

MAPPING CULTURAL NATIONALISM IN INDIA

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Abstract

It is a matter of fact that nationalism played a significant role in determining the course of history for nations all over the world over the course of the past several millennia when we examine the historical events that took place in a various countries across the globe. Regarding the question of what precisely makes up a nation, nationality, and the nationalism, scholars have very divergent points of view. But, undoubtedly, Nationalism is the main factor in national regeneration and growth. Nationalism like all social phenomena is historical. It emerged in society when socio-historical conditions, both objective and subjective, matured. Cultural Nationalism, a contentious idea, has underpinned Indian nationalism. Culture in cultural nationalism is how we see ourselves in relation to the nation. Cultural nationalism, unlike other, is based on organic theory and philosophic idealism. Cultural nationalism, which is an organic concept, makes India as a unique nation. It promotes nationalism in all positive aspects of human life, including social, economic, political, cultural, spiritual, and others. Thus this research made an modest attempt to (re)define the indigenous concept of cultural entity within the broader fervent of nationalism while covering the significant aspects of all elements that could simply rejuvenate the (lost) consciousness of the self.

Keywords: Culture, Organic theory, philosophic idealism, indigenous, self, and spiritualism.

Introduction

The term cultural nationalism occupies a significant place in the contemporary political debates which essentially impinge upon

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the central question as to how cultural Nationalism involves the elements of culture and civilization in the construction of national identity and in turn lays emphasis more on the nation as a moral and cultural community than the political one. The inextricable linkage between the nation and culture infuses embeddedness to a degree that the very existence of a nation gets identified in a manner where its culture and civilization get structured. This has been aptly remarked by Eric Taylor Woods as: "If political Nationalism is focused on the achievement of political autonomy, cultural Nationalism is focused on the cultivation of nation. Here the vision of nation is not a political organization but a moral community. It sets out to provide a vision of the nation's identity, history and destiny".¹

Cultural Nationalism transcends the historical boundaries and defies historical logic. It continues to exist as an innate component of human existence in the form of community bound together by the shared identity. However, it has become more pronounced in the modern age due to considerable but avowed efforts of the poets, intellectuals, artists. Moreover, their role turns out to be more significant at the time when the impact of modernity pervades deeply the social, political and cultural ideas. Arguably, most of the national movements are based on the cultural artefacts. However, the sense of cultural Nationalism supposedly sprang in the very initial phase of those movements. India also witnessed such developments. Given this, it becomes pertinent to map the development of cultural Nationalism in India. For instance, Indian freedom struggle was result of many political and national movements that consequently produced the cumulative strength and succeeded in defeating the alien rule. Therefore, in Indian case, the freedom fighters, while fighting against the alien rule, followed the path prescribed within own cultural ambit evidently making it appropriate to argue that every national movement essentially comprises cultural movement in which the latter takes the lead from the front stage. The cultural Nationalism revolves around the shared common history, social and political practices but the recent writings on cultural Nationalism have shown that they intensively start dealing with the linguistic proposition due to increasing language heterogeneity in the culture across the world. Contrarily, as John Hutchinson argued, "[it] is not about defending the language but of a distinctive and historically rooted way of life".² Yet, cultural Nationalism along with its political dimension accumulates diversity and promotes collective progress and morality.

Nonetheless, there are scholars who take language as the soul unit

of analysis in cultural Nationalism and generalize language as the inner consciousness of the nation; hence, protecting the national language against the alien debasement becomes the primary task of the nationalist. For the critics, however, this idea is mostly a political opportunism of cultural Nationalism and it may create conflict over determining a language as the official language and propagating language as cultural Nationalism is a manipulating concept in order to seek power.³ According to Anthony Smith, “the primary aim of cultural nationalist is to revive what they regard as distinctive and primordial collective personality which has a name, unique origins, history, culture, homeland, and social and political practices... further, he defined Nationalism, with the contrary image, as of the spiritual and cultural content; preferably focused on the intertwined relationship of the culture with state-power, based on Weber’s analysis. Nationalism becomes the most contested issue of the contemporary time and, now, has end numbers of much-contested theories”⁴.

