P J D S

PILC
Journal of
Dravidic Studies

C O N T E N T S

CIṞṞAMPALAM – 'THE COSMIC EYE' OF THE DIVINE: THE ĀGAMIC TRADITIONS OF TAMIL AND SANSKRIT

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…'As far verily, as this world-space (*ākāśa*) extends, so far extends the space within the heart. Within it, indeed, are contained both heaven and earth, both fire and wind, both sun and moon, lightning and the stars, both what one possesses here and what one does not possess; everything here is contained within it.'　　　(*Chāndogya Upaniṣad* 8.1.1 and 5).

Between the eyebrows on the forehead Observe the Mantra that radiates Dedicated feel the Graceful Lord That is *Ciṟṟampalam*, where I reached by his grace.

(*Tirumantiram*, 2770)[1].

The *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* and the *Tirumantiram* (lit. *mantras* of the sacred) state a relatively similar idea that the primeval divine power is contained within human self. While the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* assumes that the magnificent power of the divine forms part of the heart, the *Tirumantiram* assumes that this is within the forehead. According to Tirumūlar, the author of the Tamil religious text *Tirumantiram* – c.a. 5th to 7th century - *Ciṟṟampalam* 'the locus of *consciousness'* is the basis of all creation, and it encompasses everything within it - a metaphysical concept that is very similar to what is denoted in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* as the exhaustive and spiritual space within one's heart[2]. The term *Ciṟṟampalam* signifies symbolically the form of Śiva in his manifestation as a "Blissful dancer" in the *Cit Sabha* 'the Hall of *consciousness'* in Chidambaram. Understanding the relationship between what is presumed to be a driving force within one's heart/mind and what is manifested in the *Cit Sabha* in Chidambaram in a material form as Naṭarāja in his dancing posture constitutes the main line of argument in this paper. In an earlier paper[3], I discussed in some detail the historicity and the myths surrounding the halls, with a special reference to the *Cit Sabha* in the Naṭarāja temple in Chidambaram. The present paper is mainly a comparative study of the yogic approach to the worship of Śiva as advocated by Tirumūlar and the idol worship as understood in the Sanskrit *Āgamas.*

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The *Tirumantiram* attempts to link symbolically the two widely studied Śaivite topics namely the *consciousness* in one's heart (*Cit*) and the material representation of Naṭarāja's blissful dance in Chidambaram. Crucial to this linkage is the understanding of the 'blissful state' in one's heart as a result of internalizing the glory of the divine (Śiva) - what is otherwise termed *mukti* or 'salvation' in Śaiva Siddānta. In order to attain this 'enlightened state' (Tirumūlar uses the Tamil word 'Telintār' to refer to this state of mind), one has to follow closely the yogic practices that Tirumūlar suggests concerning how the divine elements of *Jīvan* 'life' and *Vindu* 'source of human creation' ought to be controlled

Tirumūlar's approach to worshiping Śiva from a *Jñāna* standpoint parallels the treatment of idol worship in the Sanskrit *Āgamas*, where external objects and structural temples play a significant role. Specifically, what Tirumūlar attempts in his work is to set the premise for rituals and rites within one's heart, as opposed to the externalized forms of temples and idols, as the Sanskrit *Āgamas* propose[4]. Demonstrating the metaphor of "human body as temple and *Jīvan* (the soul) in its enlightened[5] form as Śivan", Tirumūlar constructs a system where the human body acts as a location for the divine. On the other hand, the Sankrit *Āgamas* propose a system of worshipping Śiva in temples following closely the rules stated in the *Kriyāgramadyotikā* by *Agoraśiva*, *Kāmikāgama*, *Rauravāgama* and so on[6]. Temple and the image of Śiva on the one hand and the human body and *Jīvan* on the other hand parallel the objects of worship.

The Concept of 'Cit' and the Notion of 'Consciousness'

As already stated, the term 'Cit' and the way it is understood under the realm of realizing the divine in one's heart require an in-depth study of Śiva worship from a *Jñāna* point of view. The literal meaning of the Tamil word *Ciṟṟampalam* is 'locus of consciousness', but it is used in an extended meaning as 'cosmic eye'[7], which is understood to be a micro space where the power of the divine is manifested. This sacred space is considered to be the driving force of all conceivable actions constituting the all-encompassing power. The term *Ciṟṟampalam* is misunderstood by some[8] as 'hall of consciousnesses' and 'little hall' in conjunction with the 'sacred hall' that exists in Chidambaram namely *Cit Sabha*, where the Lord Nataraja's image is kept.

In order to understand correctly the meaning of the word *Cit* and its relationship to the word *Chidambaram* one needs to understand how the latter is derived from the former. The word *Chidambaram* is derived from **Ciṟṟampalam** by the application of the phonological rule of *ṟṟ* becoming *tt* on the root **Ciṟṟ-,**

The words *ambalam* and *ambaram* are simply the synonymous forms meaning a 'space'. Misunderstanding the word *Ciṟṟampalam* as 'small hall' by the analogy that the word *Ciṟu* means 'small' fails to capture the conceptual basis of the word *Cit*, which means 'consciousness' or 'Cosmic eye'. Tirumūlar's employment of the term *Cit* along these lines of thought constitutes the core of his entire work.

Rūpa and Arūpa form of Worship in the Naṭarāja's temple of Chidambaram

The dancing image of Śiva, a perceivable form called rūpa in Sanskrit, is housed *Cit-Sabhā* , and it is referred to by Smith[9] as the heart of the world and the heart of individual self (*Cit* means 'consciousness' and *Sabhā* means 'hall'). To the right of Naṭarāja is an empty space, which is popularly called *Rahasya* - a Sanskrit word meaning 'secret'. This space designates the formless manifestation of Śiva, and is called *arūpa*, an opposite of *rūpa*. The *arūpa* form of Śiva is also called¸ *Ākāśa Liṅga*, assuming that the space or the ether is the other manifestation of Śivain Chidambaram (see Smith 1993: 62 and Smith 1996: 83). Thus, the custom of worshiping the space in Chidambaram developed a new architectural vocabulary namely *Chidambara Rahasyam* (Secret of *Chidambaram*) in Tamil.

The other manifestation of Śiva is the *Liṅga*, which does not conform to any conceivable object[10]. The *Liṅga*, then, is both a form and without a conceivable form, so it can be understood as *rūpa-arūpa* "form and formlessness". Evidence for this tripartite representation of Śiva in Chidambaram can be drawn from one of the verses in *Tirumantiram*, where Tirumūlar distinguishes the three terms namely *uru* 'form', *aru* 'formless' and *Para Rūpam* 'all-pervading divine'[11]. As we will see below, textual evidence to substantiate the manifestation of the Lord Śiva in these three forms in *Chidambaram* is also found in the works of the Śaiva hymnists Appar, Māṇikkavācakar *and* Sundarar, whose dates are generally assumed to fall between 7th and 8th century C.E. [12].

One of the significant references to the vocabulary of formlessness (*Arūpa*) occurs in one of the verses of the Tirumūlar's *Tirumantiram* as follows [13].

uruvinṟi yēninṟu uruvam puṇarkkum karuvinṟi yēninṟu tānkaru vākum	He has no form, but he forms the basis of all forms.
aruvinṟi yēninṟa māyap pirānaik karuvinṟi yāvarkkum kūṭaoṇṇātē. (2840:6)	He is the Cosmic eye, the pervading power of all creations. It is impossible for anyone to reach him without attaining his grace.

Because this verse is included under the chapter on *Corūrpa utayam* "Genesis of the magnificent form" (verses 2835 to 2846) in the *Tirumantiram*, it may be understood that the project that Tirumūlar develops concerns not the material form for the Lord, but an invisible, yet metaphysically perceivable form.

The Tamil version of Śaiva Siddānta philosophy took its form largely from the works of the four Śaiva saints namely Tirumūlar (5th to 6th A.D), Appar (7th A.D.), Sundarar (7th A.D.) and Māṇikkavācakar (9th A.D) Essential to the teachings of the Tamil tradition of Śaiva Siddānta is the study of the three metaphysical concepts namely *pasu* (soul), *pati* (god) and *pāsa* (bond), and these concepts have been discussed widely in the works of the Śaiva saints. Controlling one's mind and senses so as to experience the supreme within is the principal goal of this tradition. All these saints claim that the *Agamas* come directly from Śiva himself. Māṇikkavācakar, who wrote one of the *Tēvāram* texts called the *Tiruvācakam*, claims that he was an ardent follower of the *Agamas*, which he regarded as the sacred revelation (*Tiruvācakam* 2: 20). Māṇikkavācakar claims that Śiva disclosed the *Agamas* from the Mahendra Hill through his five faces (*Tiruvācakam* 2: 20), and he recovered them from the great fish that swallowed the text (*Tiruvācakam* 2: 18).

The *Tirumantiram* is believed to have been offered to the world by the Lord Śivahimself through Tirumūlar. This text is well known for its treatment of Śaiva philosophy from the point of view of the yogic tradition, which is commonly attributed to the Siddhars of the North India[14]. According to the traditional accounts, he composed three thousand verses constituting the *Tirumantiram* while in the state of meditation[15].

Traditions of *Āgamas* and *Tirumantiram*

Like the Veda, the *Āgamas*, according to Tirumūlar, are composed by Śiva himself.

aṇṇaḷ aruḷāl aruḷuñ civākamam
Through His grace, the Śaiva āgamas are revealed by the Lord

(58 and 64)

Passing the text through Sakti, Sadasiva, Maheswara, Rudra deva, Vishnu and Brahmisa, the Lord presented the *Āgamas*, at the end, to Tirumūlar, who in turn offered them to the world in the form of three thousand verses composed in Tamil.

In a number of places in the *Tirumantiram* we find references to *Āgamas* and their divisions in general terms as *kāraṇam, kāmikam, cintiyam, vātuḷam* and *yāmaḷam*[16], but without any explanatory notes for these terms. Tirumūlar's references to these Sanskrit terms without much discussion suggest

the popularity of the *Āgamas* during his time. Ishimatsu[17] notes that the *Āgamas* and the ritual manuals in Sanskrit, on the other hand, virtually ignore the Tamil Śaiva works. One possible exception, however, is *Pūrva Kāmikāgamā* of the *arcanam vidhi paṭala,* which according to her, makes a generic reference to Tamil *Āgamas* as *Drāviḍabhāṣāṅgaṃ*[18], which needs to be chanted at the end of rituals.

The nine agamas that Tirumūlar claims to have obtained from the Lord himself include *Karanam*, *Kāmigam*, the *Vīram* '*good'*, the *Sindam* '*high'*, *Vadulam*, *Vyāmalam* 'the other', Kalottaram, the *Subram* '*pure'* and *Makutam*[19]. *Tirumantiram* is divided into nine chapters and each one of them is understood to contain references from all of the nine *Āgamas* namely *Kāraṇāgāman, Kāmigāmam, Vīrāgamam, Cittāgamam, Vātuḷāgamam, Viyāmaḷāgamam, Kālōttarāgamam, Cuppirāgamam* and *makuṭāgamam*[20]. According to Tirumūlar, God (Śiva) composed the *Āgamas* in Sanskrit and Tamil simultaneously, and the Tamil version is known to us as *Tirumantiram*[21].

By no means, can this be taken to mean that the *Tirumantiram* is a translation of the Sanskrit *Āgamas*. However, in all nine chapters, Tirumūlar discusses parallel ideas from the *padas* (divisions) of the Sanskrit *Āgamas* namely *cariya* (exoteric worship), *kriya* (esoteric ritual), *yoga* (exercising mental postures to realize the divine in *Jīvan*) and *Jñāna* and (knowledge)[22]. We will see below that Tirumūlar's approach to Śiva worship concentrates on the last two *padas* namely *yoga* and *ñāna padas* in stating that *neñcam* 'heart' is the temple and the *Ciṟṟu* 'Cosmic eye' is the divine element that dwells in it. In the other two *padas* namely *cariya* and *kriya* he discusses the ways by which one can realize the *Ciṟṟu*. What is basic to Tirumūlar's treatment of divine worship is that god is formless, and in order to realize him one has to perform a series of *ātmārta pūjas* in the form of yogic postures, which help control one's senses. This is in parallel to the Sanskrit *Āgamas,* which mainly endorse *nitya pūja* or *parārta pūja* to be conducted with idols and images at home and temple.

If Tirumūlar's *Tirumantiram* is understood to be the Tamil version of the *Āgamas*, which stands in parallel to the corresponding Sanskrit version, the *pūjas* that Tirumūlar formulates neither contain any information about the consecration of temples, nor does it prescribe the details of daily rituals in a concise manner. Since neither the *Tirumantiram*, *Tēvāram,* nor *Tiruvācakam* postulate any ritual practices to be conducted in the temples, the Sanskrit *Āgamas* still stand as a religious manual to build temples and conduct rituals.

Zvelebil[23], for example, comments that Tirumūlar makes almost no reference to the worship of God through *arccanai* (Tamil equivalent for

Sanskrit word 'arcanam') in temples. The reason for this is that Tirumūlar's account of Śiva worship, as already stated, focuses upon the principles of *Yōga* and *Jñāna*, according to which the human body is assumed to be the center of study both for the realization of god as well as for demonstrating one's devotion to god through soul. Thus, Tirumūlar's verses operate exclusively upon the central metaphor of "human body as temple" - omnipresence of the god as not confined within the four walls of the temple, but existing within the human body itself. This is expressed precisely in the following verse from the *Tirumantiram*[24].

> Mind is the magnificent temple, the fleshy body is the temple
> For the generous Lord mouth is the gateway
> For the enlightened ones the soul (cīvan) is the Śiva Liṅga
> All the five senses are the ceaseless sacred lamps[25].

Basic to the understanding of the human body as temple is the illustration of the notion of *enlightenment* (*Teḷintār*) of soul and the attainment of knowledge– i.e., *Jñāna*, by controlling all the five senses that are vulnerable to the worldly desires – i.e., *pāsa.* According to Tirumūlar, the soul – *jīvan* – and Śivan are not to be understood as two different entities; often *jīvan* fails to understand Śivan or is incapable of realizing it due to its preoccupations with *pāsa* – the worldly desires.

At the moment when *jīvan*is capable of realizing Śivan, both *Jīvan* and Śivan unite to form a single entity [26]. Tirumūlar illustrates this well using the figurative expression of a sculpture of an elephant made of wood and the mind. When the charm of the sculpture is stressed, the wood is out of focus, and when the wood is looked at attentively, the beauty of the sculpture goes unnoticed. Similarly, the *jīvan* and Śivan are like the wood and sculpture. The charm of Śiva can be experienced only when the soul is free from all worldly desires. This requires an attentive meditation within one's mind.

The ultimate endeavour of realizing Śivan within one's *jīvan* becomes the central focus of study in Tirumūlar's work. His allegorical reference to the wandering soul as a cow that roams without any aim distinguishes two types of men: one belongs to the category of men who have not yet attained the wisdom of Śivan in their *jīvan,* and the other called Śiva yogis, by Tirumūlar. The Śiva yogis, unlike the first type of men, enjoy the supreme bliss of Śiva within their *jīvan*. Śiva yogis, who are like cows that yield precious milk, are the ones who attained knowledge – *Jñāna* - because of their *enlightenment*. The other type of men, by contrast, fail to become conscious of Śivan in their soul (*jīvan*) and thus remain barren[27].

Throughout his work Tirumūlar distinguishes between the two terms Siddānta and *Vedānt*[28]*,* which according to him, refer to the Tamil Śaiva Siddānta tradition of the South and the Sanskrit Vedic tradition of the North respectively. Both the *Veda* and the *Āgama,* according to Tirumūlar, are the creations of God[29] and lead one to *mutti* (salvation) and the enlightenment of the *jīvan*[30].

The Supreme Bliss and the Dancing form of Śiva

Tirumūlar devotes an entire chapter in the ninth *tantra* to the dancing form of Śiva and the importance of the locus of *Cittam* on one's forehead. The word *Cittam* is normally translated as 'Consciousness' by scholars mainly based on the Sanskrit word '*Cittah'*. But, what is stressed by Tirumūlar through the word "Ciṟṟampalam" is nothing other than the notion of *Cittam* – the essence of all knowledge and power. This is the 'supreme bliss' that one experiences upon enlightenment by realizing Śivanivan in *jīvan*. According to Tirumūlar, the spot between the two eyebrows is where one feels Śiva and that is where *jīvan* is felt as well[31].

> Between the eyebrows on the forehead
> Experience the transcending Mantra upon careful observation
> There remains the Graceful Lord to those dedicated
> That is the Ciṟṟampalam where I have reached[32].

Even though Younger[33] observes the fact that that this chapter in the *Tirumantiram* is an elaborate theological interpretation of the Dancing Image of Chidambaram, but fails to capture the significance of the metaphysical representation of bliss in one's *jīvan*, which forms the core of this chapter. What Tirumūlar attempts to illustrate in this chapter is the ways in which one can realize the Śivan in *jīvan,* and consequently enjoy the "supreme bliss". The blissful state is symbolically represented in Chidambaram in the form of dancing Śiva.

Pūja – Worship of Śiva, Guru and Maheśvara

The three chapters namely Śiva Pūja, Guru Pūja, and *Maheśvara* Pūja, (worship of devotees) that Tirumūlar presents in the seventh *Tantra* deal with the *ātmārtha. Ajitāgama and parārtha pūjas*. These *pūjas* parallel the worship methods as defined in the Sanskrit *Kāranāgama*[34], but differ from them in stating the worshiping of Śivain one's own *Jīvan*in contrast to idol worship.

According to the *Kāranāgama, ātmārtha* worship is performed at home with one's personal *liṅga* for the purpose of protecting the soul from

everything[35]. In the opening verse (1823) of the chapter on *Śiva Pūja,* Tirumūlar describes the objects of worship to be nothing other than one's own body parts. As cited above, verse 2770 relates the body parts to the components of a temple as follows: the heart is the *garbhagṛha;* the body is the temple tower; the mouth is the gateway; for the enlightened one the *jīva* is the *liṅga*; and the ever-burning lamp is all the pervasive five senses.

In the subsequent verses of the same chapter, Tirumūlar illustrates how one would perform the *pūja* to the Lord who dwels in one's own soul. According to him, chanting with the songs of praise to the Lord must be performed both in the morning and in the evening so that the god with matted hair (Śiva) would be pleased by it[36]. The Tamil phrase *pāṭṭavi kāṭṭatum* pālavi yākumē "songs are like milk" in this verse can be taken to mean that Tirumūlar is comparing his methods of worship of Śiva in one's own heart with that of performing the ritual bath (Skt. *Abhiṣēka)* to the object of *liṅga* with milk.

A similar idea is expressed by him in another verse in the same chapter, but this time with a specific reference to the prayers with the folded hands. He states that those who are unable to express their devotion to Śiva within one's heart are bound to experience the anguish in the ocean of sorrow[37]. Thus, praying to the deities with folded hands and meditating the Lord inside one's heart are the two different types of ritual practice. He further asserts that those who cannot praise the Lord who stays within the lotus of *Jīvan* (*Āvik kamalam*) are ignorant of the science of *mantrā* to be recited to him[38].

