Narrative reconstruction of spirit possession experience: the double hermeneutic of Gaddis religious specialists in Western Himalaya (India).

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Abstract

Almost everywhere in India, spirit possession is described as a means of social regulation and of conflict resolution through symbolic transformation. This communication explores the meaning and the experience of spirit possession among the Gaddis, a semi-nomadic "tribe" of Western Himalaya, and its narrative reconstruction. Despite the assumption that possession in India is generally a belief and a practice that prevail among the "tribal" or among the low castes to complain against social oppressive patterns, Gaddis spirit possession narratives show how this intense and extravagant experience is articulated through the cultural idioms of orthodox Hinduism. Possession personal experience is "explained" in the light of yogic discipline, meditative techniques, and Hindu core concepts such as *dharma*, *karma*, *mok□a* or *samādhi*. The concept of *samādhi* corresponds to the specific moment where a deity enters a human body and takes full control of his thoughts, feelings, and behaviours. This communication show how a supposed marginal or peripheral practice may be opened up to mainstream Hinduism. Here, the spiritual discipline doesn't fit the traditional image of the renouncing yogis, but appears in the daily routine. At the same time, possession takes place in a public arena, always ritually induced with the intention to bring solutions to cross-personal or village litigations. The possibility of a double local hermeneutic is discussed here in the light of sanskritization process and of the possible cultural legitimation through narrative reconstruction.

Introduction

Studies in Hinduism generally commences with classical texts like those dedicated to the description of mythologies (*Purānas*), hymns and liturgies (*Vedas*), classical epics (*Mahābhārata*), dietary and customary prescriptions or normative ideals for proper social behaviours (*Caraka-Samhita*, *Mānava-dharma-śastra*, etc.), treaties is spiritual discipline and enlightenment (ex. *Upanishads*, *Yoga-sūtra* of *Patañjali*). Those canonical opuses represent a big deal in discovering and understanding the Indian civilisation, but as far as anthropology is concerned, they do not deal with real peoples who make Hinduism a living thing or lived experience. The “classics” are an opening key to understand how an entire civilization has

evolved through the ages and how Hinduism shapes the contemporary Indian subcontinent[1]. Understanding social processes and current religious patterns needs another kind of investigations which carry us into the representational and life-world of those who make India to-day. Studies in religious experiences and mysticism are an example of a shift from classical literature, also called indianism or orientalism, to day-to-day living and routine that is the landmark of the traditional anthropological approach to culture and society. Among religious experiences, possession cults appear as interesting phenomena for the reasons that it uncovers many aspects of social processes (Berreman 1979; Carrin 1999a; Diserens 1995; Sax 1991), cross-personal interactions (Assayag, et al. 1999; Berti 2001; Vidal 1987) and personal feelings and affects (Carrin 1999b; Kakar 1978; Leavitt 1996; Peters 1982; Racine, et al. 1999; Waghorne, et al. 1985). This paper describes the personal subjective experience of mediumnic possession among religious specialists of the Gaddis people of the Western Himalaya (Himachal Pradesh, North India). Gaddis religious specialists locally renowned for their ability to perform possession rituals and to reach a state of spiritual achievement associated to the possession or "the coming of the Goddess/God" (h. *Devi-/ Devatā-ānā*). Data and discussion are extracted and adapted from my PhD thesis (Côté 2007).

In general, approaches to spirit possession in the Indian subcontinent belong to one the three following dimensions: 1) Great (Sanskrit) tradition vs small (animist, tribal traditions); 2) psychopathological and 3) sociocultural interpretation. Sociocultural interpretations are manifold: they go toward a sociodynamical analysis of possession, meaning-centered and experience-near approaches, and those interested to find an interface between psychoanalysis and anthropology. The most in vogue approach has aroused from I. M. Lewis' functionalism (Lewis

[1] General acceptation includes India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan, and Maldives Islands.