India is a country of diversity in which there is a coexistence of a multiple layer of language, caste, socio-political interest, opinion, faith etc. but in spite of this vast diversity the people are connected very strongly which is also described as ‘unity in diversity’. This unity in diversity has always been the centre of debate and attraction around the world. The ‘unity’ is the product of shared ‘history and culture’ across the country which also has been referred by Hon. Supreme Court of India in *Dr. Pradeep Jain, Etc. VS Union of India and Ors. Etc.* case (1984 AIR 1420, SCR(3) 942)

“It is an interesting fact of history that India was forged into a nation neither on account of a common language nor on account of the continued existence of a single political regime over its territories but on account of a common culture evolved over the centuries. It is cultural unity something more fundamental and enduring that any other bond which may unite the people of a country together which has welded this country into a nation”

The most popular theme of India from *Mahopnishad* (4/7) and *Panchtantra* “*वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम्*” (*Ayam Nijah Paroveti Gadna Laghuchetsam, Udarcharitanam Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam*) explains the richness of the Indian cultural tradition which believes that ‘the world is one family’, in which there is no scope for discrimination and limitations of geographical boundaries of the modern nation states. Such instance of deep cultural values emphasizing accommodative cultural philosophy of India is most often cited around the world. There are lots of evidences to show the idea of India’s unity which has been mostly cultural and geographical and quite less political by

understanding the Indian Nationalism from the perspective where the “concept of Motherland (*Mata Bhumi Putroaham Prithivyah*) also variously means the entire Earth (*Dharitri mata*), different regions, localities and the like. But these concepts do not clash with each other; rather supplement each other enriching the entire panorama. Let’s take an instance from a very popular quotation- where Ram replied to Laxmana over not to accept Lanka after conquering;

“अपि स्वर्णमयी लंका, लक्ष्मणः रोचते,
जननी जन्मभूमि चः स्वर्गादपि गरीयसी “

[It means, mother and motherland are greater than heaven]

The cultural philosophy of India is deeply rooted in its ancient history. In Indian culture the concept of *Dharma* has its prominent role. The concept of *Dharma* is completely different from religion. Religion is a way of worship whereas *Dharma* is a way of life and it could not be equated with any other word or language. In the traditional Indian philosophy, *Dharma* was synonymous with the fundamental rules to govern the Self, Society and Rajya, complimented by the provision of *Danda* (*Nyaya*) among other fundamental traits. For instance, a prominent thinker of the ancient India, Kautilya had described the role of a king and its subject holding King accountable to *Dharma* in a way that the King had command over its subjects but his acts had to be qualified by *Dharma*.

Cultural Nationalism, however a much-contested concept, has been the basis of Nationalism in India. In cultural Nationalism, the term culture⁵ is referred to the formulation of national identity: to the way we perceive ourselves in relation to the country. There are three themes i.e. territory, culture and religion around which the cultural Nationalism in India is centred. V. D. Savarkar’s *Hindutva* has extensively discussed about the territorial discourse of Hindustan. The geography of India in modern formation of state lies from “Kashmir to Kanya Kumari but in ancient times the definition was much expanded i.e. the geography of India includes Indus River, the Himalayas and the Seas. The commonality between the ancient and the modern India is its spiritualism. Even in contemporary times like the ancient times we regard our land as sacred and regard it as *Bharat Mata* (mother India). It owes respect to everything that belongs to its geography and regards those as sacred. For instance, rivers, mountains, wind, land, solar system, Jeeva etc. are worshiped in Indian culture. So, everything existing in this universe has a special position in Indian culture which reflects its accommodative and diverse nature.

The idea of cultural nation defines India as cultural, religious, linguistic, pluralistic, tolerant and syncretistic. India is the birth place of several faith systems for Hindu, Buddha, Jain, and Sikhs. The religious notion believes that India originally is the land of Hindu and it is the only land which can be claimed by Hindus. In cultural Nationalism the central idea entails that a community consists of one common culture. In the theory of cultural Nationalism, apart from the modern theoretical discourse of 'Nation-State' and 'State-Nation', assimilation of practices and beliefs direct the character of our lives, emphasize constantly on the strengthening of the community to prevent it from falling into pieces. It tries to create some sense to the world by building one homogenous culture and recognizing one nation as the nucleus of the nation.⁶ The term cultural nationalism does not include communal entities but it is an assimilation of all whose past is linked to the present to ascertain the future of the nation. Almost every national movement has its cultural root and there existed some basic differences between cultural and political Nationalism. The political Nationalism has a rational and global perspective of humanity. Human being is a rational being which has capacity to govern himself with the help of representative state based on the popular consent of its members which also enables equal citizenship and development for all. It also empowers the discriminated citizens to fight for their grievances against the state. On the other hand, the cultural Nationalism has its base in national solidarity. John Hutchinson argued as:

