CHAPTER - VI

EMERGENCE OF HINDU REVIVALISM
The silent revolution in the form of Sanskritisation results the need for religious identity. The consciousness for obtaining religious identity nurtured day by day. As a result of this the revivalist gives more popularity to the worship of folk deities and to accommodate such deities in the spectrum of Hinduism. The revivalist already made all platforms ready to incorporate such deities. For this they made all forefront activities such as the change of sthalapuranas, installation of Vedic deities in the temples of folk tradition and what not. But, this revival process, led to two types of thinking. First the revivalist satisfied with the Sanskritisation process as their own. Secondly, the conservatives of folk tradition conceived this as the ritual domination of the upper class and willfully made to loose the identity of the folk culture and rituals associated with them. An attempt is made to explain the veracity of Sanskritisation and how it caused the emergence of Hindu revivalism.

6.1. Loss of grip over Vedic tradition

Now a day the people lose grip over Vedic tradition. They are changing their attention towards the worship of folk deities.¹ Large number of people began to worship of folk deities. Whereas, the popular temples of Vedic tradition lose their attraction and no such

¹ Interview with Shanthi on 10th September 2005 at Tiruchirappalli.
crowd in these shrines.² There are some exceptions. But in total the
grip over the worship of Vedic tradition is slowly declining. The
Hindu revivalists find favour on this started to assimilate all the
popular local elements and incorporated them in their Hindu fold.

6.2. Sanskritisation and Hindutva

The process of Sanskritisation is resulted the growth of
Hindutva and the consciousness of Hindu revivalism. The previous
chapter has explained the different methods for Sanskritisation of
folk deities. When it sanskritised the folk deities has resulted
positive and negative impacts to the hindutvavadis and folk
worshippers respectively. At the matured level of Sanskritisation of
folk deities Vedic people and hindutvavadis enjoy maximum level of
followers and constitute a majority.³ This helped them to boast a
hindutva ideology.

6.3. Impacts on folk tradition

The first method of Sanskritisation of folk deities is on
conversion of folk deities into Vedic deities and also the installation
of Vedic deities in the temples of folk tradition have resulted the
supremacy of Vedic deities over folk deities.⁴ For this purpose they
are all now made as the subordinate sister or avatar or

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² 'The Impact of Pluralism on the Deities of Little Tradition', Research article presented by S. Xavier, in the 40th Annual Conference of the Institute of Historical Studies (Kolkata) held at Udupi from 7th to 9th November 2003.
³ Personal observation.
⁴ Personal observation
personification of Vedic deities. The *sthalapuranas* and other literary evidences are being created and restructured. It is achieved either through providing a link with any Vedic deity. The impact of these puranas and stories is perceived by the people in different connotations. They perceived all these stories with the mentality of superiority of Vedic deities and Vedic people over folk deities and folk worshippers respectively. Another interesting feature is Sankritised marriage of Vedic deities with folk deities. Less importance is given to the folk deities at the same time greater importance is given to Vedic counterpart. Having seen all these features the folk worshippers internalise the insignificant role of folk female deities and later justified it connecting with their day to day life.

Frequently the folk deities are incorporated with Vedic stories. A popular story nowadays systematically popularised is Thippainjamman story with Sita, an epic character of Ramayana. When people perceived this story unwillingly internalise Ramayana from its original epic nature. Creating aversion over the blood sacrifices is an important mode of Sanskritisation. The projection of impurity of blood sacrifices and undue popularity towards this resulted give up of blood sacrifices by the folk worshippers both in

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7 Personal observation.
8 Interview with Velayutham on 29th December 2006 at Cuddalore.
the urban and rural folk temples. It slowly tends to the entry of Vedic priests into the folk temples for pujas and rituals.

Agamas influenced the construction of temples of folk tradition. Agamic rules and Vaasthu Sastras are strictly followed at the time of construction of a temple. Due to these, the simple structure of folk temples is altered with various features such as sanctum sanctorum, mantapas, prakaras, gopuras and other related features. The introduction and influence of agamas restricted the entry of folk worshippers into the sanctum sanctorum.

Ferocious look of folk deities is converted into soft look. It is symbolically represented the modernisation process. By which folk deities are alienated from their worshippers. Extensive temple building activities in the name of Hindu congregation result the projection of Hindu religion, as majoritarian religion.

6.4. Emergence of Hindutva

The Hindu Revivalism is not a recent phenomena but it dates back to 1820’s. When the Britishers adopted the policy of divide and rule caused the emergence of Hindu revivalism. The forefront leaders of Arya Samaj, Brahma Samaj and much more organisations

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11 Interview with Velayutham on 29th December 2006 at Cuddalore.
12 ibid.
14 ibid, p. 12.
were started for the propagation of Hindu revivalism. The freedom aided by religious leaders also caused the emergence of Hindu revivalism especially in the southern part of India.

The revivalism generated in various forms. First, it was a linguistic and literary process. In this moment, much literature glorified the Vedic culture such as Mukkoodarpallu, Periyapuranam, Kamba Ramayanam and other literature were created. In this list modern literature such as Jeyamohan’s *Vishnupuram* also glorifies the Vedic culture and Vedic people. In fact, it was a basic or means for a deeper and wider process. Secondly it was made as a political process. At the time of freedom movement it gained the religion cum nationalism dimension. In this time, they gained political power and became pressure groups. Thirdly it became economic process. In this time in the form of land grant and other monetary benefits, brahmanical landlord system or agrarian economy was implemented. Finally, in order to get wide respect and control over the society, they converted the process of Sanskritisation into a religious one. Now, the Hindu revivalism and the process of Sanskritisation are a multi-dimensional one and not a single factor.

Revivalism has another characteristic. The Aryan pride and the Vedic glory are the important aspects of that revivalism. The Sangh Parivar is attempting to revive the ancient golden age by recourse to

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15 ibid, p. 11.
17 ibid, p. 1.
caste and religion. In concrete terms it is through recourse to manuvad dharma and the religious texts of the upper castes that a golden age can once again be established.\(^{19}\)

The folk people have been aggressively hinduised obstructing their search for their identity and heritage. Women have been relegated to spaces of homes and kitchens, encouraging them to internalise images of sati, Sita and Savitri and take up occupations in homes as cooks, mothers and wives.\(^{20}\)

With Hindutva, therefore, as their articulated ideology, the second invasion of Aryans has been inaugurated.\(^{21}\) But what must be noted is the significant difference between the first and second Aryan invasions.\(^{22}\) While the first began with the territorial colonisation of the Dravidians followed by the subjugation of their minds through Vedic religion and culture and the indirect control of the monarchical governance system, the second started with the direct control of the modern democratic governance system, followed by the colonisation of the Dravidian minds through resurgence of Vedic religion and culture and modern technology, and reinforcing this colonisation process by exercising control over the capitalist market economy.\(^{23}\)

Achyut Yagnik, political scientist and coordinator of the Ahmedabad-based centre for Social Knowledge and Action says

\(^{19}\) ibid, p. 14.