1971) that describes possession cults (along with shamanism) as a "religions of the oppressed". This general position has provided insight for its adaptation to the South Asian cultural context by R. L. Jones (1976). Jones reported that possession rituals in South Asia are merely practiced among the lower castes populations. Therefore, possession came to be seen as a means of transcending social hierarchies and oppression through symbolic transformation. This explanatory model provides an explanation of the prevalence of women in possession cults in the various contexts of structural patriarchy (Sax 1991). Theories in the socio-dynamical aspects of possession entail the conflicting villager's relations, work relations conflicts and their resolution (Vidal 1987). Some other approaches look at personal experience of illness, emotional distress and the reaction toward social change and modernity (Arthur, et al. 2002; Carrin 1999a; Leavitt 1996). Some parallels were made between the possession mechanism and western psychological concepts of *dissociation, hysteria* or *projection* as a possible "neurotic" defence against uncontrollable situations (Carrin 1999b; Castillo 1994; Freeman, et al. 1999; Mayaram, et al. 1999). The rise of "tension" as a replacement for "possession" has also been explored (Halliburton 2005). Noticeably, Obeyesekere's *Medusa's Hair* (1981) and *The Work of Culture* (1990), and also Kakar's *Shamans, Mystics and Doctors* (1982) laid the foundations for a psycho-analytical anthropology sensitive to life trajectory of people experiencing or having experienced possessions. Contrary to traditional psychological reading of possession putting it in the realm of psychopathology (Harper 1963), Obeyesekere and Kakar try to elucidate the inner psychological process by which adepts of possession come to experience such a state of being or feeling. More specific to Obeyesekere's position, the focus is put toward the appropriation of *public symbols* by the individuals and the way they come to articulate an intimate meaning out of its collectively shared meaning or public acceptance in order to give rise to a personal religious experience. Through that kind of experience, a kind of destabilization may arise and ultimately, a

redefinition of personal identity *via* the appropriation of a cultural idiom (Obeyesekere 1981) understandable and accessible to all. As a *liminal experience* (Turner 1970), possession contributes to create a space that facilitate emotions to emerge (ex. devotion, enthusiasm, affection, ecstasy, etc.). Here, complete emotional engagement is prerequisite to ritual effectiveness and the vector to intra-psychic drives or repression (Juillerat 2001). Reading possession as a kind of appropriation of cultural symbols also means that embodied or enacted emotional display are in a certain way predictable because of its culturally shaped pattern. Possession moves peoples deeply, stir them out, and caught them out by its intensity and spectacular display, even in its stereotypical setting. Intense and deep emotions are culturally shared, and so, even if they attain their very climax in the possessed himself. Possession allows for emotional renewal or updating at each ritual moment and is necessary for the creation of a common sentimentality and its tuning in terms of religious emotion (Leavitt 1996).

Despite the theoretical elaboration of religious emotions, studies in personal meaning and experience of possession are scarce. Experience is sometimes related to the language of the gods when possession arises out of a villagers' conflicts (Berti 1999; Leavitt 1985) and personal narrative reconstruction of such an experience is rarely taken into consideration. A personal narrative may be defined as a self-conscious discourse on a particular subject, a reconstitution or retrospective articulation of a given experience. Lived experience of possession is hard to obtain from a reflective perspective, and even its emotional correlates are problematic when considering the level of conscious or unconscious apprehension. Experience may also be understood in the broad sense of emotional, sensorial, cognitive and enacted dimensions (Kleinman 1988: 4). Assessment of emotional and sensorial experiences in possession mostly depends upon discursive performance when adepts of possession are questioned about it. So, it becomes a

cognitive and retrospective look upon it, when trance possession often imply partial or complete amnesia (Bourguignon 1976; Heusch 1971; Lewis 1971; Rouget 1980). This is one reason why I was interested in getting personal narrative accounts of possession experience to understand how religious specialist or "mediums" make sense of their own possession experience. Not rejecting socio-dynamical approaches, I paid attention to the caste they belong to and the language by which they articulate their experience. At first sight, possession was not at all an exclusive pattern for lower castes protest as half of my informants came from the Brahman upper castes.

The Gaddis "religious specialists"

At first sight, the presence of Brahmans as adepts of possession rituals shook the socio-political assertion that possession was a belief and a practice of lower castes or subordinated groups (Jones 1976), a reminisce of "animists" or "pre-Hindu" beliefs (Bhasin 1988). Gaddis social structure consists of Brahmins and Rajput registered as Scheduled Tribes, and of Reharas, Sipis and Halis registered as Scheduled Castes (see figure below). In its matrimonial application, Gaddis refers to endogamous upper middle castes (Rajputs and Khatris, Thakurs, Ranas, and Rathis correlates), but in the everyday life everybody in the area may call himself a Gaddi on the basis of his linguistic affiliation and agro-pastoral way of life. Most of the possessed come whether from Brahmans or Sipis castes i.e. from both extremes of the social hierarchy and both castes employ a highly sanskritic language when referring to their experience, explaining it in the terms of the achievement of spiritual power (*Siddhi*).