Cultural nationalists respect reason, but the nation is not merely a construction of rational self-interest; rather, it is a quasi-natural institution like the family, which is composed of distinctive individuals united by love. This love is expressed through participation in the way of life of the national community. The nation is source of unique charisma or creative energy expressed in its origin, myths, history, culture and landscape.⁷

Political nationalists give much importance to the constitutional law and uniformity of law whereas for cultural nationalists, civilization and history have the great importance which is also the source of social solidarity and cultivation of individuality. The cultural Nationalism is focused on inner reform within the society and the individual from the below whereas the political Nationalism operates from the above. As the cultural nationalists certainly hold that the nation is not merely a blend of the individuals as the liberals prescribe. Nor do they simply consider it as a matter of utility. They strongly contest the utilitarian concept which considers the state as sheer means. Contrary to the Hegelian perspective, the cultural

nationalists considered the nation as the final product of reason. Hence, it is assumed as universalistic Nationalism which is certainly distinguished from regimented Nationalism.

The western thinkers, like Anderson, Renan, and Gellner, believe that the concept of cultural Nationalism has its root in eighteenth-century Europe. Apart from modern institutional development, it endorsed several modern ideas, politics, and faith in constitutional politics and also included the idea of 'rule by the people'. The use of 'culture' becomes apparent during the age of enlightenment. Many prominent European thinkers like Voltair, Vico, Montesquieu, Goethe, Herder⁸, Schiller and Wilhelm Von Humbolt perceived culture as man's inner intellectual wealth based on the constant search for truth, good and beauty.⁹

In India, there are different ways of conceptualizing cultural Nationalism. Some believes that it is the outcome of the synthesis of different religions, languages, etc; therefore, the plurality is imbued within the form of nation which earns India a defining feature. The cultural Nationalism, thus, in India could be better analyzed from the lens of Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyaya, Rabindranath Tagore, Swami Vivekananda, Aurobindo Ghosh, V. D. Savarkar, M. S. Golwalkar, and Deendayal Upadhyaya.

Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyaya (1838-94) could be the first methodical proponent of the idea of Cultural Nationalism in India. He defined Nationalism in indigenous terms. In most of his writings, he hinges around two vital aspects: Firstly, consistency in opinion, good beliefs and actions of every Hindu and secondly, "one single minded devotion" to the nation and its interests. In connection with the former idea he emphasized to abolish the divisive factors: caste, language and religion etc. to accomplish a unified culture. For the later part, "Bankim was in favour of community and the role of the individual was explained in terms of what was good for the former". Bankim in his cultural philosophy exposed the Western model of utilitarian thought which extends happiness to the greatest number of the people excluding few from its ambit. But the Indian cultural philosophy believes in "ॐ सर्वे भवन्तु सुखिनिः सर्वे सन्तु नरामयाः सर्वे भद्राणि पश्यन्तु मा कश्चित् दुःख भाग्भवेत्" ('*Sarve Bhawantu Sukhinah Sarve Santu Niramaya, Sarve Bhadrani Pashyantu ma Kashchit Dukk bhagbhveta*') which means the development and prosperity of entire human being entails inclusivity contrary to exclusionary utilitarian model. India is a country of spiritualism; therefore, the basis of Nationalism in India couldn't be devoid of religion. (Dharma) For instance, Bankim interpreted *Gita* to unite Hindus¹⁰ against the alien rule. Bankim

emphasized that “motherland is every Indian’s mother herself that she was a goddess to be worshipped, and that in such worship of the goddess or deity of Mother India laid the highest religion of the people of India”.¹¹ The later composition of Bankim’s *Vande Mataram* (Hail Motherland) which is incorporated in *Anandamath*¹² in 1882, presented the core thought of his Nationalism which induced the people of India to think “only of their motherland as mother”.¹³ The strength of the nation is community and the individual in the community needs to work for the defence of the nation. While differentiating between the cultural traits of the West and the East, he said that the West taking advantage of superiority in science and industries represented a culture that succeeded in conquering the East. However, the East had its own superiority in spiritual culture which could not be bypassed.