\(^{21}\) ibid, p. 17.

\(^{22}\) Paul Mike & Aloysius, *op. cit*, p. 28.

\(^{23}\) ibid, p. 28.
thus, “The Sangh has systematically made inroads among Dalits and tribal and is using them as instruments of Hindutva. This is being achieved with extended government patronage. A systematic Hindutva campaign is on the tribal religion. The Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) and the Bajrang Dal have registered their presence at the village level”\textsuperscript{24} Hindutva is not an ideology of ordinary, peace loving, working class Hindus. On the other hand, as can been seen, it is an ideology of Brahmanism, evolved with a sinister plan of maintaining its caste supremacy.\textsuperscript{25}

6.5. Origin of the RSS

The RSS, the mother of all other Hindu fundamentalist movements, was started by a Brahmin, named Keshav Baliram Hedgewar, in Nagpur for the youth espousing Hindu religion on Vijaya Dashami in 1925 – a Hindu festival celebrated by Brahmins to commemorate the victory of Rama – a symbol of Aryans – over Ravana – a symbol of Dravidians.\textsuperscript{26}

The movement was started following the consultation held in Hedgewar’s house on 25\textsuperscript{th} September 1925 by five persons: P.S. Moonje, S.V. Paranjipe, K.P. Hedgewar, Dholkar and Babarav Savarkar.\textsuperscript{27} All of them were Maharastrian Brahmins. An interesting fact is that although the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak (RSS) publications refer to this ‘five member consultation’, to date they have not

\textsuperscript{24} Davinder Kumar, Poisoned Edge, Outlook, 1\textsuperscript{st} July 2002, p. 69.
\textsuperscript{25} Paul Mike & Aloysius, op. cit, p. 134.
\textsuperscript{26} A. Marx, (Indhuthuvam: Oru Panmugha Aaivu), op. cit, p. 48.
\textsuperscript{27} Paul Mike & Aloysius, op. cit, p. 159.
officially revealed their names. The reason for this secrecy was that they were all the leaders of the Hindu Maha Sabha. It was only after Hedgewar’s death that Paranjipe, in an article appearing in ‘Kesari’ on 15\textsuperscript{th} July 1940 mentioned these names.

It is known fact that the RSS was started to protect the interests of the Brahmin community. Its leadership right from its inception had been held by Brahmins barring one person, Mr Rajendra Singh.\textsuperscript{28}

The prayer used by RSS till 1939 in all its meetings

\begin{verbatim}
'Salutations to you, O Mother Land where I am born
Salutations to you, O Land of Aryas, where I have grown
Salutations to, O sacred Land, where I have worked'
\end{verbatim}

In 1927 the RSS organised a camp called ‘Officers Camp’ in Nagpur. Hedgewar was disappointed because of the poor turn out of participants. During that time, he came in contact with Golwalker who was a lecturer in Hindu University of Varanasi. Following this contact, Hedgewar started sending the youth of his fold to Varanasi University who were taken care of and motivated by Golwalker.\textsuperscript{29} Golwalker who was very helpful to the newly founded organisation was called ‘Guruji’ in the RSS circles. This was appointed him as General Secretary of the RSS in 1938 by Hedgewar. Later in 1940

\textsuperscript{28} ibid, p. 159.
\textsuperscript{29} Paul Mike, \textit{Thandavam}, Mukhil Veliyeedu, IDEAS, Madurai, 1999, p. 4.
following the death of Hedgewar, Golwalker promulgated himself as the leader of the RSS.³⁰

When Golwalker took charge, the RSS had only 30 branches outside Nagpur. Soon, because of the efforts taken by Golwalker, the RSS established its branches in all major cities of Hindi speaking states.³¹ In 1945, in the Officers Camp organised by Golwalker, 10,000 youth took part. Golwalker held the leadership of RSS from 1940 to 1973. He was the one who evolved Hindutva ideology combined with fascism, and initiated an organisational structure to carry forward the ideology.³²

Since its inception, the RSS has been propagating a militant form of ‘Hindu Nationalism’ which it says is ‘the sole basis for national identity in India’. According to the RSS, the leaders of India’s nationalist movement and those of post-independence India failed to create a nation based on Hindu culture. It considers Western thought and civilisation as enemies of Hindu culture. Religions such as Islam and Christianity are depicted as alien to India, for they are seen as the religions of foreign invaders – the Mughals and the British.³³ The RSS wanted ‘the entire gamut of social life’ to be designed ‘on the bedrock of Hindu Nationalism’, a goal that inspired the creation of the RSS political, social and educational wings, a family of organisations that is now referred to

collectively as the Sangh Parivar. Its famous slogan is ‘One Nation, One Religion and One Culture’.

It was started in 1925 by Hedgewar and it’s gave birth to various movements. Each has a different name with specific functions, but all have the same ideology and operate under the same umbrella organisation, namely that of RSS that is why the RSS is called the mother of all Hindutva movements. This strategy of starting different movements in various parts of the country, sometimes assuming names having regional colouring, has helped the RSS to get rooted in the cultures of different people living in different regions. Further, it has helped the RSS to protect itself, from being banned by the Government in one stroke as was done following the murder of Gandhi. If at all a ban order is clamped by any Government, it may affect only that particular movement which is directly responsible for any law and order problem in a particular region, and may not, therefore, cause any damage to other movements operating in other places. In the following passage, an outline of all the Hindutva outfits is given in order to facilitate the understanding of the RSS outfits.