Castes structure among the Gaddis of Dhaulādhār (Himachal Pradesh)

'Scheduled Tribes'	Upper Castes	Brahmanes	
		Rajputs and Khatris	Gaddis
		Thakurs	
		Ranas	
		Rathis	
'Scheduled Castes'	Lower Castes	Sipis	
		Halis	
		Reharas	

According to them, the arisal of "trance" corresponds to the yogic state of bliss and contemplation called s*amādhi*; the attainment of "illumination" is referred to as *mok□a*; and one the main preparatory steps leading to possession (here called as *Devi-ana or Devata-ana*) consists in 4 of *Ashatanga-Yoga* procedures as described by Patanjali between 300 B.C. to 300 A.D.: mental purification (*niyama*), breath control (*pranayama*), concentration (*dharana*), meditation (*dhyana*); visualization of the Goddess or of a Deity is referred to as *darsan*. Generally speaking, The Goddess, which is considered the embodiment of Shakti "comes" in the form of local female deities: Bharmani, Banni, Lakshana, Chamunda, etc. and are all called upon as the Divine Mother. At some occasions, Shiva himself "comes" to possess a devotee. All devotees who get the ability to become possessed by Shiva, the Mother or any other local deities are referred to as *Cela* (h. *Celā*, pronounce Tche-la). Historically, it seem that the lower castes Sipis were more often adepts of spirit possession than any other caste and that their "profession" was even more prestigious than the sacerdotal and priesthood function inherent to the Brahmans (Bhasin 1988; Chowhan 1952; Newell 1955; Newell 1987; Verma 1996). As a pioneering work

in Gaddis ethnography, Newell argued (1987) that the Brahmins had no choice but to adapt to local folk religion to make sure the get the respect from the so-called "tribals"[2] and to set their authority as acknowledged elsewhere in India. This challenges the process of *sanskritization* (Dumont 1986; Srinivas 1986) defined as a movement upward that consists for lower castes in emulating customs, ritual practices, food forbiddances and purity beliefs of the Brahmins in order to increase his own ritual status. Marriott (1976) in a crusade against this unilateral process advocated for a *parochialisation* referring to the reverse downward movement consisting in adopting religious beliefs and ritual practices that are prevalent among lower castes. Leavitt (1992) used the expression of "cultural holism" to describe this double movement downward / upward and reflects the social dynamics inherent to the ritual processes as well as in the making of Gaddi cultural identity.

Conditions for the « coming » of a deity.

The "coming of a deity" is termed as *Devī-/ Devatā-ānā* by the adepts and villagers in general. It is a mediumnic type of possession. Its public display generally also includes an interrogation session called *deopuccha* (*pucchna*, to ask) and an ecstatic kind of rapture called *pauna* (in gaddi dialect) or *kampan* (in hindi) which literally refers to trembling. At that moment, state of consciousness is called *behośa* (h.); it means that the adept of possession masters neither his body nor soul. It is a state of consciousness which is characterized by a higher pain threshold, increased or decreased body temperature, higher breathing, depersonalization of emotion and other affects related to usual human relations, and sometimes, non consciousness. Most of my consultants described a phase where they don't control anything and that, for the purpose of

[2] Most authors in Gaddi religion and history assume the underlying idea that low castes people in Chamba, among who the Sipis, Halis and Reharas, originate from aboriginal peoples who inhabited this hilly area before the rise of Rajput States.

fulfilling a deity's will, the give their body in offering (h. *Śarir-kā-bali-denā*). All this ritual phase correspond to a set of explicit or visual manifestations intervening during a mediumnic possession.