Mahēṣvara Pūja (Entertaining the Śiva bhaktas)

One of the much discussed practices in Śivabhakti is fulfilling the devotion to Śiva by duly respecting the Śaiva saints. Many legends reveal how Śivabhakti is shown by the kings by treating the Śaiva saints respectfully. Tirumūlar devotes a separate section under the chapter *Mahēṣvara Pūja* - 'Puja to the great Lord'- explaining how this is to be understood as Śivabhakti. According to Tirumūlar, what is offered to god in temples is of no use to the Śivabhaktas, but instead, what is offered to Śivabhaktas is equivalent to offering to gods in temples (verse 1857). When a Śivabhakta consumes the food offered to him by a respectful devotee, the pleasure that he gets is similar to the pleasure of all the lives in the three worlds (verse 1858). Tirumūlar suggests that offerings made to one Śivabhakta finds no other match, neither offering to one thousand Brahmans nor building one thousand temples would be equivalent to this (verse 1860). The entire chapter on *Mahēṣvara Pūja* expresses the supreme nature of the Śivabhaktas in comparison to the Brahmans and their ritual practice. This is another indication of the fact that there was indeed a contest

over the hegemony of ritual beliefs and practices between the Brahminic and non-Brahminic traditions at the time of Tirumūlar.

Becoming a Śaivaite and uniting with Śiva

Goal of any Śaivaite is to attain *mokṣa*[39]– the highest state of being that can be achieved by a soul - and it can only be attained by conducting a series of rituals that are capable of enabling the soul to obtain liberation from worldly bonds. Liberation of a soul is nothing other than uniting with Śiva, and thus, can be free from being born again. This spiritual state of the 'divine body', which is called *ātmasuddhi,* is the crucial part of daily worship. Smith's discussion on liberation of the soul surrounding the three fetters namely *mala*, *karman* and māyā are based on *Mṛgendrāgama* and *Kāmikāgama* provide definitions of ritual practices to be conducted by humans with a *liṅga*. On a similar note, the Saiva Siddānta discusses the process of freeing oneself from all the human qualities by transcending to the state of "Śivayogis", *Siddhas* and Ñānis, who not only can liberate themselves from the worldly bonds, but also enjoy Śivain their *Jīvan*.

One of the common problems of the *Jīvan* is to get trapped frequently in the bondages of life. Tirumūlar suggests that this is because of the *Jīvan's* inability to control *Vindu,* 'the source of creation'. In a separate section on the power of *Vindu* (the *Tirumantiram*, verses 1923 to1974), Tirumūlar states how taking control of the power of *Vindu,* and not wasting it can lead one to attain the status of *Śivayogi*,[40] and realize *Śiva*in the heart. "The power of *Vindu* is limitless and its commencement inside human body invokes all the powers of the five supreme gods *Sadāsiva*, *Viṣṇu, Rudra,* and *Maheśvara*; and finally emerges as the power of *Kuṇḍalini* - the supreme strength" (Verse 1923).

Thus, Tirumūlar captures the two divine essentials central to the human body namely *Jīvan* and *Vindu,* and he attempts to relate them to the wisdom of Śivafrom the point of view of *Yōgic* and *Jñāna* standpoints. His attempts to make the human body and heart sacred, and realizing the divine within the heart form the central point in his discussion. The *Śiva Yōgis,* who are not constrained by any fetters and worldly desires, according to Tirumūlar, are capable of achieving this state. *Śiva Yōgis* are the ones who always keep themselves away from the lustful eyes of women, and destroy the powers of evil elements in their mind. By doing so, they prevent the supreme energy of *Vindu* from being wasted (Verse1937). What Tirumūlar offers in the subsequent verses (1932 to 1947) in the same section is an illustration of how the accumulation of *Vindu* by controlling all they five senses leads to the union inside womb, and subsequently procreate the īcan "god" with a life and great power

... īcan uyirōṭum karuttatu vittaayk kaaraṇa kāriyam

'that the god emanates in the form of 'life' becomes the cause of all the worldly deeds' (verse 1947).

This metaphysical interpretation of sexual union and the cause for the materialization of *īcan* (*karu*) present an answer to the question of why Tirumūlar is formulating a *Yōgic* project focusing primarily upon the human body, both as a locus of worship as well as the object of worship.

Concluding Remarks

The two metaphysically significant terms Cīvan (Skt. *Jīvan*) and Vindu that Tirumūlar discusses in detail in his text play a crucial role in his defining the epistemological system of Śaiva philosophy. The ultimate goal of any human, according to Tirumūlar, is to become *Teḷintār* 'enlightened'. Attaining this state requires controlling of *Jīvan* and *Vindu* in a proper manner. Contrastively, the *Āgamas* state that the worshipper transforms Śiva into *liṅga* and commences his services of worship on this embodied form[41]. Further, one finds in the *Āgamic* tradition a variety of this kind of ritual practices performed by the priests belonging to various categories of class and caste. To quote one example, the Sanskrit *Āgamic* texts, such as Suprabhed *Āgama* and Rāmakaṇṭha's Jātinirṇaya *pūrvakālayapraveśavidhi*, as discussed in Smith (1991, p.70), groups worshippers into various categories and also assign restricted spaces only within which they can perform their rituals. This includes such relationships as the Śaiva - brāhmaṇa priests, non-ādiśaiva brahmans, common brahmans, Kings (kṣatriyas), vaiśyas and *Śūdras*.

But, Tirumūlar's approach to Śivaworship, among many other distinguishing characteristics, does not propose any such hierarchical divisions of worshippers on the basis of their status or power. He knows only two types of worshippers namely those who are *Śiva Yōgis,* and the others who are not, based strictly on how they perform the *Yōgic* practices, which he considers to be the path to attain the Wisdom of Śiva. In this sense, Tirumūlar's *Tirumantiram* can be treated as an indigenous system of ˛gamic practices concentrating on the human body itself. The Śaiva Siddānta tradition that advocates a non-idol and monotheistic approach to Śiva worship are demonstrated in the texts of Śaiva Nāyanmars, including Tirumūlar. Tirumūlar's *Tirumantiram*, which was composed much earlier than the other Śaiva texts, superimposes the idea of 'man' as a divine creation and he is the absolute potential for the divine power. The *Svetasvatara Upanishad* states that the Soul and the supreme God are united together – *Atmastham:*

'Atmastham   ye   anupasyanti   tedhirah   tesam   sugham   sasvatama
na iteresam   *-Svetasvatara Upanishad*

The same idea is revealed in *Tirumantiram* in the following verse, which states
that realizing Śivan in one's heart is the ultimate step toward the unity with
Him, and to prepare oneself to achieve this spiritual experience is the goal of
any soul.

Soul and Śivan are two different entities,
when the soul the soul is incapable of experiencing the Śivan.
When the soul realizes the Śivan within,
The soul and the Śivan appear as one[42].

Notes

[1]neṟṟikku nērē purvat tiṭaiveḻi
uṟṟup pārkka voḻiviṭu mantiram
paṟṟukkup paṟṟāyp parama niruntiṭuñ
ciṟṟam palamenṟu cērntuko ṭēnē.

[2]Smith, David. 1996. *The Dance of Śiva: Religion, Art and Poetry in South India.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p.81.

[3]Renganathan, Vasu, 2003. "Rūpa, Arūpa and Rūpa-Arūpa: The Three Forms of Śiva workship at Naṭarāja's Temple of Chidambaram, South India and Their Impact on the Temple Architecture", MS.

[4]In one verse Tirumūlar states that his realization of temple within his heart (neñcam) occurred to him after his subsequent visits to various temples in the Tamil country. This obviously illustrates why Tirumūlar takes the position of assuming 'mind' as the locus for source of divine power.

[5]The term Tirumūlar uses for "enlightenment" is the Tamil term teḻintōr, which means that 'those who keep themselves clean from sins and worldly desires'.

[6]Cf. Ishimatsu, Ginette, "Ritual texts, authority, and practice in contemporary Siva temples in Tamil Nadu" Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1994, (p.5).

[7]Cf. Smith (1966).

[8]See Younger (1995), Davis (1985) and Smith (1986).

[9]Smith (1996: 82).

[10]Although there are many interpretations of the form of *Liṅga*, we confine ourselves to its concrete form, which is incomparable to any perceivable object.

[11]Tirumantiram, (2790: 69 Ninth tantra)
"For Rishis Patanjali and Vyagrapada
In the splendid Temple of Chidambaram
He danced as a Form, a Formless and a Cosmic Form,
With the Divine Grace of Sakti He danced,
He, the Citta, the Ananda; Gracefully stood and danced."

(Unless otherwise noted the translations of the Tamil hymns in this paper are rendered by the author, with necessary consultations of Smith 1996, Peterson 1989 and Shulman 1980).

[12]See Zvelebil (1998) for an account of the dates and the works of the Śaiva hymnists.

[13]See Zvelebil (1998: 40-43) for an account of the dates between 7th and 11th century A.D. during which the poet saints including Māṇikkavācakar, Tirumūlar, Nambi Āṇṭār nimbi, Cēkkiḷār, appar and campantar, who have made important mentions about both the dancing image as well as the Citambaram site. For the text, see *Tirumantiram* by Tirumūlar, trans and notes B. Naṭarājan, gen. Ed. N. Mahalingam (Madras: Sri Ramakrishna Math, 1991).

[14]Legend has it that Tirumūlar, was a North Indian yogi - also called *Siddha* - came to the South and entered into the body of a dead shepherd boy, named mūlar, in order to soothe the crying cows, which were grief-stricken due to the death of their master. Unable to find his own body afterward, he remained in the body of the shepherd boy and went into the state of meditation.

[15]It must be pointed out that there is no evidence whatsoever either in his own work or in any other texts substantiating this legendary background of Tirumūlar. Further, there is no textual evidence whatsoever to prove the fact that Tirumūlar is from North India and is not a South Indian. His north Indian origin must have been assumed by his "yogic" approach to worship of Śiva.

[16]*Tirumantiram*, verses 57 to 66.

[17]Ishimatsu (1994).

[18]ūrdhvaṃ drāviḍabhā aṅgaṃ <gābaṃ nṛttayutaṃ tu vā. "Songs in the Dravidian language, joined with dance." C. Svaminatha Sivacarya, Ed. Kāmikāgama (pūrvbhāga) (Madras: South Indian Archagar Association, 1975), 21.

[19]*Tirumantiram*, Verse 63.

[20]Arunachalam 1982. *Tirumantirak k*ōṭpāṭu. Chennai: Pari Puttkap Paṇṇai.

[21]Tirumantiram, verse 66. It should also be noted that Tirumūlar does not make any explicit reference to any *Āgamic* text, either in Sanskrit or in Tamil, that would be considered as the authoritative source for *Āgama.* In the verses 57 to 66, however, he makes clear references to the presence of nine *Āgamas,* and their divisions, but what is not clear by this is whether he refers to the Sanskrit *Āgamas,* that he is adopting his work from, or they belong to any Tamil sources, which might have been destroyed.

[22]The Cariya part deals with the service and teaches the basic moral values. The *Kriya* discusses rituals, Yoga for *asanas* and *pranayamas*, and *ñāna Nyana* to deal with knowledge

[23]Zvelebil, Kamil V. *The Smile of Murugan: On Tamil Literature of South India.* Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973. p. 226

[24]Tirumantiram, verse 1823.

[25]Uḷḷam peruṅkōyil ūnuṭampālayam
 Vaḷḷar pirānārkku vāy kōpura vāsal
 teḷḷat teḷintārkkuc cīvan civaliṅgam
 Kaḷḷap pulanaintum kāḷā maṇi vilakkē

[26]Ibid, verse 2017 and verse 2290

[27]Ibid, verse 2015.

[28]Ibid, verses 2385, 2386, 2387, 2392, 2393, 2394 and so on.

[29]Vedamō ṭākamam meyyām iṟaivannūl "The Vēda along with the *Āgama* are revelations of God", *Tirumantiram*, verse 2397.

[30]Ibid. verse 2394.

[31]Tirumantiram, verse 2770 repeated here.

[32]neṟṟikku nērē purvat tiṭaiveḷi
   uṟṟup pārkka voḷiviṭu mantiram
   paṟṟkkup pāṟṟāyp parama niruntiṭuñ
   ciṟṟam palamenṟu cērntuko ṭēnē.

[33]Younger, Paul, 1995. The Home of Dancing Śivan The Traditions of the Hindu Temple in Chidambaram. New York: Oxford University Press.

[34]*The Sanskrit Tradition and Tantrism*, ed. Teun Goudriaan (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1990). Cited from Ishimatsu (1994, p.48).

[35]*sarve*ṣām ātmarakṣārtham Iṣṭali ṅgārcaṇamgṛhe / ātmārtham iti vikhyātam - Cited by N. R. Bhatt, ed., Ajitāgama, vol. 1. (Pondicherry: Institut français d'Indologie, 1964), 196, n. 4. – Cited from Ishimatsu (1994, p. 48).

[36]*Tirumantiram* , verse 1824

[37]Ibid. Verse 1834.

[38]Ibid. Verse. 1842.

[39]See Smith (1996: 83-111)

[40]Tirumantiram, verse 1950

[41]Davis (1991: 71).

[42]*Cīvan enac civan enna veeṟillai
   Cīvanār civanārai arikilar
   Cīvanār civanārai arintapin*
   Cīvanār civanāyiṭṭirupparē Tirumantiram, verse 2017.

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NON-FINITE DRAVIDIAN VERBS
AS IMPERSONAL FINITE VERBS IN ORIGIN

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Both traditional and transformational linguistics have recognized complex sentence as a distinct type in the linguistic system. It is a well known fact that the complex sentence involves a system associated with two sentence types namely, free sentence or finite clause (otherwise known as main clause or embedding clause), and bound sentence or non-finite clause (otherwise known as subordinate clause or embedded clause). Both within the frameworks of traditional and transformational linguistics the source and the evolution of bound sentence have not been studied thoroughly in its proper perspective. There is a general consensus that the complex sentence being an instance of hypotactic system within the synchronic framework is evolved from paratactic source[1] (Lehmann 1974; Harris 1978). However, this area with respect to SOV languages in general and Dravidian languages in particular still remains unexplored.

2. Although the Dravidian morphology has been studied exhaustively both within the historical and comparative aspects, no attempt has ever been made either within the diachronic or comparative framework to explore the paratactic source of the Dravidian complex sentence with special reference to the predicate system obtained in the non-finite syntax i.e., subordinate clause. Mere fact that the proto-system was associated with complex sentence as one of the sentence types does not imply that such construction type was there in the pre-proto linguistic system obtained in Dravidian or at the stage of evolution of Dravidian syntax. The question is whether there was a non-finite clause in the early stages of Dravidian syntax. In other words, is the finite -non-finite dichotomy in the verbal system a sustainable one during the period when the complex sentence was yet to evolve as a distinct type in Dravidian? The answer will be in negative if the non-finite verbal system is established as a historical accident adducing syntactic arguments. Such a view will enable us to maintain that non-finite verbal system was a finite one in origin, and due to certain

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developments in the Dravidian finite system forced a set of finite verbs to assume non-finite status with various grammatical functions. We will consider this problem with particular reference to Tamil and Telugu as briefly as possible in the discussion that follows.

3. The crucial problem is whether the non-finite verbal system obtained in bound sentence in Dravidian was really so in origin. This issue can be partially resolved with reference to the impersonal predicate system attested in complement syntax associated with explicit complementizers. We intend to maintain the hypothesis that there was no such thing as non-finite verb in the early stages of Dravidian syntax, and the predicate system was of impersonal type which was later replaced presumably during proto stage itself by a predicate system of personal type. This implies that the phenomenon what is known as Complex Sentence was a later development, and the subordinate clause constructions were in actuality finite constructions at a stage where hypotactic system was yet to evolve. Tamil and Telugu provide reasonable basis to trace the non-finite syntax to finite syntax.

4. In early Tamil, past and non-past finite verbs do not hesitate to assume the modifier function. Traditional grammarians treat the finite verbs in such function as *muṟṟeccam* i.e., finite participle. In Sangam classics non-past predicate verbs of *ceyku* and *ceykam* types are not prohibited from assuming the infinitive function, subject to the condition that the matrix predicates are first person singular and plural respectively.[2] This constraint is imposed mainly because of the fact that the verbs of *ceyku* and *ceykam* types are first person singular and plural respectively. The fact that a non-past finite verb of personal type can assume the infinitive function is a clear testimony that the infinitive verbs of impersonal type namely *ceya* type, are identifiable as members of finite system of impersonal type at an earlier stage. Verbs of *ceya* type functioning as optative predicate in early Tamil is worth considering in this context.[3] However, we are uncertain at the moment whether optatives constitute a definite source to infinitive in Dravidian in general, and Tamil in particular.

5. Quite interestingly, two of the non-finite verbs namely verbs of *ceyyiya* and *ceyyiyar* types referred to in Tolkappiyam (Col.Cēṉā.228) are infinitive in function in non-finite clause but optative in finite clause in early Tamil. This suggests that optative predicate might be held as one of the sources to infinitive.

6. Past finite verbs in early Tamil are noticed to share the function of verbal participles.[4] Rarely, even relative participles in middle Tamil are in free variation with finite verbs of personal type (Kothandaraman, R. 1990:76).

These provide substantial evidence to treat the non-finite verbs in general, and infinitives, verbal participles, and relative participles in particular were members of finite system in the early stage of Dravidian syntax. What is significant is that the early predicate system was of impersonal type, a fact which is deduced from the impersonal character of the non-finite verbs in the synchronic syntax attested in historical period. The functional convergence of the finite system of personal type with non-finite system of impersonal type is just a reflection of the fact that the pre-proto syntax in Dravidian was associated with a predicate system of impersonal type. Incidentally this implies that the predicate system of personal type in Dravidian is a later development. This is supported by the fact that the personal terminations in the verbal system obtained in Tamil are treated in Kothandaraman (1990: 48) as cliticized versions of personal pronouns or personal verbs referring to Be or copula verb.

7. We have no reason to maintain that the non-finite system which is impersonal in character is a complementary variant of finite system of personal type attested in main clause constructions. This implies that the subordinate clause constructions functioned as finite clause in the pre proto Dravidian syntax, and following the emergence of a finite system of personal type, sentences with impersonal predicate system became context restricted assuming the status of subordinate clause. If this course of development had not taken place, the entire system of impersonal finite verbs might have become extinct, and the verbals of non-finite clause constructions would have been identical with verbal system of personal type profusely attested later in finite clause constructions.

