Followers of Bhakti movement in 12th and 13th Century included saints such as Bhagat Namdev, and Saint Kabir Das, who insisted on the devotional singing of praises of lord through their own compositions.

Guru Nanak, the first Sikh Guru and founder of the Sikhism, too was a Nirguna Bhakti Saint and social reformer. He was opposed to all distinctions of caste as well as the religious rivalries and rituals. He preached the unity of God and condemned formalism and ritualism of both Islam and Hinduism. Guru Nanak's gospel was for all men. He proclaimed their equality in all respects.

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries continued to witness the rise of many religious reformers. The exponent of the Rama cult and the Krishna cult among the Vaishnavas branched off into a number of sects and creeds. The leading light of the Rama cult was saint-poet Tulsidas. He was a very great scholar and had made a profound study of Indian philosophy and literature. His great poem, 'Ramacharitamanasa', popularly called Tulsi-krita Ramayana is very popular among the Hindu devotees. He set before the people the image of Sri Rama as all virtuous, all powerful, the Lord of the World, and the very embodiment of the Supreme Reality (Parabrahma).

The followers of the Krishna cult founded the Radha Ballabhi sect under Hari Vamsa in 1585 A.D. Sur Das wrote 'Sursagar' in Brajbhasha, which is full of verses of the charm of Lord Krishna and his beloved Radha.

The world over, the image of the singer-songwriter has been a powerful one. Bards, who functioned as chroniclers and satirists mocking the meaningless conventions of their times, and who sometimes wrote and sang their verses, have featured in most world civilizations.

In India, the image of the singer-songwriter manifested itself in its fullest in what came to be known later as the Bhakti movement. The rigid caste system, the complicated ritualism that constituted the practice of worship and the inherent need to move to a more fulfilling method of worship and salvation perhaps spurred this movement.

Bhakti poets emphasized surrender to god. Equally, many of the Bhakti saints were rebels who chose to defy the currents of their time through their writings. The Bhakti tradition continues in a modified version even in the present day.

The movement probably began in the Tamil region around the 6th and 7th century AD and achieved a great deal of popularity through the poems of the Alvars and Nayanars, the Vaishnavite and Shaivite poets. Hailing from both high and low castes, these poets created a formidable body of literature that firmly established itself in the popular canon.

In the Kannada region, the movement begun by Basavanna (1105-68) in the 12th century for a time threatened the caste hierarchy and stretched the fabric of local society. While the orthodoxy managed to resist, the Bhakti movement in this region produced a rich vein of literature that came to be known as Vachana sahitya composed by Basava himself as well as his disciples (Akkamahadevi, Allama Prabhu, Devara Dasimayya and others). Consisting of pithy aphorisms, these Vachanas conveyed in unambiguous terms certain astute observations on spiritual and social matters.

Basavanna, the fount of the movement in Karnataka, was a minister of King Bijjala. He used his considerable powers to initiate programmes of social reform and saw his verses as extending his message to the masses. He was ultimately defeated by the orthodoxy, but he had initiated a new thinking in society that survives to the modern day, and in Karnataka, he remains an inspirational figure to this day.

As a social movement, the Bhakti movement in Karnataka, and indeed everywhere in India, challenged caste hierarchy, emphasized the individual's direct connection to god and the possibility of salvation for all through good deeds and simple living. As a literary movement, it liberated poetry from singing the praises of kings and introduced spiritual themes. From a style point of view, it introduced simple and accessible styles like vachanas (in Kannada) and other forms in various languages to literature and ended the hegemony of Sanskrit metrical forms.

In neighbouring Maharashtra, the Bhakti movement began in the late 13th century. Its proponents were known as the Varkaris. Among its most popular figures were Jnanadev (1275- 96), Namdev (1270-50) and

Tukaram (1608-50), who have left behind many verses that embody the essence of Bhakti.

Tukaram was a rebel in more ways than one. A Shudra by caste, he became a merchant. Later, defying the injunctions of the Brahmins, Tukaram chose to write on religious matters, and that too in Marathi, the language of the people.

That a Shudra chose to write was itself unacceptable to the Brahmins. Writing on religious matters in Marathi and not in Sanskrit was yet another issue. Forced by the orthodoxy to throw his manuscripts into the river, legend has it that Tukaram undertook a fast unto death and after the 13th day, his sunken notebooks appeared from the river, undamaged.

The story itself is probably apocryphal, but nevertheless illustrates the extent to which society is prepared to go to silence the rebel.

In northern India, from the 13th to the 17th centuries, a large number of poets flourished who were all Bhakti figures of considerable importance. At times, speaking of a formless god, sometimes centring their devotion on a preferred god (ishtdevata), these poets have left behind a considerable body of literature in Awadhi, Bhojpuri, Punjabi, Maithili and a number of other languages.

Almost always instinctively rebellious, these poets played an important role in laying the foundation for a reconfiguration of society on more equitable lines. Several strains of thinking emerged out of their efforts.

Kabir, the renowned saint of northern India, falls squarely in this tradition of singer-songwriter-critic. Living in the 13th and 14th centuries (the exact dates are disputed, but fall between 1398 and 1518), Kabir upturned the religious notions and social conventions of his time.

Kabir preached a monotheism that appealed directly to the poor and assured them of their access to god without an intermediary. He rejected both Hinduism and Islam, as well as empty religious rituals, and denounced hypocrisy. This outraged the orthodox gentry.

But Kabir was not to be cowed down. He was something of a lone wolf, not afraid to stand up for himself and his beliefs.

Another singer-songwriter was Guru Nanak (1469-1539), an iconoclast and, yes, critic of the dominant societal values of his time. Nanak was of a syncretic mindset and attempted to fuse the tenets of Hinduism and

Islam to serve as a guide for all humanity. He rebelled against a society that preferred ritual to devotion and sincerity. Among the institutions that he challenged was caste.

Nanak did not subscribe to caste taboos and was contemptuous of its ideas of “high" and “low". Given the injunctions against intermingling, Nanak frequently travelled with Mardana, a lower-caste Mirasi (a community of dancers and singers).

Mardana was a skilled rubab player who is said to have accompanied Nanak whenever he sang his verses. Eventually, Nanak founded a separate religion, Sikhism, which attempted to put his precepts into practice.

A near-contemporary of Nanak was Ravi Dass (1450-1520), who was born into a family of leather workers (chamars) in Varanasi. Like Nanak, Ravi Dass too spoke of the need for a casteless society, though, unlike Nanak, he had suffered its slings and arrows as he belonged to an untouchable caste.

In one of his popular poems, Ravi Dass speaks of “Begumpura"—“a place with no pain, no taxes or cares… no wrongdoing, worry, terror or torture" (translated by Hawley and Juergensmeyer in Songs of the Saints of India). In this verse and in many others, Ravi Dass gave voice to lower-caste pain at Brahminical society’s treatment of them. The Ravidassia community that continues to flourish to this day is evidence of the everlasting nature of his appeal.

While Kabir, Ravi Dass and Nanak spoke of the formless god (nirgun bhakti), Meerabai (1498-1546) from Rajasthan composed and sung devotional verses in praise of Krishna. Meera’s intense devotion to Krishna in defiance of patriarchal norms was a rebellious act. Her determination to be united with the lord she thought of as her beloved was a source of deep friction within her family, but Meera held steady nevertheless.

The Bhakti movement empowered the underbelly of Indian society in fundamental ways and also provided the required impetus for the growth of vernacular literature. This tradition of those deemed “low" singing and writing did not, however, end with the Bhakti movement comingling into the mainstream.

In 19th century Karnataka, Shishunala Sharif (1819-89) was an influential figure. A Muslim by birth, Sharif also accepted the tenets of Hinduism and often sang of communal harmony. During the freedom struggle, the poet-revolutionary Ram Prasad “Bismil" (1897-1927) composed the songs Sarfaroshi ki tamanna ab hamare dil mein hai and Rang de basanti chola that were sung by many revolutionaries.

In recent years, a number of singer-songwriters have sung stridently and powerfully about what they see as injustices in the society they live in. In October 2015, folk-singer Koovan was arrested near Trichy in Tamil Nadu. He had for a while been singing songs highly critical of chief minister J. Jayalalithaa and her liquor policies.

The two songs that landed Koovan in trouble were Moodu Tasmac moodu (shut down Tasmac, the state liquor distribution agency) and Ooruku oru sarayam (A bottle of liquor for every village).

In 2011 in Pune, Sheetal Sathe and her husband Sachin Mali, along with two others—all with the Kabir Kala Manch—were arrested for Naxal links and also had charges of sedition slapped on them. The group had been formed in the wake of the Gujarat riots in 2002 and had performed songs and plays about social inequality, the exploitation of the labour class, farmer suicides, female infanticide, Dalit killings and corruption.

Also in Maharashtra, the lok shahir (folk poet) Sambhaji Bhagat has been a hugely influential figure. His songs too are about Dalit issues, the venality of the ruling class and the struggles of the labouring class.

In Punjab, Bant Singh and Jagsir Jeeda, both Dalits and hailing from agricultural labourer families, have sung of alcoholism, exploitation and ill-treatment by the landed class and the corrupt ways of politicians. Bant was targeted by the land-owning class of his village after he defiantly pursued legal action when his daughter was raped.

His limbs were hacked off and he was left to bleed to death. Bouncing back from the brink of death, Bant Singh in recent years has become a national figure after the publication of a book on him, The Ballad of Bant Singh, by Nirupama Dutt.

In Telangana, the name Gaddar resonates hugely with the working class. A poet, singer and political activist, Gaddar, has for decades been a popular figure with his biting songs about social issues. Brutally

outspoken, he has in the past been targeted by the police and political rivals.

As is evident, the Bhakti philosophy of intense devotion, coupled with the defiant streak that ran through it, has not died out. It continues in modified forms—a true example of the meek seeking to inherit the earth and attempting to mould it to their terms.

These heirs to the Bhakti tradition are not religious in the sense of emphasizing worship and devotion. Their concerns, indeed devotion, is to the cause of economic justice and a more egalitarian world.

Sufism

The terms Sufi, Wali, Darvesh and Faqir are used for Muslim saints who attempted to achieve development of their intuitive faculties through ascetic exercises, contemplation, renunciation and self-denial. By the 12th century A.D., Sufism had become a universal aspect of Islamic social life as its influence extended over almost the entire Muslim community.

Sufism represents the inward or esoteric side of Islam or the mystical dimension of Muslim religion. However, the Sufi saints transcending all religious and communal distinctions, worked for promoting the interest of humanity at large. The Sufis were a class of philosophers remarkable for their religious catholicity. Sufis regarded God as the supreme beauty and believed that one must admire it, take delight in His thought and concentrate his attention on Him only. They believed that God is 'Mashuq' and Sufis are the 'Ashiqs'.

Sufism crystallized itself into various 'Silsilahs' or orders. The 4 most popular among these were Chistis, Suhrawardis, Qadiriyahs and Naqshbandis.

Sufism took roots in both rural and urban areas and exercised a deep social, political and cultural influence on the masses. It rebelled against all forms of religious formalism, orthodoxy, falsehood and hypocrisy and endeavoured to create a new world order in which spiritual bliss was the only and the ultimate goal. At a time when struggle for political power was the prevailing madness, the Sufi saints reminded men of their moral obligations. To a world torn by strife and conflict they tried to bring

peace and harmony. The most important contribution of Sufism is that it helped to blunt the edge of Hindu-Muslim prejudices by forging the feelings of solidarity and brotherhood between these two religious communities.

13.4 SHAIVITE AND VAISHNAVITE

Shaivism /ˈʃaɪvɪzəm/ (Śaivam; Tamil: சைவம்; Devanagari: शैव संप्रदाय; Assamese: শৈৱ; Bengali: শৈব; Telugu: శైవ సాంప్రదాయం; Kannada: ಶೈವ ಸಂಪ್ರದಾಯ; Malayalam: ശൈവമതം;Odia: ଶିବ ସମ୍ପ୍ରଦାୟ; Sinhala: ශිවාගම/ශෛවවාදය) is one of the major traditions within Hinduism that reveres Shiva as the Supreme Being. The followers of Shaivism are called "Shaivites" or "Saivites". It is one of the largest sects that believe Shiva, worshipped as a creator and destroyer of worlds, is the supreme god over all. The Shaiva have many sub-traditions ranging from devotional dualistic theism such as Shaiva Siddhanta to yoga-oriented monistic non-theism such as Kashmiri Shaivism. It considers both the Vedas and the Agama texts as important sources of theology. The origin of Shaivism may be traced to the conception of Rudra in the Rig Veda.

Virabhadra devotional plaque

Shaivism has ancient roots, traceable in the Vedic literature of 2nd millennium BCE, but this is in the form of the Vedic deity Rudra. The ancient text Shvetashvatara Upanishad dated to late 1st millennium BCE mentions terms such as Rudra, Shiva and Maheshwaram, but its interpretation as a theistic or monistic text of Shaivism is disputed. In the early centuries of the common era is the first clear evidence of Pāśupata Shaivism. Both devotional and monistic Shaivism became popular in the 1st millennium CE, rapidly becoming the dominant religious tradition of many Hindu kingdoms. It arrived in Southeast Asia shortly thereafter, leading to the construction of thousands of Shaiva temples on the islands of Indonesia as well as Cambodia and Vietnam, co-evolving with

Buddhism in these regions. In the contemporary era, Shaivism is one of the major aspects of Hinduism.

Shaivism theology ranges from Shiva being the creator, preserver, and destroyer to being the same as the Atman (self, soul) within oneself and every living being. It is closely related to Shaktism, and some Shaiva worship in Shiva and Shakti temples. It is the Hindu tradition that most accepts ascetic life and emphasizes yoga, and like other Hindu traditions encourages an individual to discover and be one with Shiva within. Shaivism is one of the largest traditions within Hinduism

Etymology and nomenclature

Shiva (IAST: śiva, சிவன், Sanskrit: शिव) literally means kind, friendly, gracious, or auspicious.[24][25] As a proper name, it means "The Auspicious One".

The word Shiva is used as an adjective in the Rig Veda, as an epithet for several Rigvedic deities, including Rudra. The term Shiva also connotes "liberation, final emancipation" and "the auspicious one", this adjective sense of usage is addressed to many deities in Vedic layers of literature. The term evolved from the Vedic Rudra-Shiva to the noun Shiva in the Epics and the Puranas, as an auspicious deity who is the "creator, reproducer and dissolver".

The Sanskrit word śaiva or Shaiva means "relating to the god Shiva", while the related beliefs, practices, history, literature and sub-traditions constitute Shaivism.

Some authors associate the name Siva with the Tamil word śivappu meaning "the Red one" in Tamil and this tallies with the description of Rudra who is also called Babhru (brown, or red) in the Rigveda.

Overview

The reverence for Shiva is one of the pan-Hindu traditions, found widely across India, Sri Lanka and Nepal. While Shiva is revered broadly, Hinduism itself is a complex religion and a way of life, with a diversity of ideas on spirituality and traditions. It has no ecclesiastical order, no unquestionable religious authorities, no governing body, no prophet(s) nor any binding holy book; Hindus can choose to be polytheistic, pantheistic, monotheistic, monistic, agnostic, atheistic, or humanist.

Shaivism is a major tradition within Hinduism, with a theology that is predominantly related to the Hindu god Shiva. Shaivism has many different sub-traditions with regional variations and differences in philosophy. Shaivism has a vast literature with different philosophical schools, ranging from nondualism, dualism, and mixed schools.

Origins and history

The development of various schools of Shaivism from early worship of Rudra. The "Pashupati" seal from the Indus Valley Civilisation.

The origins of Shaivism are unclear and a matter of debate among scholars. Some trace the origins to the Indus Valley civilization, which reached its peak around 2500–2000 BCE. Archeological discoveries show seals that suggest a deity that somewhat appears like Shiva. Of these is the Pashupati seal, which early scholars interpreted as someone seated in a meditating yoga pose surrounded by animals, and with horns. This "Pashupati" (Lord of Animals, Sanskrit paśupati) seal has been interpreted by these scholars as a prototype of Shiva. Gavin Flood characterizes these views as "speculative", saying that it is not clear from the seal if the figure has three faces, or is seated in a yoga posture, or even that the shape is intended to represent a human figure.

Other scholars state that the Indus Valley script remains undeciphered, and the interpretation of the Pashupati seal is uncertain. According to Srinivasan, the proposal that it is proto-Shiva may be a case of projecting "later practices into archeological findings". Similarly, Asko Parpola states that other archaeological finds such as the early Elamite seals dated to 3000–2750 BCE show similar figures and these have been interpreted as "seated bull" and not a yogi, and the bull interpretation is likely more accurate.

Vedic evidence

The Rigveda (~1500–1200 BCE) has the earliest clear mention of Rudra in its hymns such as 2.33, 1.43 and 1.114. The text also includes a Satarudriya, an influential hymn with embedded hundred epithets for Rudra, that is cited in many medieval era Shaiva texts as well as recited in major Shiva temples of Hindus in contemporary times. Yet, the Vedic literature only present scriptural theology, but does not attest to the existence of Shaivism.

The Shvetashvatara Upanishad, likely composed before the Bhagavad Gita about 4th century BCE contains the theistic foundations of Shaivism wrapped in a monistic structure. It contains the key terms and ideas of Shaivism, such as Shiva, Rudra, Maheswara, Guru, Bhakti, Yoga, Atman, Brahman and self-knowledge.

Shiva standing on Apasmara, carved on a lingam, Gudimallam, 1st-2nd century BCE.