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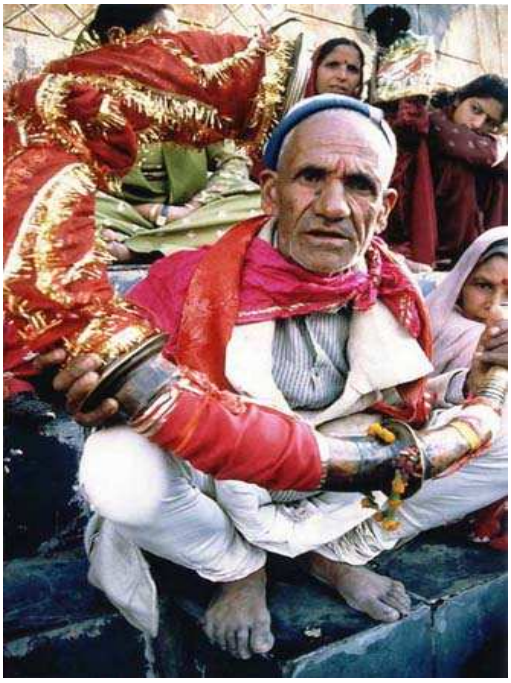

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On the left, a *Celā* possessed by the divinity *Banni* (a local *devtā* believed to be an incarnation of *Kālī*); on the right, a *Celā* from *Chattra□ī*, valley of □hundā, near Brahmaur in Chamba district.

Ritually purified and serene, the adept of possession can therefore enter the public phase of the ceremony and to offer his body. This spiritual and inner constituent is also referred to as a "divine fusion" where individual soul (h. *ātmā*) is merged to that of a Goddess or Deity. In tantric, as well as in upanishadic literature, this fusion into *supra-consciousness* (Bhattacharya 1999; Mishra 1999) is defined as a supreme realization in asceticism. Among Gaddis religious specialists, this fusion is called *dharmik-sambandha* (h. *sambandha*, connection) and is, in practice, associated with the state of *samādhi* (h. inner bliss, profound meditation with senses restrained, a state of trance) (Gaborieau 1975; McGregor 2006; Padoux 1999). *Devī-ānā* is not a

spontaneous state. It requires a ritual and mental preparation. If the *Celā* has to observe a certain spiritual rigour, he or she reach the ultimate state of *samādhi*, or mystic exaltation only through a ritual display, induced by music, religious chants, mantras, incense burning and oil poured into ritual fire (h. *yajña-kunda*, fire-pit) , visual stimulation such as a *Shiva-linga* (h. linga, in which form *Śiva* is worshipped), astrological diagram (S. *yantra)*. Ritual fire may be looked after by an assistant or by the Brahmin priest attached to the shrine or temple where possession takes place. Usually another adept pour water onto the possessed body. Yogic discipline appears as a condition to the possession, the coming of a deity and comprises technical aspects for realizing it. However, the coming of a deity is never taken for granted by the *Celā*.