Bankim, in his *Dharmatattwa*, argues that Hindus will never get the idea about what the true love for the independence and formation of a nation. To which, he explores it as:

“Now-a-days because of the influence of Western education we are becoming protagonists of the welfare of the country; we are no longer protagonists of the welfare of the people. A feeling of dislike against other nations is coming into being. So long such a feeling was absent from this country. There was nothing called national welfare in this country...National character is founded on national dharma. Even ...very few understand the deeper meaning of dharma. National character is formed and controlled only by those few who understand it”¹⁴

Contesting the idea Ram Guha writes, like Kant, Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941) believed in cosmopolitanism. Tagore was a patriot without being a nationalist.¹⁵ He posed a different conception of Nationalism than the other philosophers and thinkers of Indian Nationalism. But we cannot deny the fact that Tagore draws his philosophy from the values associated with Indian civilization and culture. Tagore regarded Nationalism as the source of war, death and destruction which divides the people rather than increasing international solidarity.¹⁶ Instead of increasing inclusiveness, the political civilization i.e. Nationalism of the West promotes exclusiveness, brute force and self interest. Tagore promoted intercivilizational alliance guided by morality in which no nation would dominate or deprive the other and also promoted the East and West alliance for the development of humanity. Tagore saw Nationalism as the recurrent threat to humanity, and as the instrument for politics and commerce. Nationalism by spreading “greed, selfishness, power

and prosperity, or churning up the baser instincts of mankind, and sacrificing in the process the moral man, the complete man... to make room for the political and commercial man, the man of limited purpose".¹⁷

According to Swami Vivekananda (1863-1902), India was the focal point of world spirituality.¹⁸ He says that the "let the others discuss of politics, commerce, immense wealth, power and physical liberty, the Hindu mind does not understand it". Because of its mother land of spirituality, ethics, gentleness and human love, "India is still the first and foremost of all the nations in the world".¹⁹ He sees solution for the world's problem in Indian spiritualism and emphasized that the Indian spiritualism would save the world from destruction.²⁰ For him, Gokhale explains the nationalist idea which is based on the spiritualism and Hinduism. He wanted Hindu to adhere to Hinduism and oppose every social movement which has capacity to destroy faith in Hinduism.²¹ Vivekananda's Nationalism focused on three components, firstly, there is outward diversity; secondly, there must be unity among the Indians to fight against the caste differences to promote social harmony; and lastly, young people are the core of the Indian Nationalism and they must devote their life for the national awakening.

The Britishers' superciliousness based on their culture and civilization subjected Indians to humiliation as inferior culturally and civilizationally and incapable of governing the nation. They argued that the India lacked the culture of political institutions which could confer on its people basic liberties even. As a result, Indians needed the world view the West subscribed to and required to be educated in a new way of life and thought. However, Yogi Aurobindo's attempt to defend Indian culture and its rich civilization drove him to refute the British cultural hegemony of judging other societies on the basis of the existence and non-existence of liberal values and pointed out that "every civilization is an organic whole and could not be judged in terms of the criteria derived from outside" and thus it would be highly mistaken to evaluate Indian culture from the liberal standards set by the Britishers. For Britishers India was a piece of land unified politically but for Aurobindo it was not merely a land but a civilization which has a cultural identity different from the Western world. His idea of nation was rooted in the notion of peaceful co-existence, reciprocal recognition and diversity which was contrary to the western model of the definition of nation, limiting nation to territoriality and boundaries. For him, the oneness of India has its base in spirituality.²² Besides, Aurobindo's theory of Nationalism

is based on *Vedanta* philosophy which saw unity and oneness in man and God. *Karma Yoga* also finds a special place in Aurobindo nationalism.

Meanwhile, Aurobindo resisted the various interpretations that negated India as a nation, or that said that India could not be termed as a nation. Further, he thinks that India definitely had a distinct national character of her own, “the inner and outer body of India, the customs, culture, and religions of its people, have an independent character different from those of the rest of the world. It has its foundations in the past”. Thus, as Aurobindo puts it, “Nationalism is simply the passionate aspiration for the realization of the divine unity in the nation”²³. While addressing the mass in Bombay on 19th January 1908, he described Nationalism as immortal. He stated that, Nationalism cannot die, because it is no human thing, it is God who is working in Bengal (in the context of the Swadeshi Movement). God cannot be killed. God cannot be sent to jail.... God functions through nationalism”²⁴.