Emergence of Shaivism

According to Gavin Flood, "the formation of Śaiva traditions as we understand them begins to occur during the period from 200 BC to 100 AD." According to Chakravarti, Shiva rose to prominence as he was identified to be the same as Purusha, Rudra, Agni, Indra, Prajāpati, Vāyu, among others.

2nd century CE Kushan coins with one side showing a deity with a bull. Some scholars consider the deity as Shiva because he holds a trident, is in ithyphallic state and next to Nandi bull his mount, as in Shaivism. Others suggest him to be Zoroastrian Oesho, not Shiva.

Patanjali's Mahābhasya, dated to the 2nd century BCE, mentions the term Shiva-bhagavata in section 5.2.76. Patanjali, while explaining Panini's rules of grammar, states that this term refers to a devotee clad in animal skins and carrying an ayah sulikah (iron spear, trident lance) as an icon representing his god.

The Mahabharata is another ancient Sanskrit text that mentions Shaiva ascetics, such as in chapters 4.13 and 13.140. Other evidence that is possibly linked to the importance of Shaivism in ancient times are in epigraphy and numismatics, such as in the form of prominent Shiva-like reliefs on Kushan Empire era gold coins. However, this is controversial, as an alternate hypothesis for these reliefs is based on Zoroastrian Oesho. According to Flood, coins dated to the ancient Greek, Saka and Parthian kings who ruled parts of the Indian subcontinent after the arrival of Alexander the Great also show Shiva iconography, but this evidence is weak and subject to competing inferences.

The inscriptions found in the Himalayan region, such as those in the Kathmandu valley of Nepal suggest that Shaivism (particularly Pashupata monism) was established in this region during the Mauryas

and the Guptas reign of the Indian subcontinent, by the 5th century. These inscriptions have been dated by modern techniques to between 466 and 645 CE.

Puranik Shaivism

During the Gupta Dynasty (c. 320–500 CE) the genre of Purana literature developed in India, and many of these Puranas contain extensive chapters on Shaivism – along with Vaishnavism, Shaktism, Smarta Traditions of Brahmins and other topics – suggesting the importance of Shaivism by then. The most important Shaiva Puranas of this period include the Shiva Purana and the Linga Purana.

Shaiva icons and a Hindu woman praying in River Narmada, Maheshwar, Madhya Pradesh.

In early 7th century the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Xuanzang (Huen Tsang) visited India and wrote a memoir in Chinese that mentions the prevalence of Shiva temples all over North Indian subcontinent, including in the Hindu Kush region such as Nuristan. Between the 5th and 11th century CE, major Shaiva temples had been built in central, southern and eastern regions of the subcontinent, including those at Badami cave temples, Aihole, Elephanta Caves, Ellora Caves (Kailasha, cave 16), Khajuraho, Bhuvaneshwara, Chidambaram, Madurai, Conjeevaram.

Major scholars of competing Hindu traditions from the second half of the 1st millennium CE, such as Adi Shankara of Advaita Vedanta and Ramanuja of Vaishnavism, mention several Shaiva sects, particularly the four groups: Pashupata, Lakulisha, tantric Shaiva and Kapalika. The description is conflicting, with some texts stating the tantric, puranik and Vedic traditions of Shaivism to be hostile to each other while others suggest them to be amicable sub-traditions. Some texts state that Kapalikas reject the Vedas and are involved in extreme experimentation, while others state the Shaiva sub-traditions revere the Vedas but are non-Puranik.

South India

Shaivism was likely the predominant tradition in South India, co-existing with Buddhism and Jainism, before the Vaishnava Alvars launched the Bhakti movement in the 7th-century, and influential Vedanta scholars

such as Ramanuja developed a philosophical and organizational framework that helped Vaishnava expand. Though both traditions of Hinduism have ancient roots, given their mention in the epics such as the Mahabharata, Shaivism flourished in South India much earlier.

The Mantramarga of Shaivism, according to Alexis Sanderson, provided a template for the later though independent and highly influential Pancaratrika treatises of Vaishnava. This is evidenced in Hindu texts such as the Isvarasamhita, Padmasamhita and Paramesvarasamhita.

The 7th to 8th-century Shore Temple at Mahabalipuram is a UNESCO World Heritage site. It features thousands of Shaivism-related sculptures.

Along with the Himalayan region stretching from Kashmir through Nepal, the Shaiva tradition in South India has been one of the largest sources of preserved Shaivism-related manuscripts from ancient and medieval India. The region was also the source of Hindu arts, temple architecture, and merchants who helped spread Shaivism into southeast Asia in early 1st millennium CE.

There are tens of thousands of Hindu temples where Shiva is either the primary deity or reverentially included in anthropomorphic or aniconic form (lingam, or svayambhu). Numerous historic Shaiva temples have survived in Tamil Nadu, Kerala, parts of Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka. Certain regions have a greater density of Shiva temples, such as in the Thanjavur region of Tamil Nadu, where numerous Shaiva temples were built during the Chola empire era, between 800 and 1200 CE.[citation needed] Gudimallam is the oldest known lingam and has been dated to between 3rd to 1st-century BCE. It is a carved five feet high stone lingam with an anthropomorphic image of Shiva on one side. This ancient lingam is in Chittoor district of Andhra Pradesh.

Southeast Asia

An image collage of 1st millennium CE Shaivism icons and temples from Southeast Asia (top left): Shiva in yoga pose, Nandi, Prambanan temple, Yoni-Linga and Hindu temple layout.

Shaivism arrived in a major way in southeast Asia from south India, and to much lesser extent into China and Tibet from the Himalayan region. It co-developed with Buddhism in this region, in many cases. For example, in the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas, a few caves include Shaivism

ideas. The epigraphical and cave arts evidence suggest that Shaiva Mahesvara and Mahayana Buddhism had arrived in Indo-China region in the Funan period, that is in the first half of the 1st millennium CE. In Indonesia, temples at archaeological sites and numerous inscription evidence dated to the early period (400 to 700 CE), suggest that Shiva was the highest god. This co-existence of Shaivism and Buddhism in Java continued through about 1500 CE when both Hinduism and Buddhism were replaced with Islam, and persists today in the province of Bali.

The Shaivist and Buddhist traditions overlapped significantly in southeast Asia, particularly in Indonesia, Cambodia, and Vietnam between the 5th and the 15th-century. Shaivism and Shiva held the paramount position in ancient Java, Sumatra, Bali, and neighboring islands, though the sub-tradition that developed creatively integrated more ancient beliefs that pre-existed. In the centuries that followed, the merchants and monks who arrived in Southeast Asia, brought Shaivism, Vaishnavism and Buddhism, and these developed into a syncretic, mutually supporting form of traditions.

Indonesia

In Balinese Hinduism, Dutch ethnographers further subdivided Siwa (shaivaites) Sampradaya" into five – Kemenuh, Keniten, Mas, Manuba and Petapan. This classification was to accommodate the observed marriage between higher caste Brahmana men with lower caste women.

Beliefs and practices

Shaivism centers around Shiva, but it has many sub-traditions whose theological beliefs and practices vary significantly. They range from dualistic devotional theism to monistic meditative discovery of Shiva within oneself. Within each of these theologies, there are two sub-groups. One sub-group is called Vedic-Puranic, who use the terms such as "Shiva, Mahadeva, Maheshvara and others" synonymously, and they use iconography such as the Linga, Nandi, Trishula (trident), as well as anthropomorphic statues of Shiva in temples to help focus their practices. Another sub-group is called esoteric, which fuses it with abstract Sivata (feminine energy) or Sivatva (neuter abstraction), wherein the theology integrates the goddess (Shakti) and the god (Shiva) with Tantra practices

and Agama teachings. There is a considerable overlap between these Shaivas and the Shakta Hindus.

Vedic, Puranik, and esoteric Shaivism

Scholars such as Alexis Sanderson discuss Shaivism in three categories: Vedic, Puranik and non-Puranik (esoteric, tantric). They place Vedic and Puranik together given the significant overlap, while placing Non-Puranik esoteric sub-traditions as a separate category.

Two female Shaiva ascetics (18th century painting)

Vedic-Puranik. The majority within Shaivism follow the Vedic-Puranik traditions. They revere the Vedas, the Puranas and have beliefs that span dualistic theism style Shiva Bhakti (devotionalism) to monistic non-theism dedicated to yoga and meditative lifestyle sometimes with renouncing householder life for monastic pursuits of spirituality.[88] The Yoga practice is particularly pronounced in nondualistic Shaivism, with the practice refined into a methodology such as four-fold upaya: being pathless (anupaya, iccha-less, desire-less), being divine (sambhavopaya, jnana, knowledge-full), being energy (saktopaya, kriya, action-full) and being individual (anavopaya).

Non-Puranik. These are esoteric, minority sub-traditions wherein devotees are initiated (dīkṣa) into a specific cult they prefer. Their goals vary, ranging from liberation in current life (mukti) to seeking pleasures in higher worlds (bhukti). Their means also vary, ranging from meditative atimarga or "outer higher path" versus those whose means are recitation-driven mantras. The atimarga sub-traditions include Pashupatas and Lakula. According to Sanderson, the Pashupatas have the oldest heritage, likely from the 2nd century CE, as evidenced by ancient Hindu texts such as the Shanti Parva book of the Mahabharata epic. The tantric sub-tradition in this category is traceable to post-8th to post-11th century depending on the region of Indian subcontinent, paralleling the development of Buddhist and Jain tantra traditions in this period. Among these are the dualistic Saiva Siddhanta and Bhairava Shaivas (non-Saiddhantika), based on whether they recognize any value in Vedic orthopraxy. These sub-traditions cherish secrecy, special symbolic formulae, initiation by a teacher and the pursuit of siddhi (special powers). Some of these traditions also incorporate theistic ideas,

elaborate geometric yantra with embedded spiritual meaning, mantras and rituals.

Vaishnavaism

Vaishnava texts reverentially mention Shiva. For example, the Vishnu Purana primarily focuses on the theology of Hindu god Vishnu and his avatars such as Krishna, but it praises Brahma and Shiva and asserts that they are one with Vishnu. The Vishnu Sahasranama in the Mahabharata list a thousand attributes and epithets of Vishnu. The list identifies Shiva with Vishnu.

Reverential inclusion of Shaiva ideas and iconography are very common in major Vaishnava temples, such as Dakshinamurti symbolism of Shaiva thought is often enshrined on the southern wall of the main temple of major Vaishnava temples in peninsular India. Harihara temples in and outside the Indian subcontinent have historically combined Shiva and Vishnu, such as at the Lingaraj Mahaprabhu temple in Bhubaneshwar, Odisha. According to Julius Lipner, Vaishnavism traditions such as Sri Vaishnavism embrace Shiva, Ganesha and others, not as distinct deities of polytheism, but as polymorphic manifestation of the same supreme divine principle, providing the devotee a polycentric access to the spiritual.

Similarly, Shaiva traditions have reverentially embraced other gods and goddesses as manifestation of the same divine. The Skanda Purana, for example in section 6.254.100 states, "He who is Shiva is Vishnu, he who is Vishnu is Sadashiva.

Vaishnavism is one of the major Hindu denominations along with Shaivism, Shaktism, and Smartism. It is also called Vishnuism, its followers are called Vaishnavas or Vaishnavites, and it considers Vishnu as the Supreme Lord.

The tradition is notable for its avatar doctrine, wherein Vishnu is revered in one of many distinct incarnations. Rama, Krishna, Narayana, Kalki, Hari, Vithoba, Kesava, Madhava, Govinda, Srinathji and Jagannath are among the popular names used for the same supreme being. The tradition has traceable roots to the 1st millennium BCE, as Bhagavatism, also called Krishnaism. Later developments led by Ramananda created a Rama-oriented movement, now the largest monastic group in Asia. The

Vaishnava tradition has many sampradayas (denominations, sub-schools) ranging from the medieval era Dvaita school of Madhvacharya to Vishishtadvaita school of Ramanuja.

The tradition is known for the loving devotion to an avatar of Vishnu (often Krishna), and it has been key to the spread of the Bhakti movement in South Asia in the 2nd millennium CE. Key texts in Vaishnavism include the Vedas, the Upanishads, the Bhagavad Gita, the Pancaratra (Agama) texts and the Bhagavata Purana.

Vaishnavism originates in the latest centuries BCE and the early centuries CE, as an amalgam of the heroic Krishna Vasudeva, the "divine child" Bala Krishna of the Gopala traditions, and syncretism of these non-Vedic traditions with the Mahabharata canon, thus affiliating itself with Vedism in order to become acceptable to the orthodox establishment. Krishnaism becomes associated with bhakti yoga in the medieval period.

Origins

Northern India

The inscription of the Heliodorus pillar that was made by Indo-Greek envoy Heliodorus in 110 BCE, in what is modern Vidisha (Madhya Pradesh). The inscription states Heliodorus is a Bhagavata.

Although Vishnu was a Vedic solar deity, he is mentioned more often compared to Agni, Indra, and other Vedic deities, thereby suggesting that he had a major position in the Vedic religion. Other scholars state that there are other Vedic deities, such as water deity Nara (also mentioned as Narayana-Purusha in the Brahmanas layer of the Vedas), who together form the historical roots of Vaishnavism. In the late-Vedic texts (~1000 to 500 BCE), the concept of a metaphysical Brahman grows in prominence, and the Vaishnavism tradition considered Vishnu to be identical to Brahman, just like Shaivism and Shaktism consider Shiva and Devi to be Brahman respectively.

The ancient emergence of Vaishnavism is unclear, the evidence inconsistent and scanty. According to Dalal, the origins may be in Vedic deity Bhaga, who gave rise to Bhagavatism. According to Preciado-Solís, the Vedic deities Nara and Narayana form one of the Vedic roots of Vaishnavism. According to Dandekar, Vaishnavism may have emerged

from merger of several ancient theistic traditions, where the various deities were integrated as different avatars of the same god. In Dandekar theory, Vaishnavism emerged at the end of the Vedic period, closely before the second urbanisation of northern India, in the 7th to 4th century BCE. Vāsudeva-Krishna, "the deified tribal hero and religious leader of the Yadavas," gained prominence, merged into Bhagavan Vasudeva-Krishna, due to the close relation between the Vrsnis and the Yadavas.

This was followed by a merger with the cult of Gopala-Krishna of the cowherd community of the Abhıras at the 4th century CE. The character of Gopala Krishna is often considered to be non-Vedic. According to Dandekar, such mergers consolidated the position of Krishnaism between the heterodox sramana movement and the orthodox Vedic religion. The "Greater Krsnaism", states Dandekar, then merged with the Rigvedic Vishnu.

Syncretism of various traditions and Vedism resulted in Vaishnavism. At this stage that Vishnu of the Rig Veda was assimilated into non-Vedic Krishnaism and became the equivalent of the Supreme God. The appearance of Krishna as one of the Avatars of Vishnu dates to the period of the Sanskrit epics in the early centuries CE. The Bhagavad Gita was incorporated into the Mahabharata as a key text for Krishnaism.

Finally, the Narayana-cult was also included, which further brahmanized Vaishnavism. The Nara-Narayana cult may have originated in Badari, a northern ridge of the Hindu Kush, and absorbed into the Vedic orthodoxy as Purusa Narayana. Purusa Narayana may have later been turned into Arjuna and Krsna.

This complex history is reflected in the two main historical denominations of Vishnavism. The Bhagavats, worship Vāsudeva-Krsna, and are followers of brahmanic Vaishnavism, while the Pacaratrins regard Narayana as their founder, and are followers of Tantric Vaishnavism.

Southern India

According to Hardy, there is evidence of early "southern Krishnaism," despite the tendency to allocate the Krishna-traditions to the Northern traditions. South Indian texts show close parallel with the Sanskrit traditions of Krishna and his gopi companions, so ubiquitous in later

North Indian text and imagery. Early writings in Dravidian culture such as Manimekalai and the Cilappatikaram present Krishna, his brother, and favourite female companions in the similar terms. Hardy argues that the Sanskrit Bhagavata Purana is essentially a Sanskrit "translation" of the bhakti of the Tamil alvars.

Devotion to southern Indian Mal (Tirumal) may be an early form of Krishnaism, since Mal appears as a divine figure, largely like Krishna with some elements of Vishnu. The Alvars, whose name can be translated "sages" or "saints", were devotees of Mal. Their poems show a pronounced orientation to the Vaishnava, and often Krishna, side of Mal. But they do not make the distinction between Krishna and Vishnu on the basis of the concept of the Avatars.[36] Yet, according to Hardy the term "Mayonism" should be used instead of "Krishnaism" when referring to Mal or Mayon.

Gupta era

Most of the Gupta kings, beginning with Chandragupta II (Vikramaditya) (375-413 CE) were known as Parama Bhagavatas or Bhagavata Vaishnavas.

Early medieval period

After the Gupta age, Krishnaism rose to a major current of Vaishnavism, and Vaishnavism developed into various sects and subsects, most of them emphasizing bhakti, which was strongly influenced by south Indian religiosity. Modern scholarship posit Nimbarkacharya (c.7th century CE) to this period who propounded Radha Krishna worship and his doctrine came to be known as (dvaita-advaita).