6.5. Ideology of RSS

M.S. Golwalker, the Sarsangchalak of the RSS, wrote in 1939,

34 Paul Mike & Aloysius, op. cit, p. 161.
35 Ram Puniyani, op. cit, pp. 21 – 22.
36 Paul Mike, op. cit, p. 13.
37 Paul Mike & Aloysius, op. cit, p. 215.
"The foreign races in Hindustan (i.e. all Muslims and Christians) must either adopt the Hindu culture and languages, must learn to respect and hold in reverence the Hindu religion, must entertain no idea but the glorification of Hindu race and culture, i.e. of the Hindu nation, and must lose their separate existence to merge in the Hindu race, or stay in the country, wholly subordinated to the Hindu nation, claiming nothing, deserving no privileges far less any preferential treatment – not even citizen’s rights. There is, or at least should be, no other course for them to adopt".\(^{38}\)

All through his book ‘*We or Our Nationhood Defined*’, Golwalker uses the term ‘Hindu’ and ‘Aryan race’ synonymously. He thus sets out to show “...that Aryans did not migrate to India from anywhere but originate here. All historical evidence to the contrary is dismissed as the ‘shady testimony of western scholars’”.\(^{39}\)

To establish that Hindus and Hindus alone were the original inhabitants of India, Golwalker states: “We – Hindus – have been in undisputed and undisturbed possession of this land, nearly eight or even 10 thousand years before the land was invaded by any foreign race” and therefore, this land, “came to be known as Hindusthan, the land of the Hindus”.\(^{40}\)

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38 Golwalker, *We are Our Nationhood Defined*, New Delhi, 1939, p. 9.
39 ibid, p. 60.
40 *idem.*
Chapter – VI

The social structure of traditional Hinduism is slowly crumbling in the cities. Intercaste and interreligious marriages are becoming more frequent among the educated, although some aspects of the caste system show remarkable vitality, especially in the matter of appointments and elections. The bonds of the tightly knit Hindu joint family are also weakening, a process helped by legislation and the emancipation of women. The professional priests, who perform rituals for lay people in homes or at temples and sacred sites, complain of the lack of custom, and their numbers are diminishing.

Nevertheless, Hinduism is far from dying. Mythological films, once the most popular form of entertainment, are enjoying a renaissance. Organisations such as the Ramakrishna Mission flourish and expand their activities. New teachers appear from time to time and attract considerable followings. Militant fundamentalist Hindu organisations such as the Society for the Self-Service of the Nation (RSS) are growing steadily. Such movements can be seen as the cause or the result, or both, of persistent outbreaks of communal religious violence involving Hindus and Sikhs in north India, Tamil Hindus and Sri Lankan Buddhists in Sri Lanka, Tamil extremists and moderates in Tamil Nadu, and, still everywhere, Hindus and Muslims.

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41 Personal observation.
42 Interview with Shanthi on 10th September 2005 at Tiruchirappalli.
43 Interview with Sivakumar on 7th October 2006 at Tiruchirappalli.
6.7. Organisations

6.7.1. The Vishwa Hindu Parishad

The VHP was formed in 1964 to cover the social aspects of the RSS activities. The VHP organises and communicates the RSS message to Hindus living outside India and holds conferences for Hindu religious leaders from all over the country. The most publicised of the VHP’s activities was its campaign to build a temple to the Hindu god Ram on the site of the Babri Masjid mosque in Ayodhya, Uttar Pradesh. The VHP, along with the other Sangh Parivar organisations, claims that the site of the mosque is actually the birthplace of Ram and that a temple at that site had been destroyed by the Muslim ruler Babur in 1528 AD in order to build the mosque. As a retaliatory measure, on 6th December 1992 members of the VHP, the Bajrang Dal and RSS-trained cadres demolished the mosque. The police did not intervene. The incident sparked violence all over the country in which thousands were killed. Since then, the VHP has also organised a programme to reconvert those who had converted from Hinduism to other faiths.

6.7.2. Bajrang Dal

The Bajrang Dal (Party of Hanuman) is the militant youth wing of the VHP. It was formed in 1984 during the Babri Masjid conflict in order to mobilise the youth for the Ayodhya campaign. A young women’s association, the Durga Vahini, was also founded at this

44 Paul Mike & Aloysius, op. cit, p. 215.
45 ibid, p. 215. Also M. A. Xavier, op. cit, p. 19.
Unlike other organisations affiliated to the RSS, the Bajrang Dal is not directly controlled by the Sangh Parivar. With its loose organisational structure, it initially operated under different names in different states.

It played a major role ‘to counter Sikh militancy’ during the Sikh Genocide of 1983-84. It aimed at the eradication of Sikhs, whom it had termed as ‘Muslims in disguise’. Its cadres fought alongside Congress during this massacre. Its recruits carry a ‘knife-like trident to be slung across the shoulder – an answer to the ‘Sikh Kirpan’’. It has subsequently expanded its targets to include Muslims and Christians as well.\(^47\)

\textbf{6.7.3. Bharatiya Jan Sangh}

It was founded in October 1951 with the Bengal Brahmin Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, who had resigned from the allied ‘soft Brahminist Congress in April 1950, as its President until he died in 1953. Its cadres were carefully selected indoctrinated activists. The second President, Mauli Chandra Sharma, resigned in 1954 to protest against RSS domination of the party. It strove for an ‘Akhand Bharat’ that is ethnically cleansed of its Muslim and Christian population.\(^48\)

\textbf{6.7.4. Ranvir Sena}

Essentially the Brahmin private army of Bihar, this army of Ranvir militia was founded in 1994 by ‘the merger of several upper

\(^{47}\) Ram Puniyani, \textit{op. cit}, pp. 220 – 221.  
\(^{48}\) \textit{ibid}, p. 216.
caste private armies, such as the Savarna Liberation Front and the Sunlight Sena’, in order to combat Maoist Dalit organisations.\textsuperscript{49} Enjoying clandestine Government support, the organisation is devoted to ‘anti-Dalit terrorism’ and the preservation of the Vedic apartheid system. Its militiamen are known to be heavily armed with the most modern weaponry financed by the VHP, and the Sena has openly claimed responsibility for numerous massacres of landless Dalits and mass rapes of Dalit women. Human Rights Watch-New York estimates the private army to be responsible for more than 400 deaths in the past decade.\textsuperscript{50}

6.7.5. Shiv Sena

The Shiv Sena (Shivaji’s Army) arose as a movement amongst Congress members. It initially unleashed a programme of ‘physical annihilation’ of Communists and Dalits, and organised the mass murder of Bombay’s once influential Black South Indian communities (lungiwallahs) and Gujaratis.\textsuperscript{51} Subsequently, it is reported to have engaged in the mass murder of 3,000 Muslims at the time of Babri Masjid demolition.\textsuperscript{52}

6.7.6. Akila Bharathiya Vishwa Parishad

It comprises students of Hindu religious schools (Vidyalayas), this front ABVP Indian Universities Council has expanded its base by inflation into ‘secular’ universities. Its higher – ranking cadres

