

THE STATE, THE TEMPLE AND THE “DIVINE SLAVE”

INSTITUTIONAL TRANSFORMATION AND MICROHISTORY IN INDIA

“The religion of the Monk and of the dancing girl”.
K. Marx¹

Long considered to be institutions outside of time, the temples of India are today the subject of ethno-historical studies that attempt to establish their continuous and recent transformations. Recent monographs, based especially on relationships between the central government and local authorities, reconstruct by periods their medieval, modern and present history, that is the long destiny of constant restructuring over time (Appadurai 1981; Fuller 1984; Reiniche 1989), showing that temples, whether large

¹ See the article by K. Marx, “The British Rule in India”, *New York Daily Tribune*, 25 June 1853, later published in the collection, K. Marx, *Articles on India*, Bombay, People’s Publishing House Ltd., 1943, p. 21-29: “The Hindustani religion is a religion both of exuberant sensuality and ascetical self-torture; a religion of Lingam and of the Juggernaut; the religion of the Monk and of the Dancing Girl”.

Translated by R. Scott Walker

or small, never ceased being the center of important conflicts between social groups seeking dominance.

This attempt to take into account in a synoptic manner the transformations, principally over the last two centuries, that affected a temple in south India dedicated to a regional divinity, has as primary objective to see how micro-history, namely a relatively romantic life story, can complicate social analysis and help cast light upon what are significantly profound changes. And while this “life trajectory” carries in its trail a small number of particular destinies and is so exceptional as to seem atypical, it reveals better than could a statistical analysis the power plays of local partition. This biography, in short, exemplifies clearly how a highly differentiated society responds to the accidents of history.²

Located on a hillside bearing the name of the goddess Yellamma, forty kilometers from the city of Belgaum in the south Indian State of Karnataka, the temple of Saundatti attracts tens of thousands of pilgrims throughout the year. During the period of the full moon especially there can be seen crowds of individuals, families, groups from a particular caste, all who come to fulfill vows made in order to put an end to their afflictions or seek a cure. For the wrath of this popular divinity is so terrible that she can overwhelm her devotees with evil; to her vengeful ire are attributed most misfortunes of existence. Fortunately, however, at Saundatti Yellamma is rather benevolent and dispenses blessings; thus here she represents not so much evil as its remedy.³

I. ADMINISTRATION OF THE TEMPLE

Like all Indian religious institutions of any importance (temples, monasteries, pilgrimage shrines), administration of the temple of

² A brief but decisive article by Levi describes the “uses of biography” (1989). Preceded by an enlightening preface by Revel who points out the links between Italian microhistory and the tradition, in crisis, of the *Annales* (1989), the last work of this author translated into French, describes the career of a family of exorcists in the Piedmont of the eighteenth century, showing the heuristic nature of the reduction of scale in studies of history. Before him Ginzburg used the extreme case of the miller Menocchio to analyze popular culture in depth (1988).

³ On the goddess Yellamma, see Bradford (1983) and Assayag (1988; 1989a;

Saundatti is under the tutelage of the central organization of the State of Karnataka (*Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowment Department*).⁴ Locally, however, its administration seems bi-cephalous, since in addition to its executive arm (*office*) made up of civil servants appointed by the regional government, a department of internal affairs (*Trustee*), formed of local political and/or religious leaders, exercises extensive powers. Although such a situation is not unique to Saundatti, this arrangement of state protection opening up on a local dyarchy reveals one of the most paradoxical features of modern India. An examination of the history of relations between the Indian state and “its” temple will aid our understanding of the specific case of interest to us.

THE (MODERN) STATE AND RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS

Even though until 1847 the British government remained an emanation of the *East India Company*, by the beginning of the nineteenth century it began showing concern for control of important religious affairs. In 1817 the Company promulgated a *Regulation (VII)* by which it assigned to itself all powers of supervision over religious institutions. Mudaliar has retraced the complex history of successive engagements and disengagements—with growing implication ultimately—of the colonial authority in administration of temples and monasteries (*matha*) up to the beginning of the twentieth century (1974: 1-128). After Independence (1947), the sovereign political State was quick to take an interest in religious affairs, gaining control of temple management and regulating resources, both material and symbolic, as Presler explains in his study of Tamil Nadu (1987). The state at

1989b). The latter will shortly publish a monograph entirely devoted to the goddess with the title: *La Colère de la Déesse décapitée*.

⁴ Although under control of the Bombay Public Trust Act, until 1943 the temple enjoyed rather extensive management authority since it was administered by a committee composed of “old-timers”, exclusively Bānājiga. From 1950 to 1964, it passed under control of the Trust Committee and Charity Commissioner of Belgaum (Registration No. 5864), but the Temple Trust Committee that was installed in 1943 ruled until 24 October 1975 before being replaced by the Sri Renuka Devasthanam Administration Act (decree of 1974), which continues to regulate the temple today.

first limited its interventions merely to institutions about which there had been complaints of misappropriation in management of goods and properties (*idem*, 242); for it could not, without prejudicial results, leave such essential economic and symbolic institutions outside its jurisdiction. But a desire to modernize “from the top”—synonymous with bureaucratic rationalization—made itself rapidly felt. Indeed the combined effects of centralization and of bureaucratization, of legal modeling and regional delocalization, diffused an until then unknown rationality that would not be long in contaminating religious institutions.

If, retrospectively, interference seems inevitable, the difficulties created by penetration of the State remain totally pertinent today. At the constitutional level the explicitly secular nature of the State supposed that it would abstain from interfering in religious problems. But by simultaneously proclaiming itself sovereign, it became the sole legal authority upon which depended all institutions, including religious ones. In order to meet administrative needs, departments charged with supervising “ecclesial” institutions were created, first for the entire sub-continent and, in a second phase, at the level of the various regional States. Apart from periodic arbitration, their task consisted in defining and fixing the constitutional limits of intervention by the State. But the search for a solution to the crisis of legitimacy experienced by temples led, insidiously, to containing local executive power, which traditional wielders of authority refused to abdicate.

The logic of national integration, compounded with the political unification of the country that a planned management of the economy supported, led the State to interfere even more in all public affairs. Influential religious institutions were all the more deliberately targeted in that many communities based their norms and behavior on them. Memories of inter-confessional violence have haunted Indian social consciousness for at least half a century. For Hinduism was not the only religion concerned, as is seen even today from the paradoxical perpetuation of Islamic law within a Constitution proclaiming the principle of isonomy. But in a land where social identity is normally expressed through cultic specificities, a conflict sooner or later between the State and religious institutions was predictable, if not certain.