8. What would have happened if the Dravidian linguistic system had not developed a finite system of personal type? Although this is highly speculative, Malayalam and Japanese provide some evidence to predict the development. Both these languages have a finite system of impersonal type.[5] In Malayalam past verbal constructions of *ceytu* type and non-past verbals of *ceyyum* type function as verb and noun modifiers respectively besides performing predicate function. In Japanese, the finite system is capable of assuming the noun modifier function.[6] The situation obtained in Malayalam and Japanese suggests that if a linguistic system is devoid of a finite system of personal type, the impersonal finite system has the scope being exploited in the subordinate and relative clause constructions to assume various participial functions. When the finite system assumes the participial status, it undergoes certain changes. For instance, speaking with reference to Tamil, optative predicates of *ceya, ceyyiya* and *ceyyiyar* types lose the optative significance while assuming infinitive function. Impersonal past verbals of *ceytu* types lose the morphological

significance of tense when they function as verbal participle. The action represented by verbal participle takes place earlier than the matrix action. Hence the past in verbal participle is syntactic in character. Past impersonal verbals of *ceyin* and *ceytāl* types lose the tense significance, and assume the conditional sense in the non-finite clause.[7] Added to this, Equi-NP deletion rule is pressed into service to delete the NP in the matrix clause without which the hypotactic syntax cannot be achieved.

9. When the impersonal finite system is replaced by personal one, it happens that certain types of impersonal finite verbs assume the personal status. However, the fact of their being impersonal earlier is exposed in the non-finite syntax. Verbals of *ceyyum* type in Tamil is a very good case in point. In early Tamil, verbal system of this type can admit third person human singular and non-human subject NPs as their subject. In modern Tamil only non-human NPs can function as subject for these verbal constructions. This constraint is ignored when *ceyyum* verbs function as noun modifier. Nouns of all the three persons have the scope of being modified by *ceyyum* verbs in relative clause constructions. This furnishes valuable evidence to maintain that *ceyyum* verbs come from a family of finite system of impersonal type.

10. If in a finite paradigm of personal type, a particular finite verb admits more than one gender NP as its subject, it can be reasonably suspected to have come from a family of finite system of impersonal type even if it has no occasion to figure in non-finite syntax. In old Telugu, we come across a situation with the third person finite verbs admitting nouns of masculine and non-masculine genders, and non-human plural nouns as their subject. Eg. *vaṇḍ-e-nu* 'he/she/it/they cooked' (Bh. Krishnamurthy 1972:190). Dravidian languages, as a matter of fact, cannot be claimed to maintain foolproof subject-predicate agreement system. Cases such as those illustrated from Tamil and Telugu have volumes to speak on the existence of a finite system of impersonal type in the early stages of the linguistic system obtained in Dravidian.

11. Although impersonal finite syntax is reduced to the status of non-finite syntax following the emergence of a finite syntax of personal type, extra linguistic factors play a role in retaining the traces of impersonal finite system in restricted contexts. The following constructions with impersonal predicate system are not unusual in Tamil and Telugu.

1. (a) *uṅga piḷḷa eppa vantā -pale* (Spoken Tamil)
   (b) *mī koḍuku eppuḍu occin-aṭṭu*(*ka*) (Telugu)
       'When did your (hon.) son come?'

2. (a) *uṅga piḷḷa eppa varā -pale* (Spoken Tamil)
   (b) *mi koḍuku eppuḍu occe-ṭu*(*ka*) (Telugu)
     'When will your (hon.) son come'?

The impersonal predicates illustrated in Telugu examples are dialect variants.[8] The sentence types under illustration cannot be used freely. In a situation with speaker, hearer, and referent, where the speaker respects the hearer, but not the referent, the foregoing sentences are used with a view not to offend the hearer considering his relation to the referent. Notice the impersonal past and non-past predicate verbs of the types figuring in the examples in (1) and (2) are of complex type. These complex verbal systems are products resulting from the combination of non-lexical verb which in complement clause constructions is identified as complementizer.

    12. We will consider the complexity of the impersonal predicate system noticed in (1) and (2) in a little more detail with reference to the complement syntax of the following types from Tamil and Telugu.

3. (a) *maṉu nēṟṟu*   *vantāṉ* + *eṉru*   *vantat* + (*āka* —)*k*   *kēḷvippaṭṭēṉ* (**Tamil**)
          vantār + *pōla*

          vaccināṇḍu ǁ ṇṭa]
   (b) *manu ninna*   *vaccindi* + *ka*   *vinapaḍiti* (**Telugu**)
          vaccin + *aṭṭu*(*ka*)
     '(I) heard that Manu came yesterday'

4. (a) *maṉu nāḷa*   *varukiṟāṉ* + *eṉṟu*   *varukirat* + (*āka* —)*k*   *kēḷvippaṭṭēṉ* (**Tamil**)
          varukiṉṟār + *pōla*

          vastāṇḍu + ṇṭa]
   (b) *manu rēpu*   *vaccēdi* + *ka*   *vinapaḍiti* (Telugu)
          vaccē + *ṭu* (*ka*)
     '(I) heard that Manu would come tomorrow'

    13. Notice the first version of the complement clause in (3) and (4) involves a finite system of personal type followed by the complementizers *eṉru* (Tamil) and *-ṇṭa* (<*anuṭa) (Telugu). However, this is not the case in the remaining versions associated with the complementizers *āka* and *pōla* in Tamil, and *ka*, *aṭṭu(ka)*, and *-ṭu(ka)* in Telugu.[9] The verbal system occurring before these complementizers is impersonal in character. Since the impersonal verbs *vantat(u)/vantāl*, and *vaccindi/vaccin* in (3), and *varukirat(u)/varukiṟāl*, and *vaccēdi/vaccē* in (4) are in complementary distribution with the corresponding

finite system of personal type, they are entitled to be treated as finite system of impersonal type. We have thus evidence in the synchronic syntax itself to maintain that Dravidian syntax is not devoid of impersonal finite system. This analysis reveals that in Telugu the past and non-past finite system of personal type is chronologically later than the impersonal finite system of *cēsin* and *cēsē* types, and the former has evolved from the latter. We are now certain that in the relative clause construction *amma cese pani* (Telugu) 'The work which the mother does', the non-past verbal *cēsē* is not a non-finite verb, but an impersonal finite verb in modifier function.

14. As for Tamil, constructions of *ceytār+pōl* and *ceykiṉrār+pōl* types attested in complement syntax are not found in early Tamil. However we come across constructions in early Tamil with *pōl(a)* preceded by finite verbs of personal type. Consider the following examples.

5. *nī-piḻait tāy-pōl naṉi-nā ṇiṉaiy-ē*   (Puṟam.43. 16&17)
    'you felt hurt as if you had offended me'

6. *kāṉalañ cērppaṉaik kaṇṭāy pōla-p*   (Kali.128. 6&7)
    putuvatu kaviṉiṉai
    'you are fascinatingly beautiful as if you have
    seen him who hails from the coastal region
    flourishing with Kāntaḷ plants'

7. *kaṭaikkaṇār kolvāṉ-pōl nōkki nakaikkūṭṭam*
    ceytāṉ-ak kaḷvaṉ makaṉ   (Kali.51. 15&16)
    'As if killing me by (his) corner eye, he the
    stealthy fellow looking at me smiles'

8. *ūtaiyañ cērppaṉai alaippēṉ pōlavum* (Kali.128. 18&19)
    'And as if I am harassing him who hails
    from the coastal region of shivering cold'

The personal verbs *piḻaittāy*(=*piḻaitt-āl*), *kaṇṭāy*(=*kaṇṭ-āl*), *kolvāṉ*(=*kolkiṉr-āl*) and *alaippēṉ*(=*alaikkiṉr-āl*) occurring before *pōl/pōla* can be replaced by corresponding impersonal verbs of *ceytāl* and *ceyki(ṉ)rāl* types. This offers further evidence to hold that the impersonal verbs of the types under reference are finite verbs occurring in restricted syntactic contexts. Since their occurrence is not found in early Tamil, they will be considered to have entered late into the fabric of literary Tamil from spoken dialects.

15. In conclusion, the impersonal verbs attested in non-finite syntax have reason to be identified as verbs occurring in finite syntax. This implies that the non-finite syntax attested in the evolution of complex sentence is a later

development in Dravidian, and in the early stages the entire finite system was of impersonal type, which following the emergence of a finite system of personal type was reduced to non-finite status.[10] However, the finite character of the impersonal system is internally ascertainable through various syntactic contexts and arguments.

Foot Notes

[1]Paratactic and hypotactic systems are explained in Martin Harris (1978: 257) thus: "In syntax, parataxis is the juxtaposition of clause without any overt marking of subordination. Thus for example, we may contrast 'Tell me: who is it?' with 'Tell me who it is' ….. The converse of parataxis is hypotaxis, where intraclausal relationships are made explicit. It is often claimed that paratactic structures characterize informal spoken styles whereas hypotactic structures are more typical of formal, written styles".

[2]Tolkappiyam has noted this phenomenon with respect to first person non-past singular finite verbal constructions of *ceyku* type (Tol.Col. Cēṉā.204).

[3]Consider the following examples from Aiṅkuṟnūṟū

    (1)   *aṟam naṉi ciṟakka* (7.2)
           'may the virtue flourish well'
    (2)   *ūraṉ tēr-em, muṉ-kaṭai niṟka* (5 - 6)
           'may the chariot of ūraṉ stop in our front-yard'
    (3)   *entaiyum koṭukka* (6.6)
           'may my father too give/offer-'
These examples are only partially good, since the optative with respect to weak verbs are of *ceyka* type, and not of *ceya* type. However, we consider that the optatives of weak verbs must have been of *ceya* type earlier, and due to the impact of *ceyka* type of strong verbs, *ceyka* type of weak verbs emerged later. In spoken Tamil, the optatives of weak verbs are of *ceya* type, and not of *ceyka* type.)

[4]Occasionally non-past verbal system of personal type associated with the empty morph -*an*- are noticed to be in free variation with verbal participles in early Tamil.

[5]In Japanese, "Verbs do not inflect with respect to person and number" (Susumu Kuno 1973: 27). This is restated elsewhere in Kuno (1978: 68) thus: "verbs, adjectives and copulas do not show number, person, and gender agreement."

[6]Consider the following examples from Susumu Kuno (1973):

1 (a)	*oozei no*	*hito ga*	*sono*	*mura ni*	*Kita*	(Finite clause)
	Many	people	the	village	came	
	'many people came to the village'					
(b)	*oozei no*	*hito ga*	*kita*	*mura*		(Relative clause)
	Many	people	came	village	(1973: 243)	
	'the village that many people came to'					
2 (a)	*taroo ga*	*seno*	*hon a*	*yonda*		(Finite clause)
	T	that	book	read		
	'Taroo read that book'					

    (b)   *taro ga*   *yonda*   *hon*   (Relative clause)
         T   read   book
         'The book that Taroo read'

[7]Conditional verbs of *ceyiṉ* type is problematic. It is not clear whether these verbs are traceable to past or non-past finite system. Verbs of *ceytāl* type occurring before the complementizer *pōl* are traceable to past finite system (e.g. *amaiccar vantāṟ+pōl/vantār+eṉṟu kēḷvipaṭṭēn* 'I heard that the minister came'). This provides evidence that conditional verbs of *ceytāl* type have the scope of being traced to past-finite system. Significantly, *ceyiṉ* type of conditional verbs behave like *ceytāl* type taking future predicate in the main clause. This testifies that *ceyiṉ* verbs are similar to *ceytāl* type in respect of tense.

[8]The impersonal predicates of *cēsin-aṭṭuka* and *cese-ṭuka* types in Telugu are attested in the speech of the author of this paper.

[9]The complementizer –ṭu (ka) occurring after non-past impersonal finite system of *cēsē* type is a complementary variant of *aṭṭu* (ka) occurring after past impersonal finite system of *cēsin* type.

[10]Emergence of a finite system of personal type is not a necessary condition for the development of non-finite system. There is no such thing as a finite system of personal type in Malayalam; and yet we notice the non-finite system in this language. It seems therefore that when a finite system is replaced by another one whether it is personal or impersonal the earlier system has the scope of being reduced to non-finite status.

Abbreviations

Cēnā.	-	Cēnāvaraiyam
Col.	-	Collatikāram
Kali.	-	Kalittokai
Puṟam.	-	Puṟanānūṟū
Tol.	-	Tolkāppiyam

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TRIBAL PAN-INDIANISM IN TAMILNADU, SOUTH INDIA

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Conceptual Framework

Throughout the Indian history there has been an unbounded cultural continuity and communication among its multi-ethnic, multi-religious and multi-linguistic communities. The communication was essentially both horizontal and vertical, which gradually perpetuated vibrant "multiculturalism" and "interculturalism" across the subcontinent.

Multiculturalism admits the essence of 'diversity' of cultures underscores their differences and reinforces segregation. On the other hand, 'interculturalism' supposes 'unification', acceptance of cultural dialogue, moderation and reciprocity. Both have overarching features in their dynamics. Over the centuries, tight connections existed between continuity and change, enabling intercultural dynamics in the form of "tribe-peasant-urban continuum." In this dynamics there had been a two way process in terms of parochialization and universalization that enmeshed the Indian cultural fabric into a great mosaic (Marriott 1989).

David G. Mandelbaum (1970: 587) observes this phenomenon as follows:

> "The assimilation of tribal groups has gone on for a very long time. The tribes of the Gangetic plain, according to D.D. Kosambi, were conquered by and assimilated into the kingdoms of Kosala and Magadha beginning in the sixth century B.C. (1965, pp.120-32). From the third century B.C. there are references to tribes in the edicts of Ashoka, as in this passage about Ashoka's benevolence."

The cultural and literary sources fused and diffused between the little and great traditions of India. In this process, the "tribalism" was imbided into "peasantism" and the "peasantism" was absorbed into "urbanism." There was a

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devolution process as well. Due to this, a linear continuum operated in the form of "tribal-peasantism" in rural India and a "peasant-tribalism" in tribal India. In the same way "peasant-urbanism" and "urban-peasantism" were also evolved over the course of civilizational process in India. These cultural processes gradually evolved the pan-Indianness, both horizontally and vertically across the subcontinent linking various social systems.

Among the tribal communities of each linguistic region in south India, there has been a vibrant process of "transtribalism" that has continued to exist over a long period of time. This process generated an inter-cultural dynamics as well. The social and institutional contexts that operated within the intercultural dynamics (an open-ended dynamics) paved the way for pan-Indian process. The processes of 'de-tribalization','re-tribalization' and 'Hinduization' were also operated all along the aforesaid dynamics.

Tribalism today in India is at a critical juncture. In particular, we often find it difficult to relate the tribal culture, in particular with its roots, to that of great tradition of India during this globalized context. In this situation, Indianists must try to evolve a cultural niche in order to enhance new levels of understanding of pan-Indianism from tribal cultures. Unwritten languages and their oral literary sources will certainly open a new avenue for exploring this kind of ventures.

Tribalism is in principle a sub-domain in Indian culture. However, understanding of tribalism through its languages and literatures will open new linkages for identifying pan-Indianism. Tribal and folklore scholars need to explore the uses of 'lores' and other oral literary sources for understanding pan-Indianism across the sub-continent. We need to understand the process beyond the age-old monothetic dichotomy (i.e. "little and great traditions") and elaborating through interactive and transdisciplinary perspectives, i.e., through cross-cultural anthropology, cross-cultural folklore and cross-cultural linguistics. The theoretical approaches for the pan-Indianism research needs to be developed further through transdisciplinary paradigms with theoretical frameworks and methodological approaches.

The Tamil Context

Unwritten languages in the Tamil linguistic region are mostly spoken by the tribal communities. There are 37 tribal speech communities in this region, of which 8 have Kannada influence, five Malayalam, two Telugu, one Tulu (spoken by Malaikudi). However, fifteen of them are Tamil dialects. The last one enlisted is Vaagriboli, an Indo-Aryan language spoken by the Narikuravar (Vaagri). Both Toda and Kota are not much influenced by the

literary languages of Dravidian family (Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada and Telugu).

This paper tries to explore the pan-Indian characteristics in the non-literary or oral corpus of the tribal communities in the Tamil region. The great Indian epic Ramayanam and Mahabharatham contain clear references of the Tamil kingdoms. Such epic traditions exist all over India, but the fact is that they differ from region to region and from community to community. The narrative length and the contents of the epics differ considerably across the subcontinent.

The unwritten literary sources of tribal communities in the Tamil region are unique in nature. The myths, legends, tales and other oral sources underwent much geographic diffusion over its long history. These literary sources demonstrate the value of the study of oral tradition for understanding the cultural history of little known communities as well as the great tradition of India, and the continuum existing between these two ends.

The oral literary sources of the unwritten languages of the tribal communities in the Tamil region encounter a literary engagement of numerous archaic features such as Aadhi-Shiva (proto-Shiva), Aadhi - Vishnu (proto-Vishnu), Lord Rama's genealogical connection, Lord Krishna's linkages, and other connections with the characters of Ramayanam and Mahabharatham. In India, in general, various cultural levels coexist in a dynamic and dialectal relationship. This aspect has to be unearthed in detail using tribal data.

Scholars like M.B. Emeneau (1994) have already tried to explore the possible links between the Sanskrit poetical convention in the literary sources of Toda and a few other tribal communities. The mythological and song phraseology, poetic conventions, ritualistic acculturation, and other sources of influences made the tribal communities forming a continuum between 'little tradition' and 'great tradition' of Indian civilization.

There is a need to study the literary sources of unwritten languages of India from 'bottom-up' method, as it will offer us a better vantage point for understanding the 'tribal-mainstream' continuum in the Indian cultural milieu. Such understanding will strengthen the reconstruction of a temporal pattern of development and diffusion among the cultures of India. This paper aims to examine the said agenda in view of recent ethnographic studies in Tamilnadu.

Pan-Indianism: Religious Domain
Tribal Vaishnavism

The Todas of Nilgiris have been influenced by Hinduism, and they worship Siva at Nanjengod temple near Mysore, and Vishnu at Karamadai near Coimbatore and other nearby shrines whereat they worship, present votive offerings and pray for the wellbeing. Way back in 1870s Breeks (1873) remarked that Todas have of late begun to imitate the religious practices of their native neighbours. They started smearing Siva spot on their foreheads and removing hair on the head. Now-a-days the Toda pantheon includes Hindu gods. Anthony Walker (1986: 287) notes as follows:

> "From the market come pictorial representations of Hindu gods and goddesses: Siva and his consort Parvati, his sons Ganesa and Subramanyam; Visnu and his consort Lakshmi and his several incarnations, especially Krishna and Rama. These images occupy a place of honour in many a Toda household, and I have seen a complete 'gods' room' in one Toda house."

From time immemorial the Toda worship *Kavurtu Dou,* the Toda form of Vishnu at Kaaramadai village near Mettupalyam at the foot hills of Nilgiris near Coimbatore city. In early days there was no idol for Vishnu; only a lamp was there.

The Kotas of Nilgiris, who are the only tribe in India doing all the Pancha Kammala works (they are excellent artisans doing blacksmithy, goldsmithy, silversmithy, carpentery, tannery, rope-making, pottery and music rendering) worship Siva and his consort in the names of Kaamatraaya and Kaalikai at Kotagiri region. According to their legend Kaamatraaya wiped off three drops of perspiration from his forehead and from these drops the ancient hill tribes Todas, Kotas and Kurumbas were originated. During the 12 day of the annual festival of Kaamatraaya, the Todas, Badagas, Kurumbas, Irulas and Hindus come to the Kota village on the 9th day for witnessing the performance of an elaborate nautch. This annual intercultural continuum strongly binds all these communities.