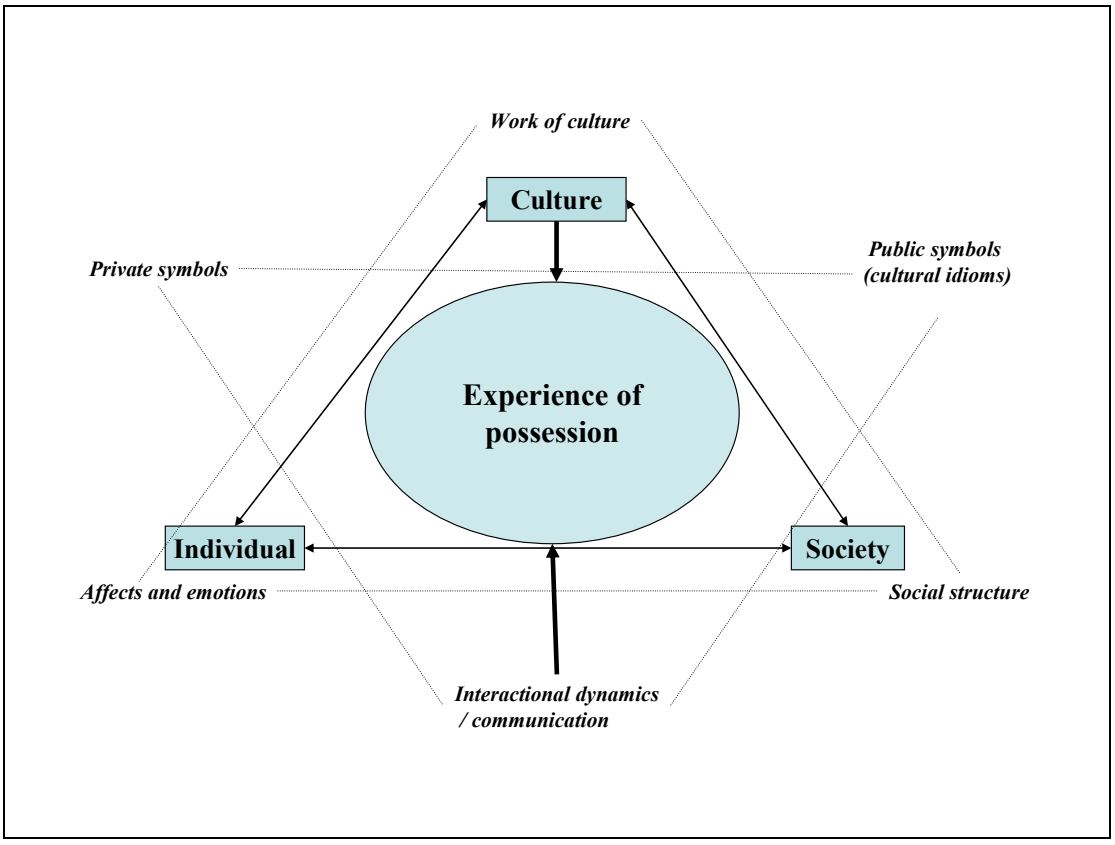
A *Celā* can master different techniques of meditation, but the ultimate state of *samādhi* associated with the fusion with a deity leaves them without power. This is kind of challenging classical anthropological typologies of possession regarding voluntary or involuntary induced possession. *Samādhi* cannot be assimilated to control over possession; on the contrary, *samādhi* allows to "organize" or to "propitiate" the coming of a deity and its concomitant "divine fusion", representing in the Gaddis religious system the ultimate or absolute reality (S. *Brahman*). Possession is perceived as spontaneous and uncontrolled, submitted to the Mother's vague desire and impulse while such a possession is the object of a complex, rigorous mental and ritual preparation from adepts of possession. In generally the *Celā* observes a strict and rigorous spiritual discipline in parallel to the more formal and institutionalized conditions for the possession and for its ritual display. In revenge, some life habits seem to be linked to the form in which the Goddess comes. Positive or negative value inherent to alimentary choices in the possession cults is not necessarily prior to any possession experience; it is the form (h. *rūpa*) taken by the Goddess during the first experience of possession which determine such a value, positive or negative. My personal ethnographic observations as well as commentaries provided

by many spirit possession mediums suggest that despite the local belief about the non-control over possession, the Goddess or Mother takes the form (*rūpa*) of the divinity which is the most appreciated by the devotee, whether she may be *Sitalā*, *Lakshmī*, *Kālī*, *Bannī*, *Brahmānī*, *Camunda*. All of those divinities are fond of non-vegetarian food, and they often ask villagers for goat sacrifices in exchange of protection and care. It can submitted to discussion. Notions of purity and pollution, as we know, are the breeding ground for the ritual hierarchy in the castes system (Dumont 1986), and that the gradation of the castes status as well as the practices of an ascending *emulation* is dependant upon it (Berreman 1979; Das 1977; Das and Uberoi 1971; Fürer-Haimendorf 1971; Leavitt 1992; Negi 1990; Parry 1979). Moral and ritual virtues of *Celā* and his ability to enter into contact with the world of the divine are also evaluated in the daily interpersonal interactions. This process is both sided as a *Celā* as to adjust himself to social trends, as vegetarianism seems to be in the southern slope of the *Dhaulādhār* mountain range where the Gaddis live as a minority among seemingly more orthodox Hindus. Despite of any caste belonging, a *Celā* has to observe a certain spiritual discipline. So, the *Celā* cannot be ritually possessed without first achieving certain conditions. *Devī-ānā* is the prerogative of the peoples having some moral and spiritual virtues, in accordance with *dharma*. Having a pure mind, being peaceful, and having come into being under an auspicious sign (skt. *Rasī*) are associated with having some special powers. Being concerned with others' well-being is also a prerequisite to unite with *Śakti*. Questions of purity and concentration are recurrent themes in the *Celā*'s discourse. That illustrates the assumed importance of those basic religious notions in daily life, and especially the ideology of purity present in each of very dimension of a practicing Hindu. Consuming meat tends to be considered as impure among the more brahmanized or sanscritized sections of the Gaddi society, even if it is not forbidden in its strict sense because meat remains a kind of external sign of material wealth.