How could a democratic and secular government become the “overseer” of temples and monasteries ruled by centuries-old hierarchical tradition to such an extent that they were one with this tradition? The question summarizes the sociopolitical tension reigning over the contemporary destiny of religious institutions. For under a cover of neutrality and declarations of freedom of expression and tolerance, in short in the name of secularism, state protection of ecclesial institutions established in fact strong independence, especially since democratic utopia required, and encouraged, reforms. By what modalities does a government, concerned with the commonweal but refusing religious interventionism on principle, become involved in temples and monasteries? This is the problem raised by the tumultuous relationships between State, religion and society, at least over the past fifty years. It is a complex process that Weber’s categories help to determine since there has been and still is a bureaucratic rationalization metamorphosing patrimonial organizations into businesses managing the *sacra*, even though the problem in no way resembles Western Church-State conflicts since the Church as such does not exist in India.

Nevertheless, by installing within the temples one or more appointed civil servants, called *executive officers*, wielders of the new legal authority, the simple control sought was transformed into constraining tutelage, that in turn became panoptic supervision. In attempting to improve financial transparency, the administration prescribed a formal management system requiring a professional approach unlike what it termed the “amateurism”, and iniquity, of traditional authorities. Scandalously, in the eyes of those who gradually fell subject to the system, but in the final analysis quite logically from the point of view of decision-makers, the State succeeded in reforming the organization and recruitment of personnel and, worse, managed to meddle in ritual details. Such a radical transformation affected relations between the Government and temples by modifying the significance of the links between religion and society.⁵

⁵ In addition to general studies such as that by Baker (1975), ethno-historical monographs also indicate the breadth and depth of the changes brought about by this interventionism, at first timid but soon dynamic, in the social structure, by the

The State, the Temple and the Divine Slave

At the risk of schematizing institutions whose insularity has certainly been exaggerated, may we propose an approximation in the form of an ideal type? Up until the nineteenth century, apart from those that are the scene of pilgrimages, most temples were embedded in and surrounded by their localities. In each case complex reciprocal links were created between the priestly class, royalty, groups of devotees (*bhakta*) and castes (Appadurai 1978; Stein 1978). Thus installed in a site specified by their toponym, temples were depositories of collective memory, of varying historical importance, whose strong identity marked a sometimes quite large group of different communities. On the bases of this memory shared by social groups, each temple had its specific organization, controlled by a particular authority, which defined the distribution of power and local wealth. To a certain extent also, each institution could conduct its own affairs in the way it wished and regulate cultic ceremonies in a relatively autonomous fashion, even though in some large centers local tradition felt the influence of regional attendance.⁶ Within this traditional framework, it is difficult to distinguish the public from the private, not to mention the religious from the secular, power from authority, non-political from the political. A dominant social presence, the temple was an integral part of society, to the extent that it functioned like a center for (re)distribution of the material and symbolic resources defining power, wealth and the status of the people of that place (Appadurai and Breckenbridge 1976). In this pre-colonial time, the boundaries between temple and society were

beginning of the colonial period. For the kingdom of Ramnad see the article by Breckenbridge (1977), and for Puddokottai, also in Tamil Nadu, the decisive study by Dirks (1987). The latter concludes that, with the arrival of the British, "Donations had ceased constituting the State, honor had ceased expressing the structure of social and political relations at the local level, family relationships had been established as an autonomous category and military rights as well as services had been replaced by the income of the divinity and would soon be rationalized in the form of property rights and bureaucratic employment" (1987: 322, and also 380-383). The report by Pouchedapass (1990) clearly brings out the importance of the questions raised in this latter work.

⁶ For a typology of pilgrimages in India, see Bhardwaj (1973), but especially the careful critique by Morinis of attempts at classification (1984) and also the suggestive experience of Gold's participatory immersion in different types of pilgrimages (1988).

fluid and still permeable. But British administrators, later replaced by Indians, acted as if these undetermined zones were precisely defined territories, perfectly separated spheres of activities. The English and Indian bureaucracies tended to assimilate temples to institutions in the modern sense, to conceive of them as autonomous structures, which they assuredly were not. As a consequence reformers failed to perceive the networks formed by solidarity, as well as by conflicts, in which religious institutions were embedded. Unsatisfied with the “archaic” functioning of organizations whose patrimonial nature they denounced, administrative agents progressively broke down the links that attached them to the land and its people. Institutional reification, no doubt inspired by a Western model, brought about at the same time the loss of the structural order of social functioning and the complexity of socio-symbolic relationships between totality and locality (Reiniche 1985). By destroying the charter of insertion in the social tissue, modern decision-makers made of them independent establishments, specific, even strictly religious, that then had to be made uniform according to a common (ecclesial) model.

Once it had become the “manager” of the Hindu temple, the secular and democratic State assumed administration of a patrimonial institution that it helped transform, even though its organization continued to be largely based on a hierarchical social order in which power is determined by status, the exact opposite of the socio-political principles governing modern politics. And although in many present-day structures the religion of devotion (*bhakti*) dominates in reality (a divine movement of effusion theoretically egalitarian and in which the quest for salvation is, in principle, independent of caste), an analysis of the temple, as Reiniche stated, provides a paradigmatic example “of the complementarity and tension in Indian society between a sacrificial concept (implying hierarchical relations and the distinction and superiority of religious authority relative to temporal power) and a concept of personal devotion (as access to salvation in a world virtually equal for all, whatever may be the definition given to it by each Hindu at his own level), reworked based on ideas of renunciation of the world” (1989:337). Indeed it is in the configuration of the temple, in a manner both emblematic and paradoxical, that concepts of power and authority, of what

The State, the Temple and the Divine Slave

is global or local, of society and religion are crystallized, concepts that historically are contrasted and increasingly divergent, or today are even totally contradictory.