The Badaga and Irula interrelationship in Nilgiri culture is a unique one. In Nilgiris the Rangasaami peak is one of the highest mountains (1788 m) which is crowned by a Vaishnavite shrine. Two megalithic circles (stone basins) represent Lord Ranga and his consort. The hereditary priest (*pujari*) of this shrine is an Irula. However, the Lingayat Badagas, who are following Lingayatism (Virashaivism) offer an annual propitiation by offering plantains, milk and coconuts through the Irula priest. The Rangasaami peak has been a

place of *punyasthala* (place of virtue) for Hindus from the plains (Breeks 1873: 70; Macleane 1893: 373; Dubois 1906: 196; Francis 1908: 340; Hockings 1980: 127). The Krishna drama performances of Irulas also attract the Badagas. Such tribal Hinduism gradually gained influences of 'Sanskritization' in the Nilgiris over the centuries.

The Irulas are yet another autochthonous tribe in the Nilgiris. However, their annual festival cycle embraces a classic example for the "little tradition and great tradition continuum." At the foot-hills of the Nilgiris, Kaaramadai, there is a popular Vishnu temple; there the presiding deity Ranganaathar visits a nearby abode of his second wife, Bettathamman (lit.: *betta* = 'hill', *amman*= 'goddess', an Irula bride) during His annual festival. On knowing Vishnu's visit to Bettathamman, the presiding consort at the Kaaramadai abode stops Ranganaathar at the threshold of the temple and beats Him, refuses to allow Him inside the sanctum sanctorum and later allows Him inside the temple. This shows that Ranganaathar enjoys the sphere of double bride, but His consort of higher class does not legitimise it.

Kamil Zvelebil (1988: 137-8) provides a different account on Ranganaathar. He describes that the Vishnu at Rangasaami peak in the Nilgiris and at the Kaaramadai abode are brothers. Emeneau (1937-8) and Mandelbaum (1941) had accounted that Kotas also come down from the Nilgiris during the annual festival at Kaaramadai for worshipping Ranganaathar. Different versions of Ranganaathar myth maintain that these sites of Lord Vishnu are parts of the "folk" and "classical" continuum. Thus, Lord Vishnu not only finds a place both in the little and great traditions, but continues to interact between them in the form of "tribe-folk continuum" or "little tradition and great tradition continuum."

The Muduvan menfolk inhabiting in Western Ghats observe 30 day fasting for the annual propitiation of 'Aatkonda Perumaal' (Lord Vishnu). While the Konda Reddis of western Tamilnadu worship Lord Vishnu as 'Veedap Perumaal' (lit.: 'Vishnu, the hunter'). As the Konda Reddis were once hunter-gatherers they attributed their features on their God as well. Both these tribal *avatar*-s of Lord Vishnu reflect its proto-form. There is an age old Vishnu temple at Mahendrampalli near Kollidam in Sirkali taluk, Tamil Nadu. There, the Lord Kothandaraaman (Vishnu) holds bow and arrow on his hands which could be ascertained as the proto-form of Vishnu.

Malaiyaalis (lit.: *malai* 'hill' and *yaali* 'dweller') are the numerically dominant tribe in Tamilnadu, who worship different icons of Siva, Vishnu, Ganesh and Murugan apart from other indigenous deities. However, the worship

of Lord Rama (locally Raaman) is prevalent in many villages. In Kalvarayan hills located in Villuppuram district Lord Vishnu is known in the form of 'Ilaya Raaman' (lit.: 'young Rama'). Temples for Ilaya Raaman is found in a number of villages like Kalluppatti, Chellangkuricchi, Karumanthurai, etc. In some villages like Thekkampattu, the deity is known as 'Kariya Raaman' (lit.: 'black Rama'). While in some places the deity is known as 'Perumaal'.

The term 'Ilaya Raaman' literally refers to Lord Vishnu, a youthful Rama, whereas in ancient Tamil Sangam classics this term is used with the meaning "Warrior" (Tamil Maravar). Similarly, the term 'Kariya', though literally means the black colour Lord Vishnu, again in Sangam poetry it means "beauty", i.e., the handsome look of Lord Vishnu (Bharathi 2017: 255-56).

Some Vishnu temples in this region are regarded as 'Chinna Tirupati' (lit.: 'small Tirupati - a replica of Tirupati in Andhra Pradesh). As Vishnu is a pan-Indian deity and it belongs to great tradition, the Malaiyaalies offer vegetarian offerings to Lord Vishnu. For other indigenous deities they offer *muppuucai* (offering of three kinds of sacrifices – pig, goat and fowl).

During the annual festivals, the episodes from Ramayanam or Mahabharatham are enacted during the whole of night hours in the name of *kuuthu* (Nallathambi 2011:152-59). Harichandra story, Aravaan story, Krishna lila, Iraniyan episode, Kamsan story, Mahabharatha war, Bharathan & Dharmar consecration, Karna mootsham, etc., are the well known *kuuthu*'s.

Tribal Saivism

The Toda creation myth says that 'Bettuga Somi' (an avatar of Siva) created the universe. Ambalakkoottai near Wynad border is the place where Siva is workshipped by the Todas. This is the place where Lord Siva originated for the first time on the earth. Each Toda goes to this place at least once in a year. The Malai Vedan (lit.: 'hill hunter') tribal people inhabiting in southern Tamilnadu trace their descent through Kannappa Naayanaar, one of the 64 Aachaaryars who propagated the Saivism in the Tamil region, who offered his eyes as a woe to Siva. The genealogical pride is exemplified in the worship of Lord Siva and his progenies Lord Vinaayagar (Ganesh) and his younger brother Lord Murugan (Kaarthigeyaa). During 13th century the Nayak kings of Vijayanagar empire extended their rule in Madurai in Tamilnadu and accommodated the Malai Vedan as territorial guards. Having started enjoying the royal patronage from the Nayak kings, the Malai Vedan gradually acculturated themselves with the worship of the Nayak's Lord Perumal, the supreme deity of Vaishnavism. Since then, they strongly believe that

Lord Perumal undertakes a night patrol and guards their hamlets and gardens on the hills.

The Ganesh worship is also prominent among them. Whenever they come across bad omen or whenever they start a new deed they begin it with Ganesh worship. Hinduization process slowly gained momentum with the royal patronage and its related sources. Even after the Nayak's rule was uprooted by the Delhi Sultans the belief system continues to exist till date.

The Muduvan tribe of Western ghats exhibit a strong web of pan-Indian characteristics through their pantheonic structure and worship pattern. They have an elaborate pantheon of about 24 deities, of which 10 gods are related to great tradition. They are as follows: 1. Murugan, 2. Sokkar(Siva), 3. Miinaakshi Amman, 4. Rama, 5. Krishna, 6. Kaamaakshi Amman, 7. Lakshmi, 8. Saraswathi, 9. Vinaayagar (Ganesh), 10. Garuda Bhagavaan (vulture, the vehicle of Lord Vishnu).

One section of Muduvan traces their mythical ancestor with Lord Rama. Their forefathers had guarded Sita when she was in exile in the forest. A stone representing Lord Rama is always placed nearby their communal deity, Lord Murugan. Annual propitiation is offered by cooking *pongal* (boiled raw rice). They make a pilgrimage every year during the month of *thai* (January – February) to one of the six famous abodes of Lord Murugan, Palani hills, on the occasion of an auspicious festival called *thai puusam.* Since Muduvans were migrated from Madurai region of Paandya king they worship the goddess Miinaakshi for the welfare of their livelihood. The abode of Lord Siva in Maraiyur- Kovilkadavu area is their temple (Then Kaasi Naathar temple), where *anju kiraamathaar* (lit.: 'people of five villages) collectively celebrate the annual festival there. *Kaarthigai tiibam* and *Siva raatri* are the other important festivals celebrated in this temple by the Muduvan tribe. Godesses Lakshmi, Saraswati and Sri Iyappa in Sabari hills in Kerela also find a place in their pantheon.

The Literary Domain
Tribal Epics

The Todas are said to believe in their descent from Pancha Pandavas (five Pandavas). Their earlier practice of 'fraternal polyandry' (marrying a woman by all the brothers) was one such evidence for their link with Pandavas, they claim. The Toda people recalling some items of ethnohistory related to Mahabharatha mythology. The Todas have unique barrel-vaulted dairies, an ecologically significant structure. Now-a-days the front and rear walls are made of stones rather than the traditional wood. In the front walls carvings of

buffaloes, sun, moon and even the five Pandava brothers of Mahabharatha are made.

The Todas say that Pandavas came here to Muthu naadu (one of their settlements) in Nilgiris during their course of journey before the great war. They also claim that the Bhima begotten his son here in Muthu naadu. The Toda have many kinds of links with Mahabharatha. One significant link is as follows: During rainy season, whenever they hear heavy thunderbolts they say "Arjuna!, Arjuna!" (in Toda language Ajuna, Ajuna – 'r' is silent in Toda). In another legend the Toda claims that their deity destroy the demons 'Korte' and saved the people from the unruly demons (personal communication from Vasamalli, 21.02.2017).

For long been the Toda attempts to identify with the Hindu mainstream. The Toda text of EmeneauTGT 174 about a faithful and a faithless wife is identical with the theme in Ramayana. Professor Emeneau's data on Toda, Kota and Irula tales (story 23, 187-375) and many other tale motifs reflect the strong connection with great epics of India.

The Toda bards are singing songs on their origin myth. The basic structure of pan-Indian epic pattern studied by scholars indicates a tripartite classification, i.e., 1.martial, 2. sacrificial, and 3. Romantic. The Toda epics fit well with this tripartite pattern. Brenda Beck (1989), who studied Tamil epics advocates that one standard pattern of heroic alliance in Indian epics is the triangle formed by two brothers and the wife of one of them. This archetype forms the basis for elevation of other motifs and patterns. According to Brenda Beck that folk epics reflect a tripartite characterization of heroes at the core: 1. A lead hero or heroine; 2. A secondary male; 3. A secondary female. Such pan-Indian epic pattern is attested in Toda songs as well.

Kotas prefer to have personal names from Mahabharata characters. Richard K. Wolf's (a famous ethnomusicologist) informant name was Duryodana (Wolf 1997: 237). His father's name was Raman (Tamilized form of Lord Rama) (ibid: 275). Such ethnonymic features are common among tribal communities in Tamilnadu.

Rama and Sita took two wild cats, one male and one female, and allowed to change into a man and a woman, and that is how the first Irula pair came into being. Then the gods taught them how to live on earth (Zvelebil 1990:167). There is another version that Rama and Sita created the Irulas out of dust and ashes (ibid:170).

Ramayana is enrouted and diffused throughout the Indian subcontinent across tribal, peasant and urban communities. However, versions differ from region to region. In this process, replication and supplementation (or fission and fusion process) overarched throughout the history, thus forming 'many Ramayanas'. In Badaga epic Rama can be equated with Belli, Lakshmana with Kadare, Ravana with Senna Modali, and Sita with Solemaadi (Hockings 1997: 313). Scholars have informed about the other such versions which slightly differ from the known corpus (cf. Paula Richman 1991). These versions of oral epics in India are functioning to tell a community's ethnohistory and keep the social memory of community's self-identity (Blackburn, *et al*. 1989).

The numerically dominant Malaiyali tribe in Tamilnadu, who are inhabiting in a number of hills in Eastern ghats have an expanded parallel for Siva and Parvathi, called as Naachchappaa (Siva) and Naachchammaa (Parvathi). Such correspondences are attested in different ways among some other tribes. They enact the episodes from the Mahabharata and Ramayana during their annual festivals of village deities.

David G. Mandelbaum (1970: 586) observes this assimilation process as follows:

> "The transition in religious outlook shifts a tribesman from a close and knowable cosmos to a vast universe that is unknowable in all its reaches. Much of the knowledge in the more complex religion is vested in scriptures that are in the keeping of specialist jatis. The daily discipline of one's own body and mind becomes a main arena of religious observance. In the course of the shift some elements of the tribal religion are incorporated into the pragmatic complex and others are merged with Saskritic deities and rites"

Epilogue

This paper tries to explore the roots of pan-Indianism among tribal communities in Tamilnadu. The adoption of Hinduization and recognizing Ramayanam and Mahabharatham as their own tradition form the major basis for pan-Indianism. Hinduization widens all along the increasing opportunities of social and economic scenario among the tribal communities. The Toda, Kota and Irula way of acculturating towards worshipping Hindu deities reflects a sense of 'social differences' on one hand, and 'religious similarities' on the other hand. The tribalness of each endogamous tribal community is recognised through their traditional identities. Yet, all these tribes assume religious similarity by the way of Hinduization process. It is one such major process

through which the tribes are trying to attain internal development and external changes.

The direction of Hinduization among tribes in Tamilnadu is a two-way process: one is moving towards mainstream culture; and the other one is retaining the tribal identity for getting benefits of welfare schemes and education-cum-job opportunities. Now-a-days livelihood opportunities are opened up through welfare schemes of the Central and State governments. The colonial scenario introduced plantation estates, tea/coffee factories and horticultural developments. All these collectively enabled the tribals a new avenue of material changes which had altogether pushed them towards mainstream culture. Such social changes are one among the factors of influencing Hinduization.

The attractions of Hindu society for tribal people are manifold. Virtually majority of tribes men are now shifting towards Hindu characteristics. Their ancient antipathy toward Hindusim and *jati* culture have been bolstered by their mainstream contacts. With the increasing contact with the non-triblas the tribals offer rice, flower, coconuts, plantain in front of the deities. While concluding the note on "Toda Verbal Art and Sanskritization", Professor Emeneau (1994: 427) says that Sanskritic culture has, indeed, been all-pervasive in India.

Due to modernity and exposure through modern education and modern employment the tribal communities in Tamilnadu are gradually accepting the attitudes and values of contemporary Indian civilization. However, being small communities they try to retain, in midcourse, all essential traditionalities and identities. Richard K. Wolf (1997: 237) notes that "the image of the tribal as the 'primeval Indian' is refashioned and reaffirmed in public displays such as Republic Day, when in the town of Ootacamund the Todas, Kotas, and Irulas are called to sing, dance, and play in full costume." Thus, tribals come closer to Indianness through participatory revitalization movements.

The autochthonous elements seen among the tribal versions seem to be typical and unique in the Tamil context. Many episodes are quite unique and have their own characteristics. Tribes have incorporated many tiny units, but have not altered the main epic themes. The *kuthu*'s enacted by the Malaiyaalis are piece-meal in nature. Many famous episodes of Mahabharata are enacted during the annual festivals of Mariamman temples.

Although tribes generally have well-defined regional extensions, across many hills and forest tracts in Tamilnadu one could come across a number of geographical locations transcending the epic characters of both the epics.

Rocks, water holes, unusual locations and other typical hilly places are named after Rama, Sita, Pandavas and other related characters of these epics. Thus, these epics attract vast and varied creeds and faiths of Indian subcontinent that are deep rooted in tribal cultures in terms of topographical and geographical locations. Similarly, tribal Saivism and Vaishnavism also transcend such geographical locations in the names of Lord Siva and Vishnu.

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THE EXODIC EXPERIENTIA OF KANNAGI: SPATIO-TEMPORAL IMPLICATIONS

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Prologue

Kannagi myth prevails in both southern provinces of India and in other linguistic communities with full vital verve. It still maintains its being of existentiality by continuously presenting its *esse* in the genres of literary lore, legendic orality, bardic minstrelsy and performance-art traditions. The incessant existence of this myth could be understood by deciphering the representations made by the concerned socio-cultural entities of thought traditions and epistemic elements. The core element of Kannagi myth lies in the exodic diaspora of Kannagi, wherein are embedded the cultural psyche, conceptualizations and traditions. By only comprehending these, the basic dialectical thought process of the Tamil tradition could be understood, for which, this article attempts to.

Literary Lore and Socio-Archetypal Mindscape

From Time immemorial, the Cultural repertoire has been overwhelming with the contents of myths, legendary sagas, worshipping cults, system of beliefs, rites and rituals as well as epistemic and cognitive resources. These have been continuously making their manifestations by way of giving vent to the expressions of various genres: oral lores, written literatures, material artefacts and performance arts. The registries of these have been considerably analytically studied with relevance to language, literature and grammar. However, the cultural stereotypes, technical acumens and the scientific know-how registries have been only to a some extent studied either the Tamil conceptual paradigm or the theoretical paradigm. The perspectives of language, grammar and literature, the Tamil epistemological aspects of *akam* vs *puṟam*, romance vs heroism, primary, secondary and specific and thematic attributes (*mutal, karu* and *uri*), the pentafold domains of landscape and prosody are

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interpreted to the extent of sufficiency according to the tenets of language, grammar and literature. Studies have been made with the perspective of comparing the other languages, literatures and grammatical theories of the world with the linguistic, literary and grammatical theories of Tamil. The distinctly unique aspects of grandeurs of Tamil are being expounded well.

It seems to be highly significant that the Kannagi tale/myth has been found well embedded in the deeper layers of the Tamil cultural repertoire. For about ages, the lore of history of Kannagi has become an oral legacy among the Tamils. This myth of Kannagi, with its various versions and variants has been found not only in the Tamil cultural region but also being found among the Dravidian cultures with its entire relevant links prevailing among other regions, nations and their linguistic cultures, too.

Because of the intrinsic structures embedded within that tale/myth with various versions and variations and its persistence imply that this tale/myth has become a part and parcel of the cultural repertoire by virtue of its of fixed motifeme/mytheme. The incessant continuity of motifeme/mytheme being prevalent in one linguistic socio-culture or in many for about centuries together strengthens its unique originality and also that indicates the psychic structure and dynamic paradigms of that so-called cultural ethos. Obviously, this motifeme/mytheme has been articulated through the forms of musical operas/ farces, performances and by their textual dramaturgies. By these typical forms of variant genres of literature, they make outward expressivities among the social groups. It is also a factuality that these cultural manifestations bring out an incessant dynamics among the mindscapes of the social groups persistently.

As per the communication theory, every text has an author, a reader and a medium. Similarly, in the same way for any text of historicity, literati, performing artists, itinerant minstrels, commentators, scribes are to be deemed as the authors. At the same time they have been playing the roles of both the performers and the creators, by reproducing, recreating and retransforming the same text by their never ending processes of enactments. However, the entire social group itself takes the role of being its reader as well as by rereading that, it expresses that very imbibed essence through its responsive behaviours. If the myth of Kannagi has been cherished under so many forms of genres of literature for about centuries together, then, there must be an indispensible motifeme/mytheme and that must be no other thing except the archetype of the collective psyche according to the studies of psychoanalysis. It will become easier to comprehend the psychodynamics of the socio-culture retained in its collective cultural ethos by exploring into the intrinsic elements embedded in the motifeme/mythifeme to the point of fully understanding its dynamic

dialectics. For what any ancient society handing down to the forthcoming postereity, the elements of its motifemes will become a good platform for posing many questions: they can be briefed under three heads of queries. 1. Why at all a myth has its continuous existence in any given society's collective socio-cultural consciousness? 2. Which is the specific thematic item that stamps its seal mark of identity on any society's cultural praxis? 3. Under what significance such seal mark of identity does get its semiotic emphasis in the collective socio-cultural consciousness? These typical queries will be demanding expositions for the ways of the society's systemic observations, cognitions, ratiocinations, conceptualizations and theorizations too. The collective consciousness of a society stands demanding explications for its everyday existential behaviours sprouting out of the society's fountain head of its core essence comprising the praxis of macrocosmic and microcosmic entities of knowledge.

