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regional traditions in India

by

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Jagannatha Compared:

The politics of appropriation, re-use and regional traditions in India[1]

Julia A.B. Hegewald and Subrata K. Mitra[2]

Introduction

Many in Orissa, experts and lay devotees alike, think of the 'cult of Jagannatha' as unique, and specific to Orissa. This is not unusual because space has a special connotation in Hinduism[3] and Jagannatha, though, technically, the Lord of the Universe, is seen by Oriyas as 'their' god. Similar identification of particular gods with particular spaces and people can be seen all over India. However, looked at more closely and comparatively, the political and cultural dynamic that goes into the making of the cult is more general than the cult itself. Available evidence shows that the partial process that underpins India's regional traditions is based on mutual accommodation of rival sacred beliefs, in other regions of India as well. Based on the comparative accounts and the history of Jagannatha of Orissa, and of temples from north and south India which have been converted either by the Jaina or the Lingayat communities, the paper examines the processes of the re-use of sacred sites and material by the holders of political power and the use of such hybrid sacred objects in the making of regional state traditions.

Re-use and state-formation

Re-use refers to the attempt by conquering groups to appropriate the sacred sites, buildings and images of those who have lost power and transform them in a manner in which they could serve as symbols of their power. States – as holders of

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[3] This is the basis of the complex and protracted struggle over Ramjanambhoomi. The complexity of the issue arises from the fact that the physical recognition and authentication of space is based on memory and mythology rather than history and documentary evidence.

the monopoly of legitimate violence – need such symbols to economise the use of power. Success in the former often contributes to success in the latter.

Though the examples in this paper are chosen from Indic religions, re-use as a phenomenon is not specific to India. The destruction or forcible conversion of sacred edifices sanctified by one religious group through the followers of new or incoming faiths, are a recognised phenomenon in the history of architecture.[4]

A variety of reasons can be provided to explain the attraction that rivals of existing groups have felt towards the religious centres and sacred structures of the latter. The resulting conflicts have either led to the complete destruction and replacement of sites and edifices, or their conversion and adaptation, resulting in a continuous occupation of religious sites. Annexations of holy places and their associated edifices have usually happened during times of political, religious or military conflict. During such unstable periods, sacred sites have often been deserted, or newly-established rulers and religious authorities have aimed at asserting and confirming their recently acquired powers. In some instances, changes in the denomination of religious buildings have happened relatively peacefully, by the adoption of deserted and decaying religious structures and their conversion to the requirements of a different faith. The occupation of an already existing edifice and its transformation accelerated the process of establishing new religious sites in deserted or war swept regions. For the same reason, edifices have also been dismantled and their individual building parts have been used as material for the construction of places of worship associated with other faiths. The latter case, illustrates not only an economical and speedy approach, but also one bearing a strong political message. The destruction and re-appropriation of sacred architecture expresses issues of victory and suppression, and can imply a lack of respect for the religion and culture of subdued local cults. However, also more metaphysical issues can play a role. Holy places are generally regarded as being qualitatively different from quotidian space. They are sites where a break between the different hierarchical levels and spheres of the religious cosmos enables contact and communication with the divine. Such channels are considered to remain open, and can therefore also be used by other groups. Therefore, sanctified sites always attracted the attention of new political authorities and incoming religious groups.[5]

With regards to the Indian subcontinent, the discussion of the re-use of sacred space has for the past years been dominated by the issues surrounding the destruction of the Babri Masjid at Ayodhya. In terms of art-historical analysis, however, the debate has so far largely been confined to the forcible take-over, destruction and rebuilding of religious sites during the period of Muslim invasion and domination in the late twelfths and following centuries.[6] Best known in this regard are the Quwwatu'l Islam Mosque (1197 CE) in Delhi and the Arhai-din-ka Jhompra Mosque (1199 CE) in Ajmer. In Delhi, a large number of Hindu and Jaina temples, and at Ajmer a Jaina theological college (erected in 1153 CE), are

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[4] A well-known example for instance is the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem. It was constructed on the site of a pagan temple, which then was claimed as a place of worship by the Jews, and consequently converted by the Muslims into a mosque. Also in the church of San Clemente in Rome, three layers of occupation, spanning almost twenty centuries, and combining elements of a classical mithraeum, an early Christian basilica and a medieval Church, have been preserved *in situ* one above the other. For further details see for instance Ercoli, Belford & Mitchell (1995: 185-197) and Guidobaldi & Lawlor (1990).

[5] Eliade has written at great length on this phenomenon. See for instance his *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion*, originally published in 1957 and reprinted in 1987.

[6] This has often been portrayed, wrongly, as the 'universal Muslim mode' of constructing mosques in India (Asher 2000: 122).

believed to have been dismantled in order to provide the building materials for Islamic edifices on previously sanctified sites.[7] Noteworthy is that although the mosques were assembled out of the spoils of Hindu and Jaina edifices, and consequently exhibit decorative motifs typical of these indigenous religious groups,[8] the resulting structures clearly are Islamic in character. By following a distinct layout and by employing old building resources to suit the logic and dimensions of a new building type, the design of the mosques does not resemble the former religious edifices.[9] The forcible dismantling of temples and their transformation into mosques is largely associated with the early period of Islamic rule in India. At many sites, this has been followed by a more subtle and persuasive approach.[10]

However, not only religious groups entering India from outside, as has been exemplified by the Muslim conquest of India, have practiced the conversion of religious centres and their sacred buildings. The continuity of religious sites in South Asia long predates this period. Sacred locations which were used for Vedic sacrifices were appropriated and converted by later forms of Brahmanism, and early Buddhist sites were reconfigured for Hindu worship. Also the Buddhist community absorbed structures, sanctified by other faiths. A renowned example, where a Jaina establishment was converted to Buddhist usage during the eighth century CE, is the Jaina monastery at Vatagoali near Paharpur in West Bengal (Chatterjee 2000 vol. I: 92-93; Lalwani 1997: 15). There are many examples of mutual appropriations between religious edifices of the Jainas and the Hindus, particularly those of the Lingayat or Vira-Shaiva sect.[11] In these instances, the temples have not normally been dismantled. The most important issue was usually the replacing of the main sacred icon (*mula-nayaka*) in the central shrine. However, the architectural fabric of the edifices was also often altered to adapt it to the distinct ritual requirements of the new dominant religion. Whilst in some instances this resulted in additions being made to temple structures, in others it meant that certain spaces were abandoned as they did not play a role in the ritual of the new faith. Consequently, the analysis of converted and appropriated sacred structures provides valuable clues on the politics of appropriation of ritual space by the supporters of different religions.

The discussion in the section that follows will concentrate on the appropriation of tribal gods by Orissa Kings, and the survival of this distinct and composite cult under Muslim and colonial rule through its appropriation and adoption for different

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[7] Tillotson (1990: 28-31) and Meister (1972) have shown, that whilst some parts of these mosques clearly are re-used spoils, others were carved by local craftsmen working for the Islamic patrons.

[8] Noteworthy are for example the pot (*kalasha*) and chain and bell ornaments decorating the pillars. Figural representations adorning the original architectural features, such as pillars, brackets and ceilings, were in most cases defaced but not completely removed.

[9] Hindu and Jaina temples dating from the period before the twelfth century usually have low roofs and are cave-like constructions. Consequently, the pillars employed to support ceiling panels are relatively short. In order to gain height in the prayer hall and the arcades surrounding the open mosque courtyard, which were constructed out of re-used temple materials, two temple pillars at Delhi, and three at Ajmer were assembled, one on top of another, to heighten the construction and to express a distinct approach to architecture.

[10] For further details on this issues, see for example the discussion by Hillenbrand (1988: 112).

[11] There is no universal agreement on whether Vira-Shaivism should be regarded as a sub-sect of Hinduism, as a distinct religious group, or as a caste. McCormack and Michael in particular have written in detail on this question (McCormack1963: 59-71; Michael 1983: 310).

political functions. This will be followed by analyses of three temples in central and southern India, which illustrate different approaches in the take-over and re-appropriation of sacred space by other religious groups.

Case study 1: Jagannatha (Orissa)

The choice of Orissa as a site for re-use research arises from the effective but surreptitious integration of sacred beliefs and social practices over time and space. This, in the opinion of my Oriya sources, accounts for the absence of significant inter-community strife in that State. The result of this synthesis is the cult of Jagannatha which symbolises the regional tradition of 'tribal-Hindu continuum' and the continuous absorption of religious traditions and rituals originating from outside the region. Commenting on this synthesis of the Hindu symbols of *sankha*, *chakra*, *gada* and *padma* with tribal totemic features, Eschmann et. al. suggest "The archaic iconography of the cult images on the one hand and their highest Hindu iconology – on the other, as well as the existence of former tribals (*daitas*) and Vedic Brahmins amongst its priests, are by no means an antithesis, but a splendid regional synthesis, of the local and the all-Indian tradition." (1986: XV) (Plate 1).
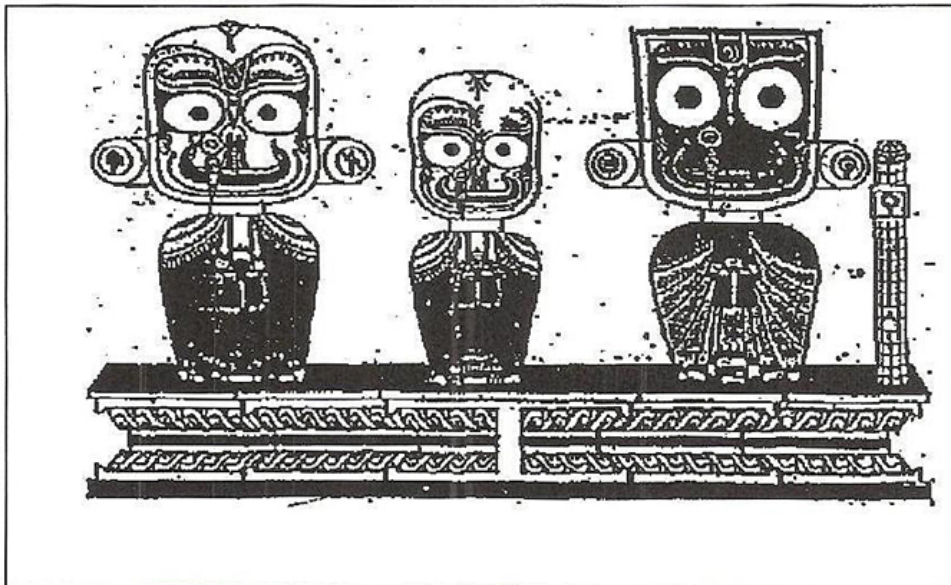

Plate 1: Jagannatha, Balabhadra, Subhadra

The cult of Jagannatha is acclaimed as the key reference point in the sacred geography of Orissa. The unique sense of place, and the sense of a collective identity for an Oriya, draws on a network of temples and local religious practices of which the temple of Jagannatha in Puri is the epicentre. Though famously associated with the temple of Lord Jagannatha in Puri, the cult is by no means exclusive to this temple town but is spread throughout Orissa and other holy places in India, in the form of replica temples.[12] The field research on the connection between the cult of Jagannatha and popular consciousness revealed four interesting

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[12] Architectural evidence for the linkages between the Jagannatha temple at Puri and the Oriya temple architecture as a part of the evolution of a regional style between the 9th and the 13th century, see Thomas Donaldson, *Hindu Temple Art of Orissa*, vol 1-3 (Leiden: E.J. Brill; 1987).

aspects: (1) The first concerned the relationship between Hindu society and tribals; (2) the second concerned the relationship between the upper strata of Hindu society, and untouchables; (3) the third concerned masculine and feminine roles within a society putatively based on the exclusive domination by the male; and, finally, (4) the fourth concerned the accommodation of beliefs originating in Islam within the structure of regional Hinduism. Illustrations of these aspects of popular consciousness are drawn from anecdotes and mythological narratives (Das and Mahaptra: 1979, Mishra: 1984, Panda: 1979, Panda and Panigrahi: 1984). Each will be considered in turn, using commentaries on folk narratives as the main source.