BICEPHALOUS ADMINISTRATION

Let us return to Saundatti. There, as elsewhere in India, a middle level civil servant, the “executive officer”, representing administrative superiors of the government of Karnataka, is theoretically the only one with authority to decide all questions concerning management of the temple in the broad sense of the term. Appointed by the department of religious affairs located in Bangalore, the regional capital (and thus the secular representative of the modern bureaucracy), he cannot fall back on any previously-existing local institution and has hardly any influence on public opinion in the sector where he is posted. If it is noted additionally that he alone, and with total independence, has control over temple finances in his role as representative of the State, we can easily understand why his power encounters strong resistance on the part of the Trustee whose members are recruited locally. This latter instance is made up of around fifteen members, trustees, termed “agents of *dharma*” (*dharmakarta*), a Sanskrit term with a religious connotation, which is actually rather recent. As for the term “Trustee”, obviously derived from English law, it confers a legal connotation on *dharmakarta* that, strictly speaking, has no legal content. This Anglo-Hindu terminological juxtaposition clearly reveals the telescoping of incomparable legal systems that, since the beginning of the nineteenth century, have determined organization of the temple and its subsequent transformations (Reiniche 1989:182 ff.).

With the majority of its members chosen from the (dominant) Liṅgāyat caste, the “Trust Board *Devasthanam*” is imbued with its prerogatives. All important decisions concerning ordinary and extraordinary temple operations are made by the board, but they are made on behalf of the one holding authority, that is in the name of the divinity. Since Yellamma herself is incapable of supervising such operations, the Trustee takes her place. The legal will of the divine person, it disposes of unchallengeable power

and benefits from prestige that locally few contest. It is true that its members are recruited from the circles of the locally “powerful” whose network is familial or relational, rising by levels up to government administrative centers of decision-making.⁷ For it is various village councils (*panchayat*), associations of these councils (*panchayat samiti*), district councils (*zila parishad*) and other rural development committees (organizations always infiltrated by political parties) that determine salaries and subsidies.⁸

It is clear that the position of the executive officer is a delicate one, his choices are hard, his decisions frequently contested. For he is caught between claims emanating from the secular political power to which he answers and which obliges him to impose on the temple a bureaucratic form of administration modeled on the management of competitive enterprises, and local pressure groups among whom he resides, whose sole concern is the preservation of privileges or the acquisition of rights. Pressures are as insistent as they are repeated, both on the part of those who receive an important share of their income directly from the temple, such as the priests, as well as all individuals and groups hoping to garnish for themselves, in some way or another, a share of the prestige attached to it.

The executive officer manages a staff of five officials who are primarily assigned to control finances and—far from unimportant—tend to the remuneration of attendants and priests. This small administrative staff has responsibility for managing all temple property and for supplying the material necessary for diverse services and ceremonies, in agreement with the Trustee, which is responsible for the detailed organization of daily activities and the major annual temple celebrations. The Syndacate Bank, placed under the authority of the executive officer and installed within the temple premises, handles all registration of the many dona-

⁷ Using statistical data, Thimmaiah and Aziz (1983) show this for villages and Manor for posts in the federal government (1977; 1978).

⁸ Upon my return to Saundatti in 1988, I was surprised to learn of the appointment to the Trustee of a former minor temple attendant whose sole merit, according to rumor, is that he is the cousin of an important official of agricultural affairs of the city of Belgaum.

The State, the Temple and the Divine Slave

tions (money, jewels, valuables) offered to the goddess. Four employees, all Liṅgāyat it should be noted, are responsible for this work. The Bank also keeps record of and guarantees low-interest loans made to devotees needing them. Yellamma's traditional protection, which in the past was merely "magical", has been re-established on a financial level by this modern Institution. Even though the figures are unfortunately somewhat outdated (1 rupee = 35 centimes), the following table gives an idea of the amount of funds handled by the temple administration and shows the importance assumed by religious activities in the community of Saundatti.

Years	Municipal funds		Pilgrimage funds	
	Revenue	Expenses	Revenue	Expenses
1962-63	37106500	25609100	21825000	16525000
1967-68	53030000	43515400	27240200	43513900
1971-72	46493800	41271900	37298500	22003100
1976-77	55898200	113635500	36500400	44629100
1977-78	79302000	81202500	44667500	49070900

Table I: Revenue for Saundatti temple (1981)

The Trustee has total freedom in the recruitment of new members and in setting their salary. It can, if necessary, initiate disciplinary action against misbehaving attendants because above all it sees to proper execution of rituals in conformity with applicable norms. The presence of at least some of its members, so honored, is obligatory for important ceremonies. All attendants ensuring proper conduct of the temple's current affairs—from priests and their assistants to police, musicians and cleaners—are its vassals. Unlike administrative officials under the direction of the executive officer, local personnel is recruited with

an eye to caste origins, hereditary rights to service, sectarian affiliations and even personal allegiances.

In addition to mediators who are priests, temple celebrations require sponsorship. In the past this was generally the role of the king, as shown by Stein's studies (1980) covering the medieval period, and those of Appadurai (1981) for the contemporary period. The divine sovereignty over his kingdom guaranteed by the priestly class at its service was complemented by the political but equally symbolic sovereignty of royal power worked together to guarantee fertility, well-being and perpetuation of the universe.⁹ For the temple's religious activities—vaguely inspired by procedures codified in the Śaiva-āgama writings¹⁰—sought to maintain sociocosmic order (*dharma*); this should be understood not only as long life, good will, victory over one's enemies, but also the prosperity of villages, cities and of the world. Indeed this world is expressed by the divinity in his sanctuary, but is symbolized by the monarchy and the person of the king at the local, temporal and no doubt cosmic level.

At present, as indicated by Shankari (1984: 173 ff.) instead of the king, the Trustee, with its powers and nearly hereditary recruitment, exercises this traditional charge, reworked and transformed. The Trustee fulfills this role by assuming the place of the sovereign, and its collective person assumes all the former attributes of the monarch. Temple sovereign, the Trustee assumes and ensures the socio-religious protection of the world, of the *dharma* in the broadest sense; for order and disorder, prosperity and abundance, well-being and happiness depend on it. If members of the Trustee, designated as “agents of *dharma*” (*dharmakarta*) as we have seen, guarantee cosmic negentropy at the terrestrial level, they do so in two ways. On the one hand by tending to the tem-

⁹ The association of religious authority and temporal power is so canonical that, according to Galey, it could serve to define the paradigm of Indian royalty. The attempts at periodization can be reduced to recognizing the controlled play of associations, movements, condensations and intensifications of the model: a political phenomenon with ritual and ideological justifications or ritual imperative with political consequences (1989).