Tamil Culture and its *Epistemes*

What is meant by the *episteme* of a society? Episteme could be defined as the total comprehensibility of the society's basis formed from the concrete elements for its continuity of mundane existence, adduced out of its living conditions or socio-cultural milieu. In that way, the very episteme itself becomes the embodiment of that society's experiential perceptions, observations, discerning acumen and so on. Only these entities of totality come to be deemed as the episteme of that society. These epistemic propensities become the essential rudiments of any society's cultural behaviouristic kinesis or they constitute the core *esse* of any society. Out of these entities of epistemology alone any society's cultural code of behaviours, tendencies and dynamics are constructed. At this juncture, the Tamil cultural study demands to know about the epistemic elements constituting its culture. And, in which way the worldview, the code of behaviours and the dynamics of the Tamil society are constructed by that epistemic knowledge yet stands to be unearthed further.

Each and every society might have got embedded in its core of life paradigm the basics of its epistemic elements in the vogue of its cultural lores, customs and conventions, institutions, language and literatures as well as in its grammar of languages. Only this pivotal core of culture alone becomes the driving force and also becomes its rudimental law of its dynamics. Amidst this, the Marxian dialectical materialism has posited that the basis of the entire world society's dynamics lies upon the condition of economic sufficiency versus economic disparity. As per Marxism, this is the fundamental rudiments of the social system; and the other superstructures are built upon it. The very same has been substantiated by the prehistoric philosophy of the Greek as the 'real' and

the 'ideal' and also the successive schools of the other Grecian and European schools of philosophy, some with the tint of religious ideology and other without the pigment of religionism have tried with the same dichotomy of binary contradictions under various nomenclatures put forth. This very dichotomy of the binary contradiction has been propounded by the twentieth century's psychoanalysis under the domain of the unconscious mind versus conscious mind. Linguistics has propounded the same under the binary categorisation of competence versus performance or act, langue versus parole, and the exact sciences present the same as potential energy versus kinetic energy. Almost all of these philosophic systems have tried their level best to define the world/universe under the binary opposites of the abovementioned systemic dichotomies. Hence, all those philosophical theoretical concepts have tried their level best, that, only because of the friction amidst the elements of contradiction paves way for the dynamism of our so called world or universe.

However, the Tamil culture has identified this epistemological core as a precursor comprehensively. The Tamil social mind has holistically integrated in toto, the human social life with the understanding of the laws of nature and the laws of universe as well. It is to be indicated, that, the Tamil culture has considered the epistemology not as per the philosophical traditions of undermining them as pairs of binaries as per the thought system, but, under the categorization of 1. five landscape mores (*aintiṉai*–five *tiṉai*-s), 2. *akam* (interiorscape) and *puṟam* (exteriorscape) and 3. *Tiṉai* - based behaviourism living morales (*ku:ṭal*-communion, *pirital*-act of separation, *iruttal*-being in domicility and *u:ṭal-pseudoqualms, iraṅkal*-pining. These three conceptions under entitled categories of the Tamil literature and grammar have been treated only as if they were related to literature alone. However, these three categories are very elegantly and logically integrated and amalgamated with not only the life science of the Tamils, but also, the life science of the universal human beings. In that way, the Tamil social elements of the above mentioned three categories of *mutal*,   *karu* and *uri* concepts   have   paved   the   way   for understanding the epistemological resource of the Tamil society.

Space and Time in Tamil Culture

Among the three significant specifics of Tamil epistemology, the *mutal poruḷ* signifies the primary substance/essence of the *cosmos*. And, the *karup poruḷ* and *the urip poruḷ* are deemed to be the secondary/accidental elements. There is no possibility for any type of interpretative exposition of anything related with Tamil culture by excluding the primary substance from the semantics of Tamil culture. Both the *karup poruḷ* and the *urip poruḷ* render

the *mutal poruḷ with* its essential qualitative characteristics of cultural ethos. However, the *mutal poruḷ* may stand by itself denoting the essential characteristics. Nevertheless, the *mutal poruḷ* is a stable and invariable constant. All the attributes pertinent to both the *karup poruḷ* and *urip poruḷ* may or may not substantiate the very core essence of *mutal poruḷ* . Moreover, both of them are variables. To be brief, *the essence of a thing is that which constitutes it intrinsically, making it what it is*. So, the Tamil society has defined the primary substance i.e., *mutal poruḷ* as a holistic *integer* of spatio-time, in toto. Similarly, both the secondary elements i.e., *karup poruḷ* and *urip poruḷ* are also defined by the Tamil society under the classified categories of nature and its modicums. No other culture except the Tamil culture alone has placed before the world this rudimentary exposition even many centuries before. Furthermore, this paradigmatic exposition of the cosmos by the Tamil society has been elegantly registered not only in the written literary scripts but also in the cultural patterns of its living.

Tamil culture has dichotomically categorised the primordial primary substance of the cosmos as landscape and timescape; a fivefold *tiṇai* landscape paradigm comprising *akam*, *puṟam* behavioural patterns; and, the timescape paradigm comprising six segments as seasonal and diurnal ones. With these two dichotomical categories the dimensions of both the *akam* and *puṟam* behavioural patterns have been elegantly intertwined. This conceptualization of both the landscape and timescape has been treated as literary devices or techniques in almost all the literary genres of Tamil till this day. This type of categorization have been considerably incessantly manifesting in the behavioural patterns of Tamil culture. This has been very well reflecting in the religious rites and socio-cultural rituals of each and every village, demarcating both its living space and the nonliving space by its self-defining boundaries. Every religio - and socio - ritual festive context definitively divides its living and nonliving spaces and the mediating boundary space explicating the subtleties semantically; the living space (*na:ṭṭuk kaḷam*) is meant for the social domicility and the nonliving space (*ka:ṭṭuk kaḷam*) is meant for its livelihood and religious observances.

Journey in Social Living

The act of journey is inevitable in almost everybody's life cycle. It often takes place out of emotivities of pleasure, joy, prosperity, sorrow, despair and poverty occurring in the life of an individual or of his social contextual stress and strain. It may happen either as Tour of Pleasure or Tour of Pilgrimage. Though any journey of touring seems to be highly, simple, plain and natural one it gives more significance on the concepts of landscape and

timescape for rejuvenating both the body and mind. Especially, in the journeys meant for fulfilling the avowals or religious obligatory observances, both the body and mind have to undergo severe penances. To cite for example, the following can be the regimens of penances: fasting, wearing ritual vestiges/clothings, ritual whiplashing, ritual skin-piercing, ritual chin-poring, ritual fire-walking etc.

The contributions made by Van Gennep and Victor Turner in their studies about such journeys made by the people and the intrinsic cultural implications of landscape and timescape are noteworthy. Van Gennep has lucidly expounded the core of all the ritual rites as the expressions of individual human being's physiological phases of development and he has conceptualised these ritual patterns as the *rites of passage.* These passages of phases of physiological development are inclusive of both the sociological and psychological phases of status. Van Gennep has established his concept of *rites of passage* by citings ample evidences of performances done in the ensuing structural patterns: *separation, change, re-integration*. Many studies have followed in the same path paved by Van Gennep. Raj Gauthaman (2006) has mentioned about the concept of *rites of passage* having been played its role in the life cycle rituals in the Sangam era.

By the concept of *liminality,* Victor Turner has explicated the embedded specific significant elements of landscape and timescape in the religio-ritual mobility of the ritual personalities. Further, he has explained the underlying concepts constituted in the social and community cultural fetes, religio cult festivals, holy pilgrimages. This concept of liminality transforms the secular elements of land, time and person into a ritually enmarked categories of *liminal space, liminal time* and *liminal person*. Furthermore, he has elucidated this with suitable cultural evidences about the special characteristic features of that liminal context.

The Exodic Experientia of Kannagi: Spatio-Temporal Implications

Kannagi has hailed from a wealthy merchant's family. She has been given married to an another wealthy merchant of Puhaar city. She has been kept aloof from the conjugal relationship by her husband, Koovalan for about some years together. In the mean time Koovalan has had an illegitimate relationship with Maadhavi, an artistic dance performer and had fathered to a daughter, Manimegalai. After having lost his entire wealth and forsaking his love girl (amour'coeur) maadhavi, koovalan returned to Kannagi, his married wife. On seeing, that, her husband had bereft of all the wealthy resources, Kannagi decided to restart the commerce of merchandise for their survival, lent him her

precious anklet for mobilising a capital, both of them left behind the Puhaar city and made diasporic exodus into the city of Madurai. This episodic and diasporic exodus of them could be epitomised as follows:

1. The condition of Kannagi right from the beginning of her married status has been in loneliness;
2. The status of Kannagi being in the unmothered condition because of not having any sharing of conjugal pleasure with her co-hort, Koovalan;
3. The status of Kannagi being left in dire condition of poverty as her husband Koovalan returned to her, penniless.

Hence, this episode of diasporic exodus of Kannagi along with Koovalan implies nothing, but, a quest for a happy conjugal life would be motherhood and earning resourceful wealth. This exodus signifies a diaspora from her locale (*na:ṭ ṭ uk kaḷ am*) along with her husband towards a far away strange city of Madurai. This exodus implicates her exodus from the paucity of economy towards prosperity, from loneliness to conjugal domesticity and from unmotheredness towards the state of motherhood. These are initiatory contexts for Kannagi's for her exodus to Madurai.

The exodus of Kannagi along with Koovalan has been a long distanced journey. Before this, she has had well guarded life within the city of Puhaar (*na:ṭ ṭ uk kaḷ am*) where she has let her socially recognised life of codified life of morality within a palatial building. Whereas, the exodus has entirely transplaced her presence from the secured Puhaar (*na:ṭ ṭ uk kaḷ am*) to the insecure city of Madurai (*ka:ṭ ṭ uk kaḷ am*) by traversing the wilderness abounding in wild beasts passing the hills and dales, thickets of bushes and roaring falls, wherein, menacing nymphs and other spirits hovering the wild forest ranges which have been enmarked for *ka:ṭ ṭ uk kaḷ am.* During the exodus of Kannagi along with Kovalan, they have encountered with the people, nature, fauna, nocturnal birds', beasts' and beetles' horrendous blood curdling noises, worshippings, farces, divine spirits and waterscapes too. This journey totally takes place in the unnatural time-span of night time alone.

Even before starting the journey of exodus, Kannagi and Koovalan might have sulked away from their homestead through their backyard. This, we could surmise through the description about the wandering cattle herds, deer, swans, which had been reared usually in those days at the backyard. Besides, this exodic journey's occurrence takes place fully in the night time alone. Hermitage, *anthaṇ ar* colonies, groves, embankment of river Cauvery, uraiyur, waste lands, suburbs, kodumbavur had been the halting stations in their exodic journey. Each and every halting station had occurred in the night time

and they resumed their journey only either in the late night hours or in the midnight are to be marked here.

Further, in their passage to Madurai, they have encountered people like *Kavunthiyadigal, Saaranar, Vambap parathaiyar, Maadala maraiyoon, Maangaattu maraiyoon, Eyinar, Kalamar, Kadaiciyar, Saalini, Maadari, Paanar, Koosigamani* and others. All of them seem to be having liminal characteristics in one way or the other. Moreover, they had passed across the shrine of the goddess Kali, encircled by the trees of *Kadambu* and *Ve:ɳkai*; and, the shrines of *Koṟṟavai, Pida:ri* and *Iyakki* and so on. We can easily adduce from their passage to Madurai from Puhaar, very many features of liminality had been encountered. During this transit, many events specifically signifying the features of liminality like blood sacrifices, folk cult worships, Saalini's Oracle performance and other correlative incidents as labour songs, gingles of folk musical instruments, *kulavai* sounds of women folk, rhythmical refrains (*varip paaṭal*-s), loric farces and dances too. In the summer solstice season comprising the Tamil calendar months of *vaikaasi, a:ɳi* and *a:ṭi* this exodus had taken place. The *a:ṭi* month has been treated in the Tamil culture as an unlucky month. So, this too signifies no other thing but the characteristics of liminality. These liminal elements found to be occuring in the journey of Kannagi presents the following outlooks of life she had undergone: introspective monologue, new interpretation of life view, returning to the primeval consciousness, collective unconscious dynamism and holistic mental state of awareness (Panjangam 2002).

The Unending exodus: Tamil Culture and the Process of Deification

The exodic journey of Kannagi from Puhaar to Madurai had started with the intent of satisfying ungratified wishes of her marital conjugality, the state of being unmotheredness and poverty has a quest. Generally, motifs/mythemes of the folktales and the myths have some ungratified wishes which have been tried to be liquidated by means of making the diasporic exodus from the social/cultural realm to the wild/natural realm. In the mean time, the protagonist might be mediated by a donor to gratify the ungratified wishes and make their return to the social realm; whereas, in the case of Kannagi's exodus instead of getting liquidated or gratified of her unfulfilled wishes, she had undergone many sling and arrows of misfortune than she had had before her exodic diaspora. Even, the advertant mediations given by the liminal donors had become of no avail.

Here, it is to be noted, that, the conventional motif/mytheme paradigm simply gets topsy-turvy. Whereas, an idiosyncratic technique of transforming

the motif/mytheme towards the catastrophic outburst of Kannagi's anguish by devastating the city of Madurai (*ka:ṭṭ uk kaḷ am*) by plucking of her left breast and hurling it to set ablaze the entire city of Madurai. Then, she resumes her exodus towards the Chera kingdom after circumambulating thrice anticlockwise the so-called devastated Madurai city, as if the city had been cremated ritually. Then, she had been taking shelter under the tree of *ve:nkai* in the forest, and from there she had ascended to the celestial world. Only in this way the epic versifier, Ilango ends *Cilappathika:ram* by euologically deifying Kannagi a goddess of *pattiṇi.* However, the story of Kannagi as depicted in Cilappathika:ram reaches its finale only as an unending tale of tragedy.

Almost all the deities found in the convention of folk culture have been born and lived upon this earth as natural human beings. It is highly obvious that, when those human beings have been met with untimely death, have been deified and adored as gods or goddesses and which forms the archetype of the origin of folk deities. This unique process of deification followed in the traditional cultural folklore of Tamil has been exquisitely elucidated by Blackburn(1985); and it has been observed by him, also, totally contrary to the convention of the vedic orthodox system. There, instead of the human being taking its birth upon this earth and ascending to the realm of godhead, the birth of one of the aspects of divinity, descends upon this earth (*avataram*) and plays the role of good messiah. But, the very model of deifying Kannagi as a goddess of Tamil culture seems to revoke the prehistoric deification of mother goddess worshipping which has been supposed to be extinct.

Motif/Mytheme and the Archetypal Mind

We can find some elements as essential basis of each and every folktale and myth. Among those, the original conflict, protagonist's diasporic exodus, mediation of donors, resolution of conflicts and the triumphant reunion are specifiable tale/myth markers. This specific tale/myth marker in either folktale or in myth seems to be a conflict or a lack or a contradiction. This enmarker may be found in each tale/myth. Further, for the sake of resolving the original conflict the protagonists (hero/heroine) make their diasporic exodus from the social/cultural realm towards asocial/natural realm. Only in that asocial/natural realm, they encounter donors and get donations from them either of natural, supernatural or magical entities in order to resolve the knots of the conflictual crux. Thereafter, the act of returning to the original social life occurs. Ramayanam could be taken as a suitable example. When the conflict of coronating Raman arises, Raman had been expelled to the realm of wilderness (*ka:ṭṭ uk kaḷ am*) from social realm of kingdom (*na:ṭṭ uk kaḷ am*). In the *ka:ṭṭ uk kaḷ am* the conflict got aggrevated. After striving a lot and

facing unsurmountable struggles he returned to the *na:ṭ ṭ uk kaḷ am*. This kind of myth marker enhances the very existential aspect and strenghthens of the significance of the myth.

The very same type of mytheme, too, is found in the Kannagi myth. However, instead of mitigating and resolving the original conflict of Kannagi even though she had been compelled to take a diasporic exodus, the conflict or lack had appeared to be strongly irrevocable. That status of irredeemability of Kannagi has elevated her to the zenith of attaining the status of a celestial being. Before attaining the climax culmination of Kannagi reaching the celestial abode, she had entirely devastated the *ka:ṭ ṭ uk kaḷ am* (Madurai) by setting it ablaze to ashes; This connotes that Kannagi expunges the cosmic primary substances, namely, the landscape and timescape.

The hoary Tamil culture treats woman symbolically as the element of landscape and man as timescape; and, woman has been compared to the landscape that has to be conquered, whereas, man being compared to timescape has to establish the glory of historicity (Jamalan, 1988,1989). But, here in the myth of Kannagi, she has been depicted as an uncontrollable and unconfinable human entity, transgressing both the landscape and timescape. Thus, Kannagi transmutes herself into a colossal form, transcending the demarcated boundaries of time and space. And, still continues in the cultural consciousness as an adorable entity of divinity or an absolute Form of Liminality.

Epilogue

Kannagi myth seems to be nothing, but, a tale of a woman who makes an unending diasporic exodus for gratifying her unfulfilled dreams of conjugal life, motherhood and prosperity which had been gnawing her inner being for her existence, progeny and blissful abundance. This myth manifests not only the unending and unfulfilled journey of Kannagi, but, also it implies the time immemorial collective conscious registry's ever fresh journey of it.