M.S. Golwalkar (1906-73), the second Sar Sangh Chalak of RSS, known as *Guruji*, was the great champion of Cultural Nationalism. “He was influenced by Swami Vivekananda’s call to worship the Motherland. He also admired Bal Gangadhar Tilak, for making culture, central to national identity and self-assertion”.²⁵ He takes his position on the Indian civilization as one of the oldest civilizations in the world. While elaborating on the Indian civilization, in his writing *We or Our Nationhood defined*²⁶, Golwalkar says that “Orientalist believed that *Geeta* must be about 1,500 to 2,000 years prior to Buddha’s birth, and Buddha lived about 600 B.C. Evidently the *Mahabharat* is at least 4,500 to 5,000 years old, hence the Indian civilization is the oldest civilization.”²⁷ For this reason, calculating the time period taking into account the birth of *Budhha*, *Geeta* and *Mahabharat*, continuity in the civilizational connects he says that India was the only civilized nation existed on the earth.²⁸ Notably Golwalkar has used certain parameters for describing India as a nation. These are: the fixed geographical boundary lying between the Himalaya and the ocean; great old culture, various arts, tradition based on *Dharma*; Sanskrit language that was universally used for writing (*Vedas*, *Upanishads* etc.) and all the other languages drawing lineage from it.

Another exponent of cultural Nationalism, Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya (1916 - 1968), former President of Bhartiya Jana Sangh and proponent of Integral Humanism, define the diversity of India as its strength. He argued that “no amount of theorization would help, unless the nation is organized on a firm footing. Every nation has its

soul, its *Chiti*,²⁹ the strength and energy activating the Nation (*Rashtra*) is its 'Virat' and when the 'Virat' is awakened, diversity does not lead to conflict, and people cooperate with each other like the various limbs of the human body, or like the members of a family."³⁰ And further he adds that "once the life-stream of unity begins to flow freely in all the veins of our body politic, the various limbs of our national life will automatically begin to function actively and harmoniously for the welfare of the nation as a whole"³¹ The soul of Bharat could not be understood from the political and economic point of view but through the cultural notion. While elaborating the economic perspective in the broader framework of Cultural Nationalism, Upadhyaya clearly rejected the Western conception of introducing the heavy industries and technology over the indigenous ways of India's economic structure. He also emphasized to re-develop the 'Bhartiya' or the indigenous technology for the macro evolution of the economic production. This sense of *Bhartiyata*, as laid by him, undoubtedly, spread a strong bond and belongingness across the nation.

Upadhyaya accorded primacy to one culture instead of multicultural frame considering that it was detrimental to the ethos of *Rashtra*. He stressed on the sentiment of one culture that can preserve the unity and solve all our problems.³² This unity is organic and helps sustain us together to prosper collectively in one nation. He held: "If culture does not form the basis of independence then the political movements for independence would degenerate into a scramble by selfish and power-seeking persons. Independence could be meaningful only if it becomes an instrument for the expression of our culture."³³

In fact, India is a diverse country, the people enjoy distinct cultures, have multiple dialects, rituals, dressing sense, notwithstanding that the people hold the spirit of oneness. This held true during the British rule when India did not have a common system of government and administrative body but they shared the spirit of one *Rashtra*.³⁴ Essentially, the fact of "diversity of religious beliefs and practices, the vast bulk of the people of India have, it is true, certain common fundamental values of life and norms of conduct."³⁵

Discourses on Nationalism in India essentially hinge around certain moot question such as whether the nation should be projected through the specificity of culture or through a rational political order. As a matter of fact, in the post-colonial India the ruling elites wedded the notion of nation conveniently with the state system rationally driven by the liberal political order much to the

part influenced by the Western culture as against its own cultural specificity. To mention, one of the key figures in the post-colonial India's construction of nation-state system, Nehru himself in his work *The Discovery of India* seems to be dumbfounded with the rich cultural past of India, but his interpretation of culture was no less than a vacant or *empty signifier* leaving behind the feeble sense for masses to connect themselves with it. Nehru's this omission starkly undermined the fact that Indian nation was imagined through the roots of culture. In fact, it is within the roots of *culture as practised* and through the *glorious cultural past* that the nation was imagined due to which anti-colonial mobilization acquired a mass dynamic.