¹⁰ Vaguely because, as Fuller indicates with regard to Mīnākṣī, the temple of Hindu orthodoxy at Maduari (1982: 164), the attitude of priests is “scripturalist”. Most of the time they do not know the letter of the traditional texts.

ple's material prosperity, which means encouraging and channeling the continuous flow of wealth that makes its functioning possible day to day and at the time of the feasts; and by seeing that ordinary services are performed and observances respected, making certain they are the perpetuation of traditional rules. As a result, during the numerous conflicts opposing the Trustee and the executive officer's administration, the former always recalled its right of control that it considered immemorial—"since the *Veda*" (!)—as a means of seeking justification in a reference to the "earliest times".¹¹

In contrast to Appadurai, who saw in the modern State the replacement for the king (1978), the example of the Saundatti temple, where authority is fragmented between what could roughly be called an administrative sector, represented by the civil officer, and a judicial sector, namely the Trustee, shows that the royal role is now played by the latter. State sponsorship is no longer the same as the temple's protection, at least in the religious sense of the term. Strictly speaking the State is no longer the sacrificer (*vajāmana*), the one whose offerings made in this world are said to constitute a body for the next. The operation of divine union, incarnated by the king in the Vedic coronation ritual (Heesterman 1957: 226), is certainly no longer valid with respect to power of the State. If an analogy must be made, the modern fiction of state protection could more accurately be compared to control by a foreign sovereign, of which India has known many in the course of its history, a sovereign lacking any authentic legitimacy at the local level. In any case this is the way members of the Trustee, and the majority of temple servants, conceive of this sponsorship. Consequently the transactional framework brought

¹¹ Hindus enjoy repeating that their religion is eternal, that traditional values remain unchanged and are thus transcendent. This view is evidently mystifying but was long accepted and carried on by the academic Indianist community from a perspective that can be called "orientalist" (Inden, 1986), under inspiration of Said (1980, in particular); however, although the study of textual Tradition, by definition relatively indifferent to historiography, furnishes an irreplaceable instrument of analysis, it still risks "Indologizing" the material (if the neologism can be excused). Consequently this truism must be repeated: nothing can replace the direct observation of religious practices *in situ* for contributing to an anthropology of India seeking to recreate the turbulence of identities, of forms of "Indian-ness" (Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, etc.) in conflict with modernity.

to light by Appadurai for the medieval period (1978: 53) fell into disuse. The two-fold relationship between “priests” and sectarian leaders on the one hand and the dominant caste and king on the other, which took the form of an “alliance” created in recognition of the mutual benefits that each party draws from it, has been destroyed. The pact has survived at Saundatti; and although a sort of coalescence can be noted, the situation has in reality been (bi-)polarized. Conflicts have multiplied in the framework of a struggle which has become more hegemonic.

Relations between the Trustee and priests are, on the other hand, stamped with ambivalence. The normally coercive authority of the former and the fact that its decisions cannot be appealed to provoke a certain animosity among the priestly class. However, it protects them from unacceptable excesses on the part of the administration, always eager to demote them to the rank of simple employees, even requiring that the temple be opened to all Hindus regardless of their caste origins. Aware of their subordinate position in the present power struggle, the priests attempt as much as possible to adjust their behavior to the wishes of the Trustee, naturally provided there is no excessive interference on its part in temple maintenance and organization of divine services, and especially that it does not lend too attentive an ear to the reformist impulses driven by constitutional legality. This prudent arrangement, coupled with an uneasiness that grows at the same speed as modernization, sometimes leads to contradictory situations.¹²

II. TEMPLE PERSONNEL

DIFFERENT TYPES OF ATTENDANTS

The persons concerned with the professional and religious services of the temple, whether temporarily or permanently, are called

¹² A simple anecdote: I was able to take photographs inside the sanctuary thanks to the priests who claimed to be in charge, despite having been forbidden to do so by the Trustee, or more precisely despite the dilatory nature of its response: “authorization pending”.

The State, the Temple and the Divine Slave

sevakari, “those who serve”. Even though the status of various attendants may be quite different, all perform their functions by virtue of specific hereditary rights. Prolonged observation shows that, although traditions based on lineage define the offices and obligate an individual to service, each one fulfills his task in a variable manner depending on the degree of interest he brings to it (whether assiduous or casual), the degree of his personal devotion or, more mundanely, his availability.

In 1986 the official list of attendants (*sēvakari*) for the temple of Yellamma was as indicated in Table II.

Function	Caste	Number
Priests (<i>pūjāri</i>)	Liṅgayat-Banajiga	127
Standard bearers (<i>mudragani</i>) before the palanquin	Kṣatriya Kuruba Talavar	1 1 1
Palanquin bearers	Sunagar	8
Umbrella bearers (<i>chaturgi</i>)	Kuruba Bovi	1 1
Lamp bearers (<i>dīvatige</i>)	Sunagar	2
Bearers of the fly whisks (<i>chauri</i>)	Sunagar	2
Bearers of the great torch	Sunagar	1
Bearers of the lamp (<i>maṅgalārāti</i>)	Sunagar	4
Dancers (<i>devadāsī</i>) - in 1966	Sunagar	2
Musicians:		
drum	Sunagar	1
clarinets	Bajantri	6
cymbals	Hugar	1
Suppliers of material for the <i>pūjā</i>	Sunagar	10?

Table II: Attendants at the Temple of Saundatti (1986)

This catalogue of some 170 persons dedicated in one way or another to the solemn worship of Yellamma¹³ brings out quite clearly the demographically dominant position of the Liṅgāyat-Bānajiga in the temple. The observation that the Sunagar group, in second position, as well as several of the other castes, are subject to them confirms what had been shown by research, impossible to reproduce here. Status and power coincide at Saundatti.¹⁴ Even though it might be possible to defend the opposite thesis, hegemony over temple personnel expresses the locally dominant position of the Bānajiga caste and, more specifically, that of the Liṅgāyat in the region.¹⁵

Ancestral privileges that provide access to service must be placed in an historical perspective, both locally and globally, at least as much as can be achieved with all too rare written documents and the initially oral transmission that, conveniently, denies history by magnifying the present.¹⁶ A historiographical survey was all the more difficult to conduct since the *Bānajiga* “priests”, (*pūjāri* = “those who make the offerings”, *pūjā*) have placed an unofficial but effective ban on consultation of temple archives. Extremely wary, their attention riveted on privileges the Karnataka State government gradually is taking away from them,¹⁷ the

¹³ As numerous visits to Saundatti over several years have demonstrated to me, the number of *pūjāri* varies; more precisely, out of the 127 Bānajiga families in which the duty of *pūjāri* is handed down in the patrilinear succession, only some fifty attendants regularly officiate in the temple. Their number even seems to be decreasing from year to year, for under governmental pressures religious service is less and less lucrative.