\textsuperscript{49} idem.
\textsuperscript{50} Paul Mike & Aloysius, \textit{op. cit}, p. 212.
\textsuperscript{51} \textit{ibid}, p. 212.
\textsuperscript{52} Ram Puniyani, \textit{op. cit}, p. 217.
are well equipped with weaponry; they often organise communal campus disturbances against Christians, Muslims, Sikhs, Buddhists and Jains. Most of its members graduate to become hardcore RSS and VHP militants.\textsuperscript{53}

6.7.7. Hindu Mahasabha (Great Congress of Hindus)

It is founded by Maratha Brahmin Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, the Sabha began as ‘an extremist wing of the Congress Party’. Influenced by ‘German racism’, Savarkar sought to establish a racially pure Hindu state, ethnically cleansed of its non-Hindu populations.\textsuperscript{54}

6.7.8. Hindu Students Council

The ‘students’ wing’ of the VHP, the Hindu Students Council (SC) conducted the World Vision 2000 Conference in Washington DC in 1993, which in fact was a celebration of the destruction of Babri Masjid and the attendant genocide of 5,000 Muslims.\textsuperscript{55} It is involved in setting up hardcore Hindutva websites across the Internet, spewing out hatred against Christians, Muslims, Buddhists and Sikhs.

6.7.9. Hindu Swayamsevak Sangh

The Hindu Swayamsevak Sangh (HSS) was formed in USA in the 1980s, ‘openly claiming allegiance to the founding principles of the RSS’, in order to organise Hindu swayamsevaks in America.\textsuperscript{56}

\textsuperscript{53} Ram Puniyani, \textit{op. cit}, pp. 167 – 168.  
\textsuperscript{54} \textit{ibid}, pp. 75 – 77.  
\textsuperscript{55} Paul Mike & Aloysius, \textit{op. cit}, p. 213.  
\textsuperscript{56} Paul Mike, \textit{op. cit}, p. 13.
6.7.10. Arya Samaj

Founded by Dayanand Sarasvati in 1875, the Dayanand Anglo-Vaidic schools (DAVs) are the propaganda wing of RSS designed to raise a generation of brainwashed militants. Most of its students go on to become hardcore RSS and ABVP members.\(^{57}\) It is said that the Arya Samaj is the fountain of the Hindutva movement, for ‘the rise of Hindu nationalism can be traced to the Arya Samaj in the nineteenth century’. A bigoted anti-Islamist, the following is what Dayanand Sarasvati had to say regarding Islam: “Such teachings deserve to be utterly discarded. Such a book (Quran), such a prophet (Mohammed) and such a religion (Islam) do nothing but harm. The world would be better off without them. Wise men would do well to discard a religion so absurd and accept the Vedic faith, which is absolutely free from error.”\(^{58}\) The main aim of which was to bring the Shudras who had embraced Sikhism and Islam back to the Hindu fold.

6.7.11. Ram Rajya Parishad

Ram Rajya Parishad formed with the explicit purpose of re-establishing Ram-Rajya (the Empire of Ram), its goal was the elimination of Sudroid Blacks\(^{59}\) and to establish a racially pure Aryan nation on the lines of Ram-Rajya. By 1967, however, the Parishad disappeared.

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\(^{57}\) Paul Mike & Aloysius, op. cit, p. 218.

\(^{58}\) Ram Puniyani, op. cit, p. 22.

\(^{59}\) The term Sudroid Blacks refers Dalits, Dravidians, Adivasis and Kolarians.
Hence the RSS is not a single movement. It is a cluster of movements known as the ‘Sangh Parivar’. All of them, while upholding the objective of the age-old Brahmanic hegemony, aim at the establishment of Ram-Rajya. The political wing of all these movements is the Bharathiya Janata Party, whose status is to be subservient to these movements and whose duty is to carry out the demands put forward by them. As the political wing, it is only a puppet in the hands of the Sangh Parivar and hence it cannot function independently without having consultations with the Sangh Parivar.

The Sangh Parivar has sympathisers in the Congress, a major national political party, which sometimes is called the ‘soft Hindutva’ wing of the Sangh Parivar, for it had played a major role in the Hindutva movement’s resurgence, specifically in three ways: First, due to intra party squabbles and conflicts arising from caste and class based group interests from power-driven leadership struggles, over the years the party lost its credibility to rule and caused a political vacuum in the country’s governance system, thus giving way to the Sangh Parivar to stake its claim for authority. Secondly, while losing its credibility to rule, the secular image of the party was gradually thrown to the winds and instead the religious card—be it Hindu, Muslim, Sikh or Christian — was played to garner votes at the electoral fray, thus blurring in the long run the secular –

60 Paul Mike, op. cit, p. 13.
61 Personal observation.
62 Paul Mike & Aloysius, op. cit, p. 219.
religious divide, even at times dissolving the former into the latter.\textsuperscript{63} Thirdly, while in power there were occasions when the Congress ducked in to the pressure exerted on it by the politically motivated religious forces.\textsuperscript{64} A clear instance is that of the Congress Prime Minister of India, Narasimha Rao, whose rule, for self-serving political purpose, in the demolition of the Babri Masjid in Ayodhya through his tactical delays in decision-making on this issue raised questions regarding the secular character of the Congress.\textsuperscript{65}

6.8. Functioning of Hindutva Forces

The BJP, RSS, VHP, Shiv Sena and other outfits function in different ways in different places. Needless to say, all these activities aim at making people unite on the basis of religion, keeping aside all other identities of oppression like folk, Tribal, regional languages, etc.

6.8.1. At the regional level

At the regional level, Hindutva forces function in the following ways:

\textit{Hindutvavadis} sponsor money for temple festivals of different cities and villages. They are encouraging people to celebrate Hindu festivals.\textsuperscript{66} Popularisation of Vedic deities like Rama and Ganesha, by distributing their pictures to each house is carried out.\textsuperscript{67}

\textsuperscript{63} ibid, p. 219.
\textsuperscript{64} idem.
\textsuperscript{65} ibid, p. 220.
\textsuperscript{67} RSS Secret Circular Command No. 17.
Propagation of Hinduism is the mother of all other religions and preaching that minority religions of India should come under the organisational structure of Hinduism.\textsuperscript{68}

Making people to believe that many Hindus are being converted to Islam and Christianity is an important slogan of these elements.\textsuperscript{69} They have installed flagpoles in every nook and corner and hoisted BJP and RSS flags. Conversion of common places like playgrounds, community halls, government schools, temples, etc in each village into ‘Shaka’\textsuperscript{70} centres.\textsuperscript{71} So far in all over Tamil Nadu 1,051 shakas were created on the basis of the report of the Outlook magazine.\textsuperscript{72}