Vaishnavism in the 8th century came into contact with the Advaita doctrine of Adi Shankara. Many of the early Vaishnava scholars such as Nathamuni, Yamunacharya and Ramanuja, contested the Advaita Vedanta doctrines and proposed Vishnu bhakti ideas instead. Vaishnavism flourished in predominantly Shaivite South India during the seventh to tenth centuries CE with the twelve Alvars, saints who spread the sect to the common people with their devotional hymns. The temples that the Alvars visited or founded are now known as Divya Desams. Their poems in praise of Vishnu and Krishna in Tamil language are collectively known as Naalayira Divya Prabandha(4000 divine verses).

Later medieval period

The Bhakti movement of late medieval Hinduism started in the 7th-century, but rapidly expanded after the 12th-century. It was supported by the Puranic literature such as the Bhagavata Purana, poetic works, as well as many scholarly bhasyas and samhitas.

This period saw the growth of Vashnavism Sampradayas (denominations or communities) under the influence of scholars such as Ramanujacharya, Vedanta Desika, Madhvacharya and Vallabhacharya. Bhakti poets or teachers such as Manavala Mamunigal, Namdev, Ramananda, Surdas, Tulsidas, Eknath, Tyagaraja, Chaitanya Mahaprabhu and many others influenced the expansion of Vaishnavism.Even Meera bai(princess of Mehwar and Rajasthan)took part in this specific movement. These Vaishnavism sampradaya founders challenged the then dominant Shankara's doctrines of Advaita Vedanta, particularly Ramanuja in the 12th century, Vedanta Desika and Madhva in the 13th, building their theology on the devotional tradition of the Alvars (Shri Vaishnavas).

In North and Eastern India, Vaishnavism gave rise to various late Medieval movements Ramananda in the 14th century, Sankaradeva in the 15th and Vallabha and Chaitanya in the 16th century. Historically, it was Chaitanya Mahaprabhu who founded congregational chanting of holy names of Krishna in the early 16th century after becoming a sannyasi.

Modern times

During the 20th century, Vaishnavism has spread from India and is now practiced in many places around the globe, including North America, Europe, Africa, Russia and South America. This is largely due to the growth of the ISKCON movement, founded by A.C. Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupada in 1966

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

1. What do you know about the Regional development?

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2. Discuss about the Bhakti movement.

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3. Highlight the Shaivite and Vaishnavite.

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13.5 SIKHISM

Sikhism (/ˈsɪkɪzəm/; Punjabi: ਸਿੱਖੀ), or Sikhi[3] (Sikkhī, pronounced [ˈsɪkːʰiː], from Sikh, meaning a "disciple", "seeker," or "learner"), is a Indian monotheistic religion that originated in the Punjab region of the Indian subcontinent around the end of the 15th century.

Sikhism is one of the youngest of the major world religions and the world's fifth largest organized religion, as well as being the world's ninth-largest overall religion. The fundamental beliefs of Sikhism, articulated in the sacred scripture Guru Granth Sahib, include faith and meditation on the name of the one creator, divine unity and equality of all humankind, engaging in selfless service, striving for justice for the benefit and prosperity of all and honest conduct and livelihood while living a householder's life. As of the early 21st century, there are about 25 million Sikhs.

Sikhism is based on the spiritual teachings of Guru Nanak, the first Guru (1469–1539), and the nine Sikh gurus that succeeded him. The Tenth Guru, Guru Gobind Singh, named the Sikh scripture Guru Granth Sahib as his successor, terminating the line of human Gurus and making the scripture the eternal, religious spiritual guide for Sikhs. Sikhism rejects claims that any particular religious tradition has a monopoly on Absolute Truth.

The Sikh scripture opens with Ik Onkar (ੴ), its Mul Mantar and fundamental prayer about One Supreme Being (God). Sikhism emphasizes simran (meditation on the words of the Guru Granth Sahib), that can be expressed musically through kirtan or internally through Nam Japo (repeat God's name) as a means to feel God's presence. It teaches followers to transform the "Five Thieves" (lust, rage, greed, attachment, and ego). Guru Nanak taught that living an "active, creative, and practical life" of "truthfulness, fidelity, self-control and purity" is above the metaphysical truth, and that the ideal man is one who "establishes union with God, knows His Will, and carries out that Will". Guru Hargobind, the sixth Sikh Guru, established the political/temporal (Miri) and spiritual (Piri) realms to be mutually coexistent.

Sikhism evolved in times of religious persecution. Two of the Sikh gurus – Guru Arjan (1563–1605) and Guru Tegh Bahadur (1621–1675) – were tortured and executed by the Mughal rulers after they refused to convert to Islam. The persecution of Sikhs triggered the founding of the Khalsa as an order to protect the freedom of conscience and religion, with qualities of a "Sant-Sipāhī" – a saint-soldier. The Khalsa was founded by the last Sikh Guru, Guru Gobind Singh.

A way of life and philosophy well ahead of its time when it was founded over 500 years ago, The Sikh religion today has a following of over 20 million people worldwide. Sikhism preaches a message of devotion and remembrance of God at all times, truthful living, equality of mankind, social justice and denounces superstitions and blind rituals. Sikhism is open to all through the teachings of its 10 Gurus enshrined in the Sikh Holy Book and Living Guru, Sri Guru Granth Sahib.

Who and What is a Sikh?

The word 'Sikh' in the Punjabi language means 'disciple', Sikhs are the disciples of God who follow the writings and teachings of the Ten Sikh Gurus. The wisdom of these teachings in Sri Guru Granth Sahib are practical and universal in their appeal to all mankind.

"I observe neither Hindu fasting nor the ritual of the Muslim Ramadan month; Him I serve who at the last shall save. The Lord of universe of the Hindus, Gosain and Allah to me are one; From Hindus and Muslims

have I broken free. I perform neither Kaaba pilgrimage nor at bathing spots worship; One sole Lord I serve, and no other. I perform neither the Hindu worship nor the Muslim prayer; To the Sole Formless Lord in my heart I bow. We neither are Hindus nor Muslims; Our body and life belong to the One Supreme Being who alone is both Ram and Allah for us." (Guru Arjan Dev, Guru Granth Sahib, Raga Bhairon pg. 1136)

"Any human being who faithfully believes in: (i) One Immortal Being, (ii) Ten Gurus, from Guru Nanak to Guru Gobind Singh, (iii) The Guru Granth Sahib, (iv) The utterances and teachings of the ten Gurus and, (v) the baptism bequeathed by the tenth Guru, and who does not owe allegiance to any other religion is a Sikh." (Rehat Maryada, Sikh Code of Conduct)

Philosophy and Beliefs

There is only One God. He is the same God for all people of all religions. The soul goes through cycles of births and deaths before it reaches the human form. The goal of our life is to lead an exemplary existence so that one may merge with God. Sikhs should remember God at all times and practice living a virtuous and truthful life while maintaining a balance between their spiritual obligations and temporal obligations.

The true path to achieving salvation and merging with God does not require renunciation of the world or celibacy, but living the life of a householder, earning a honest living and avoiding worldly temptations and sins.

Sikhism condemns blind rituals such as fasting, visiting places of pilgrimage, superstitions, worship of the dead, idol worship etc.

Sikhism preaches that people of different races, religions, or sex are all equal in the eyes of God. It teaches the full equality of men and women. Women can participate in any religious function or perform any Sikh ceremony or lead the congregation in prayer.

History and Practices

The founder of the Sikh religion was Guru Nanak who was born in 1469. He preached a message of love and understanding and criticized the blind rituals of the Hindus and Muslims. Guru Nanak passed on his enlightened leadership of this new religion to nine successive Gurus. The final living Guru, Guru Gobind Singh died in 1708.

During his lifetime Guru Gobind Singh established the Khalsa order (meaning 'The Pure'), soldier-saints. The Khalsa uphold the highest Sikh virtues of commitment, dedication and a social conscious. The Khalsa are men and women who have undergone the Sikh baptism ceremony and who strictly follow the Sikh Code of Conduct and Conventions and wear the prescribed physical articles of the faith. One of the more noticeable being the uncut hair (required to be covered with a turban for men) and the Kirpan (ceremonial sword).

Before his death in 1708 Guru Gobind Singh declared that the Sikhs no longer needed a living and appointed his spiritual successor as Sri Guru Granth Sahib, his physical successor as the Khalsa. Guru Gobind Singh felt that all the wisdom needed by Sikhs for spiritual guidance in their daily lives could be found in Sri Guru Granth Sahib, the Eternal Guru of the Sikhs. Sri Guru Granth Sahib is unique in the world of religious scriptures because not only is it accorded the status of being the spiritual head of the Sikh religion, but besides the poetry of the Gurus, it also contains the writings of saints of other faiths whose thoughts were consistent with those of the Sikh Gurus.

Sikhism does not have priests, which were abolished by Guru Gobind Singh. The Guru felt that they had become corrupt and full of ego. Sikhs only have custodians of the Guru Granth Sahib (granthi), and any Sikh is free to read the Guru Granth Sahib in the Gurdwara (a Sikh temple) or in their home. All people of all religions are welcome to the Gurdwara. A free community kitchen can be found at every Gurdwara which serves meals to all people of all faiths. Guru Nanak first started this institution which outline the basic Sikh principles of service, humility and equality.

The most significant historical religious center for the Sikhs is Harmiandir Sahib (The Golden Temple) at Amritsar in the state of Punjab in northern India. It is the inspirational and historical center of Sikhism but is not a mandatory place of pilgrimage or worship. All places where Sri Guru Granth Sahib are installed are considered equally holy for Sikhs.

13.6 DIN-I-LLAHI

Din-i Ilahi "the religion of God," was a system of religious beliefs introduced by the Mughal emperor Akbar in 1582 CE. His idea was to combine Islam and Hinduism into one faith, but also to add aspects of Christianity, Zoroastrianism and Jainism. Akbar took a deep personal interest in religious matters. He founded an academy, the Ibadat Khana, "the House of Worship," in 1575, where representatives of all major faiths could meet to discuss questions of theology. Listening to these debates, Akbar concluded that no single religion captured the whole truth and that they instead should be combined.

Din-e Ilahi emphasized morality, piety and kindness. Just like Sufi Islam it regarded the yearning for God as a key feature of spirituality; just like Catholicism it took celibacy to be a virtue and just like Jainism it condemned the killing of animals. As for its rituals, it borrowed heavily from Zoroastrianism, making fire and the sun objects of divine worship. [Read more: "Zarathustra and Zoroastrianism"] The new religion had no scriptures, no priests, and in fact it never had more than a handful of followers – mainly the members of Akbar's closest circle of advisers. The most prominent person among them was Abul-Fazl ibn Mubarak, the emperor's vizier or prime minister. Abul Fazl was the author of the Akbarnama, "the Book of Akbar," a history of Akbar's reign written in three volumes, which provides a rich description of India at the height of the Mughal's power.

Din-e Ilahi is best viewed as a state religion with the emperor himself at its center. As the single authority on all religious matters, Akbar was not only going to interpret and apply the religious law, but to actually make it. In the end, the new faith had more to do with politics than with religion. Din-e Ilahi was his solution to the thorny problem of how a Muslim ruler could govern a predominantly Hindu state. Yet the Din-e Ilahi was fiercely opposed by many Muslims clerics who declared it a heretical doctrine. Although the new religion did not survive its founder, it triggered a strong fundamentalist reaction among India's Muslims. According to rumors, the Muslim call to prayer, "Allahu akbar," meaning "God is great," was interpreted by Akbar himself as "God is Akbar."

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

1. Describe Sikhism.

……

……

……

2. How do you know about the Din-I-llahi?

……

……

……

13.7 LET US SUM UP

Sikhism is one of the youngest of the major world religions and the world's fifth largest organized religion, as well as being the world's ninth-largest overall religion. The fundamental beliefs of Sikhism, articulated in the sacred scripture Guru Granth Sahib, include faith and meditation on the name of the one creator, divine unity and equality of all humankind, engaging in selfless service, striving for justice for the benefit and prosperity of all and honest conduct and livelihood while living a householder's life. As of the early 21st century, there are about 25 million Sikhs.

Din-i Ilahi "the religion of God," was a system of religious beliefs introduced by the Mughal emperor Akbar in 1582 CE. His idea was to combine Islam and Hinduism into one faith, but also to add aspects of Christianity, Zoroastrianism and Jainism. Akbar took a deep personal interest in religious matters. He founded an academy, the Ibadat Khana, "the House of Worship," in 1575, where representatives of all major faiths could meet to discuss questions of theology. Listening to these debates, Akbar concluded that no single religion captured the whole truth and that they instead should be combined.

13.8 KEY WORDS

Regional: In geography, regions are areas that are broadly divided by physical characteristics, human impact characteristics, and the interaction of humanity and the environment.

Din-I-llahi: Din-i Ilahi "the religion of God," was a system of religious beliefs introduced by the Mughal emperor Akbar in 1582 CE. His idea was to combine Islam and Hinduism into one faith, but also to add aspects of Christianity, Zoroastrianism and Jainism.

13.9 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. What do you know about the Regional development?
2. Discuss about the Bhakti movement
3. Highlight the Shaivite and Vaishnavite
4. Describe Sikhism.
5. How do you know about the Din-I-llahi?

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13.11 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

1. See Section 13.2
2. See Section 13.3
3. See Section 13.4

Check Your Progress 2

1. See Section 13.5
2. See Section 13.6

UNIT 14: INTELLECTUAL TRADITIONS, IDENTITY FORMATIONS, TEMPLE DESECRATION AND THE INDO-MUSLIM STATES, RHETORIC OF STATE- BUILDING

STRUCTURE

14.0 OBJECTIVES

After finishing this unit 14 we can able to know:

- The Indian Intellectual tradition
- Identity Formations
- Temple Desecration and the Indo-Muslim State- Building
- Rhetoric of State- Building

14.1 INTRODUCTION

Marcia's identity status paradigm (Marcia 1966), originally developed as an attempt to classify an adolescent's identity status at a certain point in time (Marcia 2007), has inspired hundreds of empirical investigations of identity formation (for reviews, see for example: Meeus 1996; Kroger 2007). Following Erikson's assumption that identity formation involves a

developmental process (Erikson 1972, 1974), a limited number of these studies has used a longitudinal approach. These studies have assessed changes in identity formation in either one of two ways: (1) by focusing on changes in identity status, or (2) by focusing on changes in separate identity dimensions. We will first discuss studies on changes in identity status, and then discuss the merits of studying longitudinal changes in identity formation with separate measures of commitment and exploration.

In a review of studies examining identity status change, Waterman (1982, 1999) concluded that the basic hypothesis underlying Erikson's work on identity ("movement from adolescence to adulthood involves changes in identity that can be characterized as progressive developmental shifts", p. 355, italics added), has received support in empirical studies. This hypothesis is also referred to as the fundamental developmental hypothesis of identity formation. The progressive developmental shifts Waterman (1982) refers to are changes from less adaptive identity statuses (e.g., diffusion) towards the most adaptive status (i.e., achievement). However, not everyone agrees with Waterman's notion of progressive developmental shifts. Based on the same studies where Waterman (1999) noted progressive changes, Van Hoof (1999) concluded that identity status studies have more often found stability than change. Yet, she did note that if change does occur it is more likely to be progressive than regressive. The contradiction between the conclusions of Waterman and Van Hoof is caused by the fact that Waterman emphasized that progressive change outweighs regressive change, whereas Van Hoof stressed that stability occurred more often than progressive changes did. Both positions received support in a recent meta-analysis by Kroger (2007), as she found equal probabilities of stability and progressive developmental changes in identity formation, while progressive change was much more common than regressive change. In sum, previous studies on identity status change indicate that identity formation in adolescence is either characterized by stability, or by progressive change. Apart from a debate concerning the amount of change in identity formation, there is also disagreement on the timing of changes in identity formation in adolescence. Several overview studies

(e.g., Marcia 1980; Waterman 1982, 1993) concluded that changes in identity formation were most likely to occur in late adolescence, whereas Meeus et al. (1999) found that changes were just as common in early and middle adolescence, as in late adolescence.

Thus, longitudinal studies on changes in identity status have not led to consensus on either the direction or the timing of changes with regard to identity formation. This could be caused by the fact that studies on identity status change merely provide a rough estimate of the overall direction of identity formation and are not informative on longitudinal changes in the underlying dimensions of commitment and exploration (Matteson 1977). Identity status changes only occur when the amount of change in the underlying dimensions passes a certain threshold, whereas an approach with a focus on separate dimensions of commitment and exploration is also sensitive to smaller changes in identity formation (Meeus 1996). For that reason, studies focusing on separate identity dimensions could shed new light on the change versus stability debate (van Hoof 1999; Waterman 1999) that has mainly been related to the identity statuses until now. Therefore, the current study aims to contribute to the change versus stability debate by examining the developmental course of the dimensions underlying the statuses.

Several identity models with a focus on separate dimensions of exploration and commitment have been introduced since the late 1990s (Balistreri et al. 1995; Luyckx et al. 2006b; Meeus 1996). In the current study, a recently developed three-dimension model will be applied to assess stability and change in identity formation. We will now discuss this three-dimension model, and then review the few longitudinal studies that have followed a dimensional approach to identity formation.

14.2 THE INDIAN INTELLECTUAL TRADITION

IN his essay on “The Nyaya and the Architectonic of Logic”, P T Raju observes: ‘Gautama [the founder of the ancient Indian school of logic called Nyaya] felt that salvation (nihsreyas) can be obtained only if the right effort is made Our effort can be right only if it is in accordance with reality; for life has to be planned according to reality. But then we have

to know what reality is. Our knowledge has, therefore, to be right and logically valid. There is no other way to determine reality than experience and logically valid forms of knowing. When the forms and their methods and through them, reality are properly understood, then only can salvation be possible. So Gautama enunciated sixteen categories of logic, epistemology, and argumentation as means to salvation'.