Moreover, the cultural Nationalism intrinsically situates culture at the core of the imagination of nation rather than the instrumental rationality or utilitarian aspects, which find central thrust in the left-liberal's arguments. For India, it was based in spiritual holism, which according to German idealist philosopher and linguist like Schlegel, was its defining character.³⁶ Holism fuses the binary between spiritual and the material world into oneness and eradicates all the cleavages between the objective world and the individual consciousness through incorporation into the all pervasive spirit. In India the classical Hinduism was the epitome of holistic spiritualism. The Hindu aptitude for imagination, sensuality and mysticism were superior to those of the West. It was not something claimed only by the cultural nationalists of India, but even the German romanticist took it up in the high spirit. They argued that spiritual holism was the real contribution of Hinduism to the world. Hegel, the famous German philosopher, went to the extent of saying that, India was essentially Hindu, Hindu of pure spirit.³⁷ The fascination of Indian culture and its specificity was so paramount that entire German romantic tradition³⁸ inclined itself to portray it against the West especially the English French reading of Indian orientalism. It is this ontological difference of Indian culture which served as the vantage point for the cultural nationalists to take ahead the charge of imagining India in terms of cultural nation.³⁹

Cultural nationalists like, for instance, Bankim, Gandhi, and Golwalkar with their different methods offer the theories of Nationalism differently, primarily witnessed the cultural elements as the strength from where a nation could be imagined and thus flourished. The intriguing truth that India had a glorious cultural past, and then why it slipped into the hands of the alien forces was probed and thus answered by many thinkers like Bankim, who envisaged for its restoration and argued that it could only be

regained through national regeneration and rejuvenation of culture; a strong national, organized religion, comprehensive, and popular education of masses and an enlightened leadership⁴⁰.

Notably, the major work of incorporating the Indian culture as spirituality into the nationalist ideology was done by Vivekananda. He brought out not only the romanticist notion of fullness, the superiority of imagination over practical reason and the spiritual superiority of Hinduism over all others but also posited it against the moral deprivation and degeneration of the West. It was within the fabric of religious awakening that Swamiji saw the liberation of the nation from the yoke of foreign rule. It is for this reason he not only inspired the masses to take up the true realization of religion and put the country into the march of progression but also advocated India to be pathfinder for the world. He advocated the conquest of the world through the path of spirituality. The contribution of Vivekananda lies in the fact that he not only gives an inspiration to Bankim's paternalism rather assists it in developing into popular direction

Tilak, Pal, Savarkar, and Golwalkar fall into this category. Blending the political action of nationalist like Giuseppe Mazzini, Garibaldi, they placed nation and nationalist imagination of India at different pedestal. Contrarily the then Congress leaders during the national movement preferably went to Britishers for conceding limited political rights pushing the need of cultural awakening into the backyard, which could have served as a potent force against them. However, the nationalist class of political activists struck a fine balance between political action and culture. In other words, it was realization of individual freedom not in conflict with others but in harmony that merged with the notion of nation.⁴¹ This formed as a central premise of cultural Nationalism in India, the domain of fully realized self not in conflict but in harmony with each other and community at large merged in the nation.

The significant contribution of V. D. Savarkar lies in the fact that he was able to merge the domain of cultural Nationalism with territoriality but, undoubtedly, his one of the most remarkable features is that he put his ardent efforts to raise 'Hindutva', while conceptualizing it all-inclusive way, from the level of an ethnicity to that of Nationalism. Drawing out the genealogy of Hindustan from Sindhu river, it was established by Savarkar that Aryans were not the invaders but the natural inhabitant of the subcontinent conjoined by a single language i.e. Sanskrit and emotional affiliation to the motherland. It is in this view, Savarkar said, Hindutva embraces all

the department of thought and activity of the whole being of the Hindu race. Whosoever has been born on the soil of Hindustan, has all sorts of affiliation attached to it is Hindu.