Organising public meetings in each village and city, at which hardcore Hindutva leaders used to deliver inflammatory speeches. Bringing a section of people in each village and city into its fold by dividing the unity of the village and instigating violence through them is a main target. Distracting Dalits and Tribal from getting organised on the basis of their respective identities and luring them to get organised on the basis of the Hindu identity.\textsuperscript{73}

Bringing the rural folk religions of Dalits and Tribal into the Vedic fold and incorporation of \textit{pujaris} of folk traditions into the

\textsuperscript{68} Paul Mike, \textit{op. cit}, p. 234.
\textsuperscript{69} Paul Mike & Aloysius, \textit{op. cit}, p. 234.
\textsuperscript{70} Each Shaka centre owns membership ranging from 50 to 100.
\textsuperscript{71} \url{http://www.sedos.org/english/stanislaus_2.htm} accessed on 1st January 2007.
\textsuperscript{72} Outlook magazine, April 1998, p. 17.
\textsuperscript{73} Paul Mike & Aloysius, \textit{op. cit}, p. 235.
Hindu fold by offering them a monthly salary is another method. Hoisting the Saffron flag in each temple (both in cities and villages) and projecting a false view that the Hindu religion is perishing, and creating an army of Hindus to protect it. Making people believe in superstition – e.g. promoting Vaasthu Sastra. Promoting Sanskrit and encouraging people to give Sanskrit names to their children.

6.8.2. At the State and National levels

Making full use of the media is nowadays becoming a centre of activity. Organisation of ‘Kumbabishegam’ and Yagam on a larger scale and making Vedic people leaders a deciding authority in grave issues affecting the nation. Appointing Hindutvavadis to high posts in the government administration, judiciary, media, etc in a planned manner with an idea of pushing forward their hidden agenda. Making Hindutva cadres function as ‘cultural police’ who safeguard ‘Hindu culture.’

Suppressing the anti-communal efforts of secular thinking citizens and isolating them. Pressurising the minorities to return to the ‘mother religion’ is systematically made. (Hindu religion) Coaxing the Tribals, who certainly do not fall under the ‘Hindu fold’, into believing that they are Hindus.

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74 S. Thamizh Selvan, op. cit, p. 12.
75 Paul Mike & Aloysius, op. cit, p. 235.
76 RSS Secret Circular Commands No. 26 and 28. Also M.A. Xavier, op. cit, p. 79.
77 RSS Secret Circular Command No. 27.
In the guise of offering financial assistance, uniting all small temples with big ones and forcing them to conduct ceremonies according to Vedic traditions, sidelining or burying the folk traditions of Dalits. Installing pictures of Ram in all government offices and conduct pujas there and swallowing up all anti-Brahmin movements, such as Dravidian movements in Tamil Nadu, and rendering them totally inactive and instigating Hindu sentiments through the celebration of the Ganesha festival.

Sanskritisation is not only spreading to new sections and areas, it is also increasing among groups which are considered to be already Sanskritised in their style of life. The spread of Sanskritisation is aided by mass media and by such secular processes as the increased popularity of education and greater mobility, spatial as well as social. The idea of the equality of all men before the law, and the abolition of Untouchability, are throwing open a culture which was the monopoly of small traditional elites to the entire body of Hindus. The effects of some acts of legislation, such as the introduction of prohibition of the consumption of alcoholic drinks in many states, and the banning of the sacrifice of birds and animals in Hindu temples, are such as to make the government an unwitting but powerful agent of Sanskritisation.

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78 RSS Secret Circular Command No. 7.
79 RSS Secret Circular Command No. 7.
80 RSS Secret Circular Commands No. 5, 15 and 28.
6.9. Strategies followed by RSS

Mussolini once said, "Hitler and I have surrendered ourselves to our illusions like a couple of lunatics. We have only one hope left – to create myths". Needless to say, following the footsteps of Mussolini, the RSS outfits are busy in producing and discriminating myths in order to manipulate people's minds and behaviour and to manufacture consent for their hegemonistic designs.⁸²

6.9.1. False propaganda through myths and symbols

The term Propaganda means a systematic attempt to affect the minds, emotions and actions of a given group for political purposes. In the most general terms any attempt to persuade or to coerce the persons to accept a certain point of view or to take a certain action is the method of propaganda. 'It is the application of suggestion to large groups of people in a planned and systematic manner for the purpose of controlling their attitude and securing a predetermined mode of conduct' opined Charles Bird.⁸³ It is also defined as ‘the deliberate manipulation of symbols with the purpose of affecting people’s ideas, attitudes or behaviour in a particular way’.

This is what the RSS has been doing down the years. The Mahabharatha and Ramayana are epics written by ancient scholars. But the Sangh Parivar outfits have been projecting them as historical events. Myths should be treated as myths and not as history. But the

⁸² Paul Mike & Aloysius, op. cit, p. 225.
opposite is exactly what the RSS is doing today. The high percentage of illiteracy in the country is a fertile ground for mythical propaganda and for breeding religious communalism.\textsuperscript{84}

In similar manner, the Ganesha festival, a Vedic ritual, was used by Balgangathar Tilak to unite Hindus against the British during the freedom struggle. Now the same symbol (Ganesha) is used by the RSS elements to unite Hindus against the minorities. In the process, the folk deities of Dalits and their traditions are being replaced by Ganesh.\textsuperscript{85} Another deity Rama, a character found in the epic Ramayana, is projected as a symbol that unifies all the Hindus. But, as is well known, Rama is a symbol of Aryans. He is the God of the Vedic people and certainly not that of the Dalits and Tribal, though today, Dalits and Tribal are being forced to accept him as their God. In the name of building a temple for Rama, efforts are on to unite the Tribal, Dalits and Backward Castes.

\textbf{6.9.2. Disrupting Dalit Unity and Tribal Unity}

The RSS outfits will never allow the unity of Dalits, nor of Tribal. If these two sections of society emerge together as a separate force asserting their identity and rights, the supremacy of Vedic tradition will totter. If Dalits and Tribal happen to unite, that will be the end of Vedic people racial hegemony. Hence, the RSS elements will use all possible methods to thwart the alliance or solidarity efforts of Dalits and Tribal.