The presence of ritual and priests of tribal origin in the mode of worship of Lord Jagannatha is a salient feature of the Jagannatha cult. Several versions of the origin of this practice are available (Mishra: 1984, Eschmann et al: 1986). One version suggests that the king of Puri, which is referred to *as Purusottamakshetra* or *Srikshetra,* wishing to extend his authority over the tribes of western Orissa, "deputed his Brahmin priest Vidyapati to negotiate with the king of the *Shavara* tribe. Vidyapati was not well received. He then agreed to marry the daughter of the Shavara king, Lalita, and, ... was then shown the place where the Shavaras worshipped *Jagannatha.* After this, the king of Puri went to the forest, assured the Shavaras that their mode of worship would be preserved ... and the Shavaras agreed to the wooden gods being carried to *Purusottama Kshetra.* From that time, the image of Purusottama is made out of the same wood as the Shavaras were worshipping. The Shavaras were called the *Daitya.* Accordingly, the offsprings of Vidyapati and Lalita were called *Daitya-pati* or Daitapati. These Daityapatis have the exclusive right to take care of the Lord when the latter falls sick just before the car festival ... (in their customary fashion)." (Mishra:1984: 2).

Within the cult of Jagannatha sections of Hindu society formerly considered untouchable have traditionally been given a position of relative dignity compared to their status in other parts of. India. The practice dates back to the arrival of Chaitanyadeva, the Vaishnava mystic in Puri in the fifteenth century. Mishra (1984: 3-4) provides the narrative of Dasia Bauri, an untouchable, whose piety has given him an enduring place in the devotional songs associated with Jagannatha. The custom grew at Puri around the same time that higher caste people should dine together with the untouchables if *Mahaprasad* – offerings to Lord Jagannatha – is served. In this mode, Jagannatha appears as the *Patitapabana* or the 'purifier and redeemer of the down-trodden.' Other evidence of the social integration of untouchables through mythological bonds based on the Jagannatha cult include the ritual of *chherapahara* – where the king of Puri sweeps the ground in front of the chariots at the time of the car festival. Yet another instance is the Oriya poet Sarala Das, a *shudra*, who rendered the Mahabharat into Oriya. The first Oriya writer to undertake this task, Sarala Das was accorded the title 'Shudramuni.'

Professor Mishra (1984) suggests that the Jagannatha cult has helped moderate the extremes of gender domination in Oriya society through the myth of goddess Laxmi's visit to an untouchable woman. In this episode, Goddess Laxmi, who was moved by the devotion of an untouchable woman, went into her house, "made herself visible ... to the devoted woman and granted all prosperity to her" but, as a consequence, was "denied admission to the temple by Lord *Jagannatha* at the instance of Lord Balaram (the elder brother of *Jagannatha*). But Goddess Laxmi refused to submit ... When she (Laxmi) lived away from her husband and his brother, both the brothers suffered a great deal of miseries," and Laxmi was invited back to the temple, her prestige enhanced (p. 5). Having stood her ground, Laxmi established the double principle – of the dignity of women, whether goddess or untouchable – and of deliverance through devotion. Both principles, opposed to the inequality of caste and gender, are integral to Vaishnavism, and strongly

associated with Puri and Jagannatha. The assimilation of custom and belief from lower orders to high Hinduism without questioning the latter's hegemony can be seen as a successful case of re-use.

Reliance on sacred sources commented on by authors who are themselves of upper caste origin has its own limitation as a guide to social practice. As such, it is helpful here to look at some evidence from the lowest level of Oriya society in the form of a narrative, from Muli, the untouchable protagonist of Freeman's *Untouchable:* "She (Muli's mother) went to Puri every two years or so to visit Lord Jagannatha, but she never went inside the temple. I myself went into the outer compound of the Jagannatha temple for the first time only in 1970. J *didn't go into the inner room;* I have never seen anybody of my caste enter the temple compound before this time." (Freeman 1979: 124, emphasis added). Clearly, in spite of the 'Jagannatha propaganda' of my informants,[13] the testimony of Muli alerts us to the limits of egalitarianism in Oriya society. But, in conjunction with the folk narrative, one can see in the access to Jagannatha both a benchmark of the spread of social equality and an integrative mechanism that draws ritually distant sections of society together.

Another key feature of the Jagannatha cult is the incorporation of Islamic sacred beliefs within Hindu rituals and social practices. The quintessential story is that of Salabega – the "offspring of a Muslim *subedar* of Cuttack and a brahmin woman ... who learnt from his mother a great deal about ... (and subsequently) became a great devotee of Jagannatha ... The prayer verses composed by him are sung ... in mass prayers and inside temples. Both the Hindus and Muslims claimed his body when he died. Then there was a compromise and his body was buried by the side of the Chariot-route of Lord Jagannatha at Puri so that his spirit could see Jagannatha every year during the Car Festival." (Mishra, 1984: 8). Other instances of local practices that combined Hindu and Muslim rituals include *Satyanarayan Puja* where Hindus and Muslims share the offering known as *sirini prasada,* offered to God, referred to as Satyanarayan by Hindus and Satyapira by Muslims (Mishra 1984: 9).

A brief description of the historical origin of these folk narratives, particular those relating to Islamic and Hindu practices in everyday life will help explain the reasons behind their enduring character. Several new mutations in ritual and custom took place in the course of the close interaction between Islam and Orissa's regional Hinduism as invading Muslim rulers, their supply lines overstretched, found themselves increasingly dependent on Hindu intermediaries. The Hindu underlings, once Muslim rulers settled down to the business of government, quickly learnt enough courtly culture to be admitted to the lower bureaucracy. With the establishment of Muslim rule in Orissa, Persian became the court language and it remained as official language till 1823 CE. The study of Persian became "so popular in Orissa that even in the astrological books the date and time were fixed according – to Hijra." (Haque 1981: 8). Other examples of new social practices resulting from the encounter between invading Islam and the regional Hinduism of Orissa is Pala,[14] observed by Hindus and. Muslims alike on the occasion of the birth of a child. The ritual signifies the worship of Satyanarayan, a Hindu deity along with Pir. Due to the impact of Islamic religious faiths a number of Pirsthans were established in various parts of Orissa which were venerated by the Hindus and Muslims alike.[15] Haque mentions several historical records of devout Muslims and Hindus who have made land grants for the promotion and maintenance of religious shrines belonging to opposite faiths.

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[13] Chris Fuller (1993), in a personal communication.

[14] Palas are outdoor theatrical performances with a religious theme and character.

[15] Interview, (Bhubaneswar, September 1992).

Further, "Qadam-i-rasool of Cuttack is a shrine dear to both Hindus and Muslims alike.... (the origin of whose worship) is probably a result of the Hindu influence on the Muslim. Originating in Buddhism, this type of fetishism seems to have made its way into Hinduism, Christianity and Islam." (Haque 1981: 9). In these and other accounts of four centuries of religious 'trench warfare,'[16] between invading Muslims and Hindu kings, we find a gradual relenting of religious zeal on both sides. One account of the result of this stalemate reports it as a common sight "to see both Hindus and Muslims participating in each others festivals like Holi, Diwali, Dashera, Id and Muharram." (Haque 1981: 10).

The Jagannatha cult thus provides a good example of what Ainslie Embree has described as *incorporation through encapsulation* – a method through which a niche is found for different faiths within an overall structure of harmonious, social practices, recognised and protected by the custom of the land. "At no point is Indian thought more alien to Western thought than in its assertion that there are many levels of truth, which gives to Indian civilization the characteristic that has been mistakenly understood as toleration. What follows from the assertion is not toleration; rather, all truths, all social practices, can be encapsulated within the society as long as there is willingness to accept the premise on which the encapsulation is based." (Embree 1990: 30). The distinction that Embree draws is between toleration, a Western liberal concept, and encapsulation; which is equivalent to communal accommodation achieved through a form of social 'trench warfare,' the result of centuries of conflict between invading Muslims and India's regional and local traditions.

Over time, the integration of rival sets of sacred beliefs has enriched the regional and local traditions in Orissa. This can be seen in the iconography of Jagannatha as well as in the architectural style of the temple which permits other "religious cults in India to come freely and offer prayer in their own manner. The *Vaisnavas* regard Jagannatha as *Vishnu,* the *Shaktas* offer their prayer in *Shakti Mandira.* They regard Jagannatha as *Bhairava* and Bimala as *Bhairabi.* This was in response to the great popular movement of *Tantrika Buddhism* of Western Orissa. Some of the greatest religious leaders who preached and propagated this form of *Vajrayana Tantrik Buddhism* were from the untouchable class and the hill tribes. But when this Vajrayana movement became popular, Jagannatha of Puri as the *Buddhabatara* became amenable to being worshipped as *Bhairava* of the *Tantra* cult, and as usual caste consideration did not stand in the way. The *Shaivas* and the *Ganapatiyas* etc. regard Jagannatha as their, own specific deity. The process of synthesis and cultural integration continues and enlarges throughout the ages in this great shrine of Puri." (Mishra 1984: 9).

The concept of *rashtradevata,* a key instrument of legitimation of power through the integration of sacred belief and secular power, is an important element of Orissa's regional state tradition. Professor K. C. Mishra (1984: XII) refers to the local belief that "each *Rashtra* (kingdom) was protected by a deity that was considered to be its supreme authority. The deity was installed in the capital and members of the royal family used to worship him. If the deity had originally been installed by some aboriginal tribes, it was patronised by the kings who allowed these tribal people to continue their services in the temple in some form or other. The result is that, many deities in Orissa up to the present times continue to be worshipped by the tribal people although they have been accepted in the aryanised form as the presiding deities (*Rashtradevata*) of particular kingdoms long since."