Nyaya as a system of philosophy has always been both pragmatic and realistic. Its pragmatism is reflected in its refusal to develop a purely formal framework of deductive logic totally divested from empirical considerations, as has been done by modern mathematical logic. Its realism is grounded in the pluralistic world view assiduously developed by its cognate system, the Vaisheshika. The Vaisheshikas were probably the earliest analytical philosophers in India. They attempted a complete description of objective reality in terms of six conceptual categories (later increased to seven).

Moreover, none were as 'unrestrained in their speculations' and none 'such powerful critics of time- worn prejudices as the followers of Kanada [the Vaisheshikas]'. Gautama mentions doubt, aim, empirical examples, general truths, premises, hypothetical reasoning, and conclusions as essential components of his framework of logic. Doubt and aim provide the incentive, empirical observations and general truths the material, and premises and hypothetical (or counterfactual conditional) reasoning the instruments for fresh knowledge. It was this spirit of inquiry and freedom of thought that was responsible for much of the vigor and vitality associated with ancient Indian thought and culture.

If the Nyaya-Vaisheshika schools refused to let go of their empirical moorings, the ancient Indian mathematicians made rapid strides into the realm of abstract reasoning by developing the decimal place value notation with zero that not only allowed them great facility in handling large numbers and complex computations--including those involving irrational and negative numbers and surds--but also facilitated the development of symbolic algebra and later of analytic trigonometry and calculus.

Intellectual vigor and creativity are not of much practical value if they do not get translated into technological innovation. The theories of modern

science have a fascinating grip on the contemporary mind because of the amazing power they grant us to manipulate nature and secure better longevity, comfort, and physical connectivity, and the broadening of our intellectual horizons that has followed as a consequence. A thriving Indian manufacturing industry right up the eighteenth century, a sophisticated tradition of medicine and surgery based on astute observations, and the excellence of ancient and medieval Indian handicraft, architectural design, shipbuilding, and iron works are proofs of the practical face of Indian thought.

With such sound intellectual traditions, why did we miss the Industrial Revolution in the late eighteenth century? The prime reasons were (i) loss of touch with our intellectual heritage, (ii) isolation from the global community, and (iii) political instability and colonial subjugation. All of these factors are virtually non-operational today. We can, therefore, well expect a vigorous flowering of Indian thought in the coming decades.

In Intellectual Traditions (IT) courses, Honors students explore enduring questions at the heart of the human experience. They learn how to identify some of the origins of our ideas and values in works from different eras and various cultures, and to recognize the diversity of perspectives on what it means to be human.

IT is not a survey course or a lecture-only course. The classes are conducted as seminars in which students learn to do careful readings of primary texts, to participate in collaborative inquiry, and to develop evidence-based positions.

Traditionally IT courses have been chronologically organized: e.g. The Ancient World, The Development of the Common Era, and The Modern World. Honors now also offers IT courses (2810) that explore a variety of broad themes, such as gender, magic, history of science, identity, and the existence of networks through the ages.

Why is IT Important for a Student's Education?

Through IT courses, students develop:

- independent reasoning and skepticism
- the capacity to make informed decisions about complex, interdisciplinary problems

- strategies to approach and engage unfamiliar, often difficult texts and ideas
- creative and nimble thinking

The focus of IT is not on the significance of individual texts themselves, but on the essential humanistic questions they raise: what does it mean to be human? how free are humans to act? how do we come to truth? what constitutes moral behavior? is war justifiable? In addition to texts that have exerted significant historical influence, IT brings underrepresented voices, including non-Western, non-canonical texts, into the humanistic conversation. Supplementing, challenging, or offering alternatives to traditional Western narratives, these voices contribute to a more complex and profound understanding of humans and the values that inform the communities they construct: political, social, moral, and religious.

The core of the Honors Liberal Arts and Sciences curriculum, IT courses stimulate students to be intellectually adventurous outside of mere careerism, and encourage them to situate their college experience in a larger context. Looking closely, thinking critically, and writing persuasively are skills that help students not only in their academic careers but in their larger roles as community members and citizens.

14.3 IDENTITY FORMATIONS

Identity formation, also known as individuation, is the development of the distinct personality of an individual regarded as a persisting entity (known as personal continuity) in a particular stage of life in which individual characteristics are possessed and by which a person is recognized or known (such as the establishment of a reputation). This process defines individuals to others and themselves. Pieces of the person's actual identity include a sense of continuity, a sense of uniqueness from others, and a sense of affiliation. Identity formation leads to a number of issues of personal identity and an identity where the individual has some sort of comprehension of themselves as a discrete and separate entity. This may be through individuation whereby the undifferentiated individual tends to become unique, or undergoes stages through which differentiated facets of a person's life tend toward becoming a more indivisible whole.

Identities are formed on many levels, micro, meso, macro, and global. The micro level is self definition and relationship to people and issues as seen from a person or individual perspective. The meso level is where our identifies are viewed, formed, and questioned from our immediate communities and/or our families. Macro are the connections among and between individuals, issues, and groups as a view from a national perspective. Lastly, the global level is connections among and between individuals, issues, and groups from a worldwide perspective.

Identity is often described as finite and consisting of separate and distinct parts (family, cultural, personal, professional, etc.), yet according to Parker J. Palmer, it is an ever-evolving core within where our genetics (biology), culture, loved ones, those we cared for, people who have harmed us and people we have harmed, the deeds done (good and ill) to self and others, experiences lived, and choices made come together to form who we are at this moment.

Theories

Many theories of development have aspects of identity formation included in them. Two theories stand out in regards to this topic[: Erik Erikson's theory of psychosocial development (specifically the "identity versus role confusion" stage of his theory) and James Marcia's identity status theory.

Erikson

Erikson's belief is that throughout each person's lifetime, they experience different crises or conflicts. Each of the conflicts arises at a certain point in life and must be successfully resolved for progression to the next of the eight stages. The particular stage relevant to identity formation takes place during adolescence, called "Identity versus Role Confusion."

The "Identity versus Role Confusion" stage consists of adolescents trying to figure out who they are in order to form a basic identity that they will build on throughout their life, especially concerning social and occupational identities. They face the complexities of determining one's own identity. Erikson said this crisis is resolved with identity achievement, the point at which an individual has extensively considered various goals and values, accepting some and rejecting others, and understands who they are as a unique person.[5] Once an adolescent has

attained identity achievement, they are ready to enter the next stage of Erikson's theory "Intimacy versus Isolation" where they will form strong friendships and a sense of companionship with others. If the "Identity versus Role Confusion" crisis is not solved, an adolescent will face confusion about future plans, particularly their roles in adulthood. Failure to form one's own identity leads to failure to form a shared identity with others, which could lead to instability in many areas as an adult. The identity formation stage of Erik Erikson's theory of psychosocial development is a crucial stage in life.

Marcia

James Marcia created a structural interview designed to classify adolescents into one of four statuses of identity. The identity statuses are used to describe and pinpoint the progression of an adolescent's identity formation process. In James Marcia's theory, the operational definition of identity is whether an individual has explored various alternatives and made firm commitments to: an occupation, religion, sexual orientation and a set of political values.

The four identity statuses in James Marcia's theory are:

1. *Identity Diffusion* (also known as *Role Confusion*): This is the opposite of identity achievement. The individual has not yet resolved their identity crisis, failing to commit to any goals or values and establish future life direction. In adolescents, this stage is characterized by disorganized thinking, procrastination, and avoidance of issues and action.
2. *Identity Foreclosure*: This occurs when teenagers accept traditional values and cultural norms, rather than determining their own values. In other words, the person conforms to an identity without exploration as to what really suits them best. For instance, teenagers might follow the values and roles of their parents or cultural norms. They might also foreclose on a negative identity, the direct opposite of their parent's values or cultural norms.
3. *Identity Moratorium*: This postpones identity achievement by providing temporary shelter. This status provides opportunities for

exploration, either in breadth or in depth. Examples of moratoria common in American society include college or the military.

4. *Identity Achievement*: This status is attained when the person has solved the identity issues by making commitments to goals, beliefs and values after extensive exploration of different areas.

Self-concept

Self-concept or self-identity is the sum of a being's knowledge and understanding of their self. The self-concept is different from self-consciousness, which is an awareness of one's self. Components of the self-concept include physical, psychological, and social attributes, which can be influenced by the individual's attitudes, habits, beliefs and ideas. These components and attributes cannot be condensed to the general concepts of self-image and self-esteem as different types of identity coming together in one person. These types of identity can be broken down into the following.

Cultural identity

Cultural identity is the (feeling of) identity of a group or culture, or of an individual as far as they are influenced by their belonging to a group or culture. Cultural identity is similar to and has overlaps with, but is not synonymous with, identity politics. There are modern questions of culture that are transferred into questions of identity. Historical culture also influences individual identity, and as with modern cultural identity, individuals may pick and choose aspects of cultural identity, while rejecting or disowning other associated ideas.

Professional identity

Professional identity is the identification with a profession, exhibited by an aligning of roles, responsibilities, values, and ethical standards as accepted by the profession.

Ethnic and national identity

An ethnic identity is the identification with a certain ethnicity, usually on the basis of a presumed common genealogy or ancestry. Recognition by others as a distinct ethnic group is often a contributing factor to developing this bond of identification. Ethnic groups are also often united by common cultural, behavioral, linguistic, ritualistic, or religious traits.

Processes that result in the emergence of such identification are summarised as ethnogenesis. Various cultural studies and social theory investigate the question of cultural and ethnic identities. Cultural identity remarks upon: place, gender, race, history, nationality, sexual orientation, religious beliefs and ethnicity.

National identity is an ethical and philosophical concept whereby all humans are divided into groups called nations. Members of a "nation" share a common identity, and usually a common origin, in the sense of ancestry, parentage or descent.

Religious identity

A religious identity is the set of beliefs and practices generally held by an individual, involving adherence to codified beliefs and rituals and study of ancestral or cultural traditions, writings, history, and mythology, as well as faith and mystic experience. The term "religious identity" refers to the personal practices related to communal faith and to rituals and communication stemming from such conviction. This identity formation begins with association in the parents' religious contacts, and individuation requires that the person chooses to the same—or different—religious identity than that of their parents.

Gender identity

In sociology, gender identity describes the gender with which a person identifies (i.e., whether one perceives oneself to be a man, a woman, outside of the gender binary, etc.), but can also be used to refer to the gender that other people attribute to the individual on the basis of what they know from gender role indications (social behavior, clothing, hair style, etc.). Gender identity may be affected by a variety of social structures, including the person's ethnic group, employment status, religion or irreligion, and family.

Disability identity

Disability identity refers to the particular disabilities with which an individual identifies. This may be something as obvious as a paraplegic person identifying as such, or something less prominent such as an Deaf person regarding themselves as part of a local, national, or global community of Deaf People Culture.

Disability identity is almost always determined by the particular disabilities that an individual is born with, however it may change later in life if an individual later becomes disabled or when an individual later discovers a previously overlooked disability (particularly applicable to mental disorders), and in some rare cases it may be influenced by exposure to disabled people as with BIID.

Interpersonal identity development

Social relation can refer to a multitude of social interactions, regulated by social norms, between two or more people, with each having a social position and performing a social role. In sociological hierarchy, social relation is more advanced than behavior, action, social behavior, social action, social contact and social interaction. Social relations form the basis of concepts such as social organization, social structure, social movement and social system.

Interpersonal identity development is composed of three elements:

- Categorisation: Labeling others (and ourselves) into categories. (Tajfel & Turner,1986)
- Identification: Associating others with certain groups.
- Comparison: Comparing groups.

Interpersonal identity development allows an individual to question and examine various personality elements, such as ideas, beliefs, and behaviors. The actions or thoughts of others create social influences that change an individual. Examples of social influence can be seen in socialisation and peer pressure. This is the effect of other people on a person's behavior, thinking about one's Self, and subsequent acceptance or rejection of how other people attempt to influence the individual. Interpersonal identity development occurs during exploratory self-analysis and self-evaluation, ending at various times with the establishment of an easy-to-understand and consolidative sense of self or identity.

Interaction

During the interpersonal identity development an exchange of propositions and counter-propositions occurs, resulting in a qualitative transformation of the individual in the direction of the interaction. The aim of the interpersonal identity development is to try to resolve the

undifferentiated facets of an individual. The individual's existence is undifferentiated but this, upon examination, is found to be indistinguishable from others. Given this, and with other admissions, the individual is led to a contradiction between self and others, thus forcing the withdrawal of the undifferentiated self as a truth. In resolution of this incongruence, the person integrates or rejects the encountered elements. This process results in a new identity. During each of these exchanges which human beings encounter as they go through life, the person must resolve the exchange and then face future exchanges. The exchanges are recurring, since the changing world constantly presents exchanges between individuals and thus allows individuals to redefine themselves.

Collective identity

The term collective identity is a sense of belonging to a group (the collective) that is so strong that a person who identifies with the group will dedicate their life to the group over individual identity: they will defend the views of the group and assume risks for the group, sometimes as great as loss of life. The cohesiveness of the collective goes beyond community, as the collective suffers the pain of grief from the loss of a member.

Social support

Individuals gain a social identity and group identity by their affiliation. This is from membership in various groups. These groups include, among various categories,

- family
- ethnic
- education and occupational status
- friendship
- dating
- religion

Family

One of the most important affiliations is that of their family, whether they be biological, extended or even adoptive families. Each has their own influence on identity through the interaction that takes place

between the family members and with the individual person. "Information regarding possible identities of possible selves comes from various contexts that surround adolescents and temporal commitments are tested and practiced in interaction with others." Researchers and theorists basically state that an individual's identity(more specifically an adolescent's identity) is influenced by the people around them and the environment in which they live. Also if a family does not have integration this seems to help create identity diffusion (this is one of James Marcia's identity statuses, meaning that an individual has not made commitments and does not try to make commitments.) This is true for both males and females. These concepts prove that a family has influence on an individual no matter if the influence be good or bad.

Peer relationships

The purpose of this study was to analyze the influence of same-sex friendships in the development of one's identity. This study involved the use of 24 same-sex college student friendship triads, consisting of 12 males and 12 females, with a total of 72 participants. Each triad was required to have known each other for a minimum of six months. A qualitative method was chosen, as it is the most appropriate in assessing development of identity. Semi-structured group interviewers took place, where the students were asked to reflect on stories and experiences with relationship problems. The results showed common responses when assessing these relationship problems. The responses involved joking about the relationship problems, providing support, offering advice, relating others' experiences to their own similar experiences, and providing encouragement. The results concluded that adolescents are actively constructing their identities through common themes of conversation between same-sex friendships, in this case, involving relationship issues. The common themes of conversation that close peers seem to engage in help to further their identity formation in life.

Influences on identity

There is an abundant amount of influences on identity formation. Some of which have already been touched on in other sections of this article. Among the many influences, four influences stand out to be especially

important.Thoseinclude: cognitive influences, scholastic influences, soci ocultural influences and parenting influences.

Cognitive influences

Cognitive development influences identity formation. When adolescents are able to think abstractly and reason logically they have an easier time exploring and contemplating possible identities. When an adolescent has advanced cognitive development and maturity they tend to resolve identity issues more so than age mates that are less cognitively developed. When identity issues are solved quicker and better, there is more time and effort put into developing that identity. Having a solid identity earlier is a preferred situation and is one of the first steps in forming the desired life and goals of the individual.

Scholastic influences

Adolescents that have a post-secondary education tend to make more concrete goals and stable occupational commitments. So going to college or university can influence identity formation in a productive way. Of course, the opposite can also be true, where identity influences education and academics. The two can influence each other, ultimately forming identity in the process. Education's effect on identity can be beneficial for the individual's identity; the individual will be getting educated on different approaches and paths to take in the process of identity formation. Ultimately scholastics are important for our brains as well as our identities.

Sociocultural influences

Sociocultural influences are those of a broader social and historical context. For example, in the past, adolescents would likely just adopt the job, religious beliefs, etc. that was expected of them or that were the same as their parents. In a society like todays, adolescents have more resources to explore identity choices as well as more options for commitments. This influence is becoming less significant due to the growing acceptance of identity options that were once less accepted. Also, more of the identity options from the past are becoming unrecognized and less popular today. The changing sociocultural situation is forcing individuals to develop a unique identity based on

their own aspirations. Sociocultural influences are playing a different role identity formation now than they have in the past. However, it still affects identity, just in a different way.

Parenting influences

The type of relationship that adolescents have with their parents has a significant role in identity formation. For example, when there is a solid and positive relationship between parent and adolescent they are more likely to feel freedom in exploring identity options for themselves. A study found that for boys and girls, identity formation is positively influenced by parental involvement specifically in the areas of: support, social monitoring and school monitoring. In contrast, when the relationship is not as close and the adolescent fears rejection from the parent, they are more likely to feel less confident in forming a separate identity from their parent(s). These are just examples; of course there are other outcomes possible in adolescent identity formation when examining the parenting as well as the parent-child relationship.