\textsuperscript{84} http://www.sedos.org/english/stanislaus_2.htm accessed on 1st January 2007.
\textsuperscript{85} Paul Mike & Aloysius, \textit{op. cit}, p. 224.
6.9.3. Luring Dalits and Tribal and instigating them against Minorities

Luring Dalits and Tribal and instigating them against minorities is the usual game plan of the Sangh Parivar. During the riots that took place in Coimbatore in 1999, Arunthathiyars (Dalits) were roped in to attack Muslims and looted their business establishments. During the recent violence in Gujarat, too, Dalits and Tribal were lured into attacking Muslims and looting their property. The idea behind this instigation of Dalits and Tribal is to disrupt the already existing unity of minorities with the oppressed sections, i.e. Dalits and Tribal, which is due to the selfless service of minorities to Dalits and Tribal down the years in the following areas: 1) Education, 2) Health and 3) Building up of Dalit and Tribal movements to assert their identities and rights.86

6.9.4. Making Dalits and Tribal believe that they are Hindus

The core RSS project is to turn people of all castes against Muslims and Christians. Hence, it repeatedly attempts to make Dalits and Tribal believe that they are Hindus, which is not true. The Hinduism that the Sangh Parivar speaks of is the religion of the Vedic people, which upholds caste hierarchy to the detriment of Dalits and Tribal.

* It regards all those who are not Muslims and Christians as Hindus

* Through the process of Sanskritisation, it makes educated Dalits imitate the upper castes. In the process, it makes them ignore and forget the material plight of their deprived brethren.
* It tries to rope in educated Dalits into the fold of the Sangh Parivar by offering those promises of power.\(^87\)

However, in reality, the Hinduism of Dalits does not fall into the above-mentioned category. Their religion has its roots in ‘folk traditions’, local deities who are none other than the heroes who worked for their upliftment. In reality caste hierarchy has no place in their religion. The inequality and discrimination they suffer within their communities is an acquired heritage from the Brahmanic caste system.\(^88\)

6.9.5. Homogenisation of Culture

India is a land of diverse cultures, languages and religions. Its pluralism is the uniqueness of Indian society. Forgetting the richness of the nation, the outfits of the Sangh Parivar are propagating the theory of ‘One Nation – One Culture – One Religion’. It is nothing but a cultural onslaught, which is totally unacceptable to people rooted in the world’s largest democracy.\(^89\)

6.10. Role of local elements for the cause of Sanskritisation

The process of Sanskritisation is made popular not alone with the efforts taken by external agencies. The cry and wish of the local people is also equally contributed to climb towards such a thing. The

\(^{87}\) Paul Mike & Aloysius, op. cit, p. 228.
\(^{88}\) ibid, p. 229.
\(^{89}\) ibid, p. 232.
local people interested to change their customs and way of living. Hence, they started to accept various elements of Sanskritisation as their own and good to accept them. The local people nowadays started to speak the languages of Vedic people and celebrated various festivals and ceremonies. They also started to adopt the Vedic method of living. In fact, they started somewhat hatredness towards the local customs and celebrations and delineated towards Vedic rituals.

6.11. Revival of Old Practices

Many organisations of social and religious are working to revive the old traditional religions in the light of Vedic religious tradition. It is happening in Chotanagar tribal areas. The Adibasi Samaj Sudhar Sabha includes the Munda Jati, the Kahria Jati, and the Ho Jati Sudhar Sabhas. They stand for a two-fold programme:

(a) They try to organise the village life and the tribal religious festivals along modern lines. The Singhbum Oraon Samaj Sudhar Sabha appoints committee on village and other levels. It has published a karam (important festival) story and song book for the use of the village folk. The committee puts out a printed programme for particular festivals with a directive for observing them. Some of these groups have begun to adopt Hindu festivals with great pomp.90

The festival of cart, the Holi and other popular Hindu festivals are

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being adopted by the tribal religions. Among the educated tribals Saraswathi puja and Janmasthami are becoming common and popular.\textsuperscript{91}

(b) The second part of their programme includes activities in opposition to Christianity. They propagate that the tribal who have become Christian cannot claim to be Tribal because they totally discard everything which the tribal hold dear. The tribal Christians in their opinion are denationalised. They go as far as to submit long memorandums to the state and Union Governments requesting them to withdraw or debar the tribal Christians’ right to welfare facilities and service reservations constitutionally granted to the scheduled tribes.\textsuperscript{92} The non-tribal religions play a great role in the revival of the tribal religions. There are some big temples which have become the centre of popular Hindu festivals in the tribal areas...the colourful festivals around these temples attract the simple tribal.\textsuperscript{93}

It is not only happening in Chota Nagpur, but also in parts of Tamil Nadu. The fundamentalist’s organisation like VHP, RSS and other organisations engaged in the funding as well as the above-mentioned ground level activities in rural Tamil Nadu. Tamil Nadu Gramakovil Pujarigal Peravai, a sister organisation of VHP is made efforts to revive the Vedic religious customs and practices in the temples of folk tradition in organising state level, regional level

\textsuperscript{91} M. A. Xavier, op. cit, pp. 23 – 24.
\textsuperscript{92} Richard W. Taylor (Ed.), op. cit, p. 102.
\textsuperscript{93} ibid, p. 105.
conferences and providing training programmes to the benefit of the village priests with stipend.⁹⁴

There is nothing unusual, however, in the Venkatramanaswamy puja to suggest that it is fundamentally different from that of any other small Vaishnavite shrine in Mysore state. The Vedic priest is there, and the usual somewhat truncated and corrupted form of puja is offered. In any case this is obviously regarded as subsidiary to the main Gangamma puja and the justification for the obligation to worship here also is not understood. One would suggest that this is of later origin than the Gangamma puja; seeing this regular religious practice going on without any priestly ministration or shrine the protagonists of Vedic religion has this small shrine erected to make that ministration and its benefits available.⁹⁵ If that is really so, then

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⁹⁴ *idem*
⁹⁵ Interview with Mayan on 26th January 2007 at Karur.
it was just another episode in the long history of the Vedic attempt to get a high profit from it at every point. Indeed this event, although happening only recently, might be considered as typifying the whole impact of Vedic Aryan religion on Dravidian south India, always the attempt to superimpose the Vedic gods upon the Dravidian, with the insistence that they were superior; and because of the superiority complex and more vigorous culture of the protagonists of Aryan religion the claim was conceded by the Dravidians. Yet the old ideas lived on in those groups less profoundly affected by the new culture sufficiently to reappear here and there from time to time, as in this Gangamma worship. So Venkataramana Swamy temple and worship was later added on by the local priestly group and while they most probably would not have admitted it at the time because of their rationalisation of their own motives, this was done as a good investment, so that they could accumulate their own percentage of the profits.