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LANGUAGE, TRUTH AND HERMENEUTICS IN HEIDEGGER

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I

Heidegger formulates his ideas on language as a critique on the foundations of philosophy of language. Language, often, viewed as an object of philosophical interrogation is contested by Heidegger. When language is objectified or represented as an object, it loses the access to the subject matter: "Where anything that has become an object of representing, it first incurs in a certain manner of loss of Being" (Heidegger, 1977: 142). The interaction and interrelationship between Being and language is compositely active paving way for understanding and signification of what is perceived. Language cannot be understood unless we understand the subjective nature of human speech (Strawson, 1985: 111). Moreover, the presence of Being influences the manner in which language represents meaning: "Language holds sway as that which is not to be gotten around that which, in the fullness of its coming to presence, they can never encompass by means of their representing" (Heidegger, 1977: 175-6). Objectification of language concerns the ability of the observer in perceiving the numerous changes language lends to complete itself. Since language is historical, the objectification of language involves time that enforces a balance in history. When language becomes an object of representation, restraints on history is imagined to have been imposed externally at a specific time. Consequently, objectifying language does not secure the essentialities because "objectness…. remain only one kind of presencing, in which indeed that which presences can appear, but never absolutely must appear" (Heidegger, 1977: 176). How time enforces itself in and through presence also guides the Being in the process of signification. The condition of meta language is restricted to and fabricated upon the externities of the objectification of language. The objectness (*Gegenständigkeit*) expresses only an incomplete method of comprehending language: "the essential nature of language flatly refuses to express itself in words—in the language, that is, in which we make statements about language. If language everywhere

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withholds its nature in this sense, then such withholding is in the very nature of language" (Heidegger, 1971: 81). The authentic nature of language is incompletely expressed in words. What is expressed in words is an incomplete expression of thought and there is always a slippage in language when we articulate the metalanguage of objectification, that which is intangible and fleeting. Heidegger writes: "we cannot know the nature of language—know it according to the traditional concept of knowledge defined in terms of cognition as representation" (Heidegger, 1971: 134).

Language prevails in the signification and world-forming endeavors where the historical Dasein of the people align with the temporality. The essence of language pre-forms through a structural articulation through an encounter of particularities. The "transformation of humankind occurs in the transformed relation to language that would also reveal the language of beings as the thoughtful saying of being" (Powell, 2013: 8). Language of beings, then, subverts metaphysical traditions to offer an alter relation to the language of the metaphysics. Thus, language is internal to the speaker. It shapes the subjectivity of the speaker, what is internal to the speaker and meaning that is external, to establish the world-view. Language has personal and public dimensions. The interpersonal use of language that reinforces the communal dimension of language mirrors the exploration of the ontological basis of the speaker in relation to the public.

Language exists as a continuous process. Even when we cease to speak, read, listen or write, language occurs naturally. Moreover, language is ubiquitous: "We encounter language everywhere" (Heidegger, 2013: 187). When we express ideas through language, it is held universally as "essence or nature." When we articulate attentively, language helps us to distinguish one idea from the other. However, "We would reflect on language itself, and on language only. Language itself is—language and nothing else besides. Language itself is language" (Heidegger, 2013: 188). Language is organic and instinctive. The occurrence of language is known when the "*Language speaks*" (Heidegger, 2013: 189). Reflection on language denotes the attempt to influence the language of speech in a manner where speaking occurs as "that which grants an abode for the being of mortals" (Heidegger, 2013: 190). Speech is the perceptible expression and communication of human feelings. These feelings are innately interconnected with thoughts. Heidegger outlines three characterizations of language:

1. Speech is a common expression of language. It is an expression that assumes an internal idea that expresses externally. "If we take language to be utterance, we give an external, surface notion of it at

the very moment when we explain it by recourse to something internal" (Heidegger, 2013: 190);

2. Speech is an "activity." Language, as activity, brings a human being into existence;

3. Language as "human expression is always a presentation and representation of the real and the unreal" (Heidegger, 2013: 190). Language persists through presence. It is expressed through enunciation that is incontrovertibly definite.

Language is relational in the way words connect with things, so that representation is established. While the differences between two are not intangible from experiences, it "disclosingly appropriates" the bearing of the world. "Dif-ference" is neither otherness nor relation. It is one of the dimensions of interconnection between world and thing. What precedes the self-sufficiency of dif-ference between world and thing is presence. However, dif-ference also involves that which is left unspoken. Furthermore, dif-ference stills in two ways: "it stills the things in thinking and the world in worlding. Thus stilled, thing and world never escape from the dif-ference. Rather, they rescue it in the stilling, where the dif-ference is itself the stillness" (Heidegger, 2013: 204). In the process of stilling things and world into an intrinsic experience, dif-ference speaks. Dif-ference collects the experience into a split that results in a clangor. When dif-ference enters into a process of collecting world and things, it recognises into an intimate subjective entity.

When the words assign beings, it uses arbitrary signs upon the world to make language receptive. There is an innate connection between the relationship between words and speech and that of reality. This process does not allow us to move beyond/outside language because we endure an experience with language. When dif-ference assembles world and things into an "intimacy," it embraces both to be part of their nature. Thus, dif-ference is the knowledge from which the attempt itself transpires. "*Language speaks as the peal of stillness*. Stillness stills by the carrying out, the bearing and enduring, of world and things in their presence. The carrying out of world and thing in the manner of stilling is the appropriative taking place of the dif-ference. Language, the peal of stillness, is, inasmuch as the dif-ference takes place. Language goes on as the taking place or occurring of the dif-ference for world and things" (Heidegger, 2013: 205). Language communicates through the clangor of stillness. Stillness endures in multiple ways the presence when suitable method takes over dif-ference. The configuration of speech informally realizes the innate difference that carries out an attempt to expropriate difference. "The structure of human speech can only be the manner in which the speaking

of language, the peal of the stillness of the dif-ference, appropriates mortals by the command of the difference" (Heidegger, 2013:206). Speech bids the dif-ference to enter into an expropriation of the world and things to make it an unassuming category. When we speak, we respond to language. The response is hearing, hearing to the knowledge of stillness. It is pertinent, here, to decipher how we learn to live in the speaking language. In order to exercise the learning to live in the speaking language, one should perpetually respond to the expectation of reserve because "Man speaks only as he responds to language. Language speaks. Its speaking speaks for us in what has been spoken" (Heidegger, 2013:208).

We have a reflexive interconnection with language because as we progress within a language, we are shaped as historical being. Our intention is not marshaled but we are regulated by the center of meaning. Language is found within us and it does not shape ourselves. The reflexive nature of language comes to the fore when one tries to be authentic within a tradition and then works towards establishing meaning. When language is assumed to be historical, meanings originate from and depend on what precedes to the origin. Heidegger notes that when we attempt to think, we think within a tradition. Therefore, thought within a tradition or a particular origin is indebted to its source. To establish an original thought or meaning, one has to return to the origin of thought rather than being caught within traditions. Interpretation is specifically conceived within that authenticity, with certain freshness and vigor. However, "everything original does this, because it remains within the tradition. Something totally original would start a tradition" (Shain, 2009: 492). The various disagreements within the tradition can only be resolved by discourses that are set within the tradition but challenging the tradition itself. Language is at once cognitive and emotional. Language we speak and express are guide to our thoughts and action that are directed toward a particular direction beyond tradition. Language expresses experiences through presence. Presence "does demand unconcealment, and is arising from unconcealment— thought not generally but in such a way that presence is the entry into a duration of unconcealment. The Greeks experience such duration as a luminous appearance in the sense of illumined, radiant self-manifestation" (Heidegger, 1993: 237). Thus, presence establishes an affinity between unconcealment and self-manifestation through reflection. Moreover, language is encumbered with the "task of making beings manifest and preserving them as such—in the linguistic work. Language gives expression to what is most pure and most concealed, as well as to what is confused and common. Indeed, even the essential word, if it is to be understood and so become the common possession of all, must make itself common" (Heidegger, 2000: 55).

The source and foundation of language in principle is mysterious. Therefore, "language can only have arisen from the overpowering, the strange and terrible, through man's departure into being. In this departure language was being, embodied in the word: poetry. Language is the primordial poetry in which a people speaks being" (Heidegger, 1999: 171).Language is interrelated with Being because Being is the Being of beings. The interdependence of Being and language assumes a specific function in making us decipher and encounter world and things. Language reinstates a level of directness, restriction and permanence in the way it performs its function. In order to alleviate things in the procedure of appearance, language names beings: "Naming does not come afterward, providing an already manifest with a designation and a hallmark known as a word; it is the other way around: originally an act of violence that discloses being the word sinks from its height to become a mere sign, and this sign proceeds to thrust itself before the [thing]" (Heidegger, 1999: 172).

Words are solely signs that transpire from things that assume themselves as labels. The possibility of language is subordinate to the ontological function in the disclosure of beings. The subordinate function is exercised through an interruption that experience and challenge the relationship of language to Being. Language is separated from the event of the disclosure of beings allowing to preserve the truth of beings. Here, language plays a composite role by challenging the Being about its origin and nature. From ontological perspective, language allows a distinct role that is key to human experience of beings. Language assumes a certain method in which it experiences and expresses its interrelationship with Being as in the case of speech: "We speak and speak about language. What we speak of, language, is always ahead of us. Our speaking merely follows language constantly. Thus we are continually lagging behind what we first ought to have overtaken and taken up in order to speak about it. Accordingly, when we speak of language we remain entangled in a speaking that is persistently inadequate" (Heidegger, 1971: 75). Consequently, language is in a constant state of flux enmeshing Dasein in experiences that glide in and through the foundational event of disclosure. The subordinate nature of language conserves the authenticity of experience of disclosure.

II

Heidegger's notion of truth intervenes his ideas on Being and a critical investigation into *alētheia* (truth). Akin to his reflections on truth is how he conceives language and interpretation. Basically, there is an alteration between truth as definiteness or correctness and truth as exposition. Heremeneutically, truth is a complex idea that might incur multiple meanings. To view Plato's idea

of truth as definiteness, a communication between knowledge and object, as final is contested by Heidegger. Discourses on truth has overlooked the experience of truth as the stepping stone into the enquiry of truth. Truth is veiled into Dasein, the minimization of Being of beings. However, the Greek philosophers noted that truth as definiteness is interrelated to the experience of exposition or unconcealment. In his attempt to decenter the subject, Heidegger unveils the configuration that enumerates the relationship between subject and object.

Truth is innately related to human existence. The correlation between judgments with reality has veiled the principles of expositions. Therefore, to bring out the real from the veiled, a light is essential. That light is existence, the "being-in-the-world" from which the light is drawn. Dasein is not an encompassing entity that includes truth alone but it assigns certain overtness that is to-be-discovered. "Dasein is equiprimordially in truth and untruth" (Heidegger, 1996: 205). Dasein envisages itself on the possibilities of the world to open itself. "A statement is true if what it means and says is in accordance with the matter about which the statement is made" (Heidegger, 1996: 15). Being right is the ability of the being to decipher the correspondence to thing and the intention to be conceived in advance the statement of the thing itself.

The approximation of a truth statement is related to propositions that makes it possible. It is essentially corresponding to truth because the conception of thing is conceived as "confirming with" correctness. Conformity assumes different meanings of 'intellectus': conformity of the things with intellect denotes divine intellect. For instance, God's creation is in agreement with God's ideas. Human intellect is a creation of God: "The *intellectus humanus* too is an *enscreatum*. As a capacity bestowed upon man by God, it must satisfy its idea. But the understanding measures up to the idea only in accomplishing its propositions the correspondence of what is thought to the matter, which in its turn must be in conformity with the idea. If all beings are 'created', the possibility of the truth of human knowledge is grounded in the fact, that, matter and proposition measure up to the idea in the same way and therefore are fitted to each other on the basis of the unity of the divine plan of creation" (Heidegger, 1993: 118). The hermeneutics of truth as correspondence is maintained as in the medieval conception of rationality exchanging God as creator: "theologically conceived order of creation is replaced by the capacity of all objects to be planned by means of a worldly reason (*Weltvermunft*) which supplies the law for itself and thus also claims that its procedure is immediately intelligible (what is considered logical)" (Heidegger, 1993: 119). Thus, hermeneutics of truth as definitiveness is a means of reason that survives

the absolute validity, the process where the Being becomes immediately intelligible.

Correspondence, as in language, can be understood as the relation between two things having same appearance. The two things related are not one, but, they correspond because of their semblance. Opposite to correspondence of things is the opposedness (*Entgegen*), that which maintains opposition. Representing an object must enter into the 'real' of "open region." Rather than creating a space, the representing subject places them within a sphere that considers re-presenting itself. The correspondence between represeter and the represented happens as a "comportment' of a fact that opens up in a particular sphere. Heidegger envisages that if the definiteness of statements become possibilities when the openness of comportment comes into play, things are exposed to the essence of truth. He writes: "Thus the traditional assignment of truth exclusively to statements as the sole essential locus of truth falls away. Truth does not originally reside in the proposition. But, at the same time the question arises as to the ground of the inner possibility of the open comportment that pre gives a standard, which possibility alone lends to propositional correctness the appearance of fulfilling the essence of truth at all" (Heidegger, 1993: 122-3).

The foundational essence of truth is freedom. Freedom displays an open stance where one is able to subject oneself to what apparently places in "letting-be." The process of "letting-be" is the engagement of oneself with beings where certain openness comes into relation with the activity of being itself. Freedom exists in a being as it discloses the distinctive relatedness to the being in time. While representing, human being allows its claim to be upon the representable which establishes a bond with the being. It is foundational to human beings to relate to the representation of power and essence of truth as an attribute where the untruth is uncovered into definiteness of statements that can neither be equated to judgments nor be demarcated to exposition.

Thinking reaches out to beings in totality encountering concealment and experience as the distinguishing nature of truth. The truth about concealment is the essentiality of its disclosure. However, representation of things and world expresses the mystery behind the consequence of forgetting the fact, that, human beings insist on opening themselves. Heidegger, however, attempts to decenter the privileged position of the subject in the process of unconcealment because human beings are readily available beings in advancing the essence of truth. In supposition Heidegger writes: "The present undertaking takes the question of the essence of truth beyond the confines of the ordinary definition provided in the usual concept of essence and helps us to consider whether the

question of the essence of truth must not be, at the same time and even first of all, the question concerning the truth of essence. But, in the concept of 'essence' philosophy corresponds Being. In tracing the inner possibility of statements back to the ek-sistent freedom of letting-be as its 'ground,' likewise in pointing to the essential commencement of this ground in concealing and in errancy, we want to show that the essence of truth is not the empty 'generality,' of an 'abstract' universality but rather that which, self-concealing, is unique in the unremitting history of the disclosure of the 'meaning' of what we call Being— what we for a long time have been accustomed to considering only as being as whole" (Heidegger, 1993: 136-7). The execution and finality of thinking unshackles subjectivity which is difficult in the disclosure of Being. Language as a mirror of experience finds its insight into thinking by turning questions of truth into the locus of judgment. Thus, language and truth are interconnected with existence and experience, in the sense of certain exposition that is altered into the process of "what-is" is seen: "Language is, as world moving saying, the relation of all relations. It relates, maintains, proffers and enriches the face-to face encounter of the world's regions, holds and keep them, in that it holds itself—Saying—in reserve" (Heidegger, 1971: 107). Language as a tool of exposition embarks its way towards art. What is represented in art is reliable as it manifest experience and expression of representation. "Stepping-into-appearance" is altered through a particular manner of representation that becomes accessible to nature where truth lets itself to become accessible to their essence. What happens in and through art becomes accessible through an entity that is regarded to be truth-setting. One has to examine how truth is deliberated in connection to nature of the work of art. The world exists as a site of light and it becomes an imagined framework in search for truth: "The world is not the mere collection of the countable or uncountable familiar or unfamiliar things that are at hand. But neither is it merely imagined framework added by our representation to the sum of such given things. The world is more fully in being than the tangible and perceptible realm in which we believe ourselves to be at home. World is never an object that stands before us and can be seen. World is the ever-non-objective to which we are subject as long as the paths of birth and death, blessing and curse keep us transported into Being" (Heidegger, 1993: 170). World as produced by the work of art is an appearance, a mode of experience objectified. Truth as unconcealment presupposes entities that stand open.

Truth in its natural sense is comprehended as "the correspondence of knowledge with beings, demonstrated in beings; but also insofar as truth is interpreted as the certainty of knowledge of Being; *alētheia*, unconcealment in the sense of the clearing, may not be equated with truth. Rather, *alētheia*,

unconcealment thought as clearing, first grants the possibility of truth. For truth itself, like Being and thinking can be what it is only in the element of the clearing" (Heidegger, 1993: 446). If the essence of truth comes to fore as correctness, certainty can exist within the dominion of unconcealment and truth has to fix *alētheia*. It is significant to analyze unconcealment of beings through the description of propositional truth. When propositional truth relates to the unconcealment of being, certainty is asserted through a relationship with *alētheia*. In this sense, Heidegger "disavowed the practice of calling unconcealment truth" (Wrathall, 2011: 16). Truth as unconcealment entails various aspects of how one deals assertions and understandings of being. When it establishes an engagement with the world and being, truth is made available for us through interrelationships. Truth as proposition is explained as "corresponding" or "agreeing" truth. However, the correspondence is not the comparison of the subject with the object. Truth "has by no means the structure of a correspondence between knowing and the object in the sense of a likening of one entity (the subject) to another (the object)" (Heidegger, 1996: 261). When truth is to make sense through correspondence, there is a need to discard the notion that it encompasses a mutuality of representation and things of the world. "If truth means correspondence, adequation to entities, then this assertion measuring itself on entities is evidently founded on the fact that, in our intercourse with entities, we have already, as it were, come to an understanding with entities; entities not ourselves, with which we in some way have to deal, are disclosed to us. So, an assertion can finally be true, be adequate in propositional content to that about which the assertion is made, only because the entitiy it speaks of is already in some way disclosed" (Heidegger, 1993: 78). The "existence of truths in question require that there actually are creatures engaging in relevant practices," understanding the world in pertinent ways and enunciating appropriate judgments (McManus, 2012: 184). Concealment of truth is seldom expressed in daily discourse because Daseinintends to overlook authenticity to retain presence. Thus, Heidegger shows that human beings identify daily assignations that helps to conceal mysteries and also retain the presence in a similar manner.

III

Hermeneutics is not an investigation of validity but an encounter with the privileging epistemology to reaffirm the priority of ontology. For Heidegger, Being-in-the-world is an amplification of a philosophical stance that transforms our understanding and interpretation universally. Human beings, in all their everyday activities, are an "interpreting animal." Human being as an interpreting animal interprets being and an interpreting being. Therefore,

interpretation becomes an "anchoring point for a universal concept of interpretation" (Ricoeur, 1981: 67), where understanding stands in antithesis with "knowing" of knowledge. We understand as we speak the facts of the world and thereby involving the world to cope with it. Assertion, however, assumes primary derivative method of understanding. Thus, interpretation is carried out primarily "not in a theoretical statement but in an action…laying aside the unsuitable tool, or exchanging it, "without wasting a word" (Fehér, 2016:166). It, therefore, is innately related to speech and/or assertion because in order to speak, one has to interpret.

An interpreter communicates the meaning to make known. The declaration or making known meaning is a relation to the being. Hermeneutics is not a special mode that is directed to facticity but a possibility of becoming and being itself in the manner of understanding. Facticity of human experience is akin to an *a priori* disclosure where mediation is required by difference. It envisages a discursive relation to language and being in its connection to discourse. Fore-understanding reinforces an unequivocal linguistic understanding that involves perceptual engagement with the world. When Dasein is placed in an actual situation accustomed to cultural and historical context, interpretation is determinate. The activities of language in its entirety are discursive because Dasein is understanding.