Cyber-socializing and the Internet

The internet is becoming an extension of the expressive dimension of the youth condition. There, youth talk about their lives and concerns, design the content that they make available to others and assess others reactions to it in the form of optimized and electronically mediated social approval. When connected, youth speak of their daily routines and lives. With each post, image or video they upload, they have the possibility of asking themselves who they are and to try out profiles differing from those they assume in the 'real' world. They thus negotiate their identity and create senses of belonging, putting the acceptance and censure of others to the test, an essential mark of the process of identity construction

14.4 TEMPLE DESECRATION AND THE INDO-MUSLIM STATE- BUILDING

The historical experience of temple desecration in pre-modern India - and, at a more general level, contested history revolving round Indo-Muslim rulers and states - has become a sensitive mass political issue in contemporary India. The demolition of the Babri Masjid, on December 6, 1992, by storm-troopers of the Sangh Parivar, and the train of communal

violence and 'ill-fare' this vandalism brought to different regions of the country, propelled the issue to national centre-stage. The ideologues of the Hindu Right have, through a manipulation of pre-modern history and a tendentious use of source material and historical data, built up a dangerously plausible picture of fanaticism, vandalism and villainy on the part of the Indo-Muslim conquerors and rule rs. Part of the ideological and political argument of the Hindu Right is the assertion that for about five centuries from the thirteenth, Indo-Muslim states were driven by a 'theology of iconoclasm' - not to mention fanaticism, lust for plunder, and uncompromising hatred of Hindu religion and places of worship. In this illuminating and nuanced essay on temple desecration and Indo-Muslim states, which Frontline offers its readers in two parts, the historian Richard M. Eaton presents important new insights and meticulously substantiated conclusions on what happened or is likely to have happened in pre-modern India.

IN recent years, especially in the wake of the destruction of the Babri Mosque in 1992, much public discussion has arisen over the political status of South Asian temples and mosques, and in particular the issue of temples desecrated or replaced by mosqu es in the pre-British period. While Hindu nationalists like Sita Ram Goel have endeavoured to document a pattern of wholesale temple destruction by Muslims in this period,[1] few professional historians have engaged the issue, even though it is a properly historical one.

Figure 1 : Silver coin of Ali Mardan (ca. 1208-1213), commemorating the conquest of Bengal by the newly-established Delhi Sultanate, in May 1204. Courtesy of G.S. Farid, Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

This essay aims to examine the available evidence with a view to asking,

* What temples were in fact desecrated in India's pre-modern history?
* When, and by whom?
* How, and for what purpose?
* And above all, what might any of this say about the relationship between religion and politics in pre-modern India? This is a timely topic, since many in India today are looking to the past to justify or condemn public policy with respect to religious monuments.

FRAMING THE ISSUE

Much of the contemporary evidence on temple desecration cited by Hindu nationalists is found in Persian materials translated and published during the British occupation of India. Especially influential has been the eight-volume *History of India as Tol d by its Own Historians*, first published in 1849 and edited by Sir Henry M. Elliot, who oversaw the bulk of the translations, with the help of John Dowson. But Elliot, keen to contrast what he understood as the justice and efficiency of British rule with the cruelty and despotism of the Muslim rulers who had preceded that rule, was anything but sympathetic to the "Muhammadan" period of Indian history. As he wrote in the book's original preface:

Figure 2: Stone sculpture of Narasimha I (1238-64), raja of the Eastern Ganga dynasty, standing with a sword in his belt (right). The king is leaning over a priest and worshipping the dynastic state-deity, Lord Jagannath, flanked on the right by a Siv a linga and on the left by an image of Durga. Originally in the Surya temple at Konarak, Orissa, ca. 1250; presently in the National Museum, New Delhi. Courtesy of John C. Huntington.

The common people must have been plunged into the lowest depths of wretchedness and despondency. The few glimpses we have, even among the short Extracts in this single volume, of Hindus slain for disputing with Muhammadans, of general prohibitions against processions, worship, and ablutions, and of other intolerant measures, of idols mutilated, of temples razed, of forcible conversions and marriages, of proscriptions and confiscations, of murders and massacres, and of the sensuality and drunkenness of the tyrants who enjoined them, show us that this picture is not overcharged...

With the advent of British power, on the other hand, "a more stirring and eventful era of India's History commences ... when the full light of European truth and discernment begins to shed its beams upon the obscurity of the past." Noting the far greater benefits that Englishmen had brought to Indians in a mere half century than Muslims had brought in five centuries; Elliot expressed the hope that his published translations "will make our native subjects more sensible of the immense advantag es accruing to them under the mildness and the equity of our rule.

Elliot's motives for delegitimising the Indo-Muslim rulers who had preceded English rule are thus quite clear. Writing in 1931 on the pernicious influence that the colonial understanding of pre-modern Indian history had on subsequent generations, Mohamma d Habib remarked: "The peaceful Indian Mussalman, descended beyond doubt from Hindu ancestors, was dressed up in the garb of a foreign barbarian, as a breaker of temples, and an eater of beef, and declared to be a military colonist in the land where he h ad lived for about thirty or forty

centuries.... The result of it is seen in the communalistic atmosphere of India today."

Figure 3:Vijayanagara, A.D. 1430. Devarajapuram copper plate inscription showing the signature of Vijayanagara's state-deity Virupaksha, certifying a grant of land to Brahmins made by King Devaraya II (1425-1446). Virupaksha's signature, at the botto m, is in Kannada script, while the rest appears in Sanskrit. Collection of the R.S.R. Archaeological Museum, Rajahmundry, A.P. Photo by Phillip B. Wagoner.

Although penned many years ago, these words are relevant in the context of current controversies over the history of temple desecration in India. For it has been through selective translations of pre-modern Persian chronicles, together with a selective u se of epigraphic data, that Hindu nationalists have sought to find the sort of irrefutable evidence that would demonstrate a persistent pattern of villainy and fanaticism on the part of pre-modern Indo-Muslim conquerors and rulers. One of Goel's chapters is even entitled "From the Horse's Mouth." In reality, however, every scrap of evidence in this controversial matter requires careful scrutiny.

TEMPLE DESECRATION BEFORE INDO-MUSLIM STATES

It is well known that, during the two centuries before 1192, which was when an indigenous Indo-Muslim state and community first appeared in north India, Persianised Turks systematically raided and looted major urban centres of South Asia, sacking temples and hauling immense loads of movable property to power bases in eastern Afghanistan. The pattern commenced in 986, when the Ghaznavid Sultan Sabuktigin (reign 977-997) attacked and defeated the Hindu Shahi raja who controlled the

region between Kabul an d northwest Punjab. According to Abu Nasr `Utbi, the personal secretary to the sultan's son, Sabuktigin "marched out towards Lamghan (located to the immediate east of Kabul), which is a city celebrated for its great strength and abounding in wealth. He c onquered it and set fire to the places in its vicinity which were inhabited by infidels, and demolishing the idol-temples, he established Islam in them".

Figure 14.4:Image of Durga seized from the Chalukyas by Rajendra I, Chola king (1012-1044), and taken to his capital. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi. Courtesy of Richard H. Davis.

Figure 14.5:The Tamil inscription at the base of this sculpture, seized by the imperial Cholas in 1045 from their Chalukya enemies, reads: "This is the door guardian brought by Lord Vijayarajendradeva after burning (the Chalukya capital) Kalyanapuram." I nstitut Francaise d'Indologie, Pondicherry. Courtesy of Richard H. Davis.

Linking religious conversion with conquest - with conquest serving to facilitate conversion, and conversion serving to legitimise conquest - `Utbi's brief notice established a rhetorical trope that many subsequent Indo-Muslim chroniclers would repeat.

Notwithstanding such rhetoric, however, invasions of India by Sabuktigin and his more famous son Mahmud of Ghazni (r. 998-1030) appear to have been undertaken for material reasons. Based in Afghanistan and never seeking permanent dominion in India, the e arlier Ghaznavid rulers raided and looted Indian cities, including their richly endowed temples loaded with movable wealth, with a view to financing their larger political objectives far to the west, in Khurasan.[7] The predatory nature of these raids was also structurally integral to the Ghaznavid political economy: their army was a permanent, professional one built around an elite corps of mounted archers who, as slaves, were purchased, equipped, and paid with cash derived from regular infusi ons of war booty taken alike from Hindu cities in India and Muslim cities in Iran. For example, Mahmud's plunder of the Iranian city of Ray, in 1029, brought him 500,000 dinars' worth of jewels, 260,000 dinars in coined money, and over 30,000 dinars' wor th of gold and silver vessels. India, however, possessed far more wealth than the more sparsely populated Iranian plateau. Mahmud's 1026 raid on Somnath alone brought in twenty million dinars' worth of spoil.

The dynamics of north Indian politics changed dramatically, however, when the Ghurids, a dynasty of Tajik (eastern Iranian) origins, arrived from central Afghanistan toward the end of the twelfth century. Sweeping aside the Ghaznavids, Ghurid conquerors and their Turkish slave generals ushered in a new sort of state quite unlike that of the foreign-based Ghaznavids (see Figure 1). Aspiring to imperial dominion over the whole of north India from a base in the middle of the Indo-Gangetic plain, the new De lhi Sultanate (1206-1526) signalled the first attempt to build an indigenous Muslim state and society in north India. With respect to religious policy, we can identify two principal components to this project: (a) state patronage of an India-based Sufi o rder, the Chishtis, and (b) a policy of selective temple desecration that aimed not, as earlier, to finance distant military operations on the Iranian Plateau, but to delegitimise and extirpate defeated Indian ruling houses.

The first of these policies was based on a conception of religion and politics well summarised by the Deccani court-poet `Abd al-Malik `Isami. Writing in 1350, `Isami observed that

Figure 14.6:Silver coin of Sultan Iltutmish (1210-1235). Courtesy of G.S. Farid, Asiatic Society, Calcutta

the existence of the world is bound up closely with that of the men of faith. In every country, there is a man of piety who keeps it going and well. Although there might be a monarch in every country, yet it is actually under the protection of a fakir (Sufi shaikh).

Sufis, in other words, were understood as the "real" sovereigns of Indo-Muslim states. Among all South Asian Sufi orders, moreover, the Chishtis were the most closely identified with the political fortunes of Indo-Muslim states, and especially with the p lanting of such states in parts of South Asia never previously touched by Islamic rule. The pattern began in the first half of the fourteenth century, when that order's rise to prominence among Delhi's urban populace coincided with the political expansion of the imperial Tughluqs.[10] By effectively injecting a legitimising "substance" into a new body politic at the moment of its birth, the patronage of Chishti shaikhs by governors in Tughluq provinces, or by independent rulers succeeding to power in those provinces, contributed positively to the process of Indo-Muslim state-building.

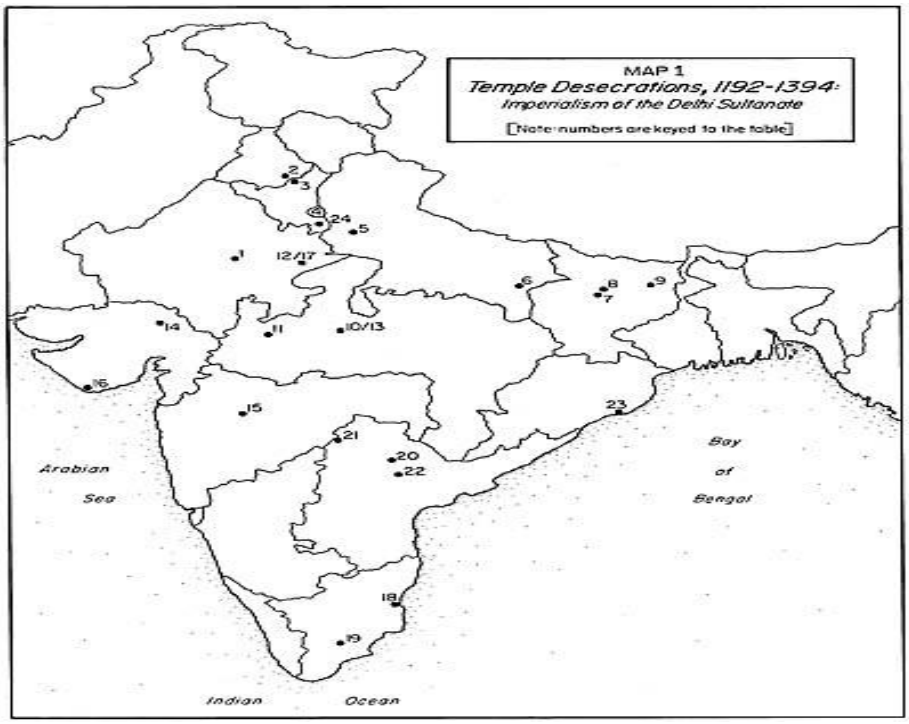
Equally important to this process was its negative counterpart: the sweeping away of all prior political authority in newly conquered and annexed territories. When such authority was vested in a ruler whose own legitimacy was associated with a royal temp le - typically one that housed an image of a ruling dynasty's state-deity, or *rastra-devata* (usually Vishnu or Siva) - that temple was normally looted, redefined, or destroyed, any of which would have had the effect of

detaching a defeated raja fr om the most prominent manifestation of his former legitimacy. Temples that were not so identified, or temples formerly so identified but abandoned by their royal patrons and thereby rendered politically irrelevant, were normally left unharmed. Such was the case, for example, with the famous temples at Khajuraho south of the Middle Gangetic Plain, which appear to have been abandoned by their Candella royal patrons before Turkish armies reached the area in the early thirteenth century.

Figure 14.7 :Site of the Svayambhusiva temple at Warangal, demolished in 1323 by the Tughluq prince Ulugh Khan. Photo: John Henry Rice.

It would be wrong to explain this phenomenon by appealing to an essentialised "theology of iconoclasm" felt to be intrinsic to the Islamic religion. It is true that contemporary Persian sources routinely condemned idolatry (*but-parasti*) on religio us grounds. But it is also true that attacks on images patronised by enemy kings had been, from about the sixth century A.D. on, thoroughly integrated into Indian political behaviour. With their lushly sculpted imagery vividly displaying the mutual inter dependence of kings and gods and the commingling of divine and human kingship, royal temple complexes of the early medieval period were thoroughly and pre-eminently political institutions. It was here that, after the sixth century, human kingship was established, contested, and revitalised. Above all, the central icon housed in a royal temple's "womb-chamber," and inhabited by the state-deity of the temple's royal patron, expressed the shared sovereignty of king and deity (see Figures 14.2 and 14.3).

Moreover, notwithstanding that temple priests endowed a royal temple's deity with attributes of transcendent and universal power, that same deity was also understood as having a very special relationship, indeed a sovereign relationship, with the particular geographical site in which its temple complex was located. As revealed in temple narratives, even the physical removal of an image from its original site could not break the link between deity and geography.[11] "A divine power," writes David Shulman, "is felt to be present *naturally* on the spot." The bonding between king, god, temple, and land in early medieval India is well illustrated in a passage from the *Brhatsamhita*, a sixth century text: "If a Siva linga, image, or temple breaks apart, moves, sweats, cries, speaks, or otherwise acts with no apparent cause, this warns of the destruction of the king and his territory."[13] In short, from about the sixth century on, images and temples associated with dynastic authority were considered politically vulnerable.

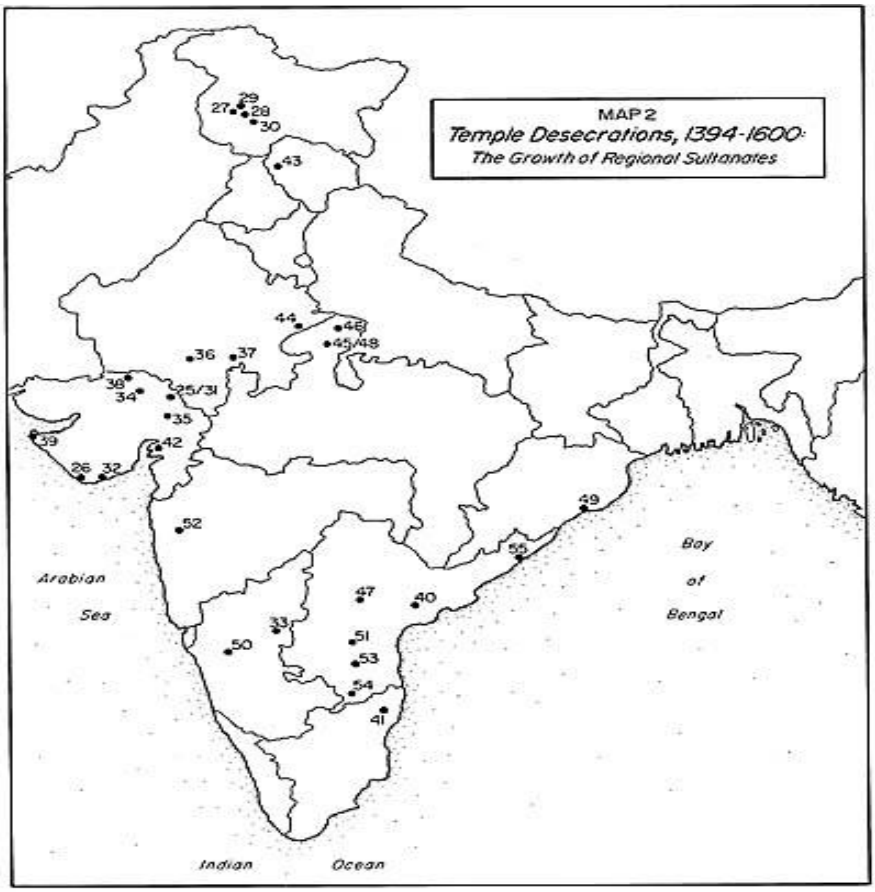


Given these perceived connections between temples, images, and their royal patrons, it is hardly surprising that, as Richard H. Davis has recently shown, early medieval Indian history abounds in instances of temple desecration that occurred amidst inter-dynastic conflicts. In 642 A.D., according to local tradition, the Pallava king Narasimhavarman I

looted the image of Ganesha from the Chalukyan capital of Vatapi. Fifty years later armies of those same Chalukyas invaded north India and brou ght back to the Deccan what appear to be images of Ganga and Yamuna, looted from defeated powers there. In the eighth century Bengali troops sought revenge on king Lalitaditya by destroying what they thought was the image of Vishnu Vaikuntha, the state-deity of Lalitaditya's kingdom in Kashmir.