6.12. Revolt of the Downtrodden Outcasts

Whenever the Sanskritisation process introduced or occurred in Tamil society, the Tamil people immediately responded on it. The downtrodden outcaste people were mobilised by their leaders to show opposition to the introduction of Hindu revivalism and the process of Sanskritisation. There are different struggles as to counter the different facets of Hindu revivalism, political level opposition to

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96 Richard W. Taylor (Ed.), *op. cit*, p. 105.
97 *ibid*, pp. 95 – 96.
counter the superiority of Hindu fundamentalist. Likewise in all aspects so as to counter their superiority in religious aspect the struggle mobilised by the folk people to counter them. They are trying to get religious identity from their own folk religious tradition.

The movement of the outcastes against the injustice of the Vedic social order has a long history behind it. Revolts and rebellions against the established order is a natural part of the history of the poor in all countries of the world.98

6.13. Anti-Vedic religions

The chief anti-brahminical religions, which were popular among the Tamils, were the Nigranta and the Bauddha. These two religions considered the rites and ceremonies of the Vedas to be useless labour, and the exclusive privileges arrogated by the Vedic priests to be empty pretensions. The Nigranta system was older than Buddhism and the Nigrantas called the Buddhists Paschandas, or heretics. The Nigrantas worshipped Argha whom they considered to be the Supreme Intelligence which governs the Universe. His image was generally in the form of a naked man, seated or standing under an Asoka tree, with a triple umbrella above him.99 They had two principal vows, such as not to speak an untruth, and not to kill any living creature. They trained their minds to avoid envy, greed, anger and evil speech. Their community was divided into two sections: the

99 *Silappathikaram*, x. 10 – 11 and *Silappathikaram* v. 118-127.
Sravakas (hearers) or laymen and the religious men; and of the latter there were five classes, who were called *Pancha-para-meshtin*, namely, Argha, holy men; Siddha those who had acquired supernatural powers; Upadhyaya, religious teachers; Acharya, priests; and Sadhu, pious people.\(^{100}\) Near their temples, and in the open squares at the crossing of public roads, they erected pulpits from which were allowed to enter the monastery, and take vows of celibacy. Their monks and nuns carried an alms-bowl, a hoop made of twine to suspend a water-pot, and a bundle of peacock feathers with which they could sweep off insects, without injuring them, from the places where they have to sit or lie down. They repeated a short prayer of five letters, which they called the *Pancha-mantra*.\(^{101}\)

Images of Buddha had not yet come into use, but the impressions of his feet engraved on stone, and platforms built of stone representing the seat from which he preached his doctrine were objects of worship to the Buddhists. The pious Buddhist walked round them, with his right side towards them, and bowed his head in token of reverence.\(^{102}\)

### 6.14. The Adaptability of Hinduism

The adaptability of Hinduism to changing conditions is illustrated by the appearance in the Hindu pantheon of a new divinity, of special utility in an acquisitive society. This is the goddess Santosi Mata, first worshipped widely by women in many

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\(^{100}\) Paul Mike & Aloysius, *op. cit*, p. 232.

\(^{101}\) *idem*.

\(^{102}\) *idem*.
cities of Uttar Pradesh and now worshipped throughout India, largely as the result of a popular mythological film about her birth and the origin of her worship.\textsuperscript{103}

The new goddess was unheard-of a few years ago and has no basis in any Puranic myth. Propitiated by comparatively simple and inexpensive rites performed at their homes without the involvement of a priest, Santosi, it is believed, grants practical and obvious blessings. News of Santosi's blessings is passed from housewife to housewife, and even moderately well-educated women have become her devotees.

On both the intellectual and the popular level, Hinduism is thus in the process of adapting itself to new values and new conditions that have been brought about by mass education and industrialisation and is responding to 20\textsuperscript{th} century challenges.

\textbf{6.15. Emergence of new cults}

New cults, built around saints, either alive or recently deceased, have come into existence in recent years.\textsuperscript{104} Saibaba, a saint of modern India whose tomb is in Shirdi in Maharashtra, has a large followers in south India, and there are Saibaba prayer groups in several south Indian cities. Shirdi is a favourable place for pilgrimage. The shrine of Ramana Maharishi at Tiruvannamalai in

\textsuperscript{103} M. N. Srinivas, \textit{op. cit}, p. 138.  
\textsuperscript{104} Personal observation.
Madras state is also visited, though his cult is not as popular as the Saibaba cult.  

Among the living gurus or teachers, Swami Chinmayananda is popular and his lectures attract large audiences. The Ramakrishna Mission also provides a focus for the religious interests of many people. The rise of new cults and the functions they fulfill are subjects that need to be studied systematically.

**Chart No. 14**

**Choosing of separate types of religious institutions**

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The folk people due to various reasons diverted their attention towards other groups of religious institutions. For example, Melmaruvathur Aathiparasakthi, Sabarimala Aiyappan worship and what not. When the respondents were asked to pointed out the reason for the sudden deviation a good number of them pointed out the newly found third religious system apart from Folk and Vedic

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105 Personal observation.
106 Interview with Sivakumar on 7th October 2006 at Tiruchirappalh
religious tradition. 25 percent of them pointed out to the dislike of Vedic religions and 22 percent of them pointed out the dislike for folk religion. Hence, one can notice the equal responsibility of revivalists in proposing third religious system in order to bring the Folk masses into an institutionalised religious set up. The above bar chart No. 14 vividly explains this. 108

6.16. Offences of Vedic social order

It is widely known factor that Vedic social order resorted various offences on the local people and original inhabitants. The Vedic social order in its creation itself is resorted various unjust methods. It is based on varna social order divided the whole society on caste basis and made it as a birth basis instead of occupational pattern. In the name of caste they restricted the lower caste people from enjoying common minimum benefits. 109 The lower caste people were not permitted to enter into residential quarters. They were not allowed to take bath or to drink in the common wells and ponds. They were not allowed to enter into the temples and not allowed to perform pujas and ceremonies. Social prestige and privileges were denied by mere stating the caste. The following table will show what type of blockades which are being felt by the folk worshippers in their folk temples.

The following chart No. 15 shows the hindrance made by others in various means. When the worshippers were interrogated they identified the following hindrances. In which many respondents

108 Based on questionnaire detail and field study.
109 Interview with Chellaperumal of FRRC on 7th April at Palayamkottai.
pointed out the domination of other rituals and languages. Hindrance to women and prohibition to touch, the image are considered as the major set back for Folk deity worshippers, which was not so before the intervention of Vedic religion.  