As mentioned in the Ancient Indian tradition, culture remained a significant domain of imagining nation, a question often is asked why nation is invoked in terms of culture. Although the nation remains a political entity, the imagination of nation in political terms becomes deeply problematic. Political is a domain of practical reason, nation is based on shared ethos and emotions. There exists normative tension between the two. For this reason, the western modernity gave preponderance to reason and ignored emotion as irrational. Such assumption brings nation under the domain of temporality where the territoriality is shaped and reshaped frequently on the basis of power, or military strength. The notion of sacrifice is often shunned in the matter of rational choice but there is no moving back once the question of nation comes under threat. It is with this imagination of permanence that Indian nation was imagined.

Yet, the cultural Nationalism is the cultural embodiment of a nation. Therefore from this perspective, Nationalism primarily used culture to stand for language, ethnicity and broadly defined traditions and it was the stuff out of which nations were built and which nationalists sought to protect and perfect under the aegis of the modern nation-state.⁴² Like the other phenomenon in nature, culture, language and nation are subject to change and it is in continuation of the process of evolution that takes place through the interaction with the external forces through travel, trade or invasions. Language is the integral part of cultural Nationalism and it provided a strong base for the flourishing of the cultural Nationalism. However, sociologists contemplating the factors of stability and the role of culture argue that the two are complementary to each other. For instance, for Emile Durkheim, culture integrates society,⁴³ whereas Talcott Parsons argued that culture promotes stability in society, determination towards goal, correlates and integrate the entire component into a system.⁴⁴ The symbiotic relations between culture and social stability reinforce cultural Nationalism.

However, a community does not share a common language, religion or ethnicity, yet a nation is formed on the basis of a strongly formed-identity. Liah Greenfield says “nationalism is one species of identity.”⁴⁵ Diana L. Eck in his book “*Sacred Geography of India*” argued that Indian people always worship the land, mountain, sea, river with the sacredness in mind. India is not “many nations with one state” but “one nation with many states”. Conceptually, India is dealing with

the concept of federal nation-state and undoubtedly the significant cultural elements constitutive of Indian cultural Nationalism are linguistic, religious, and other tribal identities. Significantly enough, the Indian territory has been represented and thus imagined as both a sacred and an anthropomorphic entity which is a combination of holy land where practice of cultural elements is always the first and foremost priority of all. Eck further concludes that there is a belief in India's sacred geography that unites the religious and secular strands of Nationalism either on the perspective of religious imperativeness or in terms of cultural and civilizational significance"⁴⁶. Thus, lastly, cultural nationalists are often critical of Western materialist culture and civilization, which, they believed, cause great harm to the indigenous narratives. Therefore, it is only by the promotion of an indigenous culture that not only saves the nation but also assists a nation in rising.

Notes

1. Eric Taylor Woods, Cultural Nationalism: A Reviewed and Annotated Bibliography, op. cit., p. 1. Retrieved from <https://repository.uel.ac.uk/download/c317e1cccd168ac91b4dfb8f2ea94e84458e463d6a502ee45da23e8eba181f2a/262124/51-151-1-PB.pdf>
2. John Hutchinson, "Re-Interpreting Cultural Nationalism", *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 45, issue, (1999), p. 393.
3. Ibid.,
4. Anthony Smith, *National Identity* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991, Chapter 1) cited in Hutchinson, p. 394.
5. The culture here is not only associated with the inner refinement but also associated with the theatre of politics and rhetoric which shapes the way we speak, educate our young and profess allegiance to 'national' icons.
6. Thomas Blom Hansen, "Controlled Emancipation: Women and Hindu Nationalism", *European Journal of Development Research*, Vol. 6. No.2, (December 1994), p.83.
7. John Hutchinson, "Re-Interpreting Cultural Nationalism" *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 45, issue 3, (1999), p. 399.
8. He construes culture as a progressive cultivation or development of faculties.
9. Boris Erasov and Yogendra Singh, *The Sociology of Culture*, op. cit., p. 20.
10. In his interpretation he galvanized the Indian to unite against the colonial rule.
11. Anil Baran Ray, "Bankimchandra: Development of Nationalism and the Indian Identity", http://www.eng.vedanta.ru/library/prabuddha_bharata/August2005_bankimchandra_development_of_nationalism_and_indian_identity.php retrieved on April 2, 2018.
12. Anandamath was one of the profound works by Bankim Chandra Chatterjee which certainly acts as the "Bible" for the Indian nationalism where as the 'Vande Mataram' certainly acts as the 'gospel' for the nationalists.
13. Ibid.
14. BankimChandra Rachnabali II, *Sahitya Samsad*, Calcutta, 1969, pp. 650-51.