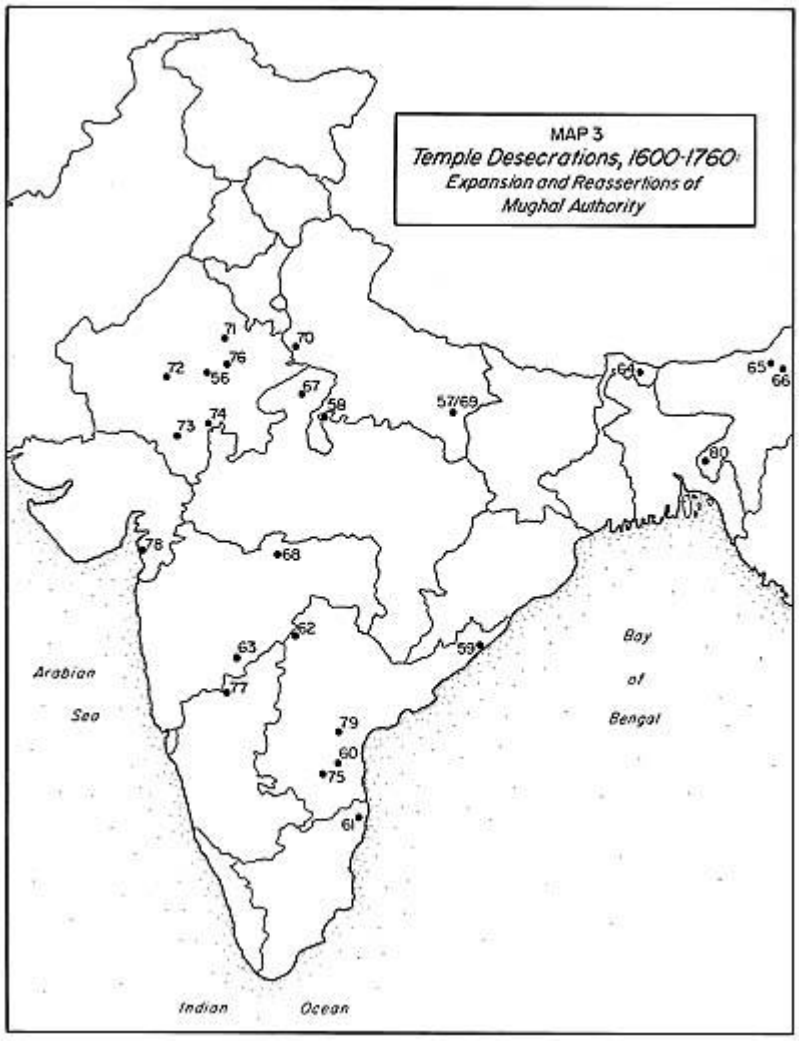
In the early ninth century, the Rashtrakuta king Govinda III invaded and occupied Kanchipuram, which so intimidated the king of Sri Lanka that he sent Govinda several (probably Buddhist) images that had represented the Sinhala state, and which the Rashtr akuta king then installed in a Saiva temple in his capital. About the same time, the Pandyan king Srimara Srivallabha also invaded Sri Lanka and took back to his capital a golden Buddha image that had been installed in the kingdom's Jewel Palace. In the early tenth century, the Pratihara king Herambapala seized a solid gold image of Vishnu Vaikuntha when he defeated the Sahi king of Kangra. By the mid-tenth century, the same image was seized from the Pratiharas by the Candella king Yasovarman and instal led in the Lakshmana temple of Khajuraho.

In the early eleventh century, the Chola king Rajendra I furnished his capital with images he had seized from several prominent neighbouring kings: Durga and Ganesha images from the Chalukyas; Bhairava, Bhairavi, and Kali images from the Kalingas of Oris sa; a Nandi image from the Eastern Chalukyas; and a bronze Siva image from the Palas of Bengal (see Figure 14.4). In the mid-eleventh century, the Chola king Rajadhiraja defeated the Chalukyas and plundered Kalyani, taking a large black stone door guardian to his capital in Thanjavur, where it was displayed to his subjects as a trophy of war (see Figure 14.5). In the late eleventh century, the Kashmiri king Harsha even raised the plundering of temples to an institutionalised activity; and in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century, while Turkish rulers were establishing themselves in north India, kings of the Paramara dynasty attacked and plundered Jain temples in Gujarat.



This pattern continued after the Turkish conquest of India. In the 1460s, Kapilendra, the founder of the Suryavamshi Gajapati dynasty in Orissa, sacked both Saiva and Vaishnava temples in the Cauvery delta in the course of wars of conquest in the Tamil c ountry.[16] Somewhat later, in 1514, Krishnadevaraya looted an image of Balakrishna from Udayagiri, which he had defeated and annexed to his growing Vijayanagara state. Six years later he acquired control over Pandharpur, where he seems to have looted the Vittala image and carried it back to Vijayanagara, with the apparent purpose of ritually incorporating this area into his kingdom.

Although the dominant pattern here was one of looting royal temples and carrying off images of state-deities, we also hear of Hindu kings engaging in the destruction of the royal temples of their political adversaries. In the early tenth century, the Ras htrakuta monarch Indra III not only destroyed the temple of Kalapriya (at Kalpa near the Yamuna River), patronised by the Rashtrakutas' deadly enemies, the Pratiharas, but also took special delight in recording the fact.



IMPERIALISM OF THE DELHI SULTANATE, 1192-1394

In short, it is clear that temples had been the natural sites for the contestation of kingly authority well before the coming of Muslim Turks to India. Not surprisingly, Turkish invaders, when attempting to plant their own rule in early medieval India, followed and continued established patterns. The table and the corresponding maps in this essay by no means give the complete picture of temple desecration after the establishment of Turkish power in Upper India. Undoubtedly some temples were desecrated b ut the facts in the matter were never recorded, or the facts were recorded but the records themselves no longer survive. Conversely, later Indo-Muslim chroniclers, seeking to glorify the religious zeal of earlier Muslim rulers, sometimes attributed acts of temple desecration to such rulers even when no contemporary evidence

supports the claims. As a result, we shall never know the precise number of temples desecrated in Indian history.

Nonetheless, by relying strictly on evidence found in contemporary or near-contemporary epigraphic and literary sources spanning a period of more than five centuries (1192-1729), one may identify eighty instances of temple desecration whose historicity a ppears reasonably certain. Although this figure falls well short of the 60,000 claimed by some Hindu nationalists, a review of these data suggests several broad patterns. First, acts of temple desecration were nearly invariably carried out by military officers or ruling authorities; that is, such acts that of the defeated Cahamana Rajputs - also, significantly, the wellspring of we know about were undertaken by the state. Second, the chronology and geography of the data indicate that acts of temple desecration typically occurred on the cutting edge of a moving military frontier. From Ajmer in Rajasthan, the former capital Chishti piety - the post-1192 pattern of temple desecration moved swiftly down the Gangetic Plain as Turkish military forces sought to extirpate local ruling houses in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century (see Table and Map 1: nos. 1-9). In Bihar, this included the targeting of Buddhist monastic establishments at Odantapuri, Vikramasila, and Nalanda. Detached from a Buddhist laity, these establishments had by this time become dependent on the patronage of local royal authorities, with whom they were identified. In the 1230s, Iltutmish carried the Delhi Sultanate's authority into Malwa (nos. 10-11), and by the onset of the fourteenth century the Khalji sultans had opened up a corridor through eastern Rajasthan into Gujarat (nos. 12-14, 16-17).

Delhi's initial raids on peninsular India, on which Khalji rulers embarked between 1295 and the early decades of the fourteenth century (nos. 15, 18-19), appear to have been driven not by a goal of annexation but by the Sultanate's need for wealth with w hich to defend north India from Mongol attacks. In 1247, Balban, the future sultan of Delhi, had recommended raiding Indian states for precisely this purpose.[20] For a short time, then, peninsular India stood in the same relation to the North - namely, as a source of plunder for financing distant military operations - as north India had stood in relation to Afghanistan three centuries earlier,

in the days of Sabuktigin and Mahmud of Ghazni. After 1320, however, a new north Indian dynasty, the Tughluqs, sought permanent dominion in the Deccan, which the future Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq established by uprooting royally patronised temples in western Andhra, most prominently the Svayambhusiva complex in the centre of the Kakatiyas' capital city of Warangal (nos. 20-22. See Figure 7). Somewhat later Sultan Firuz Tughluq did the same in Orissa (no. 23).

THE GROWTH OF REGIONAL SULTANATES, 1394-1600

From the late fourteenth century, after the tide of Tughluq imperialism had receded from Gujarat and the Deccan, newly emerging successor states sought to expand their own political frontiers in those areas. This, too, is reflected in instances of temple desecration, as the ex-Tughluq governor of Gujarat and his successors consolidated their authority there (see Map 2: nos. 25-26, 31-32, 34-35, 38-39, 42), or as the Delhi empire's successors in the South, the Bahmani sultans, challenged Vijayanagara's c laims to dominate the Raichur doab and the Tamil coast (nos. 33, 41). The pattern was repeated in Kashmir by Sultan Sikandar (nos. 27-30), and in the mid-fifteenth century when the independent sultanate of Malwa contested renewed Rajput power in eastern Rajasthan after Delhi's authority there had waned (nos. 36-37).

In the early sixteenth century, when the Lodi dynasty of Afghans sought to reassert Delhi's sovereignty over neighbouring Rajput houses, we again find instances of temple desecration (nos. 43-45). So do we in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth cent uries, when the Bahmani Kingdom's principal successor states, Bijapur and Golconda, challenged the territorial sovereignty of Orissan kings (nos. 55, 59; Maps 2 and 3), of Vijayanagara (no. 47), and of the latter's successor states - especially in the so uthern Andhra country (nos. 50-51, 53-54, 60-61; Maps 2 and 3).

Unlike the Deccan, where Indo-Muslim states had been expanding at the expense of non-Muslim states, in north India the Mughals under Babur, Humayun, and Akbar - that is, between 1526 and 1605 - grew mainly at the expense of defeated Afghans. As non-Hindu s, the latter had never shared sovereignty with deities patronised in royal temples, which

probably explains the absence of firm evidence of temple desecration by any of the early Mughals, in Ayodhya or elsewhere. The notion that Babur's officer Mir Baqi destroyed a temple dedicated to Rama's birthplace at Ayodhya and then got the emperor's sanction to build a mosque on the site - the Babri Masjid - was elaborated in 1936 by S.K. Banerji. However, the author offered no evidence that there had ever been a temple at this site, much less that it had been destroyed by Mir Baqi. The mosque's inscription records only that Babur had ordered the construction of the mosque, which was built by Mir Baqi and was described as "the place of descent of celestial bein gs" (*mahbit-i qudsiyan*). This commonplace rhetorical flourish can hardly be construed as referring to Rama, especially since it is the mosque itself that is so described, and not the site or any earlier structure on the site.

However, whenever Mughal armies pushed beyond the frontiers of territories formerly ruled by the Delhi sultans and sought to annex the domains of Hindu rulers, we again find instances of temple desecration. In 1661 the governor of Bengal, Mir Jumla, sack ed the temples of the neighbouring raja of Cooch Bihar, who had been harassing the northern frontiers of Mughal territory (no. 64; Map 3). The next year, with a view to annexing Assam to the imperial domain, the governor pushed far up the Brahmaputra val ley and desecrated temples of the Ahom rajas, replacing the principal one at Garhgaon with a mosque (nos. 65-66).

Instances of Temple Desecration

No.	Date	Site	District	State	Agent	Source
For nos. 1-24, see Map 1: Imperialism of the Delhi Sultanate, 1192-1394						
1	1193	Ajmer	Ajmer	Rajasthan	Md. Ghuri (s)	23:215
2	1193	Samana	Patiala	Punjab	Aibek	23:216-17
3	1193	Kuhram	Karnal	Haryana	Aibek (g)	23:216-17
4	1193	Delhi		U.P.	Md. Ghuri (s)	1(1911):13; 23:217,222
5	1194	Kol	Aligarh	U.P.	Ghurid army	23:224
6	1194	Benares	Benares	U.P.	Ghurid army	23:223
7	c.1202	Nalanda	Patna	Bihar	Bakhtiyar Khalji (c)	20:90
8	c.1202	Odantapuri	Patna	Bihar	Bakhtiyar Khalji	22:319; 21:551-2
9	c.1202	Vikramasila	Sabaura	Bihar	Bakhtiyar Khalji	22:319
10	1234	Bhilsa	Vidisha	M.P.	Iltutmish (s)	21:621-22
11	1234	Ujjain	Ujjain	M.P.	Iltutmish	21:622-28
12	1290	Jhain	Sawai Madh.	Rajasthan	Jalal al-Din Khalaji (s)	27:146
13	1292	Bhilsa	Vidisha	M.P.	'Ala al-Din Khalaji (c)	27:148
14	1298-1310	Vijapur	Mehsana	Gujarat	Khalaji invaders	2(1974):10-12
15	1295	Devagiri	Aurangabad	Maharashtra	'Ala al-Din Khalaji (c)	24:543
16	1299	Somnath	Junagadh	Gujarat	Ulugh Khan (c)	25:75
17	1301	Jhain	Sawai Madh.	Rajasthan	'Ala al-Din Khalaji (s)	25:75-76
18	1311	Chidambaram	South Arcot	Tamil Nadu	Malik Kafur (c)	25:90-91
19	1311	Madurai	Madurai	Tamil Nadu	Malik Kafur	25:91
20	c.1323	Warangal	Warangal	A.P.	Ulugh Khan (p)	33:1-2
21	c.1323	Bodhan	Nizamabad	A.P.	Ulugh Khan	1(1919-20):16
22	c.1323	Pillalamarri	Nalgonda	A.P.	Ulugh Khan	17:114
23	1359	Puri	Puri	Orissa	Firuz Tughluq (s)	26:314
24	1392-93	Sainthali	Gurgaon	Haryana	Bahadur K. Nahar (c)	8(1963-64):146
For nos. 25-55, see Map 2: Growth of Regional Sultanates, 1394-1600						
25	1394	Idar	Sabar-K.	Gujarat	Muzaffar Khan (g)	14-3:177
26	1395	Somnath	Junagadh	Gujarat	Muzaffar Khan	6-4:5
27	c.1400	Paraspur	Srinagar	Kashmir	Sikandar (s)	14-3:648
28	c.1400	Bijbehara	Srinagar	Kashmir	Sikandar	31:54
29	c.1400	Tripuresvara	Srinagar	Kashmir	Sikandar	31:54
30	c.1400	Martand	Anantnag	Kashmir	Sikandar	31:54
31	1400-01	Idar	Sabar-K.	Gujarat	Muzaffar Shah (s)	14-3:181
32	1400-01	Diu	Amreli	Gujarat	Muzaffar Shah	6-4:5
33	1406	Manvi	Raichur	Karnataka	Firuz Bahmani (s)	2(1962):57-58
34	1415	Sidhpur	Mehsana	Gujarat	Ahmad Shah (s)	29:98-99
35	1433	Delwara	Sabar-K.	Gujarat	Ahmad Shah	14-3:220-21
36	1442	Kumbhalmir	Udaipur	Rajasthan	Mahmud Khalaji (s)	14-3:513
37	1457	Mandalgarh	Bhilwara	Rajasthan	Mahmud Khalaji	6-4:135
38	1462	Malan	Banaskantha	Gujarat	'Ala al-Din Suhrab (c)	2(1963):28-29
39	1473	Dwarka	Jamnagar	Gujarat	Mahmud Begdha (s)	14-3:259-61
40	1478	Kondapalle	Krishna	A.P.	Md. II Bahmani (s)	6-2:306
41	c.1478	Kanchi	Chingleput	Tamil Nadu	Md. II Bahmani	6-2:308
42	1505	Amod	Broach	Gujarat	Khalil Shah (g)	1(1933):36
43	1489-1517	Nagarkot	Kangra	Him. P.	Khawass Khan (g)	35:81
44	1507	Utgir	Sawai Madh.	Rajasthan	Sikandar Lodi (s)	14-1:375
45	1507	Narwar	Shivpuri	M.P.	Sikandar Lodi	14-1:378
46	1518	Gwalior	Gwalior	M.P.	Ibrahim Lodi (s)	14-1:402
47	1530-31	Devarkonda	Nalgonda	A.P.	Quli Qutb Shah (s)	6-3:212
48	1552	Narwar	Shivpuri	M.P.	Dilawar Kh. (g)	1(Jan 1927):101-4
49	1556	Puri	Puri	Orissa	Sulaiman Karrani (s)	28:413-15
50	1575-76	Bankapur	Dharwar	Karnataka	'Ali 'Adil Shah (s)	6-3:82-83
51	1579	Ahobilam	Kurnool	A.P.	Murahari Rao (c)	6-3:267
52	1586	Ghoda	Poona	Maharashtra	Mir Md. Zaman (?)	1(1933-34):24
53	1593	Cuddapah	Cuddapah	A.P.	Murtaza Khan (c)	6-3:275
54	1595	Kalihasti	Chittoor	A.P.	I'tibar Khan (c)	6-3:277
55	1599	Srikurmam	Vishakhapatnam	A.P.	Qutb Shahi general	32-5:1312
For nos. 56-80, see Map 3: Expansion and Reassertions of Mughal Authority, 1600-1760						
56	1613	Pushkar	Ajmer	Rajasthan	Jahangir (e)	5:254
57	1632	Benares	Benares	U.P.	Shah Jahan (e)	31:36
58	1635	Orchha	Tikamgarh	M.P.	Shah Jahan	T:102-3
59	1641	Srisailam	Srisailam	A.P.	Shir Md. Kh. (c)	3(1955-56):88-9
60	1642	Udayagiri	Nellore	A.P.	Ghazi 'Ali (c)	8:1385-88
61	1653	Poonamallee	Chingleput	Tamil Nadu	Rustam b. Zulfiqar (c)	1(1937-38):53-62
62	1659	Bodhan	Nizamabad	A.P.	Aurangzeb (p,e)	1(1919-20):16
63	1659	Tuljapur	Osmanabad	Maharashtra	Afzal Khan (c)	16:9-10
64	1661	Cooch Bihar	Cooch Bihar	West Bengal	Mir Jumla (g)	9:142-43
65	1662	Devalgaon	Sibsagar	Assam	Mir Jumla	9:154,156-57
66	1662	Garhgaon	Sibsagar	Assam	Mir Jumla	36:249
67	1664	Gwalior	Gwalior	M.P.	Mu'tamad Khan (g)	10:335
68	1667	Akot	Akola	Maharashtra	Md. Ashraf (c)	2(1963):55-56
69	1669	Benares	Benares	U.P.	Aurangzeb (e)	11:55-58;13:88
70	1670	Mathura	Mathura	U.P.	Aurangzeb	12:57-61
71	1679	Khandela	Sikar	Rajasthan	Darab Khan (g)	12:107;13:449
72	1679	Jodhpur	Jodhpur	Rajasthan	Khan Jahan (c)	13:786;12:108
73	1680	Udaipur	Udaipur	Rajasthan	Ruhullah Khan (c)	15:129-30; 12:114-15
74	1680	Chitor	Chittorgarh	Rajasthan	Aurangzeb	12:117
75	1692	Cuddapah	Cuddapah	A.P.	Aurangzeb	1(1937-38):55
76	1697-98	Sambhar	Jaipur	Rajasthan	Shah Sabz 'Ali (?)	19:152
77	1698	Bijapur	Bijapur	Karnataka	Hamid al-Din Khan (c)	12:241
78	1715	Surat	Surat	Gujarat	Haidar Quli Khan (g)	1(1933):42
79	1729	Cumbum	Ongole	A.P.	Muhammad Salih (g)	2(1959-60):65
80	1729	Udaipur	West	Tripura	Murshid Quli Khan	30:2