¹⁴ The distinction between “status” and “power” that underlies Dumont’s synthesis of the caste system (1966) does not apply to this Indian example.

¹⁵ There is abundant literature today on the various Liṅgāyat castes and the Vīraśaiva sect. See for example MacCormack (1963); Parvathamma (1972); Ishwaran (1977, 1983), and Assayag (1983).

¹⁶ In a recent work Mary Douglas remarked, “Anthropologists have a tendency to turn the question around. They are inclined to ask themselves not why one forgets but why one remembers, and they make memory the object of their special attention” (1989:63). But forgetting is part of tradition that is made up as much of loss as of memorization, a system that is an integral part of social organization as we know since Halbwachs.

¹⁷ It is especially since the installation in 1975 of the Sri Renuka Devasthanam Administration that the liberty of and possibilities for fraud on the part of priests have been reduced considerably.

The State, the Temple and the Divine Slave

Bānajiga still remain evasive and dogmatic about the history of “their” temple, which for them has no history. Since we are speaking in particular of service personnel, we find they tend spontaneously to keep secret any detail that might betray conflicts or changes. However, a few clues reveal, not surprisingly, that the number of attendants and their caste origin, the nature of positions and salaries, have varied from one era to another.¹⁸

We will illustrate the preceding with three examples that, although microscopic, are still quite significant.

When Devraj Urs (Wodeyar)—descending from the dynasty of the illustrious Maharajahs of Mysore—won the 1971 election and became Chief Minister of Karnataka, the provincial State promulgated a law (1974) requiring all Hindu temples, of which it is “owner” (see note 18), to hire only Hindu servants. The consequence of this at Saundatti? A Muslim family was struck from the list of attendants (*sēvakari*). This family can no longer officiate in the sanctuary of the god Paraśurāma, son of Yellamma, no longer has the right to bear the ritual fly whisk, no longer can tend the lamps during the festival of Navaratri, all paid ministries that had been performed by this family since at least the seventeenth century.

Formerly in charge of cleaning the courtyard surrounding the temple, the Untouchable Māḍiga were recently deprived of this task, which was given to officials of the Trustee appointed by the regional government. Recruited primarily from the Bajantri

¹⁸ This is no doubt true for many temples. Thus, to remain in Karnataka, that of the goddess Uttanahalli (sister to Chamundesvari) studied by Goswamy and Morab, whose Brahmin priests were replaced by Liṅgāyat (1975: 18). These two authors also note that the opposite occurred in 1819 in the great temple of Chamundesvari. Upon the order of Krishna Wodeyar III, Maharajah of the Kingdom of Mysore, installed by the British after the fall of Tipu Sultan, Liṅgāyat priests yielded to the Brahmin Smārta so they could perform the rites in conformity with agamic precepts (*idem*: 11). In this same respect, an anecdote also recounted by Goswamy and Morab (1975: 19) merits telling. One day (?) the Liṅgāyat priest of Chamundesvari insulted the Brahmins of the village of Alanahalli who had come to visit the temple. Furious, the Brahmins decided unanimously to avenge this public affront. They secretly brought half-smoked cigarettes into the holy of holies and then spread the rumor that the Liṅgāyat *pūjāri* were in the habit of smoking within the sanctuary. When the matter was brought to the attention of the Ruler, the accusation was officially backed up by discovery of the cigarette butts. As a result it was decided to entrust temple service to Brahmins from then on.

caste of musicians, the new cleaners add this task to the orchestral service they continue to provide during ceremonies. They also watch over the temple area during ordinary times. These various tasks now included in their service, or better in their work, are rewarded by a monthly cash salary. Thus the rationalization of management of temple personnel has led to a reduction in the number of staff, to elimination of caste privileges and finally, by means of monetarization, to transformation of traditional services into secular professions. Not only does this deprive Untouchables of payment but it excludes them from participating in temple activities. Certainly the roles they played in the past were stigmatized, but their symbolic importance made it possible to integrate them as subordinates into the community.

Under pressure of campaigns initiated by progressive reformers, which resulted in the governmental ban of 1881 and subsequent abrogations, the cultic service of dancer or “slave (*dāsī*) of the divinity (*deva*)” has disappeared today.¹⁹ In fact there are no more at Saundatti, and there is no written trace of *devadāsī* attached to the temple in the lists of attendants over the last two decades. Nevertheless, the disappearance of this service was far from being immediate. Under the name of a woman called Laxmasanita, but with no indication of profession or reference to a caste, this function continued to exist in the temple register (*Devasthanam*) up until 1927. A hand-written note of 24 April 1919, addressed to temple authorities and re-discovered by accident, gives evidence of this as well. The note requests payment of 10 rupees for services rendered by dancing before the divinity. The explicit mention of *devadāsī* can be found, for the last time, in a register dated 1966 (see Table II).

THE MASCULINIZATION OF “ATTENDANTS OF THE FAVORABLE LAMP”

The traditional religious function of “attendant of the favorable lamp” (*maṅgalarāti-sēvakarī*) was once performed exclusively

¹⁹ Two articles by Srinivasan describe the history of successive militant campaigns that led to suppression of the *devadāsī* in the State of Tamil Nadu (1983; 1985).

The State, the Temple and the Divine Slave

by women “slaves of the divinity” (*devadāsī*).²⁰ Consisting particularly in bearing the “favorable lamp” during the various services, the function still exists but is now performed by male attendants!

Today the *maṅgalarāti-sēvakari*, all male, are recruited from two particular families, designated by the term *maṅgalarāti-vorṃsa*, “the line of the favorable lamp”, out of the eight lineages (*vorṃsa*) of servants (*sēvakari*) found in the Sunagar caste from which are recruited the largest contingent of attendants obeying the orders of the Bānajiga. Residing in the village of Ugargol a few kilometers from Saundatti, these families are set up around the temple of Yellamma as vendors of saffron and vermilion, two products essential for every offering to the divinity.