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[16] On the implicit collaboration that takes place between adversaries under conditions of static and stalemated confrontation, see Robert Axelrod, *The Evolution of Co-operation* (first published by Basic Books, New York, 1984).

(Mishra 1984: XII). The rituals surrounding a *Rashtradevata* become a historical repository of the residues of successive empires, and a symbol of synthesis and continuity.

The importance of Jagannatha as Orissa's *Rashtradevata* and the instrumental role of the cult in the legitimation of royal authority in Orissa can be seen from the consecration of the Gajapati King of Puri as the *calanti vishnu* (the moving Vishnu), the institution of *Pandas,* and, the religious economy of the Jagannatha temple. Thus, the ensemble of priests and royal temple policy helped in the formation and consolidation of the medieval Hindu kingdoms of Orissa. Royal patronage of Hinduised tribal deities and the construction of huge temples legitimised royal power on the Hindu-tribal frontiers and encapsulated tribal communities within Hindu society. "In Orissa, this development culminated in the construction of the present temple at Puri after 1135 A.D. and the dedication of the whole Orissan empire to its deity Jaganath ('Lord of the Universe') in 1230 A.D., under whose overlordship *(samrajya)* and orders the Hindu Rajas of Orissa pretended to rule their *praja.*" (Eschmann et al 1986: xvi).

Professor Kulke summarises the role of ritual in the legitimation of royal authority – examples of re-use of local and lower order symbols by higher level authorities that we have examined above – in early statecraft as follows: "The acknowledgement of the dominant autocthonous deities as tutelary deities by the early Hinduised chiefs and Hindu rajas, above all, aimed at the consolidation of the newly established sub-regional power *within* the nuclear areas. The function of this early religious policy thus seems to have been mainly the *vertical* (internal) legitimation for the establishment of a hierarchically structured Hindu kingship in a more egalitarian tribal society. On the other hand, the time of the construction of huge imperial temples through the 'Great Kings' (*maharaja*s) of the regional empire corresponds with the "heyday of political feudalism" during which the institution of Hindu kingship and its legitimation were no longer in question. The question at that time, was only: *who* was in charge of the divine institution of Hindu kingship and its power *(kshatra)* as symbolised in the 'stick' *(danda).* The *kshatra* of the Maharajas, therefore, at that time predominantly needed a horizontal (external) legitimation against rivals, whether they were powerful feudatories (*Maha-samanta*s) or neighbouring Maharajas." (Kulke in Eschmann 1986: 136-137).

The Pandas, the priestly order of Puri and the Gajapati king played complementary roles within the Jagannatha cult. The king, ruling as the first *sevak*-servant of Jagannatha, could count on the loyalty of ordinary people, tribals and feudatory rulers. Commenting on this, Kulke further adds: "This function ... bridged the gulf between the folk and the elite. Legitimation of royal power of the regional Hindu kingdoms, on the other hand, seems to have striven mainly for its horizontal recognition by equivalent rivals and potential rioters amongst the feudatories ... fulfilled by the political architecture of the huge imperial temples with its egalitarian court-cult and its new centralised ritual structures." (Kulke 1986: 137) Professor K. C. Mishra (1984: 44) provides another instrument of intermediation between the ruler and the ruled by referring to the role of the priesthood of Jagannatha, the *Puri Pandas.* The main objective behind the creation of the Panda-system, institutionalised in the early thirteenth century, was "not only to preach religion among the people," but also to spy on them on behalf of the king. The Pandas also became an important agency for religious links with other holy places in the country and "through their activities Puri attained a pan-Indian status." (Mishra 1984: 44).

The method of legitimation of power by according due respect to holy places and sacred symbols, and thus incorporating them within the structure of

existing secular power perfected by the Gajapati kings appears to have survived the decline of the Hindu Gajapati kings. But the practices survived as Orissa was conquered successively, by Muslim, Maratha and eventually, British rulers. This explains how the delicately artistic temples and their exquisitely carved gods and goddesses survived the Muslim invasion – Kulke explains this in terms of the: "devotion of the Oriyas for their Gajapatis" and the collusion between the Mughal Subahdar of Cuttack and the Gajapati, both of whom were driven respectively by the lucrative pilgrim tax and the determination to protect the dignity of the gods under trying circumstances. As a consequences, "despite the conquest of Khurda, no disturbance of the Jagannatha cult is known nor do we hear anything about the flight of priests from Puri." (1986: 333-334). Kulke suggests that this 'economic toleration' of Hindu holy places by the Muslim functionary (a not unusual practice by cash hungry rulers) "must have been the reason why Aurangzeb, by a new decree in 1692 explicitly ordered the destruction of the Jagannatha temple. But Divyasimha Deva, the then Raja of Khurda met the Subahdar and agreed with him to arrange a pretended destruction under his own supervision. After what were probably some minor demolitions a faked image of Jagannatha was sent to Aurangzeb and the main gate of the temple was closed. But the daily rituals of the cult were continued by some priests who entered the temple through a secret side door in the southern temple wall. Aurangzeb was again informed about this situation in Puri. He recalled the Subahdar and sent a high officer as an examiner to Puri. But according to an Oriya chronicle, the Raja of Khurda accomplished a masterstroke and managed to bribe even him – or as the chronicle paraphrased it 'he won him as a friend' – with a gift of 30,000 rupees. Till the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 A.D, the temple of Jagannatha was officially closed, but the cult continued to such an extent that several rajas visited the temple and performed their traditional royal rituals. Only a few months after Aurangzeb's death in 1707 A.D. the doors of the temple were forcibly opened by a minister of Khurda and the chiefs of the eighteen Gadajata states, and the cult was renewed in its previous greatness. *It is obvious that all this could happen only with the toleration of the Muslim Subahdar in Cuttack*" (Kulke 1986: 334, emphasis added). According to Professor K. C. Mishra (1984: 63), the British maintained the practice of economic toleration and political protection, very much for the same reason when they took power in Orissa in 1803. Lord Wellesley had issued instructions to Colonel Campbell, the Officer Commanding the British troops in Orissa that on his arrival at Puri, "he should take every possible precaution to preserve the respect due to the Pagoda and to the religious beliefs of the Brahmanas and the pilgrims. He should also assure the priests that they would not be required to pay any revenue or tribute to the British government which they had not been paying to the Mahrattas and they would be duly protected in the exercise of their religious views." (Mishra 3 984; 63).

The British also codified the basic structure of an administrative system for the temple. When direct administration proved to be inconvenient, they resorted to indirect rule. Professor Mishra (1984: 64) informs us that a *Paricha* was kept in charge of the management of the temple, and in 1805 the Collective was authorised to receive applications from the Paricha in connection with the administration of the temple. This does not appear to have been popular with the Anglican Missionaries in London who bitterly criticised the Government for taking an interest in the temple of Jagannatha. The Government, therefore, decided to give up the direct supervision of the idolatrous rites in the temple. By the Regulation IV of 1806 the Superintendence was transferred to an assembly of three Pandits nominated by the Collector of Pilgrims taxes and appointed by the Government. The Pilgrims tax, which was temporarily suspended in 1803, was revitalised in 1806 and a Collector of Pilgrims taxes was appointed by the Government. For the

purpose of levying the pilgrims tax, a classification of pilgrims into three categories was made. The temple contributed handsomely to the cash flow of the East India Company, the sum "varying from half to one lakh rupees. When the Pilgrims tax, yielding a net amount of five thousand nine hundred and fifty five pounds to the East India Company was seen by missionaries as a State sanction of idolatry, the Company abolished the Pilgrims tax and vested the Raja of Puri with full authority in regard to the management of the temple and its properties by act X of 1840." (Mishra 1984: 65).

The language-centred Oriya nationalism has had a close link with Lord Jagannatha at Puri.[17] The Orissa empire at its best was a mixture of heterogeneous elements bound together, by the person or the dynasty of a ruler where several Aryan and non-Aryan languages were spoken. "Lord Jagannatha as *Rashtra Devata* had become the supplementary binding force of the heterogeneous elements that was the Orissa empire. But after the empire collapsed, Jagannatha became a symbolic core of the language centred Oriya nationalism." (Dash 362). The exclusive control of Brahmins over ritual and the interpretation of sacred texts through their knowledge of Sanskrit had already been challenged by interpreters from lower castes and their use of vernacular Oriya. The Mahabharata, Ramayana, Bhagavata and Harivamsa were rendered into Oriya by Sarala Dasa, Balarama Das, Jagannatha Dasa and Acyutananda Dasa in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries." (Dash 360). The Oriya Bhagavata, however gained great popularity as the institution of the Bhagavata *ghara,* a meeting place where the sacred text would be read aloud in the evening, became a regular fixture in Orissa villages. "Jagannatha had already become a state deity, identified with a particular region – which made it possible for Jagannatha to symbolise Oriya nationalism which was taking shape. The attempt to destroy the image of Lord *Jagannatha* by the famous Pathan general Kalapahar and the subsequent raids on the Jagannatha temple by the Muslims helped to establish a close link between Lord Jagannatha and the forces that gave birth to Oriya nationalism in the second half of the nineteenth century." (Dash 363).

The close link between the vernacular Oriya medium and the cult of Jagannatha provided a helpful backdrop to the growth of Oriya regional nationalism. In Oriya literature during the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries Jagannatha figures in a prominent way. Many medieval authors, for example, paid their homage to Jagannatha in *jananas* and *bhajanas,* narrative poems in vernacular Oriya with a religious theme. With the onset of British rule in 1803, native resistance to Bengali officials working under the East India Company found a natural ally in the Oriya language movement and strengthened the aspiration for political autonomy, leading to the Paika rebellion of 1817. One of the first acts of the leaders of the rebellion was to march on Puri and to try to induce Mukunda Deva, the Raja of Khurda/Puri and the custodian of the Jagannatha temple, to accept the leadership of the rebellion. The priests of the Jagannatha temple gave the rebellion their support by declaring publicly that British rule would end in Orissa, which added to the morale of the Paikas. These historical events provided a link between Jagannatha and the emergence of Oriya nationalism.

Political parties, eager to mobilise support following the introduction of limited suffrage and the growth of legislatures found a powerful ally in the sacred symbols of Jagannatha, who thus became a potent instrument of Oriya regional

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[17] Dash, (1986: 360). Mohapatra's excellent study of the evolution of Oriya nationalism (1990) does not pay adequate attention to the role of sacred beliefs in the growth of identity and popular consciousness without which the Oriya language could perhaps not have become an effective vehicle for the movement for a separate State.

identity and the nationalist movement. The attempt of the British government to take away the right of superintendence of Jagannatha temple from the Raja of Puri and to vest it in a committee led to great resentment in Orissa, which was further aggravated by the appointment of a Receiver. Protests were made through public meetings at different places and the local press. The order of the High Court setting aside the appointment of the Receiver was hailed with "much jubilation." The chain of incidents culminating in the Puri Temple case. 1886-87 reflected the close links between Oriya nationalism and Jagannatha. The role played by Madhu Sudan Das, a celebrated leader of Oriya nationalism in the above case forms part of the Oriya folklore of those heady days. Das was a converted Christian, whose defence of the traditional rights of the King of Puri in the worship of Jagannatha cast him in the role of a champion of Oriya nationalism. "Jagannatha was not merely a Hindu deity but also the embodiment of the Oriya nation ... Not only Mr. M. S. Das, but also Gourisankar Ray, the hero of the 1868-70 language agitation, and another champion of Oriya nationalism, (though himself a Bengali settled in Orissa), took an equally keen personal interest in this case and voiced his resentment in his paper *Utkala Dipika,* although he belonged to Brahmo Samaj" (368).