Discussion

By getting interested in the personal experience of possession among the Gaddis of *Dhaulādhār*, and after inquiry among more than twenty religious specialists or mediums, and traditional healers and exorcists, I got rich narratives that allowed me to situate the experience of possession at two levels: first, when the possession is seen as a mystical ascent (*démarche d'ascension mystique*) as Padoux put it (Padoux 1999) and as a spiritual trajectory; second, when the possession is situated with the theory of *karma* and the idea of personal fault (*dosha*), impurity (*aśudha*), and that of the fragility of *dharma*. Few questions arise: 1) according to the existing ethnographic works, providing a more socio-dynamic interpretation of the possession phenomena, is this possible that social anthropologists have made an excess instrumentalization of the possession experience, depicting him or her as *courroie de transmission* for the prevalent cultural values, a kind of spokesperson for the daily challenges of the local communities? Can we situate the possession phenomena at the cross-road of collective and individual processes? And in doing so, can we think of mystical ecstasy and of illness-possession as different modalities for the expression of collective uneasiness or discomfort or distress? If so, how to articulate a theory of possession that permits to think the simultaneity of both collective and individual processes, especially when both finalities or *telos* (social regulation vs. personal enlightenment) seems to be quite far from each other? As a fact, the finality which is looked for in possession, and that was made accessible to me through the narratives of spiritual discipline, doesn't perfectly fit with socio-dynamical interpretations. Most of the socio-dynamical analysis of possession phenomena, the state of being possessed (by beneficent or malevolent entities) is to be embedded into a collective trajectory. Put that way, personal trajectories and motivational factors may be neglected or underestimated and call for another frame of analysis to go beyond the implicit axiom in accordance with whose "madness", "trance" or "ecstasy" of a single person

is a reflection or metaphorization of the uneasiness of the entire villagers community. If we look back at the Gaddis possession experiences, it suggests being careful and critical when using a socio-dynamical model and it must prevent us to reduce an analysis to one or the other dimension: socio-dynamical or psychological, collective or individual process, cognitive or affective (see figure below for a tridimensional model for understanding the experience of possession)



The different forms of possession that are observable among the Gaddis are embedded in specific ritual contexts; those contexts organize and structure the expression of emotions from which possession is loaded. From manifestations of the most intense adoration to those of personal distress, from rapture, anger, fear of the unknown, fear of material misfortune, jealousy, etc,

possession underlines or emphasizes movements which may be defined as external from inner self, but still shaking up one's own way of being-in-the-world, one's own way of responding to social expectations, and one's own view of the future. And this happens in non reflexive, non conscious manner because the *modus operandi* of the emotions consists in seizing the mind's faculty of reason. Possession is no self-reflexive; it is rather an intuitive and sensorial experience. We saw, by example, that the *Celā*'s spiritual experience is closer to an intuitive process than the theological reasoning that is more typical of Brahmanical exegesis and sacerdotal orientation. Interestingly, their narrative reconstruction of possession experience appears in a more theological reasoning when asked to comment what's the matter in spirit possession. Theological type of answers was not at all expected at the beginning of my fieldwork. It then started to see the gap between formal anthropological theories of possession and personal accounts.

When possessed, they are then driven by something which is external in a phenomenological sense and as suggested by the Latin etymological root of the work *emotion* (*e*-, from outside; *motio*, movement) and that seems quite close to the Sanskrit concept of *vibhāva*, used to translate the word *emotion*, underlying the idea of an *emotional determinant* (Lynch 1990) and also describing emotions in terms of an inductive context that rejoinders the inner movement. What does induce a particular emotion is not always easy to grasp and may even elude from consciousness, echoing a personal history (as also a part of community history), self intimacy, inner psychodynamic conflicts and suffering that drive us in a way or another, making us to think that one would rather not bring them into consciousness at a price of a more intense suffering, unless it is situated into the frame of *katharsis* in Aristotle's assertion. This point brings us back to the theatrical, lyric or poetical dimensions which embrace the possession phenomena (Leavitt 1997). The ritual locates them into a cosmological register and refers to the personal history of