The *sēvakari* of the Sunagar caste are Liṅgāyat, like the Bānajiga, but of a markedly inferior status. Their traditional profession was that of making lime for whitewashing houses, and they are still occasionally called *ambigara*, “those who have to do with water”, in reference to the method of extracting nitrate from rocks immersed in salt water. Both in the village of Ugargol where they live and at Saundatti where many of them have small businesses related to pilgrimage activities, the Sunagar are employed in a favored manner by the Bānajiga, performing ritual services for them in the temple and doing agricultural labor on the private lands of their “masters”, to whom many are also indebted.

Contrary to the evidence, the official version (generally accepted) affirms that since the beginning (?), men have performed the function of attendants of the favorable lamp. However, as far back as epigraphic and historical information extends, this office was always reserved for women.²¹ This was also confirmed by an aged woman *devadāsī* from the Sunagar caste, who today sells cigarettes at Saundatti and who affirmed to me that in fact she

²⁰ Although constructed around interviews with nine “dancers” now retired from the temple of Puri, the best social anthropology survey of *devadāsī* remains that of Marglin (1985); let us mention in passing that in order to reanimate the tradition after a long extinction of the custom, in 1975 administrators of this temple recruited young *devadāsī* with the blessing of the State of Orissa (*India Today*, 15 April, 1990).

²¹ The thesis of Kersenboom presents and discusses all traditional texts dealing with the *devadāsī* (1984).

had held the role some thirty years ago. She refused, however, to say any more about it, and her silence was not the least of the obstacles that hampered the research. At least her testimony attested to the fact that the temple of Saundatti, as might be expected, had observed the general rule.

Even recently, then, the office of *maṅgalarāti* was filled by women; one or perhaps several principal *devadāsī* were attached to the temple. No doubt several, for the “old-timers” have told me there used to be two types of *devadāsī*. First were the *rāṅgabhogā*, a compound word that can be translated by the “pleasure” (*bhoga*) provided by the arts of the stage (*rāṅga*), made up of dancers whose duty was to dance or sing, and to act out episodes from the divine legend as entertainment for the Divinity. Secondly were the *aṅgabhogā*, “pleasure” (*bhoga*) or “well-being of the members” (*aṅga*), that is physical persons whose role was to clean the *cella* of the goddess and prepare it for “homages” (*pūjā*). In both cases these “divine slaves” were linked to the temple and apparently could not leave it for any reason whatsoever,²² especially since their initiation took the form of a ritual marriage with the spouse of Yellamma, Jamadagni.

Men appropriated the office of *maṅgalarāti* approximately in the 1970s. This innovation can be explained by the convergence of several factors resulting from the general evolution of society.

First was a transformation of mentalities, for many were now sensitive to moral arguments accusing priests of turpitude and depravity in the sacred places where women, and even prostitutes,²³ were still attached to Hinduism’s holy of holies. Our contemporaries have greater fear of sanctions resulting from non-

²² Let us simply note, without being able to develop it any further here, that in reality it is necessary to distinguish several formulae of consecration to the divinity (*jōgama*, *basavī*, *muralī*, etc.); despite their differences they can all be reduced to a form of hierogamic matrimony that transforms these (earthly) women into “co-spouses” of the god Jamadagni and servants of his wife Yellamma. There are also consecrations for men, in this case transvestite eunuchs called *jōgappa* (Bradford, 1983).

²³ On the prostitional destiny of the “devotees” of Yellamma, see Puneekar and Rao (1967), and Shankar (1990); in 1984 the regional government reactivated the “Prohibition Act of Dedication” in order to prohibit the traffic in women under cover of a “passport” of religious consecration, an act of simony that is practiced at present between northern Karnataka and large urban centers.

observance of governmental prohibitions than any eventual divine wrath provoked by transgression of tradition.

The internal dynamics of social groups was also a factor. Receptacles of religious legitimacy and desirous of statutory preservation, the Bānājiga were caught up in the simultaneous movement of modernization and Sanskritization of the “highest” Liṅgāyat segments, and thus led to seek adjustments corresponding to the new social situation,²⁴ required to do so rather than willingly accepting it moreover, as was proven by interviews and discussions. Was this not the necessary condition for survival of the group, that it establish its interests and have them triumph in a social sphere that had become competitive? Adapting to a situation in the process of transformation required alignment with the general orientation of a country seized by modernization, even while the federal organization of the nation encouraged rivalry between regions.

From that point on, at its microscopic level, the change of sex in the *devadāsī* post was but a reflection of both the ideological and institutional trend toward modernization and its moralizing shadow, more than a little Victorian, that was taking hold of society and consequently of all institutions, including religious ones. The gradual seizure of the entire social spectrum by bureaucratic administration, which emanated from political authorities alone, by now the only seat of legitimacy, resulted in making the organization of large temples and important pilgrimage centers uniform.

Alongside these major trends, the somewhat anecdotal circumstances that led to masculinization of the *devadāsī* position at Saundatti is worthy of closer examination. There we discover a tale whose romantic nature in no way contradicts its social significance. We shall see that the exact opposite is true.

²⁴ See J. Assayag, “Modernisation de la caste et indianisation de la démocratie: le cas des Liṅgāyat”, *Archives européennes de sociologie*, 1986, XXVII, 2, 319-352; “Tocqueville chez Kipling. De la démocratie et Inde—Tradition et Modernité”, *Archives des sciences sociales des religions*, 1989c, 67, 1, 99-124. The author has attempted in these two articles to analyze the process of adaptation to modernity in the Liṅgāyat castes and, more generally, to present the paradoxes born of the encounter between caste society and democratic regime.

Despite an accumulation of proofs, the *pujāri* unflappably continued to deny any change. As my research continued, I came to understand they were conforming themselves to the silence imposed on them by their group interests but were in particular obeying the order given by one who had been the leading protagonist in the events that led to the eviction of women from temple service. If I was unable to learn any more than what is about to be described, I owe it to a priest who constantly acted as shield, Shivanagowda, the perfect anti-informer, so to speak, who practiced the art of distraction exquisitely and with humor. Not that it was impossible to communicate with him, but he quickly understood that my questions kept returning to the story of the woman who today is his wife. For as a matter of fact, by cross-checking I had been able to deduce that Mallamma had been the last *devadāsī* of the Saundatti temple before marrying him. Rumors of their liaison and its repercussions on divine service had given rise to an insatiable desire to uncover the detailed story of the life of this woman. It must be plainly stated that Shivanagowda's mute reaction brought the project to naught.