Another enduring link between Jagannatha, the *Oriya* identity and regional nationalism was provided by modern Oriya literature Ramasahkar Roy, one of the pioneers in this field, introduced the theme of nationalism into Oriya literature perhaps for the first time through his play *Kanci Kaberi* (1880-81), in which a prominent role was assigned to Jagannatha as the defender of Oriya interests against her enemies. This continues to be a popular theme for poets, play-wrights, authors of books for children, and school text books in Orissa.

There are other historic instances of the symbolic invocation of Jagannatha in support of Oriya nationalism. While addressing a public meeting in 1928 in the town-hall of Cuttack, Madhu Sudan Das, known by then as the "grand old man of Orissa," recited a poem "written on the spur of the moment, in which he appealed to the ten million Oriyas to utter the cry, 'Save us Lord Jagannatha' in unison which would bring to an end the darkness that is reigning in Orissa and show the road of progress and prosperity." In the same vein, one of the first acts of K. D. Gajapati Naryan Dev, the raja of Paralakhimedi, after taking the oath as the first Prime Minister of Orissa in 1936, was to pay a ceremonial visit to Jagannatha, though for some generations the Rajas of Paralakhimedi had never paid any visit to Jagannatha, due to the dynastic rivalry existing between them and the Rajas of Puri. Dash finds in the influence of the Jagannatha cult a convincing explanation for Mahatma Gandhi's decision to start his *padayatra* from Puri. "Lord Jagannatha has thus further consolidated his position in the nationalistic thought process from the beginning of the century till the present times." (Dash 1836: 374).

The analysis carried put in the previous section shows to what extent the rise of Oriya nationalism was linked with the regional tradition of Orissa, based on the Oriya language and the cult of Jagannatha.

The link between the cult of Jagannatha and the post-independence elite who were the key actors of the government and politics of Orissa was provided by the fact that many of them hailed from the *sasan* villages, gifted to priests of Jagannatha who had the task of maintaining the ritual and management of temple property. "The traditional intellectual elite of Orissa, the Sasan Brahmins of the Puri District, were able to retain their influence in the administration of the province after independence because their traditional training emphasised qualities like literacy and the knowledge of statecraft. "The relatively moderate material base most of the Sasana Brahmins were able to retain (a few acres of land and the community fund of the village) could however be utilised to retain those civilisational privileges (professional training) which had always been the material

base of their excessive elitism. The centre of its application shifted away from the Jangannath temple to the secular administration in Bhubaneswar and the new professions." (Pfeffer 437).

After independence, a new act, the *Puri Shri Jagannatha Temple (Administration) Act, 1952* was set into force. Its preamble described it as an Act to provide for the Administration of the Jagannatha Temple and its endowments by "the consolidation of the rights and duties of Sevaks, Pujaris and such other persons connected with Seva, Puja and management thereof." The Act and the Report on the Record of Rights compiled by the government show that "the temple is a public and not a private temple." The Raja of Puri, the former Raja of Khurda, in whom the superintendence was vested in 1840 "for the time being" acts as a trustee. "The Temple remained in the eyes of the law a public institution endowed by the State Government with the Raja of Khurda as the Trustee with all the obligations and the Rights of a Trustee."[18]

Subsequently, the Orissa Assembly passed the *Shri Jagannatha Temple Act, 1954* "to provide for better Administration and Governance of Shri Jagannatha Temple at Puri and its Endowments." According to this Act, "the general superintendence of the Temple and its endowments shall vest in the State Government which may pass any orders that may be deemed necessary for the proper maintenance or administration of the Temple or its endowments or in the interest of the general public worshipping in the Temple." By the general superintendence vested in it, the State Government was in the same position as the Maharajas of Orissa before the advent of the Mughals, and it was similar to the situation during the Maratha period and the early years of-the British rule in Orissa.

The administrative structure of the temple (see Table 1 and Plate 2) indicates a complex blending of customary temple institutions and those set up by the modern state. The main institutions as prescribed by the Act are the "Shri Jagannatha Temple Managing Committee," the office of the Administrator and the "Shri Jagannatha Temple Fund." Hein (1986) describes the structure and the function of these three institutions as follows.

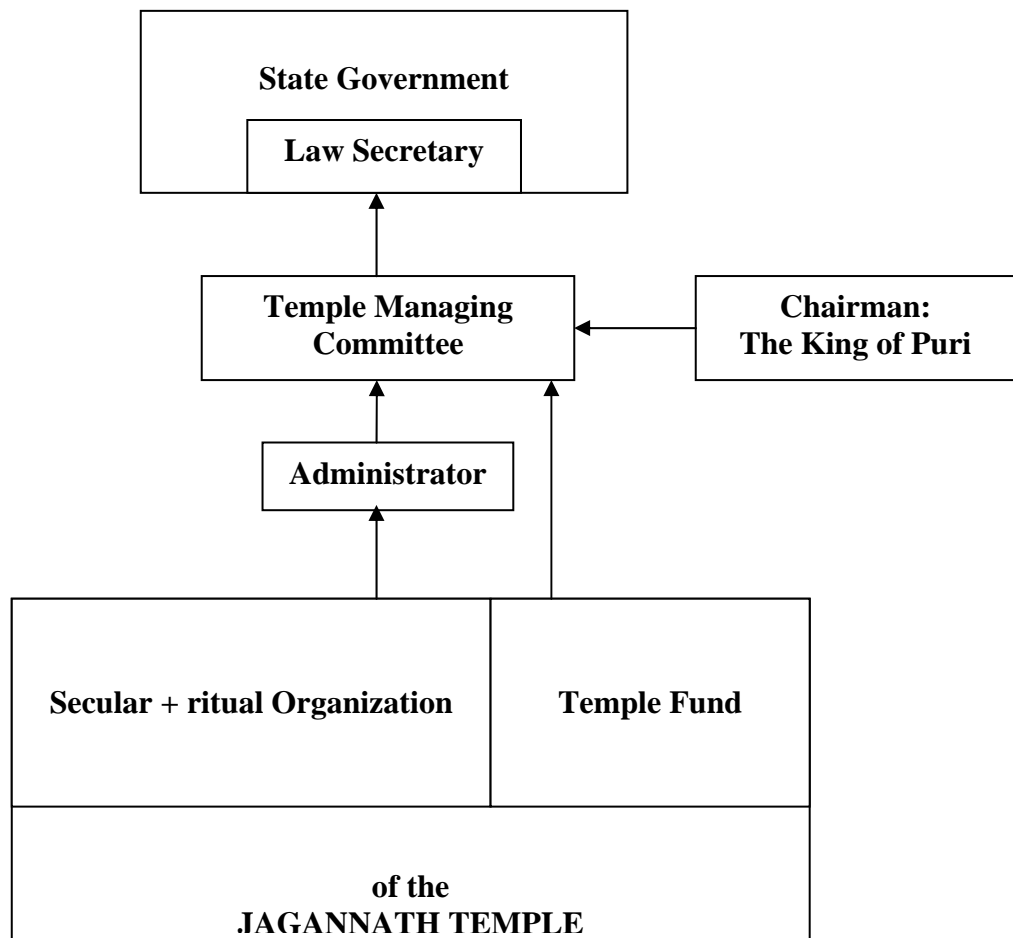Table 1   Membership of the Jagannatha Temple Managing Committee

Type of membership	Specification of the member	Status of the committee	Character of membership	Number
1	Gajapati King of Puri	Chairman	Ex-officio	1
2	Collector of Puri	Vice-chairman	Ex-officio	1
3	Administrator of the temple	Secretary	Ex-officio	1
4	Commissioner of endowments	Member	Ex-officio	1
5	One member of the *muktimandap*	Member	Nominated	1
6	Four members of the Sevakas of the temple mentioned in the Record of Rights	Member	Nominated	4

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[18] Presler (1984) has shown the evolution of another regional tradition using a similar model. The Record of Rights Report is an attempt to give a formal shape to the customary practices governing modes of worship and their material compensation through offerings of pilgrims and other incomes of the temple.

7	One person representing the mathas or other institutions connected with the seva puja or the Nitis of the temple	Member	Nominated	1
8	Two persons not belonging to the groups in 6 or 7	Member	Nominated	2
			Total number	8

Key: Mukti Mandapa is the highest ecclesiastical body of the Jagannatha Temple. It has a hereditary membership, drawn from the male members of a few families of Pandas of the highest ritual rank.

Plate 2   Organigram of the Jagannatha Temple Managing Committee

Source: modified on the basis of Hein (1986: 444).

The Committee

The most important change since the enactment of the new law was the membership of the Collector of Puri as vice-chairman. This can be seen as a further step to strengthen the control of the State government. The Raja of Puri and his successors hold the position of the chairman of the committee as a hereditary privilege. The other members are nominated by the government. But the law is careful to set limits to the control of faith and worship by the secular state. Thus, "all members of the committee must confess the Hindu religion." (Hein 1986: 446).[19]

The solicitude that the Act shows towards honest and effective administration of ritual and temple property is reminiscent of similar efforts described by Presler (1987). It is noteworthy that the Committee is expected to provide legitimacy to the modern administrative structure, without however diluting the standards of efficiency and probity in any way.

The Administrator

The second important institution for better management of the temple according to the prescriptions of the new legislation is the office of the Administrator.[20]

Though the Administrator-in-Committee is responsible for most of the day to day management of the temple, important powers of appeal and financial management are vested in the State Government. Thus, the annual budget estimate, prepared by the administrator and approved by the Committee, has to be sanctioned by the State Government. The financial situation of the temple is under constant control by the State Government. An auditor appointed by the Government has to examine the accounts of the temple and its endowments.