15. Ramchandra Guha, *Makers of Modern India* (New Delhi: Penguin Book, 2010), p. 186.
16. Mohammad A. Quayum, "Imagining "One World": Rabindranath Tagore's Critique of Nationalism", https://mm-gold.azureedge.net/Articles/mohammad_quayum/Tagore_Nationalism.pdf retrieved on April 3, 2018.
17. Ibid.
18. B.G. Gokhale, "Swami Vivekananda and Indian Nationalism", *Journal of Bible and Religion*, 32, no. 1, (Jan., 1964), p. 37.
19. Ibid., p. 38.
20. Ibid., p. 38.
21. Ibid., 41.
22. The spiritual identity of India means the harmonizing of three dimensions i.e. spiritual, material and intellectual. It recognized the fact that there is some higher reality or truth behind the physical and material world.
23. Bipin Chandra Pal, *The Soul of India: a constructive study of Indian thoughts and Ideals*, Rupa Publications (revised 2012), p. 166.
24. K. L. Rajpurohit, *Spiritual Nationalism (in Hindi)*, Jodhpur, Scientific Publishers, 1991, p. 290.
25. Ramchandra Guha, *Makers of Modern India*", (New Delhi: Penguin Book, 2010), p. 371.
26. It is compilation of all the nationalist thoughts of Golwalkar.
27. *We-or-Our Nationhood defined* p. 41.
28. Ibid. 42.
29. For Deen Dayal Upadhyaya, *Chiti* determines the direction in which the nation is to advance culturally.
30. D. D. Thengadi, "Integral Humanism", in Sudhakar Raje, ed. *Pt. DeenDayal Upadhyaya: A Life Profile* (New Delhi: Deendayal Research Institute, 1972), p. 48.
31. Ibid., p. 50.
32. Sudhakar Raje, *Pt. DeenDayal Upadhyaya: A Profile* ed. (New Delhi: Deendayal Research Institute, 1972), p. 172-73.
33. Ibid., p. 173
34. There were hundreds of princely states which were entitled to have their method of laws and administration. The British government did enable a sense of unity in Indian citizens but that was negative in nature.
35. P. N. Masaldan, "The Concept of Nationalism and the Question of National Integration in India, *op. cit.*, p. 152.
36. Schelegel also produced the infamous distinction between dead that is mimetic and mixed language such as French and English and dynamic language and the self-born language like Sanskrit and German which considered the real potential for self-expression.
37. For more reference see Hegel, JWF.1956 the philosophy of history. Translated by J. Sibree. P. 194-95.
38. Apart from Max Muller eulogies of Indian spirituality, Schopenhauer's praise for Upanishads, Romain Rolland treatise on Hindu religion and its relation to Hellenistic Christian culture all serve as the vantage point of highlighting the specificity of Indian culture.
39. Max Muller interpretation of Rig Veda as the oldest and most authentic self-born and founding text in Hindu philosophy established the supremacy of Indian culture as pristine and a locus of pure essence, of immobility, of high spirituality and embodiment of organic and unregimented community whose

- very existence represented the critique of west. For more detail, Max Muller, India: What can it teach us? 1882.
40. Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, *Bharatbarser Swadhinata Evang Paradhinata* (India's independence and dependence), Bankim Chandra Rachnabali, Sahitya Samsad, Vol. III, 1989, p. 255.
 41. The idea was initially championed by Bipan Chandra Pal in form of *sanyasi*, where the self is alleviated and merged with nation. It is bereft of all kind of contradiction. For more reference, see Pal (1910, 47-48).
 42. Genevieve Zubrzycki, "National Culture, National Identity, and the Culture(s) of the Nation", in John R. Hall, Laura Grindstaff and Ming-Cheng Lo, *Handbook of Cultural Sociology*, ed. (London: Routledge, 2010), p. 514.
 43. Boris Erasov, and Yogendra Singh, *The Sociology of Culture*. Op. cit., p. 52.
 44. *Ibid.*, p. 52.
 45. Liah Greenfeld, *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), p. 20.
 46. See also Ashutosh Varshney, 'Contested Meanings: India's National Identity, Hindu Nationalism, and the Politics of Anxiety', *Daedalus*, 122(3), 1993, pp. 227-61.

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