The nearly permanent presence of Mallamma at the site alongside her husband, a rather exceptional fact among the *pujāri*, inflamed my curiosity. But Mallamma said not a word. She was content to focus her beautiful pale smile on the loquaciousness of Shivanagowda whose pleasure consisted in provoking laughter in the many persons who came to listen to him. Seated cross-legged on his litter, his belly so fleshy the folds of flesh nearly hid the emblem of his sect (*iṣṭa-līṅga*),²⁶ without ever growing weary of doing so he spent the entire day languidly contemplat-

²⁵ By employing Bourdieu's formulae, it is not intended here to recreate "the totally absurd opposition between individual and society" (1987: 43) nor to succumb to "biographical illusion" (1986), but to reconstruct from a "life trajectory" the "social surface" upon which individuals act.

²⁶ The Virasaiva sect is distinguished by an emblem its members wear: a tiny "phallus" (*iṣṭa-līṅga*) contained in a silver capsule (*gundā-guḍḍige*) received when they are initiated (Assayag, 1983, Part II, Chap. III). According to the teachings of the sect, "Virasaivism disapproves of the cult of images as much as possible and affirms that the supreme being should be adored through one's own *Iṣṭalinga*, the

ing the ceaseless flow of pilgrims. While waiting for the devotees who came to seek his services, he distributed his service roles to his children as often as he could. Above all he enjoyed the periods of calm in which there assembled around him a tight crowd of neighbors, or the simply curious, who had come to take advantage of his legendary humor, which was accentuated even more by his monochord voice, his stolid face and his white hair stiffly standing straight up. Naturally I was the butt of his humor; for what he knew, or rather imagined, of life abroad transformed his fascination for the West into bursts of witticism at my expense. The favorite topic for his scoffing monologues, interrupted only by provocative questions or outbursts of laughter from his audience, dealt with problems of couples. And his tales inevitably were spun around women and sex, marriage and concubinage, even extra-marital relations. This did not keep him from deploring (although it was impossible to determine how serious he was) the prohibition of divorce in India, declaring with appropriate winks of his eye that he envied this advantage enjoyed by the representative of the West that I was. My questions were stopped by his jesting remarks, and my research could only be halted. This thunderingly cordial man was intoxicated by his own humor without ever revealing himself. Behind him Mallamma continued to smile...

To the extent that all the protagonists directly concerned refused to speak, the tale that follows is reconstructed from partial testimony but with converging indications.

The woman who became the last *devadāsī* of Saundatti temple was of Ksatriya origins. Although today she is called Mallamma, her name before was Yamanava, as shown by the photocopy of an official list of 41 attendants, apart from priests, who in 1970 provided service to the goddess. We were allowed to ex-

Linga received from the Guru at the time of initiation, *Diksa*' (Nandimath, 1942: 11). However, as I was able to note when visiting many Lingayat monasteries (*matha*) (Assayag, 1983: 202 ff.), all these institutions have temples in their midst that can hardly be distinguished from ordinary Hindu sanctuaries in terms of organization, ceremonies and rituals. Although limited, the survey of temple personnel by Goswamy and Morab (1975) shows that Lingayat *pūjāri*—Gowda, Tammadi, Adi-Bānajiga—amass in a hereditary manner the religious services in many Shivaite sanctuaries, including some very important ones since the Gowda, for example, have developed a monopoly on the temple of Mahadeswar in the district of Mysore.

mine the list by a (Muslim) resident who had accumulated much resentment from the *pūjāri*. This list stipulates that the name of Yamanava is that of her mother, an exceptional nominative transmission in a patrilinear context, which shows that she did in fact belong to a family of *devadāsī*, where the tradition is matrilinear.

Married to a man from the Kṣatriya caste, by the name of Buddhahargowda, she was sold by him, for unknown reasons, to Padappa whose wife she then became. Padappa, whose family was of the Sunagar caste that occupied the office of *maṅgalarāti* through hereditary succession, made his wife the *devadāsī* of the temple of Yellamma. After several years, during which Mallamma was the “sacred prostitute” attached to the temple and available for the wishes of the priests, one of them “fell in love” with her. Shivanagowda, since it is he of whom we are speaking, took her first as concubine and then decided to marry her. This marriage did not please his first wife and caused a quarrel that took on legal dimensions when she brought suit before the Court of Justice of Belgaum demanding invalidation of the second marriage. After studying the case the tribunal declared that it had been legally registered with the civil administration. Shivanagowda did not even need to repudiate his first wife since she had never existed! Mallamma became the legitimate spouse of Shivanagowda and, through marriage, once again changed caste.

This new social identity raised a problem, however. With respect to the hierarchy of castes and religious services, Mallamma could not be simultaneously the wife of a Bānajiga *pūjāri* and continue to fulfill her duties as *maṅgalarāti-sēvakari*, a duty traditionally reserved to the lower caste of the Sunagar. For understandable reasons, and ones that do not depend solely on the Indian logic of purity, Shivanagowda refused to allow his wife to perform the role of *devadāsī*. Assembled to deliberate on this question, a council of the Bānajiga caste approved his decision. And, in order to avoid any further problems, the assembly decided that from now on the office of *maṅgalarāti* would be held exclusively by men! Moreover, it proclaimed that the two male children Shivanagowda had by Mallamma could officiate in the temple of Yellamma as attendants, but with the expressed condition that they never penetrate into the interior of the *cella* because of the stigma of impurity from their birth. This prohibition is still respected today by

the eldest son, now seventeen years old, as I was able to observe directly.²⁷

Thus despite silence or denials, the position of *maṅgalarāṭi* was indeed held by women. This open secret is indirectly confirmed by an aspect of the ritual service that seems a significant involuntary slip. Although today only young unmarried males execute this service to the goddess, when performing their ritual duties their heads are always covered with a long shawl that gives them a feminine silhouette; the cloth for this garb comes from donations made to the goddess by devotees and is part of her “treasure”. Consequently, despite the explicit denials of contemporary agents, the ritual continues to bear traces of a historical fact established by research.²⁸

MACRO- AND MICRO-HISTORY

Alongside a general study of the profound changes that have taken place as India has undergone modernization, bringing in its wake a transformation in the organization of temples that has changed them from patrimonial institutions into management bureaucracies, it can be understood that there is room for a modest survey of social anthropology with a penchant for finding revelatory details, at a very reduced scale of observation, naturally.