The Shri Jagannatha Temple Fund, the third important feature of the administration of the temple constituted by the Orissa Act of 1955, is administered by the Committee. The total income generated by the temple, excluding the share of the sevaks, goes to the Fund, which is used for the:

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[19] The duties of the committee are summarised by Hein as follows:
1. "to arrange for the proper performance of Seva Puja and of the daily and periodical Nitis of the Temple in accordance with the Record-of-Rights";
2. "to provide facilities for the proper performance of worship by the pilgrims";
3. "to ensure the safe custody of the funds, valuable securities and jewelleries and for the preservation and management of the properties vested in the Temple";
4. "to ensure maintenance of order and discipline and proper hygienic conditions in the Temple and of proper standard of cleanliness and purity in the offerings made therein";
5. "to ensure that funds of the specific and religious endowments are spent according to the wishes, so far as may be known, of the donors";
6. "to make provisions for the payment of suitable emoluments to its salaried staff; arid,"
7. "to do all such things as may be incidental and conductive to the efficient management of the affairs of the "Temple and its endowments and the convenience of the pilgrims."

[20] He is the "Chief Executive Office of the Committee." The Administrator is appointed by the State Government from "amongst persons in active service." The Administrator acts as the Secretary of the Committee. Formerly it was decided that he should hold office for a period of three years with a possible reappointment. But since 1966 there is no legal prescription for the duration of the office. During the last years the average was much less than three years for the Administrator. All Sevaks and other persons attached to the temple are subject to his control. He has all the necessary powers to govern or to administer a complex institution like the Jagannatha temple, which includes the power to decide disputes between "persons attached to the temple relating to rights, privileges and obligations," "power to require the various sevaks and other persons to do their legitimate duties in time in accordance with the Record-of-Rights," and "to control the duties of different *mathas* to supply articles in connection with the rituals in the temple."

(a)   "maintenance (including' repairs and reconstruction), management and administration of the Temple and its properties";

(b)   "training of Sevaks to perform the religious worship and ceremonies in the Temple";

(c)   "medical relief, water supply and other sanitary arrangements for the worshippers and the pilgrims and construction of buildings for their accommodation";

(d)   "culture and propagation of the tenets and philosophy associated with the Temple of Shri Jagannatha."

Under the new administrative structure, the Raja of Puri has lost his former position as superintendent of the temple. Although he is the chairman of the Committee he has no right to force the Committee to act in his interest. The other eleven members of the Committee are directly or indirectly controlled by the State government. The recent position of the Raja of Puri has, consequently, a more ritual character. The ritual importance of the Raja of Puri gains by his being the successor of the Gajapatis of Orissa. By this quality he is the first (and the foremost) Sevaka of Jagannatha, and accordingly he holds the highest rank in the hierarchy of the ritual organization of the temple. He also receives the biggest share of the *bhoga* as remuneration for his service, in addition to his monthly salary as chairman of the Committee. The Temple itself is regarded as a public institution. "The Administrator and every person authorised by him or the Committee while acting, under any of the provision of this Act, be deemed to be public servants, within the meaning of section 21 of the Indian Penal Code."

The political control which the government has over the temple is further reinforced through economic control. The convergence of the two sources of control is brought about by several Zamindari Abolition Acts after 1947. In lieu of the revenues drawn from this landed property the temple is now receiving a fixed amount of payment, which makes the temple very much dependent on the Government of Orissa, restoring in a way the situation which existed under the powerful kings of the former Orissa empire. An analysis of the budgetary position of receipts and expenditures of the Jagannatha temple shows a chronic deficit, made good by the government through annual grants.

Case study 2: Hindu and Jaina Temple Conversions

The previous case study in Orissa has illustrated the theory of re-use at different levels. Tribal images were moved to the capital by the kings of Orissa, and these continued to be worshipped by Hindus of all social classes under Muslim and colonial rule, as their role in the creation of identity and a unified state was understood to be essential. This has shown the wider connotations which such acts of re-use, appropriation and adaptation have on communities and the creation of regional state formation in India. The following case studies from Khajuraho in Madhya Pradesh, and Hallur and Kagvad in Karnataka, will return to the level of images and structures and provide detailed empirical examinations of re-use. The three examples are representative of distinct approaches to the appropriation of sacred space. Particular emphasis will be placed on the physical changes undertaken during the act of absorption, the intentions behind these, and the contrasting messages conveyed as a result. The latter are of crucial importance for the mutual coexistence of different people and faiths within a diverse and multi-religious society.

The first temple example comes from the well-known site of Khajuraho in the modern state of Madhya Pradesh. Khajuraho was one of the capital cities of the Chandella dynasty. At least eighty major temples were constructed at the site

between the ninth and the early twelfth centuries CE. However, only about twenty-five of these have been preserved. The Chandellas were firm supporters of Shaivism, but in their role as rulers they also dedicated images and temples to other faiths. Large numbers of Jaina images have been excavated at Khajuraho. Many are on display in the site museum, whilst others are worshipped as sacred objects in a number of Jaina temples located in the so-called Eastern Temple Group. The first part of the examination of architectural material reflecting re-use, will focus on the Parshvanatha Digambara Jaina Temple, which is one of the oldest and best preserved temples of that group.

Clear indications that the temple was initially constructed as a Hindu edifice and only later converted to Jaina ritual use, can be identified in several areas of the sacred edifice. A careful examination of its external walls reveals that it used to have two lateral transepts with window openings, which were later enclosed (Plate 3).

Plate 3   An additional shrine has been constructed at the back of the
          Parshvanatha Temple at Khajuraho

Decorated balconies are typical of the developed Hindu temples at Khajuraho. On the outside, the openings were carefully filled in with sculptures taken from dilapidated temples in the surrounding area.[21] Nowadays only two small projections on both the north and the south sides of the temple indicate their former existence and create pronounced projections in the centre of the sanctum and the side walls of the hall (*mandapa*) preceding the sanctum on the east side. The presence of plastered brick sections in these protuberances, which are made to look like sandstone, further support the fact that at these places changes were undertaken on the original fabric of the building.[22] On the inside, the enclosed balconies are even more obvious. Whilst on the south side the stonework of the infill is clearly visible, on the north it has been concealed with sculptural decorations. This feature is not associated with the Hindu temples at Khajuraho.

There might be several explanations as to why the Jaina community decided to fill in the balconied openings when restoring and converting the temple. First, by enclosing the large windows, wall space was gained inside the building to accommodate further religious images for the Jaina ritual of venerating large numbers of statues.[23] Another motive for enclosing the large open windows might have been to prevent people from looking into the sacred space of the temple interior.[24] It is a common feature of Jaina temple architecture in general to create secluded internal spaces. A third reason for the infill of the typical Khajuraho balconies might have been the wish to differentiate themselves visually from the Hindu shrines in the Western Group by eradicating one of their most typical elements, the balconied windows. In the Hindu temples, the band of openings allows light into the dark temple interior. On the outside, it helps to break up the heaviness and solidity of the massive stone construction.

The outer walls of the Parshvanatha Temple are, however, not the only place where structural changes were undertaken, as the door-frames of the original temple were also altered. The entrance to the closed hall is framed by a double doorway of posts and beams. There are wide cement grooves between the two sets of door-frames and also where the outer frame was connected to the temple wall. From this it appears that the lintels and beams were not originally carved for this edifice, as they are too small to fill the available space. In tenth-century India, buildings were constructed of interlocking stones,[25] and even during the thirteenth century when the temple seems to have been converted to Jaina worship, cement was not used for masonry constructions. Consequently, the alterations carried out on the door-frames must have been conducted at a later stage, possibly in the mid-nineteenth century.[26] The beams and lintels of the Parshvanatha Temple must be

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[21] Sculptures and debris from ruined Hindu and Jaina temples are still being unearthed in the area of Khajuraho today.

[22] It is also noteworthy that the projections adorning the walls of the hall are not centrally aligned. The projection on the north side is located much closer to the porch and does not appear to be part of the original design of the temple building.

[23] Today the Parshvanatha Temple houses only one large and two medium-sized free-standing Tirthankara sculptures, in addition to the two Jinas located in the two image chambers of the temple. The second chamber has been attached to the back of the temple and will be discussed in the following. Earlier art-historical accounts of the temple indicate, however, that the hall used to house large numbers of religious images. Deva's detailed description of the temple interior from the early 1970s, mentions ten Jaina statues, placed on pedestals along the walls of the closed hall (Deva 1975a: 259).

[24] Cunningham, on his second visit to Khajuraho in 1864-65, was not allowed to enter the religious edifice and could only glance into the inside from the small porch.

[25] The blocks of stone were assembled in a technique known as dry coursing or ashlar masonry, which requires no binding substance to stabilise the construction.

[26] It is worth noting that although most of the Hindu temples at Khajuraho were damaged

re-used parts from destroyed Jaina temples at the site, such as the dilapidated Ghantai Temple nearby.[27] The entrance to the image chamber is surrounded by a further double door-frame. As in the example discussed earlier, this too was cemented in at a later stage (Plate 4). As such, the presence of Jaina imagery on the door lintels of the temple cannot be taken as proof of the original dedication of the shrine. The availability of additional door-frames at the site is supported by the fact that parts of ornamental door-frames have been employed inside the closed hall on the north wall. They frame one seated and two standing Tirthankara figures, and cover the blind wall where the former open balcony has been filled in.

Plate 4   Because the doorframes of the Parshvanatha Temple are re-used parts, wide
            cement grooves were needed to keep them in place

and extensively reconstructed, none them have such cement grooves. The explanation here appears to be that in those cases the original temple parts found within the collapsed buildings were re-inserted in their initial location, and thus fitted exactly.

[27] Already Fergusson drew attention to the re-use of old building materials in the restoration of temples and for the construction of other edifices at Khajuraho (1967: 49).

A further alteration to the temple structure is the small additional shrine constructed at the back of the Parshvanatha Temple. It faces west and seems to have been constructed after Cunningham's visit in 1884, probably during the late nineteenth or early twentieth century (Plate 3).[28] Whilst some of the local Hindu temples are associated with further shrines and halls, these are all free-standing edifices, located either in front of or at the four corners, surrounding the main temple (*pancayatana*-layout). None of them are linked to the main temple building as in the case of the Parshvanatha Temple. The small shrine attached to the back of the structure provides space for an additional image and reflects the Jaina ritual of venerating multiple sacred representations.[29] From an aesthetic point of view, the small shrine projecting from the back of the temple mirrors the front porch and creates a very balanced layout.

In addition to the structural and architectural changes undertaken during the conversion of the temple to Jaina use, alterations were also made to the sculptural format of the Parshvanatha Temple. The main sacred image in the sanctum of the original Hindu temple was probably destroyed during the Muslim assaults on Khajuraho during the eleventh to thirteenth centuries.[30] When Cunningham returned to the site in 1852, the main sanctum of the temple was empty, although he reported that the shrine had been repaired by a Jaina banker five years earlier (Cunningham 1871: 432). By 1865 the temple had been restored and had become an active place of Jaina worship. The first Jina to be enshrined in the sanctum seems to have been a statue of Adinatha, as this is indicated by the inscription on its pedestal.[31] This was replaced by a figure of Parshvanatha in 1860 and a statue of Adinatha was placed in the additional shrine attached to the back of the temple.[32] Sculptural changes were also undertaken on the exterior walls of the temple. Only a very small number of Jina images adorn the outer sides of the Parshvanatha Temple and it is striking that the few sculptures of Jaina Tirthankaras are either placed close to the main porch in the east, which was entirely rebuilt during the reconstruction process, or they are located on the walls of the western shrine, which is a later addition.[33] Most other figures adorning the wall of the

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[28] Zannas (1960) considers the western projection to be a later addition, whilst Deva (1975b) believed that it was part of the initial layout. A closer examination of the stonework, the grooves and the sculptural representations adorning the projection, however, indicates clearly that the shrine at the back must have been added at a later stage. Cunningham, in his detailed descriptions of the temple, never mentions the existence of the western shrine, which further supports the fact that it must have been constructed after his last visit to the site.