Heidegger recognizes understanding as a "hermeneutical intuition" rather than a "theoretic-objectifying or transcendent positing" (Heidegger, 1975: 117). Hermeneutical intuition involves life, significance of historical perception and comprehension of logical elements. In his Lecture, "Ontology: Hermeneutics of Facticity," Heidegger establishes his hermeneutical outline. Facticity signifies the eventual and relational reality of existence which concedes epistemic enquiry as departure. *Factum* and reality of life cannot be disregarded as it is not reduction. *Factum*, however, is a compendium of meanings which human beings perpetually perceive and decipher. These meanings are fashioned by human beings themselves by a process of enunciation and configuration into a "factical life unity." Heidegger presents facticity as a "designation for the character of Being of 'our' 'own' *Dasein*" (Heidegger, 1975: 63 7/5). When considering "life" as a manner of 'Being', factical life involves Dasein as existence, that which is there. To consider hermeneutics of facticity as a divergent trajectory of hermeneutics that examines and construe a precise object 'facticity' is in opposition to Heidegger's propositions because he does not construct hermeneutics of facticity as a doctrine of understanding. Heidegger is keen to point out that hermeneutics does not merely border interpretation but has to involve the

contingencies, the means, the communiqué and the application of interpretation. Therefore, hermeneutics as an art of understanding establishes a method that assigns an accord between interpretation and application.

Hermeneutics "is not being used in its modern meaning, and in no sense does it have the meaning of such a broadly conceived doctrine about interpretation. In connection to its original meaning, this term means, rather: a specific unity in the actualizing of *hermeneuein* (of communicating), i.e., of the…interpreting of facticity" (Heidegger, 1975: 14/11). Hermeneutics is not mere interpretation of texts but an astute interrelationship between meaning and human existence. Facticity as the object of intellectual activity transpires within human existence and life. The foundational feature of Dasein is its capacity to "interpret itself, searching for its position in the surrounding world, and placing itself within it. Interpretation is not a secondary act, but an indispensable and inescapable condition of the human Dasein, which therefore exists as long as it interprets. *Interpretor ergo sum.*" (Thanassas, 2004: 50). Being the "*genetivus subjectivus*," facticity cannot be a passive object that is interpreted from outside but rather it keenly interprets itself and its stance in the world. Relationality attributed to facticity presupposes phenomenological intentionality that is persistently self-referential. Heidegger writes: "the hermeneutical engagement… is not ready-made possession but rather arises and develops out of a fundamental experience, and here this means a philosophical wakefulness, in which Dasein is encountering itself. The wakefulness is philosophical—this means: it lives and is at work in a primordial self-interpretation which philosophy has given of itself" (Heidegger, 1975: 18/14).

The espousal between existence and meaning is spontaneous and progresses out of the fundamental experience of life. Existence is not an object of impervious theoretical proposition but a conviction delegated to hermeneutics of facticity. Interpretation, here, becomes self-referential, an activity that is accomplished through the Being of "factical life itself." Heidegger attempts to restore the possibilities of life in relation to meaning. While rooting hermeneutics in life, he returns to distance hermeneutics from philosophy itself. Hermeneutics precedes philosophy because of what it establishes through factical life: "hermeneutics is itself not philosophy; it wishes only to place an object which has hitherto fallen into forgetfulness before today's philosophers for their "well-disposed consideration" (Heidegger, 1975:20/15-6). One of the main functions of facticity is the "destruction" of the philosophical tradition. Rather than predicating on the instantaneous perception of things, what acknowledges itself has to be forthright without assuring distinguished mode of interpretation. While tradition accrues

consecutive layers of camouflage that have to be exhumed and eliminated in destruction, the process is a reversal of history and established concepts. What hermeneutics involves is a non-belief in subject matter that directs to destruction: "hermeneutics is destruction!" (Heidegger, 1975: 105/81).

The method of phenomenology assumes the features of hermeneutics in the sense of "transmitting" and "announcing." The significance of Being and the configurations of Dasein is pronounced not as philosophical acts of deliberate consciousness, but, as an act of understanding and interpreting. Heidegger attributes existential meaning to this hermeneutic discussion by distinguishing between the possibilities of existence and ontological exploration. Consequently, meaning transpires, inevitably, by understanding the various activities of Dasein that obtain "ontic-ontological priority." The opportunities of such ontology is to have essentiality of existence within the analytics of interpretation. Moreover, Being assumes an ontological priority in interpretation by being the fundamental will to impact the factical life. The process of understanding and signification is basically existential because understanding influences the complete association of Dasein to the world which it reveals. "The world is the first, indispensable and non-reducible reality of existence, an insurmountable *proteron* constituted as a totality of relations and meanings grounded on the "readiness-to-hand" of beings and on the position they take in the practical framework of each individual existence" (Thanassas, 2004: 55). As the foundational ontological grouping of existence is not reality, but, the opportunity they yield to venture into meaning, understanding becomes a specific form of possibility.

Heidgeggerean interpretation is not a cursory procuring of information but rather contriving the possibilities emerging out of understanding that are innately exposed. In his words, "understanding appropriates understandingly that which is understood by it" (Heidegger, 1996:188). Understanding concerns "the practical everyday life and the network of relationships that sustain each Dasein and constitute its "world" (Thanassas, 2004: 56). Interpretation advances determination of being as "equipment" and locates an understanding position of each being in readiness to analyze its structures and purposes. Understanding is self-constrained in the manner it is situated within the context of relationships and determinations in the world. Interpretation as an *a posteriori* position emerges from the foundational sense of perception augmenting a neutral vision. Therefore, within the scheme of hermeneutic circle, the interpreter subverts the parts to the whole to bestow a text-meaning at an illumined position. The importance of mutuality and interrelationships are encompassed in entirety where the particularity of text is enabled towards interpretation and

understanding. Interpretation "is never a presupposition less apprehending of something already fore-given to us. If a particular concrete interpretation, in the sense of exact textual interpretation, is willing to appeal to what 'stands there,' what first of all 'stands there' is nothing but the self-evident undisguised assumption of the interpreter, necessarily lying in every interpretive approach as something that has been 'taken for granted' with the interpretation as such, i.e., as something fore-given in fore-having, fore-sight and fore-conception" (Heidegger, 1975:150). To know the existence suggests understanding existence. Rather than being an activity of linear signification, Heidegger assumes that interpretation that tender understanding must be already have understood what is to be understood. This allows understanding to be unshackled from rational absolutism and truth to reunite itself existentially. Interpretation is not definite or holistic, but, the disposition of interpretation attempts to be complete.

Hermeneutic relationship involves the relationship of Being to the innate determination to exist by language. Language, here, becomes the mutuality between presence and present beings. Beyond the particularities of language, the implications of language transcend infinite possibilities as an incessant swarming of meaning. Presence and present beings transpire out of language and the attempted articulation that promises language and utterances convey meaning within the totality of language. Hermeneutic relationship is generated by human wishes and desires. Heidegger maintains that "Being lies in the suggestion that truth is not confined to a subjective intellectual, logical, or linguistic human activity, but rather denotes a dynamic process originating outside the human being and leading beyond it" (Thanassas, 2004: 62). Understanding and interpretation are not practices but recondition to every method. They establish elements of "Truth," not a method or a system, but possibility of a method. Rather than restricting knowledge, the equi-primordial aspect of hermeneutics distillates on something impenetrable. There is a certain reminder about finitude and the perception of hermeneutics as "interpersonal understanding" founded on the significance of language. The historicity of language, thus, configures a thread that interlinks the past expressions of the being with the historicity of fore-understanding.

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CONTEMPORARY ISSUES OF SOCIOLOGY:
SPECIAL REFERENCE TO HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT

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Present discussion reflects the growing realization and the importance of sociology to meet the alarming contemporary issues and challenges with special reference to Human Development. Sociology is the study of social life, social change, and the social causes and consequences of human behavior. Understanding the contemporary social issues and engaging towards solving issues are prime concern of Sociology, specially the Applied Sociology.

Major advances in methods and data availability are yielding a rapid increase in our understanding of driving forces and impacts, but there is great debate over potential solutions. These debates, inventions and intensions are really rooted in the ideological stands of the discourses and the methodological manifestations. Unless we understand the currents and undercurrents of this stands, we will not be able to arrive the real solutions. We need to question each moment of this discourses.

In this context, I wish to invite you to revisit some of the tools introduced by the HD experts as well as the 'master' organizations. The emergence of the Human Development Index has stimulated wide-ranging debate about its usefulness and ability to measure human development adequately.

Human development is defined as a process of enlarging people's choices and relates to economic, political, social and cultural fields. The concept is universally applicable to both developing and industrial countries. In order to measure the abstract variable of "human development", the HDI uses four empirical variables that are allotted different weights in the index: Life expectancy at birth ($\frac{1}{3}$), literacy rate (2/9), average number of years of schooling (1/9) and real per capita income ($\frac{1}{3}$). The various measurement

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variables are rendered comparable by transforming the observed country values for each variable to a scale ranging from 0 to 1.

Shortcoming of the HDI lies in the inadequate theoretical and empirical basis of its design. The concept of human development is described in terms of economic, political, social and cultural dimensions, but the HDI relates only to social and economic dimensions, namely a long and healthy life, knowledge and a decent standard of living. No convincing reasons are given for choosing these dimensions and ignoring others, such as political and social freedom or respect for human rights. If political freedom and respect for human rights are not taken into consideration, the validity of the concept is no longer assured. The above reflections demonstrate that the HDI is based on a series of implicit assumptions and value judgments which are neither justified adequately nor supported by empirical findings.

From conceptualization to calculation of these measures, there are issues to be addressed. For instance, considering education as a value of human development is an acceptable one. But can we take the years of schooling as the variable of human development? Can we only take into account the formal school system and ignore the transfer of knowledge by other means. For example, in many countries occupational knowledge is transferred mainly through apprenticeships in craft and industrial enterprises. Similarly, how are we going to rationalize the life expectancy statistics in the killing fields of war from Sri Lanka to Syria?

UNDP even acknowledges this as 'the concept of human development is much broader than its measurement'. In the words of Robert F Kennedy in a forum like this at university of Kansas, 'It measures everything except that which makes life worthwhile'. *Reserve Bank of India's report on* "Number and Percentage of Population Below Poverty Line"*(2014) clearly reveals that* the different definitions and different underlying small sample surveys used to determine poverty in India have resulted in widely different estimates of poverty from 1950s to 2010s.

With the above criticisms, new indexes were introduced to measure the human development. Again the new ones too are not with holistic understanding of the phenomena. They are only reactive or reflexive to the criticisms leveled against the earlier indexes. In this context, we need to address the alternative indexes introduced by various scholars/organizations. Let us briefly consider some of these new ones such as Index of Freedom and Gross National Happiness Index.

The index of Freedom is the predecessor of the Human freedom index. This Freedom Index does not measure democracy, but it does measure freedom of speech and media, press killings, political imprisonments and so on. Ironically the reports of Freedom index, refers that the democracy may be the form of government that best protects freedom, but democracy may both increase and reduce freedom. In the mean time, the reports clearly suggest that there is a strong relationship between the level of freedom and income. In the mean time, the most popular forum in discovery Bay itself critically comments on the top rank of Hong Kong as follows:

> 'Given the link between freedom and democracy, Hong Kong's top ranking in our index may be somewhat unexpected'

> 'Our index is based on data that goes no later than 2012, so does not yet capture the most recent developments, but it registers some deterioration in those areas. As the political future of Hong Kong plays out, we would not be surprised if we see a decline in its freedom ratings.'

Similarly, analyzing the Gross National Happiness Index also reflects the similar confusions. Gross National Happiness (GNH) is a measurement of the collective happiness in a nation. In the 1970s, developing countries were focused on increasing economic success to help develop prosperity. Bhutan's King, however, believed an economic approach dehumanized the development process. Wangchuck instead decided to focus on a concept that he called 'Gross National Happiness'. In Bhutan, happiness was to be pursued by limiting access to foreign culture. The success of a country would be measured by its remaining citizens' happiness.

Domestic critics argue that emphasis on Bhutan's experiment with GNH has diverted global attention away from government suppression of the nation's largest minority, the Hindu Lhotshampa, who formerly comprised approximately one sixth of Bhutan's population before a campaign of ethnic cleansing forced many to leave. In Fact, the GNH depends on a series of subjective judgments about well-being; governments may be able to define GNH in a way that suits their interests. Just by recording the percentage of people who say they are happy would not be a data of validity. It would be like asking people whether the day was hot, nice, or cold.

But with all these subjectivity, it gets   recognition in 2011, 'Happiness and Well-being became a New Economic Paradigm' in a UN High Level Meeting which was chaired by Prime Minister of Bhutan. Now the World Happiness Report is a measure of happiness published by the United Nations Sustainable Development Solutions Network. Data is collected from people in

over 150 countries. Each variable measured reveals a populated-weighted average score on a scale running from 0 to 10 that is tracked over time and compared against other countries. These variables currently include: real GDP per capita, social support, healthy life expectancy freedom to make life choices, generosity, and perceptions of corruption. It is interesting to note that fruits and vegetable intake also have an important place in some of the cross cultural studies of happiness Index. One such study concludes its findings as follows: Those eating fruits and vegetables each day have a higher likelihood of being classified as 'very happy,' suggesting a strong and positive correlation between fruit and vegetable consumption and happiness. Whether it be in South Korea, Iran, Chile ,USA, or UK, greater fruit and vegetable consumption had a positive association with greater happiness, independent of factors such as smoking, exercise, body mass index, and socio-economic factors.

India was ranked 118th in the list, down one slot from last year on the index. The report takes into account the GDP per capita, life expectancy, social support and freedom to make life choices as indicators of happiness. Sri Lanka is one step better as 117. It increases our unhappiness and lot of criticism emerged on this ranking . In the mean time for the first time there are also some positive highlights we can appreciate in the report, released ahead of the UN World Happiness Day on March 20, 2016. It gives a special role to the measurement and consequences of inequality in the distribution of well-being among countries and regions. The report repeatedly single out India's Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee scheme for praise.

It is true that the various Indexes under the label of Human Development are trying to translate the phenomenon in numbers/statistics/a celebrity among statistics. Also become great source of comparisons between countries. Further, these global *Gurus* give excitement about the ranks and gaps and giving homework for filling the gaps and assist development aids. In many instances, they them self are present directly or through their agents give private tuitions and other exercises with novel terminologies from time to time.

In this juncture, I wish to say that I am skeptical to the phrase 'contemporary' social issues.

If I asked in this forum that 'what do you believe is the most important social problem in present day India/your village', there would be many different answers such as castism, terrorism, poverty, unemployment, AIDS, crime, drug abuse etc. Are all of these social problems? Most would agree that some or all of these social conditions are problems. But which would be the most important, and how would we solve it? The answers to these questions may not be so

straightforward. The answers are not based on firsthand data collection or on an exhaustive review of literature. For the most part, they are based on our opinions and life experiences, or they are just good guesses. In many instances, we were alarmed by underlining certain issues as the contemporary issues by dominant powers .Global advertisements of such powers simply change local priorities. From Poverty to Gender issues; From Environmental issues to Good Governance… etc., Knowingly or not knowingly this exercise continues.

What are we going to do?

Understanding development indexes means being aware of multiple layers such as epistemology or rules of what constitutes knowledge .In addition, it involves methodology. It also performs a role of representation, of articulating, and privileging particular political and class interests and cultural preferences.

We may map the main contours of development thinking in different periods; the eventual analysis would reflect the pattern of hegemony in international relations and the structures of the time: Progress and Evolution; Classical Development; Modernization; Dependency; Neo–liberalism; Human development.

Most of the paradigms were largely generated in west, except dependency/Human development. But there were attempts to embrace or altering these paradigms also in the lines of dominant thinking. The frame of reference is globalizing /global benefit?

Deep discourses are necessary on these paradigms and parameters, especially to trace the roots and, currents and undercurrents in this valuable e-Journal. We should also keep it in mind that that these paradigms/theories are not changing fashions to embrace the latest.

Our human development understanding must be based on our own cultural context towards cultural development from our own realizations and enlightenments .No doubt that August Comte is the father of Sociology; but we need to learn Our Sociology through our own Fathers like Thanthai Periyar. We need to move from thinking to action. Again the closest example can be the Self-Respect Movement of Periyar:

To allow people to live a life of freedom from slavery to anything against reason and self respect;

To do away with needless customs, meaningless ceremonies, and blind superstitious beliefs in society;

> To put an end to the present social system in which caste, religion, community and traditional occupations based on the accident of birth, have chained the mass of the people and created "superior" and "inferior" classes... and to give people equal rights;

Going back to the roots of the culture and cherishing the indigenous insights are the most prominent voices of present day realization especially from Latin America and Africa. In this context the 'Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World' discourse of Escober rejects entire scenario of present-day development and invite alternative to development. It may be difficult to reject the entire scenario and that may lead us to the hazard of 'no goal' game of present-day post modernist discourses.

Lets us all get together without any bias and evaluate the contemporary situation. My own suggestion at this juncture is to give our focus on a balanced transformation in a holistic perspective. Our development arena must be village, region and nation. We need to work at macro and micro levels. Our focus must be Social development rather than human development. By sharpening and redefine/renew the social development perspective in a wider frame work, we can achieve Human development.

At this juncture, I wish to propose the working definition of development by Portes 'On the sociology of National Development: Theories and Issues'- can be a guideline of our deliberation:

1. Economic transformation:
   Economic transformation, in the direction of sustained and rapid increases in the national product and the conquest of decision centers in manufacturing, which give the country a measure of autonomy for guiding its future growth.

2. Social Transformation:
   Social Transformation, in the direction of a more egalitarian distribution of income and widespread access of the population to social goods such as education, health services, adequate housing, recreational facilities and participation in political decision making.

3. Cultural Tranformation:
   Cultural Transformation, in the direction of reaffirmation of national identity and traditions. Emergence, in elite and masses alike, of a new self image which dispel feelings of second–rate nationality and external subordination.

FAECES AND CASTE UNTOUCHABILITY

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Two Tales of Crow and Sparrow: A Freudian Folkloristic Essay on Caste and Untouchability by Alan Dundes**.** Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc., London, 1997, Pp.i-xii+162.

While beginning his research on the Indian caste and untouchability based on the two versions of the folktale of crow and sparrow, Alan Dundes quotes from the words of M. K. Gandhi. This quotation seemed to be relevant for him. Here it goes thus:

"I regard untouchability as the greatest blot on Hinduism….. If we do not cleanse ourselves of this cursed untouchability, Hinduism and Hindus are bound to perish."

In his preface Dundes writes that his book is about the taboos of caste and untouchability in the Indian society. He has designed his book running for 137 pages and for about pages nearly 378 reference articles and other books of references have been listed under secondary sources. Reading that list itself will cudgel up our brains.

Alan Dundes has been one of the most renowned scholars in the discipline of Folkloristics. It is befitting to honour the concern shown by him to eradicate the system of caste and untouchability prevailing in India. Though not comparable with the erudition expressed in the studies done by Alan Dundes, still there are a few scholars mentionable for their scholarly works done in the respective languages of Bengali, Marathi, Kannada, Punjabi, to cite a few. Whereas in Tamilnadu, eminent scholars like N. Vaanamaamalai, S. D. Lourdu, I. Muthiah and others have made their imprints on the sands of folkloristic studies. Among those research students involved in Tamil studies, many are coming from the backward and scheduled communities of the Tamil society.