(e) = emperor (s) = sultan (g) = governor (c) = commander (p) = crown prince

All of these instances of temple desecration occurred in the context of military conflicts when Indo-Muslim states expanded into the domains of non-Muslim rulers. Contemporary chroniclers and inscriptions left by the victors leave no doubt that field com manders, governors, or sultans viewed the desecration of royal temples as a normal means of decoupling a former Hindu king's legitimate authority from his former kingdom, and more specifically, of decoupling that former king from the image of the state-d eity that was publicly understood as protecting the king and his kingdom. This was accomplished in one of several ways. Most typically, temples considered essential to the constitution of enemy authority were destroyed. Occasionally, temples were convert ed into mosques, which more visibly conflated the disestablishment of former sovereignty with the establishment of a new one.

The form of desecration that showed the greatest continuity with pre-Turkish practice was the seizure of the image of a defeated king's state-deity and its abduction to the victor's capital as a trophy of war. In February 1299, for example, Ulugh Khan sa cked Gujarat's famous temple of Somnath and sent its largest image to Sultan `Ala al-Din Khalji's court in Delhi (no. 16; Map 1). When Firuz Tughluq invaded Orissa in 1359 and learned that the region's most important temple was that of Jagannath located inside the raja's fortress in Puri, he carried off the stone image of the god and installed it in Delhi "in an ignominious position" (no. 23). In 1518, when the court in Delhi came to suspect the loyalty of a tributary Rajput chieftain in Gwalior, Sultan Ibrahim Lodi marched to the famous fortress, stormed it, and seized a brass image of Nandi evidently situated adjacent to the chieftain's Siva temple. The sultan brought it back to Delhi and installed it in the city's Baghdad Gate (no. 46; Map 2).

Similarly, in 1579, when Golconda's army led by Murahari Rao was campaigning south of the Krishna River, Rao annexed the entire region to Qutb Shahi domains and sacked the popular Ahobilam temple, whose ruby-studded image he brought back to Golconda and presented to his sultan as a war trophy (no. 51). Although the Ahobilam temple had only local appeal, it had close associations with prior sovereign authority since it had been patronised and even visited by the powerful and most

famous king of Vijayanag ara, Krishnadevaraya. The temple's political significance, and hence the necessity of desecrating it, would have been well understood by Murahari Rao, himself a Marathi Brahmin.

In each of these instances, the deity's image, taken as war trophy to the capital city of the victorious sultan, became radically detached from its former context and in the process was transformed from a living to a dead image. However, sacked images we re not invariably abducted to the victor's capital. In 1556, the Gajapati raja of Orissa had entered into a pact with the Mughal emperor Akbar, the distant adversary of the sultan of Bengal, Sulaiman Karrani. The raja had also given refuge to Sulaiman's more proximate adversary, Ibrahim Sur, and offered to assist the latter in his ambitions to conquer Bengal and overthrow the Karrani dynasty. As Sulaiman could hardly have tolerated such threats to his stability, he sent an army into Orissa which went st raight to the Gajapati kingdom's state temple of Jagannath and looted its images. But here the goal was not annexation but only punishment, which might explain why the Gajapati state images were not carried back to the Bengali capital as trophies of war.

Whatever form they took, acts of temple desecration were never directed at the people, but at the enemy king and the image that incarnated and displayed his state-deity. A contemporary account of a 1661 Mughal campaign in Cooch Bihar, which resulted in t he annexation of the region, states that the chief judge of Mughal Bengal was ordered to confiscate the treasure of the defeated raja, Bhim Narayan, and to destroy the image of the state-deity. But the judge himself issued orders against harming the gene ral population, warning that if any soldiers were caught touching the property of the common people, their hands, ears, or noses would be removed.[24] In short, in newly annexed areas formerly ruled by non-Muslims, as in the case of Cooch Bihar, Mughal officers took appropriate measures to secure the support of the common people, who after all created the material wealth upon which the entire imperial edifice rested.

If the idea of conquest became manifest in the desecration of temples and images associated with former enemies - itself an established tradition in pre-Turkish Indian practice - what happened once the land and the

subjects of those same enemies were int egrated into an Indo-Muslim state? This question, together with the pattern of temple desecration under the imperial Mughals, will be taken up in the second of this two-part essay.

Richard M. Eaton teaches South Asian history at the University of Arizona, U.S., and is the author of several books on pre-modern India, including The Rise of Islam and the Bengal Frontier, 1204-1760 *(New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997) and* Essays on Islam and Indian History *(New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000).*

14.5 RHETORIC OF STATE- BUILDING

State-building as a specific term in social sciences and humanities, refers to political and historical processes of creation, institutional consolidation, stabilization and sustainable development of states, from the earliest emergence of statehood up to the modern times. Within historical and political sciences, there are several theoretical approaches to complex questions related to role of various contributing factors (geopolitical, economic, social, cultural, ethnic, religious, internal, external) in state-building processes.

One of the earliest examples of state-building iconography: Two sides of the Narmer Palette (31st century BC) depicting pharaoh Narmer, wearing White Crown of Upper Egypt (recto), and Red Crown of Lower Egypt (verso), thus representing the unification of the land

Since the end of the 20th century, state-building has developed into becoming an integral part and even a specific approach to peacebuilding by the international community. Observers across the political and academic spectra have come to see the state-building approach as the preferred strategy to peacebuilding in a number of high-profile conflicts, including the Israeli–Palestinian conflict, and war-related conflicts in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Iraq, and Afghanistan. According to the political scientist Anders Persson, internationally led state-building is based on three dimensions: a security dimension, a political dimension and an economic dimension. Of these three, security is almost always considered the first priority.

The general argument in the academic literature on state-building is that without security, other tasks of state-building are not possible. Consequently, when state-building as an approach to peacebuilding is employed in conflict and post-conflict societies, the first priority is to create a safe environment in order to make wider political and economic development possible. So far, the results of using the state-building approach to peacebuilding have been mixed, and in many places, such as in the Balkans, Afghanistan and Iraq, the initial high expectations set by the international community have not been met. The literature on state-building has always been very clear in that building states has historically been a violent process and the outcomes in the above-mentioned cases and many others confirm the destabilizing and often violent nature of state-building.

Definition

There are three main theoretical approaches to definitions of state-building.

First, historical approach, is focused on historical aspects of state-building processes, from the earliest emergence of statehood up to the modern times. Historical science views state-building as a complex phenomenon, influenced by various contributing factors (geopolitical, economic, social, cultural, ethnic, religious) and analyzes those factors and their mutual relations from the perspective of a particular historical situation, that is characteristic for every state-building process. Historical approach also takes into account relation between internal and external contributing factors, and analyzes relations between different state-building process that are coexisting during the same historical period.[2] In general, historical approach recognizes three distinctive periods, with particular state-building phenomenology: ancient, medieval and modern.

Within the second approach, state-building is seen by some theorists as an activity undertaken by external actors (foreign countries) attempting to build, or re-build, the institutions of a weaker, post-conflict or failing state. This 'exogenous' or International Relations school views state-building as the activity of one country in relation to another, usually

following some form of intervention (such as a UN peacekeeping operation).

The third, developmental, theory follows a set of principles developed by the OECD in 2007 on support to conflict-affected states which identified 'statebuilding' as an area for development assistance. The result saw work commissioned by donor countries on definitions, knowledge and practice in state-building, this work has tended to draw heavily on political science. It has produced definitions that view state-building as an indigenous, national process driven by state-society relations. This view believes that countries cannot do state-building outside their own borders, they can only influence, support or hinder such processes. Illustrations of this approach include a think-piece commissioned for OECD and a research study produced by the Overseas Development Institute.

The developmental view was expressed in a number of papers commissioned by development agencies. These papers tend to argue that state-building is primarily a 'political' process rather than just a question of technical capacity enhancements and sees state-building as involving a threefold dynamic of: political (usually elite) deals, the prioritization of core government functions and the willingness to respond to public expectations. A further important influence on thinking on states affected by conflict was the World Bank's 2011 World Development Report, which avoided the language of state-building while addressing some related themes.

Across the two streams of theory and writing there is a broader consensus that lessons on how to support state-building processes have not yet been fully learned. Some believe that supporting state-building requires the fostering of legitimate and sustainable state institutions, but many accept that strategies to achieve this have not yet been fully developed. Little of the post-conflict support to state-building undertaken so far has been entirely successful. From an exogenous perspective, it can be argued that sustained focus on supporting state-building has tended to happen in states frequently characterized by brutalized civilian populations, destroyed economies, institutions, infrastructure, and environments, widely accessible small arms, large numbers of

disgruntled soldiers to be demobilized and reintegrated, and ethnically or religiously divided peoples. These obstacles are compounded by the fundamental difficulty of grafting democratic and human rights values onto countries with different political, cultural, and religious heritages. Pluralizing societies is theoretical in its viability for immediate political and economic stability and expediency; ideological overtones can be met with opposition within host nations and issues of self-determination and external state trusteeship and stewarding of nascent institutional reform, or its creation, could damage a tenuous post-conflict national self-identity (for critical analyses of neotrusteeship, see e.g. Ford & Oppenheim, 2012).

Both schools of thinking have generated critiques and studies seeking to test the propositions made. A more developmental approach with an emphasis on composite state-building processes would have implications for donor programmes, diplomacy and peace-keeping. Some research has tried to test some of the ideas involved and at least one donor agency issued a guidance note for its own programmes. Important critiques were developed by NGOs such as Conciliation Resources and The Asia Foundation, focused primarily on Whaites proposition that a 'political settlement' drives state-building. There have also been attempts to test out the thesis by looking at individual areas of state provision, particularly the area of healthcare. Further research on state–society relations has also been undertaken by groups including the Secure Livelihoods Research Consortium and the Crisis States Research Centre.

While some development papers have tried to argue that state-building takes place in all countries and that much can be learnt from successful state-building there is a tendency to narrow the discussion to the most problematic contexts. As a result, much of the literature on state-building is preoccupied with post conflict issues. See e.g. (Dahrendorf, 2003), (The Commission on Post-Conflict Reconstruction, 2003), (Collier, 2003) (Fukuyama, 2004), (Paris, 2004), (Samuels 2005). Critiques common to both schools include inadequate strategy and a lack of coordination, staffing weaknesses, and that funding is insufficient or poorly timed. Moreover, it is increasingly recognized that many of the tasks sought to be achieved are extremely complex and there is little

clarity on how to best proceed. For instance, it is extremely difficult to provide security in a conflictual environment, or to disarm, demobilize and reintegrate armies successfully. It remains practically impossible to address vast unemployment in states where the economy is destroyed and there is high illiteracy, or to strengthen the rule of law in a society where it has collapsed. Moreover, the unintended negative consequences of international aid are more and more evident. These range from distortion of the economy to skewing relationship of accountability by the political elite towards internationals rather than domestic population.

The United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) determined that basic state capacities are to

i. Assist in the acquisition of new technologies

ii. Mobilize and channel resources to productive sectors

iii. Enforce standards and regulations

iv. Establish social pacts

v. Fund deliver and regulate services and social programmes

States must be able to create the

1. Political Capacity to address the extent to which the necessary coalitions or political settlements can be built
2. Resource Mobilization Capacity to generate resources for investment and social development
3. Allocate Resources To Productive And Welfare-Enhancing Sectors

When developing this infrastructure a state can meet several roadblocks including policy capture from powerful segments of the population, opposition from interest groups, and ethnic and religious division. Developing countries have tried to implement different forms of government established in advanced democracies. However, these initiatives have not been fully successful. Scholars have looked back at the development of Europe to determine the key factors that helped create bureaucracies that were sustainable throughout the centuries.

Application of state-building theories

The predatory theory

War making

When studying the development of European states, Charles Tilly identified that European countries engaged in four activities:

1. war making – eliminating or neutralizing their own rivals
2. state making – eliminating or neutralizing their rivals inside their own territory
3. protection – eliminating or neutralizing the enemies of their clients
4. extraction – acquiring the means of carrying out the first three activities.

For Tilly, these activities are interdependent and rely in the state's ability to monopolize violence. Before the consolidation of European states, kings relied on their lords' troops to emerge victorious from war, setting the final boundaries of their territories after years of campaigns. Still, these lords and their private armies could become potential threats to the king's power during peacetime. Originally, structures were created to facilitate extraction from the king's subordinates in exchange for protection (from their enemies and from the state), covering the expenses of war campaigns. However, extraction also economically strengthened the states, allowing them to expand their hold over the use violence.

Out of these four activities, war making was the main stimulus to increasing the level of taxation, thus increasing the capacity of the state to extract resources otherwise known as fiscal capacity. The increased capacity of the state to extract taxes from its citizens while facing external threats prompted Jeffrey Herbst to propose allowing failed states to dissolve or engage in war to re-create the process endured by European countries. The process of extraction in exchange for protection was further argued by economic historian Frederic Lane. Lane argued that "governments are in the business of selling protection... whether people want it or not". Furthermore, Lane argued that a monopoly was best equipped to produce and control violence. This, he argued, was due to the fact that competition within a monopoly raised costs, and that producing violence renders larger economies of scale. Although the logic was consistent with the predatory theory of the state in early modern Europe, Herbst's point of view was criticized by several scholars including Richard Joseph who were concerned that the application of

predatory theory was an excessive approach of Darwinism. Many have disregarded the limited view of this theory and have instead extended it to include strong external threats of any kind. External threats to the state produce stronger institutional capacities to extract resources from the state.

In harnessing this increased capacity, Cameron Thies describes the state as a machine that requires a "driver" that is able to use the increased capacity to expand influence and power of government. The driver can be state personnel, a dominant class, or a charismatic individual. Without these drivers, the political and military machine of the state has no direction to follow and therefore, without this direction, war and the increased resources extracted from war can not be used for growth.[18] On the other hand, internal wars, i.e. civil wars, have a negative effect on extraction of a state. Internal rivals to the state decrease the state's capacity to unify and extract from its citizens. Rivals usually will bargain with the state to lower their tax burden, gain economic or political privileges.

Limited access order

In their paper, Douglass North, John Wallis, and Barry Weingast offer an alternative framework - limited access orders - for understanding the predatory role of the state. In limited access orders, entry is restricted in both economic and political systems to produce rents which benefit the ruling elites. In open access orders, entry is open to all. The logic of the open access state is based in impersonality. Both systems are interdependent and are only stable when both have similar access frameworks, either limited or open. Transitioning from a limited access order to an open access order involves difficult, radical changes based on three "doorstep conditions": 1) rule of law for elites, 2) perpetual life for organizations, and 3) political control of the military. Once all three initial conditions are satisfied, more incremental changes can be made to move the state further in the direction of an open access order.