[29] For the common Jaina practice of creating multi-shrined constructions and multi-storeyed temple buildings in order to accommodate a large number of venerated objects, see Hegewald (2001).

[30] The first Muslim attacks on Khajuraho were carried out under Mahmud of Ghazni in CE 1022. In the twelfth century, the last official Chandella Raja, Paramardi Deva, also known as Parmal (c. 1165–1202), was defeated by Prithviraj (III) Chauhan in 1182 CE, and in CE 1202/03, Qutb-ud-din Aibak invaded the area again and took Kalinjar. On this issue, see for example Cunningham's reports (1871: 412; 1885: 59), and the discussions by Smith (1981: 203) and Mehta (1979 I: 70).

[31] An alternative interpretation would be that the pedestal is also a re-used part from a different Jaina temple at the site, and that its inscription does not refer to a sculptural representation which was enshrined in the Parshvanatha Temple.

[32] For further details on the exact timings of the changes, based on the reports by Cunningham, which also includes information on his journey to the area in 1874-75 and 1876-77 (Cunningham 1880), see Hegewald (2006).

[33] See also the detailed plan with the location of individually identified sculptures on the temple exterior by Bruhn (1956). With regards to the entrance porch of the Parshvanatha Temple, see also the discussion of its inscription panel in Hegewald (2006).

temple (*jangha*), are either clearly identifiable Hindu gods or lesser known goddesses. Through the positioning of pronounced Jaina imagery at the entrances to the two shrines of the Parshvanatha Temple, the Jaina character of the edifice was reinforced, and despite its Hindu appearance, the shrine could no longer be mistaken for a Brahmanical places of worship. Furthermore, it is striking that there are fewer erotic scenes and depictions of loving couples (*mithuna*s) on the Parshvanatha Temple than on most other temples at Khajuraho. The fact that most of the surviving erotic sculptures are found high up on the temple wall, where they can hardly be seen, suggests that others might have been consciously removed and carefully replaced during the conversion process.[34] This is not to say that *mithuna* couples or erotic scenes are not to be found on Jaina temples, but they are usually less pronounced than for instance those associated with the Hindu structures at the site.[35]

The most interesting changes to the sculptural repertoire were, however, undertaken on the inside of this complex religious edifice. The outer walls of the sanctum, inside the circumambulation path, are adorned with standing sculptures of playful female figures such as heavenly nymphs (*apsara*s) and dryads. The exquisitely carved female statues are interspersed with representations of sitting Jaina Tirthankaras. The Jinas clearly are replacements of earlier Hindu sculptures which were carefully chiselled out of their niches. These changes were carried out with such sensitivity that they are not at all obvious at a first glance. Clear evidence for these alterations is, however, to be found in the positioning of the parasols in the niches above the Jinas. The umbrellas are not placed directly above the heads of the upright seated, centrally located Jaina images. Whenever they are found in association with figures of the Tirthankaras, the parasols are positioned further to the side within the niches, indicating that they must have belonged to figural representations portrayed in a relaxed, bent position, such as *abhanga* or *tribhanga* (Plate 5).[36] It is interesting to observe that such replacements of Hindu with Jaina images are much more common on the inside than on the outside of the temple. However, it is generally typical of Jaina temples throughout India to have a comparatively plain exterior, frequently with high protective walls, but a very ornate interior, sheltered from external gaze and interference. More importance seems generally to have been attributed to the decoration and detail of the internal than the external temple walls.

The Parshvantha Jaina Temple at Khajuraho clearly exhibits a complex history of religious, architectural and sculptural change. Based on stylistic dating, the structure appears to have been constructed during the reign of King Dhanga in the mid or late tenth century and then to have been destroyed during the Muslim attacks of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The temple appears then to have come under Jaina possession. An ancient Jaina inscription was re-engraved in the porch of the temple, and an image of Adinatha was set up in the main shrine. The temple must have suffered further damage, most likely during the Islamic invasions of CE 1202/3, as the image chamber was empty when Cunningham surveyed the temple

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[34] On lower registers of the temple, a small number of *mithuna* sculptures also survive in the friezes of the closed hall (*gudha-mandapa*) and on the plinth of the entrance portico.

[35] Examples of erotic scenes adorn for instance the outer walls of the Shvetambara Parshvanatha Temple at Ranakpur in Rajasthan. Pronounced *mithuna* representations are also typical of the Digambara Jaina temples at Ramtek in Maharashtra.

[36] There is some controversy surrounding the origin and validity of the term *tribhanga*. Bent poses may be associated with representations of Jaina patrons and donors, and with Hindu divinities which were absorbed by the Jaina religion. However, they are not associated with depictions of the Tirthankaras, who are either portrayed standing motionless in the posture of abandonment (*kayotsarga*) or seated in meditation (*padmasana*).

in 1852. The additional shrine at the back appears to have been constructed after Cunningham's last reported visit to the site. This is likely to have been constructed shortly before 1860, when the Jainas had the temple re-consecrated with a new image of Parshvanatha.

Plate 5   In the Parshvanatha Temple, re-used images of Tirthankaras have
                carefully been inserted in the niches in the ambulatory

During the restoration process, the Jaina community clearly aimed at reinforcing the Jaina character of the edifice by altering the architectural structure as well as the sculptural format of the temple. The alterations allow us to draw valuable conclusions about the nature of Jaina temple architecture. The replacing of the former Hindu cult image, and of additional figures in the internal circumambulation path and on the outer walls of the edifice, with sculptures of Jaina Thirthankaras are probably the most obvious and least surprising changes. More interesting with respect to the creation of a distinct Jaina religious space is the fact that the large open balconies, so typical of the Hindu temples at the site, were enclosed. Through the conscious infill of the window openings, additional space was created to accommodate a large number of Jina images inside the temple. It is typical of Jaina temple architecture throughout India to house multiple

statues to facilitate the meditation on and the veneration of multiple idealised fordmakers. Linked to this idea is also the construction of the subsidiary shrine at the back of the temple accommodating a further ritual image. It is noteworthy that the shrine is linked to the main central edifice, a feature otherwise unknown at the site and generally less common in a Hindu context. The closing of the large open balconies also prevents people who are not admitted to the sacred internal space from gazing into the religious structure. Jaina temple architecture aims at creating secluded areas of private worship frequently furnished with plain high walls obscuring the profusely ornamented interior spaces. In this connection it is noteworthy that more attention was paid to the alteration and replacement of the Hindu imagery on the inside than on the outside of the edifice.

Particularly fascinating with regards to the next two examples of temple conversions, is that in the first case study at Khajuraho, the architectural fabric of the edifice has carefully been altered to adapt it to the new ritual requirements, and its sculptural format on the inside as well as on the outside of the temple has been changed to reflect iconographic features associated with the faith of the latest owners. However, it was not only the aim to adapt the temple to the new use, but also to conceal the act of acquisition and transfer. Particularly for the Jainas, whose central tenet is non violence (*ahimsa*), it would have been difficult to openly admit to the forcible take-over of a sacred structure originally belonging to a different faith. By obscuring the act of conversion, the Jainas also aimed at establishing religious continuity and an unbroken presence at the site.[37]

Plate 6   On the outside of the Lingayat temple at Hallur, the former Jaina imagery has been preserved

The second example, centring around the temple at Hallur in northern Karnataka, expresses a very different approach to the conversion of a sacred space by another

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[37] A further reason for concealing the takeover so carefully, might have been to prevent later claims of the Hindu community for the return of the structure. At Khajuraho, however, there is a longstanding dispute about the rightful ownership of this and other temples, as for example the Adinatha Temple, also situated in the Eastern Group, which today are under the authority of the local Jaina community.

religious group. The Megudi Temple at Hallur was initially conceived as a place of Digambara Jaina worship in the seventh to ninth centuries CE (Plate 6).[38] The temple consists of a large closed hall, a small vestibule (*antarala*) and an image chamber enclosed by an internal circumambulation path (*pradakshina-patha*). Common also with other Jaina temple constructions, the temple was conceived as a double-storeyed construction with image chambers on two superimposed floor levels. The shrine on the first floor level allowed the accommodation and veneration of one or several other sacred images.

   An interesting sculptural programme has at least in parts been preserved in connection with this original Jaina construction. A Jina sculpture, which once must have been installed in one of the two superimposed sanctums of the temple, now rests against one of the pillars in the central aisle of the closed hall, close to the entrance of the temple. It consists of a seated Jina sheltered by a triple parasol and flanked by two attendants. As no recognising symbol (*lanchana*) has been preserved in connection with this statue, a closer identification is unfortunately difficult. Following Shaiva practice, sacred white ash has been applied to the statue, signalling its annexation and indirectly its desecration (Plate 7).

Plate 7 The main image of the former Jaina temple at Hallur
    has been taken from its pedestal and smeared with ashes

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[38] Based on stylistic grounds, a series of possible dates have been suggested for this structure. Derived from its close relationship with the Meguti Temple at Aihole (CE 634), Srinivasan dates the Hallur Jaina temple to the second half of the seventh century (1974: 197). According to Mankodi (1975: 205, 211-213) and the records of the photographic archive of the American Institute of Indian Studies at Gurgaon, the structure should be assigned to the late eighth century (see, for instance, AIIS Neg. no. A 21.36 and A 21.38). By contrast, Meister and Dhaky, as well as Suresh argue that the construction of the temple was initiated in the late ninth century, during the reign of the Rashtrakuta king Amoghavarsha (Meister & Dhaky 1986: 146-147; Suresh 2003: 109).