**Chart No. 15**

**Blockades in Folk temples**

Charles Metcalfe, a civil servant of the East India Company and also a revenue officer in India, in his revenue papers about the Indian villages, had recorded the following offence practiced in the Vedic social order.  

111 High sounding names cannot be given to their (untouchables) children.  
112 Their names must be such as to indicate contempt.  
113 This is only a tip of the iceberg. There are so many offences resorted on the ordinary people. (See more: Ambedkar Writings and Speeches)

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110 Based on questionnaire detail and field study.  
113 Vasanth Moon, *op. cit.*, p. 130.
6.17. Forces against religious fascism

The process of Sanskritisation and Hindu revivalism will take its birth as religious fascism. Earlier there was much more religious fascism. Only by organised efforts these were perished. But, the Sanskritisation and its results Hindu revivalism will be effected religious fascism. The awareness on plural religious culture and extensive research on the beliefs and practices of folk religion will be a solution for this kind of religious fascism.

There are more threats to the survival of India as a democracy now than ever before. The major threat to Indian democracy is from the fascist forces of the Sangh Parivar. When religion and politics are mixed up and used for acquiring political power, the situation becomes dangerous. The attack on society and polity today is from both an aggressive Hindu communalism and an equally aggressive Hindu nationalism.\textsuperscript{114} The minority Vedic religion is first presented as the Indian religion and religion of all, and then mixed up with nationalism to finally state that only a Hindu can be a nationalist.\textsuperscript{115} At a deeper analysis, nationalism would belong to a micro-minority of upper caste Hindus in view of the Sangh Parivar.

The fascists of India have tried to show that they are the custodians of the Indian heritage.\textsuperscript{116} It is the product of an evil integration of Hindu majoritarian communalism, which developed as a corollary of colonial modernity, and the fascist programme

\textsuperscript{114} Ram Puniyani, \textit{op. cit}, p. 20.
\textsuperscript{115} Paul Mike & Aloysius, \textit{op. cit}, p. 12.
\textsuperscript{116} M. A. Xavier, \textit{op. cit}, pp. 16 – 18.
imported from Italy and Germany. B.S. Moonje, the RSS founder's mentor K.S. Hedgewar had visited Italy and after meeting Mussolini had propagated the need for a Hindu Army. V.D. Savarkar, the patron of aggressive Hinduism had openly endorsed Fascism and Nazism. Golwalker who succeeded Hedgewar as the chief of RSS had lauded the Hitlerite form of racial cleansing. Soon after independence of India, the Sangh Parivar spread its wings across the width and breadth of the country.\textsuperscript{117}

6.18. Support for variety as against uniformity

In countries like India, only the plural culture can survive and it will be an apt one. Folk researchers must concentrate on the variety of folk religious aspects than that of concentrating much on the factors of uniformity will lead to the annihilation of certain folk aspects. And also the basis of Indian society is based on 'unity in diversity'. Hence, the diversified features of folk deities should be encouraged and must be given wide popularity.

6.19. Democratic safeguards to maintain religious identity

In order to nurture the folk religious identity one must need democratic safeguards than that of rational methods. The characteristics of the folk deities and its festivals, method of worship must be given wide popularity. Field survey and documentation can also help to reach the successive phase to maintain religious identity.

\textsuperscript{117} Paul Mike & Aloysius, \textit{op. cit}, pp. 12 – 13.
6.20. Protests against Sanskritisation

In order to counter the Sanskritisation and Sanskritisation way of life, one must concentrate to bring out the beauty of folk culture. Efforts should be made to accept the folk way of life. In order to change the attitudes of Vedic people’s life, much effort can be taken to bring out the fallacies of it to the folk society.

6.21. De Sanskritisation

The alternative for the Sanskritisation is de-Sanskritisation and prevent the development of Sanskritisation at various levels especially in its religious form. Method has to be evolved to counter the progress of Sanskritisation of the deities of folk tradition in the light of perfect understanding of Tamil folk religious tradition.

Difference of opinions prevailed among the leaders and social activists on the temple entry movement. Among them, Ambedkar warned his people not to get lost in the temple entry and inter-dining. He wanted them to solve their economic problems; because the entry would not give them economic security. Following was one of the resolutions of the Amaravathi Temple Entry Movement Conference held at Bombay on 13th November 1927 under the chairmanship of BR Ambedkar.

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118 See S. Thamizh Selvan, *op. cit*, pp. 28 – 32.
"The worship and performance of sacrifices are to be equal to all. Dalits and non-Brahmins should be permitted to touch the idols of gods and goddesses".\textsuperscript{120}

These are the reprimands of Ambedkar. But still his expectations are not adhered to. Therefore, new method has to be devised to reach the successive phase of temple entry movements.

To sum up the process of Sanskritisation has resulted two types of thinking. The revivalists satisfied with the Sanskritisation process as their own. On the other hand the conservatives of folk tradition conceived this as the ritual domination of upper class and willfully made to loose the identity of the folk culture and rituals associated with them.

The revivalism generated in various forms. The process of Sanskritisation has effected in literary activity, politics, economy, culture. Now it is happened in the religious sphere in order to get easy mobility. The process of Sanskritisation is in vogue either through involuntarily or through voluntarily, but the thinking of Vedic people is always same. The Aryan pride and the Vedic glory are the two important aspects.

Sanskritisation gives birth to Hindu revivalism and it led to Hindutva ideology. The Sangh Parivar and hindutvavadis sensed the easy accessibility of their motto in the form of Sanskritisation. They regarded it as good because of it slow but steady nature. They are

\textsuperscript{120} K. Kesavan, \textit{Kovil Nulaiyu Porattangal}, Villuppuram, 1997, p. 139.
attempting to revive the ancient day by recourse to caste and religion.

The folk people have been Sanskritised obstructing their search for their identity and heritage. The units of fundamentalists organisations such as RSS, Bajrang Dal, Vivekananda Seva Samithi, Bharathiya Janatha Party, Hindu Munnani, Akhila Bharthiya Vidyarthi Parishad are created in rural Tamil land and their activities are expanded every nook and corner particularly in and around folk temples. One nation, one culture, one religion is the vision of hindutvavadis. But India is a land of diverse culture, languages, and religious beliefs. Even the Tamil society is richly adored with pluralistic one. But hindutvavadis bring all these under the head of Sanskritic Hinduism. In order to counter the attempts of them, one must need democratic safeguards than that of rational methods. The characteristics of the folk deities and its festivals, method of worship must be given wide popularity. The alternative for the Sanskritisation is de-Sanskritisation. With which one can prevent the development of Sanskritisation at various level particularly in religious level.