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It is observable to note that their research topics are found being related to their own specific locale-centred and settlement centred and caste and cult-centred ones as well. Their researches are mostly carried out from their respective inclinations towards caste affinity, which consequently will make them easily procure their research degrees. It is because of these tendencies found among the research students, they yield themselves to untoward criticisms.

It is significant to note that Alan Dundes' study of folktales in the Freudian perspectives has not been meant for getting any titular degree but only for the transformation of Indian society. He iterates that those writings on the caste system of Indian society amounting approximately about 2000 books published until the fifties of the last century and from the explanations about the backgrounds of Indian ethnology, society, religion, history and economics the Indian attitudes about caste and untouchability had not yet been amply analysed or explained; because those literatures/writings were merely the collection of informations and descriptions on untouchability (p.10).

Firstly he gives various interpretations about the Indian caste system; secondly, commenting that untouchability is highly atrocious, he poses the question as to why a particular section of society alone has to be considered as untouchables? The western culture is not simply able to comprehend this social evil. The pollution caused contagiously by the so called untouchables who are socially excluded sections to the touchables could be expunged by some alleviating rituals (for the Brahmins specifically), for the pollution incurred is a temporary blemish. Whereas, no amount of ritual could atone for the so called pollution which has been bestowed upon the untouchables from their very birth. Further, not even their posterity could blot out the pollution incurred from their births, being a permanent one, it will be handed down from one generation to another. This kind of conceptualization of the so-called social evil of Untouchability as 'a constantly and fixedly permanent pollution, even as a belief system' is something beyond any American or European ken, as per the view of Alan Dundes.

Then Dundes accounts the atrocities and crimes done under the pretext of casteism by the upper caste sections including Brahmins with irrefutable evidences. Till the recent past both the Brahmins and the other upper caste people had been wantonly cherishing the unbearable and irrational 'phobia' that they might be polluted by the 'outer world', if there is a free mingling with the untouchables. They hadn't had any apprehension like being looted or assaulted by the polluting outcastes; but, they had been very much overwhelmed by the so called phobia against untouchability. Whereas, the same patterns of

apprehensions have taken various phobic forms in these days: whether the most backward and dalit caste peoples may be superseding them in terms of economic, political and social statuses. This type of phobic apprehension alone has been triggering their current political strategies.

After depicting the cruelties of untouchability prevalent in India and also making a citation that there could not be found a single phenomenon of causation for the origin of untouchability, Dundes has ventured to put forth his hypothesis for elucidating the origination of untouchability. It is as follows: Only because of the underlying dynamics of folk belief complex embedded in the subconscious, the Indians has been goaded to uphold the practice of untouchability. To elucidate this Dundes undertakes two well known folktales in India. Dundes, then, goes on to prove how far it is justifiable for expounding the social custom with the help of analysing folktales prevailing in that society. "We may consider a folktale not only as a valuable mirror of the society to which its narrator and audience belong, but more importantly as a prime example of an 'obtrusive measure', so useful as a means of investigating that society" (p.24). According to Dundes the folktale is a native construction, constructed without the inevitable bias of the outsider, even if there is any, it might have been a bias infused by the so called dominant sections (p.25).

Dundes opines that he would be very much pleased if the exposition of these folktales could lead to annihilate casteism. Whereas a kind of diametrically opposite trend appears in the studies of folktales by the so called scholars hailing from various caste backgrounds, instead of annihilating the caste belief complex by their expositions it has only strengthened the very venomous root cause of caste beliefs of the same respectively.

In the first tale, the crow and the sparrow prepare their food. At the time of dining, the sparrow refuses to dine with the crow since it has not cleaned its beak. So, the crow has started to seek for water for cleansing its beak. Trying to have instructions from various beings and places, at last it has burnt itself in the furnace of the blacksmith. There are different versions of the tale depicting different places or beings advising the crow to seek water for cleansing. The crow asks for the sparrow's young ones for eating. But the sparrow denies that by saying the crow is of 'Mahar' caste and whereas the sparrow is of Brahmin caste. Eventually, after reading through all the versions of the tale Dundes finally arrives at this observation: There will never occur an occasion between them to dine together; The crow is a polluted being; that pollution can never be rooted out; hence, all the places sought after for cleansing the pollution, will be in the statuses of ascending order of caste hierarchy.

In the second tale, the crow, having lost its nest in the gale, sought shelter in the sparrows nest. After giving many excuses and delaying the entry of the crow, the sparrow had at last given shelter to the crow, in its nest. All the food procurements stored by the sparrow were totally consumed by the crow and for refilling, the crow had defecated therein. Coming to know about this filthy activity of the crow, the sparrow decided to teach a lesson by placing a red hot iron within. The crow without knowing the scheme entered in and got burnt and started flying out, crying 'KA… KA….'. From these types of tales Dundes has concluded as follows:

* The sparrows are pure beings, signifying high status of caste hierarchy;
* The crows are impure beings, signifying low status of caste hierarchy leading to untouchability;
* The impurity of the crow can never be cleansed out nor be eradicated out and out;
* The crow can never dine with the sparrow. If trespassed, it will perish or be perished.

Also Dundes elucidates the binaries implicitly indicated in these tales, which are: sparrow x crow, beak (mouth) x anus, food x faeces, water x fire and life x death.

In the Indian culture, crow has been always considered as a scavenger bird; a bird of impurity; a bird spreading pollution. Further, it has been taken as a symbol of soul after death. Hence, there has been a custom of offering a sacrificial meal. To be specific, crows are always found to take as their food only the things of waste, left overs, carcasses and such other things. Hence, it is deemed as a bird eating only the polluted. Therefore, Dundes regards the bird 'crow' among the birds species as a bird representing 'pollution', following the perspective of Abbe Dubois who has ranked the bird crow among the bird species as a 'pariah bird'.

Though some of the research findings of Dundes are generally acceptable, yet there are some questions and refutations, too are arising. Dundes has never said anywhere, that, the two tales of crow and sparrow taken for his research had had any prevalence among the people of Dalit caste, either in their original forms or in their various versions of them. Dundes narrates one version of the tale which may be affirmed in the view point of dalits. The version of the tale, wherein, the crow seeking shelter in the sparrow's home pollutes it by defecating as a revenge for being kept delayed a long time before granting shelter, depicts the satirical parody of the dalit against the upper castes.

In one particular Tamil version of a tale, a sparrow is depicted as representing the poor working class of the folk. In this tale, a sparrow with broken wings seeks shelter from a mango tree, a banyan tree and a palm tree. Having been denied shelter by the banyan and mango tree, a lonely palm tree alone has given shelter to the hurt sparrow. When all the trees except the palm tree have been uprooted by the gale, the broken winged sparrow has been rescued and felt happy. This tale manifests the cultural aspect of ethnic groups' fellowship. As Dundes considers, crow does not seem to represent a monotypical feature or belong to a monotypical ethnic tradition. In one of the Sangam Corpus of literature, *kurunthokai* (verses no.: 210) the bird 'crow' has been described as a herald of guest's arrival. Hence, crows are treated with sacrificial food offerings. Even Thiruvalluvar also makes use of the bird 'crow' for symbolically metaphorising the sense of fellowship and gregariousness. This special perspective of viewing the bird 'crow' as a representative symbol of fellowship and gregariousness is of the Tamils. But, there exists a diametrically opposite perspective of the bird 'crow' in the domains of Aryan culture. According to this perspective, 'crow' represents ignorance, gullibility, impurity, the state of living on abject leftovers, the vehicle of the Lord Saturn and the bird being accursed by the Goddess Sita for pecking at her nipples. All the above said characteristics pertaining to the bird `crow' simply derogatorily degrades the connotation of that bird in the Aryan culture. Hence, the treatment ennobling crow belongs to the Tamil tradition and the treatment degrading the character of crow belongs to the Vedic tradition. Hence, the tale studied by Dundes comes under the category of the crow being treated as a debased one belongs to the perspective of the Vedic tradition. This way of making analytical investigations into the folk themes will only uphold the perspective of the ideological construction of the Aryan culture.

It is pertinent to make an important note at this juncture. Even nowadays, there may be in existence any one folktale among the aboriginal ethnic groups which may have the possibilities of expressing either positive views of the ethnic groups or negative views against the core groups or even may be influenced by the perspectives of the core groups. So, these kinds of impacts might have occurred among the different versions of a single tale simply because of the culturally contradictory traditions. Hence, this view point needs to be significantly kept in mind by the scholars.

Dundes follows a scientific research methodology to establish a hypothesis for deducing the origin of caste and untouchability. He has taken more efforts to enlist accurate data from the tales of crow and sparrow to substantiate his chosen hypothesis. This might be very essential for his research.

But, at the same time he would have taken pains to put forth the aspects of the counter traditional elements which may be astounding to his hypothesis. Perhaps, Dundes would have read the works of some Tamil professors who had written text books, corroborating the concept of hypothesis, as if, it were an unchangeable fixed saddle to a horse.

Dundes might have excluded citing the quotations invested with the ethnocentric views and opinions of Abbe Dubois, a French priest who had immigrated to India in order to escape from the cruelties of French revolution. Only because of Abbe Dubois, who had written about the bird crow as a pariah caste bird among the bird species, the term `pariah' as a caste nomenclature has been registered in the European languages' lexicography as a term of abusive connotation.

As per the findings of his research, Dundes has reached a parallelism between the terminologies of *pollution*, *impurity*, *abjectness* and *faeces*, *saliva*, *body dirt* and defined it as a mental construction of the people. This parallelism has led Dundes to arrive at a hermeneutics of associating the Hindu construction of human physiology, which equates the 'mouth part' with the upper caste Brahmin and the lower part 'anus' with those low castes removing faeces and wastages.

Dundes pre-concludes that there is a fifth varna beyond the fourth one. To enhance the concept of fifth varna, Dundes has adduced some examples from the vedic culture and specifically to substantiate that, he has taken the term 'panchama' from the later Manu script, used only as a term of abuse even though it has not had such connotative sense in the purusha sukta of the Rg veda. According to him, the untouchables are from the Anus of Brahma. Dundes has already preconcluded that the untouchables are comparable with the excreta as per the very convention.

In order to emphasize this parallelism between the excreta and untochability, Dundes seeks the help of Freudian psychoanalysis. The psychological complex about the excreta has been embedded deeply inside the domain of the subconscious of the Indian minds from their very childhood days. The trainings given in the childhood days for toilet manners have moulded their mental attitudes of the children to equate the untouchables with human excreta, as they had been in the walk of removing almost all the human internal and external excreta. Hence, the untouchables are deemed as polluted and deserved to be kept aloof and deserved to be set aside of co-mingling with others. This is a subconscious complex. The children have been let free to defecate wherever and whenever possible till the age of five;

The Indian children are groomed to maintain order and purity in their toilet behaviour.

This type of sudden intervention made by their elders has brought the psychological complex of a 'crackdown paradox'. This crackdown paradox has paved way for the formation of a morbid 'complex of disgust'. Dundes comes to the conclusion from this Freudian analysis, that, this complex of 'Disgust-Morbidity' has been found to be the root cause of the practice of untouchability.

Though this seems to be one among the causes for the formation of caste taboos in India, such like taboos are not found in other countries or societies, where, the same type of toilet manners are found being practised. There are also many other historical factors causative of the caste tabooism other than these of the crackdown paradox forming in the subconscious. One must also turn to the works of Ayothee Dassar and Ambedkar for their studies about the origination of the caste system and practice of untouchability.

Dundes leads us to the conclusion, that, as the one by sixth of the total caste population had been doing the services of the scavengers for the rest of the five by sixth part of the caste totality, those people have been kept aloof by the rest as untouchables. This way of reaching to a conclusion has happened simply because of his correlating one by sixth of the people with the service of the scavengers.

This typical conclusion reached by Dundes had come out of this non-tracking on the path of quest, he should have taken historically viewing the major factors which were rampant in the past Indian society: agricultural labour done for unfair wages, unremenurated service of servitude, domestic labour, farm labour, unpaid labour for the commune done had been the lot ordained for the low caste and the untouchable group exploited by the forces of ideology and forces of weaponry. This causal factors which were historically overlording the people in the then Indian society have not been taken into his study has led Dundes to give more weightage to the mental complex of disgust morbidity brought out of correlation with the toilet manners for clearing the excrements.

Dundes goes on expanding the very complexity of morbid mentality, adduced out of the so called upper caste Hindus' belief pertinent to the abjectness of the human excreta. Hence, according to Dundes the untouchables are in correspondence with the human excreta; pollution infectors; wives too are deemed to be defiled and polluted by the touch of their husbands' excreted semen; in widowhood, those will be treated as untouchables. As per the belief

system maintained by the upper caste Hindus for the purification of the pollution bequeathed to the widows could be expunged only by burning them alive.

Dundes has not proved that the so called vagabonds or gypsies wandering in the European countries had been there for about a thousand years might have migrated from India. Though there are found to be some similarities of belief system found among those gypsies, in no way, Dundes has affirmed that thousand years ago they had been in India, wallowing in the so called quagmire of the Indian caste based social structure, connected with caste purity, impurity, pollution and untouchability.

Finally, Dundes himself comes to a conviction, that, he has never come to the point of finding the sole cause for the prevalence of caste and untouchability in India; this would have been sown by the very harsh training given to the children for the toilet manners, differentiating the pure from the impure. `Among the many factors chiefly forwarding for the existence of caste system, untouchability, a single factor like the toilet training alone could never be the sole causative element in any culture'. This is a commendable self criticism made by Dundes upon himself and this shows he knows that knowledge has its own limitation, too.

Further, he goes on to put forth some suggestions for gradually lessening the life-force for maintaining the foul mental attitude of untouchability:

* The knowledge and study accrued from the academic circles must be promulgated to the public society;
* The training meant for toilet manners should be given to the children from the age of three months onwards instead of forcibly imposing upon the children at the age of five. This will certainly mitigate the traumatic shock, afflicting on the children's subconscious;
* Indians have to seek proper solutions for the ill-rotten evil behavioural system by finding their own strategies;

While summing up his study, Dundes expresses his innermost aspiration that he would feel complacent that the knowledge so far he has gathered about the Indian society years together has become fruitfully fulfilled. Will all those Indian scholars of folkloristics share the same spirit of Dundes in eradicating the so called evils of the Indian society?
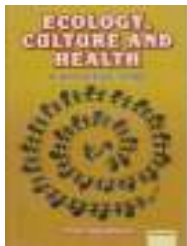
BOOK REVIEW

ECOLOGY, CULTURE AND HEALTH: A PRIMITIVE TRIBE
by Pramod Mishra. New Delhi: Serials, 2004, pp.344, Rs.850.

Reviewed by **V. Pragati**
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Health and culture are closely connected with ecology. Hence, the traditional health care system and treatment are based on observations and understanding of nature and environment. The deep rooted ancient tradition of India have prescribed the life style, dietary pattern, socio-cultural behaviour and health behaviour as well. They are highly pronounced in tribal areas where outside influences, education and urbanization are minimal. The health–seeking behaviour of primitive tribal groups is considered to be greatly associated with their beliefs, customs, and practices. A majority of population in these societies is illiterate, poor and lacking modern health facilities. The health and disease are a continuous process and are linked with the health seeking behaviour of the community. The book under review is a study of both the theory and practice of ecology, culture, health of tribal communities in India, in general, and, the Saharia tribe of Rajasthan, in particular. The book is divided into six chapters.

In the beginning, the author describes the concepts of medical anthropology and their development with respect to culture and health. The primitive tribal groups have been classified the diseases and the methods of treatment with particular reference to their health seeking behaviour. Mishra has tried to ascertain whether there is an interrelationship between socio-cultural practices, environmental conditions and health aspects existing among Saharia tribe. It seems to be the core idea of Mishra to study the ecological, demographic, cultural and economic aspects affecting the health of the Saharia tribe. Further, he has tried to incorporate the impact of various health programmes on the tribe and to ascertain their preference for the type of system of medicine. And, he explains lucidates the factors associated with the non-utilization of health services provided by government agencies.

The book aims to obtain an integrated picture of the community's profile: health, sickness, socio-economic conditions, settlement pattern, environmental and ecological conditions, the background of the existing medical and sanitary facilities available in the areas of the Saharia tribe.

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For the above purpose, Mishra has done his fieldwork in 16 Saharia villages and collected data from 300 households. In order to find out the relationship among ecology, culture and health among the Saharia, both the primary as well as secondary data have been used. Mishra has used both the qualitative and the quantitative approaches as well for his analysis.

Ecology plays an important role in shaping the mode of livelihood of the people. The tribal community of Saharia prefers to live nearer to forests, for it depends considerably on forest products. The study done by Mishra on socio-cultural life of Saharia highlights that the impact of ecology on their economy is indispensable and the environment has significantly influenced their economy. A trend of occupational mobility from traditional to modern has been observed among the Saharia. In the first phase, they have shifted from clan-oriented food gathering stage to pre-agricultural stage and in the second phase, they have shifted from family based settled agriculture to a dependent economy of wage earning stage. The study finds that the Saharia are in a stage of transmission in their economic activities, considering living mode of survival and livelihood security.

The Saharia believe in supernatural powers and they have strong feeling that different deities and spirits are responsible for causing different diseases. The spirits of dead ancestors are also believed to play an important role in ensuring good health, prosperity and protection of the community. Among tribe, there is a strong belief that persons harbouring evil and mystical powers can also affect the health of a person. Therefore, they rely on traditional healers, who can identify the causes of illness and give treatments. Finally, tribe do not associate disease and epidemics with their insanitary conditions of living but associate them to the wrath of gods and goddesses.

The contents, however, raise certain important questions. A few of them can be mentioned here, like the last chapter of the book is unnecessarily included. Though it is entitled as summary, conclusion and suggestions, nothing has been concluded or summarised, except a considerable amount of theoretical, conceptual and epistemological debate concerning ecology, culture and health of tribal communities. To sum up, the book under review presents an earnest effort, but there are a few flaws in the content and orientation of the book.

However, the author has done a timely contribution. This book covers significant aspects of Saharia tribal group of Rajasthan. On the whole, this book is very well readable. For anthropologists, it will be of tremendous relevance because they will discover many ideas that they have found in simple societies refined, carried forward, reflected upon, and systematised in complex societies. The publishers Serials publications has nicely brought out this book.

NOTES TO CONTRIBUTORS

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Annamalai, E. 1992. "On the Function of the Reflexive Forms in Tamil". *PILC Journal of Dravidic Studies* 2:2: 139-46.

Karunakaran. K. 1980. "A Study of Social Dialects in Tamil". In Agesthialingom and K.Karunakaran(Eds.) *Sociolinguistics and Dialectology*, 154-68. Annamalainagar: Annamalai University.

Subramoniam, V.I 1973. *Debates on the Grammatical Theories in Dravidian.* Trivandrum*:* Dravidian Linguistics Association.

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