Otherwise, the Jaina imagery inside the temple has been preserved. This includes a central seated Jina, located on the lintel leading into the image chamber (*lalata-bimba*) on the ground floor. Also unaltered, but also never entirely completed, are sculpted representations of the attendants of the Jina, his *yaksha* and *yakshi*. These have been carved on the sides of the shrine, in the sections leading into the internal ambulatory. The two representations are in varying degrees of completion. Nowadays, the shrine contains a phallic symbol of the god Shiva, a *linga*. A sculpted image of Shiva's vehicle (*vahana*), the bull Nandi, has been positioned in the vestibule, which is facing the abstract emblem of the Hindu god. This signals the conversion of the temple to the Lingayat form of Hinduism. By contrast, the upper shrine has been entirely cleared, remains empty and is no longer in ritual use (Plate 8). The reason for this is that orthodox Vira-Shaivism rejects temple worship, the offering of sacrifices as well as the practice of pilgrimage (Padoux 1987: 12). The underlying perception is that the inner experience and development of the individual is more significant than external rites (Michael 1983: 310). In Vira-Shaiva teachings, the human body is regarded as the true temple (Bowker 1999: 581).[39] As a consequence, Lingayat temples follow a very reduced temple ritual, making additional image chambers, which are so typical of Jaina temple structures throughout India, superfluous. However, it is noteworthy that despite the adaptation of the temple, the abandonment of the upper shrine and the desecration of the original cult objects, the image which was probably once enshrined in the lower chamber still remains inside the temple. Furthermore, not only the Jaina imagery on the lintels, but also the sculptures adorning the outside of the temple, have been preserved. This is very different from the approach outlined above with regards to Khajuraho.

Plate 8   The raised shrine on the roof of the temple at Hallur is not used by the Lingayat community

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[39] The reformer Basava taught his followers that no temple buildings are necessary to worship god, and that one need not renounce worldly life in order to be a religious person. Whilst the first statement was aimed at the ritualistic practices of the *brahman*s, the second targeted the ascetic outlook of Jainas and Buddhists (Leslie 1998: 242).

On the outside of the Meguti Temple at Hallur, the main wall section above the common basement mouldings (*adisthana*) has been structured by a series of wall pilasters. These create discrete niches. The front, as well as the sides of the large closed hall, have been decorated with tall standing Jaina images, one each at the outer edges of the south façade, and three each on the west and east sides of the temple. The tall statues are raised on small pedestals, and appear to merge with the architecture in the form of figural pilasters (Plate 6). Following Digambara practice, the images are nude and unadorned. All eight tall standing statues represent either the twenty-third Jina Parshvanatha or Rishabhanatha's enlightened son Gommateshvara, who is also known as Gommata or Bahubali. There are four figures of each of the two revered characters. At the front of the temple are two representations of the Jina Parshvanatha, whilst the long sides of the hall both bear a central statue of this Jina, flanked by standing figures of the ascetic Gommata. All eight images have been preserved in place, but the Jinas positioned on the front of the temple appear to have been slightly mutilated (Meister & Dhaky 1986: 147; Suresh 2003: 110). The statue to the west has been deprived of one of its arms, and the one to the east has been defaced. In these two sculptures, the expression of victory and the forcible appropriation of the site by Vira-Shaivas appears to have found an immediate expression. As a consequence, a worshipper approaching the temple will immediately realise that this temple has been converted. Interesting, however, is that the figures, carved out of the stone of the temple wall, have not completely been removed or so destroyed that they cannot be recognised as Jaina figures any longer. The images are still readily recognisable as Digambara Jaina statues. Although they exhibit signs of weathering, the images adorning the sides have not born any obvious mutilation. No attempt has either been made by the new occupiers of the temple to convert or appropriate the statues to reflect representations more fitting to their specific mythology or religious system.[40] With respect to Vira-Shaivism, in which the *linga*, the phallic symbol of the god Shiva, forms the single focus of veneration, admittedly this would also have been difficult.

With regards to the historical sequence of events at Hallur, the Digambara Jaina Temple was raised by the local Jaina community, between the late seventh and the ninth centuries CE. It appears to have been converted to Vira-Shaiva ritual use in the twelfth century, when this religious group substantially gained in prominence and appropriated many Jaina shrines particularly in the north of Karnataka. As part of the act of conversion, the main sacred icon was taken from its pedestal, smeared with ashes and placed on the floor of the hall to signal its violation. The raised image chamber, which initially is likely to have contained one or several other sacred Jaina objects, was emptied and did not continue to play a role in the ritual of the new community using the adopted sacred space. At least orthodox Vira-Shaivism is much more sceptical towards temple worship and the offering of sacrifices and the construction of temples as well as temple worship were generally discouraged. As such the abandonment of certain parts of the temple, constructed by a religious group with a more developed temple ritual, is as significant as the addition of new parts by the Jainas at Khajuraho. A related approach can be noticed with regards to the outer decorations of the temple. Whilst the two statues of Parshvanatha positioned closest to the temple entrance where partially disfigured to indicate the appropriation of the sacred structure, those

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[40] This can regularly be observed at other converted sites. Particularly the re-interpretation of former images of Parshvanatha as representations of Vishnu-Narayana in a Hindu context, which is favoured by the common association of both characters with a hooded snake, are very common throughout India. For specific examples, see Hegewald (2007a).

representations adorning the long exterior walls of the temple, have consciously been preserved.

Consequently, the method applied and the attitude expressed in the conversion of the Jaina temple at Hallur is very different from the careful restructuring of the Hindu temple at Khajuraho, in which the Jainas aimed at erasing any proof of previous ownership. The distinct Lingayat approach might be explained by the fact that Vira-Shaivism, in its radically reformed structure, represented a new movement, which was organised in a specific form only in the mid-twelfth century, shortly before the conversion of this specific temple. The new religion swept over the south of India because of its immediate appeal to the population. This seems largely to have been based on its propagation of social reforms, such as the rejection of caste differentiation.[41] To use ancient temple constructions and their annexation to argue for continuity or legitimacy at a certain site was therefore not an option. On the contrary, the aim was to demonstrate the strength and vigour of this modern movement, and to document its quick expansion and proliferation throughout large parts of the Deccan and its surrounding areas. In this respect, the preservation of Jaina imagery on recently absorbed temple structures, was employed as a sign of victory, as a reminder that the Lingayats had been triumphant and that they had brought to an end the long ruling Jaina elite in the area. Moreover, although Lingayats also set up representations of Shiva's bull Nandi and depict certain minor divinities, the *linga* should be their sole object of worship. The *Vacana-shastra-sara* and the *Ganabhashya-ratna-male* condemn the veneration of Shiva in any other form than that of the abstract *linga* (Nandimath 1979: 34, 147-148). Therefore, the re-appropriation or re-interpretation of annexed sculptures was not really open for choice. However, it is also important to consider the options and the cost-benefit calculations made by re-users. Whilst the Lingayat faith does not provide an immediate incentive to construct temples, the new converts were used to temple worship and to sacred structures as centres for the expression of their beliefs. The reformed movement, however, had no particularly sacred sites of their own yet and did not encourage the development of such pilgrimage centres. Viewed in this light, the conversion of existing structures acquires a further dimension of expression.

Whilst the second case study expresses more clearly a hostile annexation, it also represents a case which at least theoretically offers an opportunity for a later reconciliation or even a return of the temple to its original community, as the structure was much less altered than in the case of the temple at Khajuraho.

The third example which shall be introduced here will focus on a further Jaina temple from northern Karnataka. In this sacred structure, however, the Jaina and Lingayat communities today perform their rituals parallel, inside one and the same temple building. The shrine is located at a place called Kagvad in Belgaum District. Originally, the temple was constructed by the local Jainas. Due to what appear to be series of conquests and annexations, resulting in continuous alterations and restoration campaigns, however, it is difficult to date the structure. According to local tradition, the temple was targeted during the period of Muslim invasions and in order to protect the sacred and also precious sculptures of the temple, they were removed from the main image chamber on the ground floor of the temple and brought down to be kept in chambers below the structure in the ground (Plate 9).

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[41] Also early Jainism preached indifference to the established caste hierarchy and challenged the established Hindu social system. In practice, however, caste differentiation survives in the Jaina community.

Plate 9   A complex system of underground corridors below the temple at Kagvad provides
access to two subterranean floor levels

It is not entirely clear whether the lower floor levels were only excavated at that point, or whether they existed prior to the Islamic threat in the region. Many Jaina temples throughout the country have chambers below the main level of access to the temple in order to provide cool and comfortable apartments for travelling ascetic teachers.[42] Noteworthy is that two subterranean floor levels are accessible below the temple at Kagvad, and that Jaina images have been installed and are venerated on both underground levels. On the floor positioned one level below the ground is an image of Parshvanatha (Plate 10), whilst two floors below the ground is a shrine dedicated to the Jina Shantinatha.[43]

Times of political unrest are typical for take-overs and appropriations, and it seams to have been the local Lingayats who profited from the chaos and destruction left behind by the Islamic incursions. The advancing Muslims do not appear to have used the sacred space for their own prayers, although there are examples in the region where this too was the case in the past.[44] Instead, it was the

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[42] This can for instance be seen below the Singhiji-ka Temple at Sanganer in Rajasthan, below the Ajitnatha Temple at Batesar in Uttar Pradesh, and below the large village temple at the foot of Mount Sonagiri in Madhya Pradesh.

[43] These underground image chambers are very difficult to reach. Access is provided through small holes in the ground and along narrow passageways which are so low that one has to crawl to reach the underground image chambers. Nevertheless, the sacred icons are still under veneration and are washed and anointed on a daily basis (this is based on fieldwork conducted in the area in February 2007).

[44] For example, the large open pillared hall providing access to the shrine of the Hindu temple at Bankapur near Hangal in Karnataka, known as the Aratranbat Gudi (Sixty-nine Temple), was used as an Islamic prayer hall by the local Muslim community. Noteworthy is also the so-called Deval or Pattar Masjid, in the fort of Bodhan in Andhra Pradesh. In this case a Muslim prayer hall was accommodated inside the structure of a former Jaina temple. The Jaina origin of the edifice is still clearly indicated in its name, as well as in a series of Jina figures adorning the pillars of the large hall. For further details see Desai (1957: 102), Jawaharlal (2002: Chapter II, Figs. 33, 34) and Hegewald (2007b).

Lingayas who took over the deserted temple space above. Today, the ground floor level, is a Lingayat temple. Noteworthy, however, is that the images venerated inside are Jaina bronzes of *kshetrapala*s, guardians of the sacred temple complex. These have been re-appropriated and are worshipped as representations of Shiva in figural shape (Plate 11).[45]

Plate 10 One storey below the temple at Kagvad is a shrine dedicated to Parshvanatha

The first example of the Jaina conversion of a Shaiva shrine illustrates the careful modification of an architectural structure to adapt it to Jaina ritual dynamics, and of its associated sculptural programme to reflect the distinct iconography of Jainism. In the case study at Hallur, the conscious preservation of the edifice, even of building elements which are not any longer in use, and the safeguarding of clearly Jaina imagery on the inside as well as on the outside of the temple, underlines and accentuates the forcible expropriation and conversion of the temple by the Vira-Shaivas. Whilst the first case aims to disguise the act of absorption and simulates religious continuity, the second advertises the forcible appropriation and its use as a political statement. The temple at Kagvad, which is shared by Jainas and Vira-Shaivas at the same time, and where the act of disturbance is blamed on the Muslims, is a particularly noteworthy case in the context of our enquiry in this paper. The latter case illustrates the coexistence of religious practices and the opportunity that lies in the theory of re-use as a compromise which allows people

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[45] The new Lingayat overlords of the temple appear, however, to have tolerated the continuous veneration of the Jaina images on the lower levels, or at least today their worship continuous amicably along with the performance of Vira-Shaiva rituals on the ground floor. As appropriations are such sensitive issues, it was impossible to gain any further details on the exact sequence of events. In order to allow for a peaceful coexistence of Jainas and Vira-Shaivas at the site, it is the Muslims who today are exclusively blamed for the destruction at the site, and the two indigenous religious groups unite against a shared concept of the enemy. Despite this it is noteworthy how much Jaina temple architecture in India absorbed Islamic decorative features and planning ideas. For further details, see Hegewald (2007b).

not to loose all, but to preserve enough to create something new that can last because it provides a link to the past.