Social changes and social order

In his study on countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, Joel Migdal presented the necessary and sufficient conditions for establishing a strong state.[20] He considered "massive societal dislocation" that weakens old social control and institutions as the necessary condition. Such cases include the Black Death and the Hundred Years' War in Europe, the expansion of world economy into Asia, Africa and Latin America in the 19th century, the combination of war and revolution in China, Korea and Vietnam and mass migration in Taiwan and Israel in the 20th century. Furthermore, he listed the sufficient conditions as follows:

- World historical timing when exogenous political forces were in favor of concentrated social control;
- Existence of military threat from outside or other groups in the country;
- A group of skillful and independent people to build an independent bureaucracy;
- Skillful top leadership that would take advantage of the above conditions.

Differentiating "nation-building", military intervention, regime change

Some commentators have used the term "nation-building" interchangeably with "state-building" (e.g. Rand report on America's role in nation-building). However, in both major schools of theory the state is the focus of thinking rather than the "nation" (*nation* conventionally refers to the population itself, as united by identity history, culture and language). The issues debated related to the structures of the state (and its relationship to society) and as result state-building is the more broadly accepted term. In political science 'nation-building' usually has a quite distinct meaning, defined as the process of encouraging a sense of national identity within a given group of people, a definition that relates more to socialisation than state capacity (see the ODI, OECD, and DFID reports cited above).

Similarly, state-building (nation-building) has at times been conflated with military intervention or regime change. This derives in part from the military actions in Germany and Japan in World War II and resulting

states, and became especially prevalent following the military interventions in Afghanistan (October 2001) and Iraq (March 2003). However, the conflation of these two concepts has been highly controversial, and has been used by opposing ideological and political forces to attempt to justify, or reject as an illegal military occupation, the actions in Iraq and Afghanistan. Hence, regime change by outside intervention should be differentiated from state-building.

There have been some examples of military interventions by international or multilateral actors with a focus on building state capacity, with some of the more recent examples including Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992-1995), East Timor, and Sierra Leone. Such interventions are alternatively described as "neotrusteeship" or "neoimperialism". Under this framework, strong states take over part of all of the governance of territories with underdeveloped existing governing structures, often with the backing of international legal authority. Unlike the classic imperialism of the 19th and early 20th centuries, this type of intervention is aimed at (re)building local state structures and turning over governance to them as quickly as possible.[22] Such efforts vary in the scope of their objectives, however, with some believing that sweeping change can be accomplished through the sufficient and intelligent application of personnel, money, and time, while others believe that any such plans will founder on the inherent unpredictability of interventions and that lengthy, sustained interventions often prevent local leaders from taking responsibility and strengthen insurgent forces.

Neo-trusteeship, shared sovereignty, and other new models of intervention rest on the assumptions that intervention is the most effective strategy for state-building and that countries cannot recover from the failures of government without external interference. However, Jeremy M. Weinstein proposes autonomous recovery exists as a process that offers "lasting peace, a systematic reduction in violence, and post-war political and economic development in the absence of international intervention." The argument suggests that external interference detracts from the state-building by-products produced from war or military victories, given that military intervention makes rebel victories less likely

and that peace-building discourages violence. External support undermines the creation of a self-sustaining relationship between rulers or political leaders and its constituents. Foreign aid promotes governments that maintain the same leaders in power and discourages developing a revenue extraction plan that would bind local politicians and local populations. War or military victories create conditions for self-sustaining and representative institutional arrangements through the domestic legitimacy and capacity of state revenue extraction that are by-products of war.

Versus peace-building

State-building does not automatically guarantee peace-building, a term denoting actions that identify and support structures that strengthen and solidify peace in order to prevent a relapse into conflict. Whilst they have traditionally been considered two individual concepts with a complex relationship giving rise to dilemmas and necessitating trade-offs, as Grävingholt, Gänzle and Ziaja argue, the two actually representative two diverging perspectives on the same issue: a shaky social peace and a breakdown of political order. Whilst the OECD emphasises that peace-building and state-building are not the same, it does recognise the nexus between them and the reinforcement of one component has on the other: 'peace-building is primarily associated with post-conflict environments, and state-building is likely to be a central element of it in order to institutionalise peace'. Paris' model including the peace-building and state-building is one of the better known ones. He advocates an Internationalisation Before Liberalisation (IBL) approach, arguing that peace-building must be geared towards building liberal and effective states, thus 'avoiding the pathologies of liberalization, while placing war-shattered states on a long-term path to democracy and market-oriented economics'.

Despite the advantages of incorporating peace-building and state-building in the same model, applicational limitations should be recognised. In practice, foreign and security policy making still largely treat them as separate issues. Moreover, academics often approach the subjects from different angles. Heathershaw and Lambach caution that in practice, interventions that attempt the ambitious goals that Paris

(amongst others) sets out may be coercive and driven by a 'the end justifies the means' outlook. This concern is acute in United Nations peacekeeping missions for there have been instances where peace-builders aspire not only to go a step further and eradicate the causes of violence, which are oftentimes not agree upon by the parties to the conflict, but also to invest 'post-conflict societies with various qualities, including democracy in order to reduce the tendency toward arbitrary power and give voice to all segments of society; the rule of law in order to reduce human rights violations; a market economy free from corruption in order to discourage individuals from believing that the surest path to fortune is by capturing the state; conflict management tools; and a culture of tolerance and respect'.[30] Such ambitious goals are questionable when the United Nations has been seen to struggle in high-profile conflict-ridden situations such as Darfur and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Where it has accomplished a degree of stability such as in Haiti and Liberia, it endures pressure 'to transition from heavy and costly security-oriented peacekeeping operations to lighter, peace-building-oriented missions'. Introducing state-building to mandates is controversial not only because this would entail extra costs and commitments but also because 'the expansion of peacekeeping into these areas has de facto extended the authority of the Security Council, with political, financial, institutional, and bureaucratic implications that have yet to be fully addressed'.

Due to the inherently political nature of state building, interventions to build the state can hinder peace, increasing group tensions and sparking off further conflict. The strength of the consensus that has emerged stressing that 'a minimally functioning state is essential to maintain peace', ignores the complications that poor legitimacy and inclusion can lead to in the future, undermining the whole process. For instance, while the Guatemala Peace Accords were considered successful, 'the formal substance of these agreements has not altered power structures that have been in place for decades (if not centuries) in any substantial manner. The underlying (informal) understanding among elites – that their privileges and hold on power are not to be touched – appears to remain. Therefore, while the Accords may be deemed successful because they

prevented the outbreak of war, this 'success' was tainted by the implications made by a subsequent report published by the Commission of Historical Clarification in February 1999. In it 'particular institutions were singled out as responsible for extensive human rights abuses. State institutions were attributed responsibility for 93% of these, and the guerrilla forces 3%. In unexpectedly strong language, the report described Guatemalan governmental policy at the height of the war as a policy of genocide'.[33] The reinforcement of these state institutions as part of the peace-building process taints it by association.

Efforts to "appease" or 'buy off' certain interest groups in the interest of peace may undermine state-building exercises, as may power-sharing exercises that could favor the establishment of a political settlement over effective state institutions. Such political settlements could also enshrine power and authority with certain factions within the military, allowing them to carve up state resources to the detriment of state-building exercises. However, in weak states where the government has not sufficient power to control peripheries of the territory, alliances with the elites could strengthen the state's governing power. Yet, these alliances are successful if the agreement is mutually beneficial for the parties e.g. elites's power is threatened by competition and the entitlement of the government would help them to diminish it. In return, the government would acquire information and control over the peripheries' policies. Afghanistan since 2001, is an example of a beneficial pact between government and elites; entitling some select set of warlords as governors yielded a strongman brand of governance in two key provinces.

Sometimes peace-building efforts bypass the state in an effort bring peace and development more quickly, for example, it was found that many NGOs in the Democratic Republic of Congo were building schools without involving the state. The state also may be part of the problem and over-reliance on the state by international actors can worsen security inside the country.

Conversely, state corruption can mean that state building efforts serve only one ethnic, religious or other minority group, exacerbating tensions that could escalate towards violence. State building can also assist

predatory states to strengthen their institutions, reinforcing abusive authority and further fueling grievances and popular resistance.

In practice, however, there remains confusion over the differences between state-building and peace-building. The UN's High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change stated that "along with establishing security, the core task of peace-building is to build effective public institutions that, through negotiations with civil society, can establish a consensual framework for governance with the rule of law". Additionally, a 2004 UN study found that a number of UN officials felt that the establishment of effective and legitimate state institutions was a key indicator of a successful peace operation.

Market-oriented aid

Aid is an important part to the development dialogue. In the 1980s and 1990s due to a series of economic crises and unsuccessful attempts in intervention programs in Africa, Latin America, and Eastern Europe, the international community shifted towards a market-oriented model of foreign aid. Donor countries believed that a reduction in the size and the reach of the state could provide a more efficient outcome.[39] However, the success of East Asia, East Europe, Brazil, and India has suggested even market economies require a capable state to grow sustainably. Moreover, international donors became concerned over seriously malfunctioning states in the 1990s, i.e. Sierra Leone and Afghanistan.

State capacity

Economic historians Noel Johnson and Mark Koyama define state capacity as "the *ability* of a state to collect taxes, enforce law and order, and provide public goods." There are, however, various definitions of state capacity among scholars. Berwick and Christia consolidate the literature of state capacity into 3 different domains:

- **Extractive capacity** is the process of collecting rents in order to provide resources for the governed. Taxing is the most common form of extraction. Tilly argues that state-building was not intended, but once it has begun, extraction capacity was necessary.[13] Furthermore, Herbst argues that war is a catalyst to start or increase extractive capacity.[42]

- **Governmental capacity** is the ability of lower level governmental workers to implement the agenda of the higher level of government.
- **Regulatory–productive capacity** is the capacity of the state to provide output for the citizens. This output can include the enforcement of laws and the setting of policy for the citizens.

State capacity is widely cited as an essential element to why some countries are rich and others are not: "It has been established that the richest countries in the world are characterized by long-lasting and centralized political institutions"; "that poverty is particularly widespread and intractable in countries that lack a history of centralized government... and are internally fragmented"; "and countries with weak state capacity are particularly vulnerable to civil war and internal conflict".

Pritchett, Woolcock & Andrews (2013) offer a criticism of why state building fails to work. They claim that many countries are in a capability trap – countries are, at most, converging at a very low pace to the same levels of state capacity. They estimate that on average, it would take 672 years for the bottom 15 countries to reach the state capability level of the best performer if their capabilities keep growing at the same average rate with which they have grown since their political independence.[a] Other indexes suggest that countries are not catching up: the bureaucratic quality and corruption index from the International Country Risk Guide (ICRG) have a negative pace of growth for the bottom 30 countries. The authors argue that the capability trap shows that external assistance to increase state capacity have not been successful in accelerating the development process. They identify that this implementation failure may occur through two techniques: i) *systemic isomorphic mimicry*, by which the structures of institutions are imitated (specific rules are followed) but they do not serve purposes functional to the society; and ii) *premature load bearing*, in which the pressure exerted by outsiders undermines the organic evolution of local institutions.

State structures within the concept of state-building

The term "state" can be used to mean both a geographic sovereign political entity with a permanent population, a defined territory, a government, and the capacity to enter into relations with the other states, as defined under international law (Montevideo Convention on the Rights and Duties of States, December 26, 1933, Article 1), as well as a set of social institutions claiming a monopoly of the legitimate use of force within a given territory (Max Weber, 1919).

For the purposes of state-building in environments of instability, the sub-structures of states can be defined as a political regime (or system of government), a governance framework (or constitution), and a set of state institutions (or organizations) such as the armed forces, the parliament, and the justice system. State capacity refers to the strength and capability of the state institutions. Nation conventionally refers to the population itself, as united by identity, history, culture, and language.

Authoritarian regime

Governments that have implemented the top-down method present the idea that there is a great external threat that can diminish the capabilities of a state and its citizens. The perceived threat creates an incentive that focuses policy, make elites cooperate, and facilitates the adoption of a nationalistic ideology. In an authoritarian government, political, military, and ideological power is concentrated to be conducive to policy continuation. The bureaucracies implemented are well trained, well paid, and highly competitive in recruitment and promotion.[43] Economically successful states in East Asia have taken on programs to create infrastructure, subsidize the farming sector, provide credit, support spending on targeted research, and invest in health and education. However, most governments are non-developmental and unstable. Furthermore, even when countries have tried to pursue authoritarian strategies that have worked, specifically Brazil, a divided military, regional oligarchs in power, and vast disparities in inequality delegitimized the regime.

Democratic regime

A democratic regime engages citizens more actively than a top-down government. It respects the right of citizen to contest policies. Successful democracies developed political capacities by nurturing active citizenship, maintaining electoral competitiveness that gave value to the votes of the poor, fostered political parties that were strongly oriented towards equality, and had strong party-social movement ties.

Approaches

While many specific techniques exist for creating a successful state-building strategy, three specific approaches have been identified by the recent 2010 UNRISD report. These three approaches would all fall under the endogenous school of thinking, and are: Good Governance, New Public Management, and Decentralization.

Good governance

Good governance is a very broadly used term for successful ways a government can create public institutions that protect people's rights. There has been a shift in good governance ideals, and as Kahn states, "The dominant 'good governance' paradigm identifies a series of capabilities that, it argues are necessary governance capabilities for a market-friendly state. These include, in particular, the capabilities to protect stable property rights, enforce the rule of law, effectively implement anti-corruption policies and achieve government accountability." This good governance paradigm is a market-enhancing process which emerged in the 1990s. This approach involves enforcing the rule of law, creating stronger property rights, and reducing corruption. By focusing on improving these three traits, a country can improve its market efficiency. There is a theoretical cycle of market failure which explains how a lack of property rights and strong corruption, among other problems, leads to market failure:

- The cycle starts with economic stagnation, which can enhance and expose the inefficiencies of a weak government and rule of law that cannot effectively respond to the problem.

- Because a government is unaccountable or weak, small interest groups can use the government for their specific interests, resulting in rent seeking and corruption.
- Corruption and rent seeking from interest groups will lead to weak property rights that prevent citizens and smaller businesses from the assurance that their property is safe under national law. Also the corruption will result in welfare-reducing interventions.
- These weak property rights and welfare-reducing interventions lead to high transaction cost markets.
- High transaction cost markets lead back to economic stagnation.

While it is understood that improving rule of law and reducing corruption are important methods to increasing the stability and legitimacy of a government, it is not certain whether this approach is a good basis for a state building approach. Researchers have looked at this approach by measuring property rights, regulatory quality, corruption, and voice and accountability. There was little correlation found between increasing property rights and growth rates per capita GDP. Similarly, there is disagreement among development researchers as to whether it is more beneficial to promote comprehensive set of reforms or to promote a minimal set of necessary reforms in contexts of poor institutionalization. Proponents of the former approach have put forward the concept of "good enough governance"

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.
ii) See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

1. Discuss about the Indian Intellectual tradition.

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2. Describe the Identity Formations.

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3. Discuss the Temple Desecration and the Indo-Muslim State-Building.

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4. Discuss the Rhetoric of State- Building.

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14.6 LET US SUM UP

Identity formation has been most extensively described by Erik Erikson in his theory of developmental stages, which extends from birth through adulthood. According to Erikson, identity formation, while beginning in childhood, gains prominence during adolescence. Faced with physical growth, sexual maturation, and impending career choices, adolescents must accomplish the task of integrating their prior experiences and characteristics into a stable identity. Erikson coined the phrase identity crisis to describe the temporary instability and confusion adolescents experience as they struggle with alternatives and choices. To cope with the uncertainties of this stage, adolescents may overidentify with heroes and mentors, fall in love, and bond together in cliques, excluding others on the basis of real or imagined differences.

According to Erikson, successful resolution of this crisis depends on one's progress through previous developmental stages, centering on fundamental issues of trust, autonomy, and initiative. By the age of 21, about half of all adolescents are thought to have resolved their identity crises and are ready to move on to the adult challenges of love and work. Others, however, are unable to achieve an integrated adult identity, either because they have failed to resolve the identity crisis or because they have experienced no crisis. J. E. Marcia identified four common ways in which adolescents deal with the challenge of identity formation. Those

who experience, confront, and resolve the identity crisis are referred to as "identity-achieved." Others, termed "identity-foreclosed," make commitments (often conventional ones, identical or similar to those of their parents) without questioning them or investigating alternatives. Those who are "identity-diffused" shrink from making defining choices about their futures and remain arrested, unable to make whole-hearted commitments to careers, values, or another person. In contrast, those in the "moratorium" group, while unable to make such commitments, are struggling to do so and experience an ongoing though unresolved crisis as they try to "find themselves."

14.7 KEY WORDS

Identity: Definition of identity. 1a : the distinguishing character or personality of an individual : individuality. b : the relation established by psychological identification. 2 : the condition of being the same with something described or asserted establish the identity of stolen goods

Intellectual: An intellectual is a person who engages in critical thinking and reading, research, and human self-reflection about society; they may propose solutions for its problems and gain authority as a public figure.

14.8 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. Discuss about the Indian Intellectual tradition.
2. Describe the Identity Formations.
3. Discuss the Temple Desecration and the Indo-Muslim State-Building.
4. Discuss the Rhetoric of State- Building.

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14.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

1. See Section 14.2
2. See Section 14.3
3. See Section 14.4
4. See Section 14.5