the possessed, allowing also for a depersonalization through identification to divine figures (Carrin 1999b). This is particularly obvious in exorcism, but it may be observed in mediumnic possession when devotees construct a narrative around the idea of redefining a sense of self and of an acceptable living, especially when an experience of *Devī-ānā* and of divine fusion are preceded by an intractable illness, an existential suffering or any kind of alleged "unnatural" misfortune. In *Devī-ānā* the devotee is not assailed by occult forces; he or she is somehow "depersonalized", but contrary to psychopathological models, this experience is live with serenity and it is even strongly expected and considered as a sign of spiritual achievement. In Hinduism, that kind of "depersonalization" corresponds to the divine fusion and it is the main goal of yogic ascetics: even more, what modern western philosophy calls *self* or *ego* is seen as an illusion (*māyā*) so that the true realization of spirituality operates through depersonalization. This is what Nabokov underlines in her study of Tamil rituals (Nabokov 2000). In the Gaddi cultural model, such a "depersonalization" is, in fact, experienced as divine fusion or union with universal consciousness whose fundamental element lies upon a withdrawal from perceptual senses, cognition and affects. It is not possession in itself that allows facing one's own life, but rather le trajectory of meaning and of reconstruction of the sense of self, including formal or informal social involvements. The cornerstone of the possession experience is therefore incomprehensible if taken out of such a self-reflective semiotic context which goes much farer than the immediate sensory experience of trance possession.

Presence and relation to the divine is felt and intensely lived in the inner self, in a more intuitive than intellectual manner. It is one reason for which it may always problematic to attempt to transpose an intuitive experience in the terms of a narrative experience. A narrative experience is a narrative reconstruction and it depends upon a reflexive consciousness contrary to an intuitive

experience that is not merely reflective. When a *Celā* discuss about what's going on during possession or when he or she provides a general explanation of the meaning of such a phenomena, they provide a retrospective view of that embodied deity. Mystical experience is constructed in the frame of philosophical, cosmological, and mythological assumptions as if such cultural references were the *passage obligé* through which personal meaning is articulated and performed. Here too, performance is operated by the means of an emotional dynamic. Modified states of consciousness (Crapanzano and Garrison 1977) may be, then, interpreted according to the core concepts of Hinduism. Most of Indian mystics have such elements of transcendence (Almond 1982; Kakar 1982; Padoux 1999).

My last words question the possible sanskritization process at play among the Gaddis. The narrative experience of possession appears to be more embedded into a sanskritic tradition than a local one. But this assertion would suppose that sanskritic practices may not be embedded in local traditions; but if not, where would they take place! The real question is therefore to ask whether tribal areas in India have been or are currently an arena for cross-cultural influences. What was there before hinduization, before Brahmanism, or even before the advent of Aryan migrations and, later on, the rise and fall of the Rajput dynasties and their influence on the Norht Indian cultural processes? Is sanskritization a form of appropriation of legitimating conceptual and aesthetical forms to revive, update, or give ancient, tribal and non-orthodox cults a place into the *Great Tradition* of Hinduism? Or is it a way to open up possession and ecstatic cults to *mainstream* Hinduism? This question seems to me particularly relevant in the Indian context of nation building and cultural unification based on religious standardization. An illustration of this phenomenon is perhaps to be found in the so-called *national-hinduism*. Regarding the Gaddis, sanskritization of the discourse on religion has never been addressed because other historical

forces were identified such as *rajputization* (Newell 1987) and *tribalization* (Bhatt 1978) where caste structure and caste identity evolve into a "tribal" or into a common ethno-cultural consciousness with very specific political aims. Many factors influence the display of rituals, and not a single dimension may pretend to exhaust the interpretation of the phenomena. This paper is an attempt to present a transversal interpretation of the possession phenomena and to disclose some aspects of its complexity and the powerful symbolism of human communication in general. Possession rituals channel personal emotions for the appeasement of pain, anxiety, ontological uncertainty inhabiting collective imaginaries and individual consciousnesses. Possession arises as if it could fill hermeneutical dissatisfactions among villagers when confronted to the meaning they have to give to daily life events, especially when those events appear as chaotic, disorganized, and meaningless. In a troubled social situation, the possessed person remains a sensible and empathetic individual who plays, probably unconsciously, his own solitude in the arena of his presence to the world. The social status he or she may acquire may be also a kind of overjoyed absence transposed into a celestial universe which also provides a better catch on his or her own terrestrial universe.

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