Plate 11 In the shrine at ground floor level at Kagvad, former Jaina *kshetrapala*s are venerated as representations of Shiva

Conclusion: Memory, Re-use and the Public Sphere

Communal violence, whose appearance on the scene in the course of the quickening of India's freedom movement during the 1930s created a chasm between the Hindu and Muslim masses, has once again appeared as the major threat to the stability and integrity of India. For many of India's religious minorities, growing Hindu self-assertiveness creates a spectre of a new political juggernaut of 650 million Hindus crushing India's religious minorities. Drawing upon the regional tradition of Orissa, which provides some evidence of the blending together of sacred beliefs and secular power, this article has attempted to provide a contrasting picture. Though some scholars see in the rise of Hindu self-assertion the potential for the decimation of the diverse sects within Hinduism, the view taken in this article suggests that India's regional traditions contain the cultural and political resources which can constitute social forces, indispensable for the continuation of a competitive, plural democracy.

Though the Hindu Muslim conflicts in North India have of course evoked a ripple of excitement and sympathy all over Orissa, and some *kar sevaks* travelled with *ramshilas* – consecrated bricks – from rural Orissa all the way to Ayodhya in 1990, the sentiments have not led to political support for Hindu nationalism nor to communal riots.[46] The countervailing force of Jagannatha has been able to contain the forces of Rama. Even the irrepressible Shankaracharya of Puri, a high profile

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[46] Fieldwork (1992) at Govindpur village (Dhenkanal) in Orissa, from which some young people travelled to Ayodhya with consecrated bricks for the construction of a temple for Rama, paid for partly by money collected locally. Upon their return, however, they slipped back into the traditional ritual and social network of the village and its highly factionalised political process.

activist in the religious politics of North India, still plays a second fiddle at home to the Pandas of Jagannatha. At the base of it is the strength and resilience of the cult of Jagannatha. Two factors have been of crucial significance. One factor may be the relationship of this god to religious traditions of the tribal and semi-tribal population of the area. The other factor may date back to the 15th century, when the so-called 'five companions' raised early Oriya literature to a splendid height. This was a time of intense devotion to Jagannatha. But the god was stripped by the Oriya poets of some of the many additions and paraphernalia of a royal cult. The barriers of exclusiveness which had been raised around the deity by kings and priests were broken down. Jagannatha, to the Oriya poets, was not only a god of the elites. He was rediscovered as what he had originally been: a god of the poor, a friend of the miserable and the wretched, the low caste and the tribal" (Eschmann 1986: 475).

The evidence of re-use analyses in this paper helps us raise the crucial issues of religion and political legitimacy in the context of India's regional traditions. These general issues can be formulated as follows. For political order to be legitimate, it has to be firmly embedded in a moral order that encompasses the whole of the society. The morality of such authority might derive from a diversity of sources, including the idea that sacred beliefs underpin secular power; as well as from the visible benefits of social and economic transactions. Some sections of society may adhere strongly to magical beliefs in the power of the supernatural, beliefs which would often include a deity of fear and love, holding the society together through ritual and punishment. When the political and moral orders move away from one another, the chasm between the two becomes a space for *matsyanyaya* – ad hoc interest maximisation and a war of each against all.

The political universe of pre-Muslim India was composed of a hierarchy of divine beings, competing and collaborating to produce a moral order which reinforced the temporal authority of the actual power holder. As we learn from Embree (1990), this polymorphous moral order produced a limited measure of tolerance for the *yavana,* as long as their beliefs could be accommodated within the plural pantheon and multitude of social practices, ritual and custom at local and regional levels. This form of dynamic encapsulation, as we see in the case, study of Orissa, and from South India, survived the arrival of Islam, in the course of which some new gods, social practices and political customs were added to the regional and local repertoire. Compared to the North, where Islam was politically victorious earlier and held power longer and where the Muslim social order was constantly reinforced with fresh waves of invaders, the encounter between Islam and local religion in other parts of India was sporadic, relatively static and more of a war of slow attrition than a brilliant blitz. This moral 'trench warfare,'[47] where the armies of Islam confronted local and regional Hinduism over extensive unfortified terrain, and over long periods, produced no clear 'winners,' as neither side commanded overwhelming force with which either could destroy the other. What emerged from this stalemated conflict, instead, was a philosophy of 'live and let live,' celebrated in shared rituals, saints and holy places, numerous enough to make the point. Apart from the sporadic acts of vandalism and desecration that broke out during periods of imperial instability, the 'normal' state, of political management of holy places produced curious cases of Muslim rulers who protected Hindu shrines, with an eye, no doubt, to the lucrative pilgrim tax.

In Orissa, the process of double accommodation – of competing sacred beliefs among themselves – and the ensemble of sacred beliefs by secular power,

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[47] The analogy is from Axelrod (1984), op.cit. who shows how recursive, stalemated conflict in close proximity might produce implicit cooperation among enemies.

has continued in spite of the changes of political rule.[48] Historical evidence from Orissa shows that the British conquerors of Orissa quickly understood the nature of sacred geography and continued the 'normal' practice of providing protection to Jagannatha. The British obviously understood the political value of religious patronage, in view of the fact that the vigorous protest from Christian missionaries, horrified at this lenient treatment of the heathen 'Juggernaut' merely caused them to resort to the subterfuge of maintaining the practice through the Raja of Khurda, a Hindu intermediary whose ritual position as the chief *sevaka* (servant) of Jagannatha was thus reinforced through the patronage of the colonial state.

The government of Orissa has continued the British practice of recruiting the good offices of Lord Jagannatha for the legitimacy of the post-independence government based on popular rule. As our analysis of the administrative structure of the temple shows, the King of Puri, the 'moving Vishnu' is the crucial hinge between sacred beliefs and secular power. At least during the peak periods of the major festivals, he provides a physical link between the temporal and the moral orders.

India's regional traditions, on which more field research is needed, might provide the basis for the creation of an institutional structure for the accommodation of sacred beliefs to the secular authority of the national state. From this perspective, the roots of the present crisis of legitimacy go back to the manner in which the secular principle was enshrined within the constitution, and the spirit in which it was implemented in practice. From the beginning, despite the end of foreign colonial rule, no consistent attempts were made to derive the principle of government from local and regional cultural and political traditions, in India. The result, as Inden (1990: 197) reminds us, was a "nation-state that remains, ontologically and politically inaccessible to its own citizens. Its government continues to be just like its immediate British Indian ancestor, merely a neutral enforcer of unity on a morselised society, continually in danger of being pulled apart by 'centrifugal' forces.' In contrast to this 'secular' nation-state, which has come under growing strain from its inability to accommodate the legitimate role of sacred beliefs in Indian politics, the regional tradition of Orissa where sacred beliefs and secular power were conflated and linked to social practice, provides a model that has historically withstood the challenge of communal conflict.

The examples of re-use and state-formation in changing societies analysed in this article show the dynamic between state and religion in an inter-generational time-frame and examine how the moral economy of religion and the institutions of the state accommodate one another through appropriation and institutionalisation of the products of theft, plunder and re-use. The process is not always elegant or peaceful and the generations – of 'losers,' 'winners' and 'post-re-use elites' – might have very different kinds of memories of the salient events that mark any take-over. Re-use may integrate, but not without its residue of the desire for revenge, or anxiety about the inevitable resistance from the progeny of the vanquished.

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[48] In the wake of recent conflict in Kondhamal in Orissa (see, "Curfew can't quell Orissa violence", *Statesman Weekly*, Saturday 20th December 2007, p. 1), some writers have attempted to cast Orissa as a new site of action for the forces of Hindu nationalism. (See Angana Chatterji, "Orissa: A Gujarat in the Making", Communalism Combat, Year 10, Issue 92, Oct 2003). It should be pointed here that what is presented as Hindu-Christian inter-community conflict is, actually, far more complex and should be seen, instead, as inter-tribal conflict where the conversion of parts of tribal communities has ushered conflicts over traditional right. This is different from the picture of traditional co-existence between Hindus and Muslims in the coastal districts of Orissa.

Re-use theory helps us question two flawed constructions of modern India. The first, is an idealistic view, in which eternal India, presents Indian culture as a fixed, undifferentiated essence, accessible only to a learned elite which must be protected from any source of internal impurity or external contamination. Thanks to the discoveries of research by students of re-use, we know the amount of cultural borrowing that has gone into making India what she is today – a vibrant, diverse and inter-locked society – which has the inner resources to sustain democracy and integrate globally without necessarily losing its own identity and specificity. The other view of India – thanks to the political and intellectual efforts of generations of modernists – which has defined life as the sum total of interests, cast in a 'modern' design fabricated in the West. The hiatus between this elite driven, desiccated concept of universal modernity and the Indian masses has ushered a motley crowd of essentialists, revivalists and traditionalists to India's public sphere. Restoration of the captured links with the pre-modern will help regain legitimacy for India's modern institutions from those who feel like outsiders in their own society. Re-use theory was an important role to play with regard to institution-building in changing societies. The empirical research that underpins this article shows that the 'modern' is often the most recent *tranche* of a process of continuous evolution that connects it to the 'traditional.' The conflict and conflation of the material, and the symbolic, is the driving force behind this process of rejection, selection, re-use and incorporation. What passes for the 'modern' in India – namely, constitutional structures and institutional arrangements inspired by modern values, rational economic planning and modern buildings designed by Western architects can ignore the symbolic links to Indian tradition and culture only at their peril. Nor, is this, typical only of India. The resilience of religious rituals in the 'materialist West,' the recrudescence of the Orthodox Church in post-Soviet Russia and the re-used Ashoka *chakra* in the Indian flag are reminiscent of the generality of the re-use of ideas and symbols.

Finally, ritual, art and symbol – the essential ingredients of re-use – are the only chance that mortal men have to identify with forces bigger and more enduring than their limited lives. And symbols are much more amenable to the creation of enduring bonds, unlike mortar, cement, land, and other components of material desires, buildings and liberal political institutions. The re-use of selected elements from the past makes it possible for us to live with the knowledge of the inevitability of death. In theory, if not always in life, with the symbolic balancing the merely material, one can actually have it both ways.

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