Behind the myth, so carefully maintained by the dominant caste, of a “temple hypostasis” and thanks to an event that is symbolic in more ways than one, a prosopographic analysis, working from clues in the manner of a police detective, discovers traces of its history.²⁹ No matter how irregular or atypical they may be,

²⁷ *Jōgama* is the regional and modern name for the *devadāsī* of Karnataka; descriptions of the ritual role and the sociological situation of these women can be found in Patil (1977), Gurumurthy (1982), Assayag (1988, 1989a, 1989b) and Shankar (1990). The daughter of Mallamma was initiated as “woman of good omen” (*jōgama*) and, according to an unconfirmed rumor, at present works as a prostitute in Goa.

²⁸ The priests do not at all appreciate photographs (cf. note 12). A black-and-white photo from some thirty years ago, no doubt taken during a temple celebration, shows that the *śevakari-maṅgalarāṭi*, the *devadāsī* of that time, was in fact a woman.

²⁹ See the collection of articles by Ginzburg (1988).

the biographical vicissitudes of the “divine slave” must be interpreted in light of a context that makes them possible and thus normal. By reflecting on “labels”—the names Mallamma and Shivanagowda—exceptional figures at the origin of a crisis that is both institutional and social and that split the community, we can reconstruct³⁰ the strategies used in the play of local forces that made a new equilibrium possible. As Indian social stratification still requires today, the struggle for maintaining the *status quo* in the temple with its dominant structure is not an individual operation and is expressed within a constantly mobile relational network that responds to a social foundation, to a familial sub-structure based on caste. But its agents manifest their freedom through calculation of profits and losses within the framework of choices, whose limits must be set precisely because they are determinant.

Even while exemplifying local conditions for a radical transformation, and illuminating a more global change in orientation in conformity with the continuity of abrupt changes through which tradition is invented, this highly symptomatic “micro”-history demonstrates the complexity *in situ* of mechanisms of social reproduction. And in so doing it unveils the type of rationality proper to its agents, creating unknown historical configurations.

Jackie Assayag
(Center for Indian and East Asian Studies, Paris)

³⁰ Indeed Anglo-Saxon anthropology has always paid more attention than French ethnology to the construction of social roles and their interactions; nevertheless, the dangerously relativist aspect of the hermeneutical trend (particularly in the work of Rabinow, (1977) must be denounced, which attributes to the interpretative act (of biography) alone the meaning of “life trajectories”. However, the context in which these “lives” are written limits the possibilities for interpretation, which consequently are not infinite.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- APPADURAI, A., "Kings, Sects and Temples in South India, 1350-1700 A.D.", in S. Burton, ed., *South Indian Temples. An Analytical Reconsideration*, New Delhi, Vikas Publishing House, 1978.
- *Worship and Conflict under Colonial Rule. A South Indian Case*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- APPADURAI, A. and BRECKENBRIDGE, C.A., "The South Indian Temple: Authority, Honour and Redistribution", *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, 1976, 10, 187-211.
- ASSAYAG, J. *Religion et société chez les Liṅgāyat-Viraśaiva de l'Inde du Sud*, Paris X Nanterre, unpublished thesis, 1983.
- "Modernisation de la caste et indianisation de la démocratie: le cas des Liṅgāyat". *Archives européennes de sociologie*, 1986, XXVII, 2, 319-352.
- "The Basket, Hair, the Goddess and the World. An Essay on South Indian Symbolism", *Diogenes* 1988, 142, 113-144.
- "Sacrifice et Violence. Les genres de la possession dans le Karnataka", *Nouvelle revue d'ethnopsychiatrie*, 1989a, 13, 131-158.
- "Women-goddess, women-distress. Yellamma goddess's devotees in South India (Karnataka)", *Man in India*, 1989b, 69, 4, 359-373.
- "Tocqueville chez Kipling. De la démocratie en Inde—Tradition et Modernité", *Archives des sciences sociales des religions*, 1989c, 67, 1, 99-124.
- BAKER, C.J., "Temples and Political Development", in Baker, C.J. and Washbrook, D.A., eds., *South India: Political Institutions and Political Change 1880-1940*, Delhi, Macmillan, 1975, 69-97.
- BHARDWAJ, S.M., *Hindu Places of Pilgrimage in India (A Study in Cultural Geography)*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, University of California Press, 1973.
- BOURDIEU, P. "L'Illusion biographique", *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, 1986, 62-72.
- *Choses dites*, Paris, Éditions de Minuit, 1987.
- BRADFORD, N.J., "Transgenderism and the Cult of Yellamma: Heat, Sex and Sickness in South India Ritual", *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 1983, 39, 3, 307-322.
- BRECKENBRIDGE, C.A., "From Protector to Litigant—Changing Relations Between Hindu Temples and the Rajah of Ramnad", *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 1977, 14, 1, 75-106.
- DIRKS, N.B., *The Hollow Crown. Ethnohistory of an Indian Kingdom*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- DOUGLAS M., *Ainsi pensent les Institutions*, Paris, Éditions Usher, 1989 (1st English edition, 1986).
- DUMONT, L., *Homo hierarchicus. Essai sur le système des castes*, Paris, Gallimard, 1966.
- FULLER, C.J., "The Attempted Reform of South Indian Temple Hinduism", in Davis, J., ed., *Religious Organization and Religious Experience*, London, Academic Press, 1982, 153-167.
- *Servants of the Goddess. The Priests of a South Indian Temple*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- GALEY, J.C., "Reconsidering Kinship in India: An Ethnological Perspective", in J.C. Galey, ed., *Kinship and the Kings. History and Anthropology*, vol. 4,

- Cambridge, Harwood Academic Publisher, 1989, 123-187.
- GINZBURG, C., *Le Fromage et les Vers: l'univers d'un meunier du XVII^e siècle*, Paris, Flammarion, 1988 (1st Italian edition, 1985).
- *Mythes. Emblèmes, Traces. Morphologie et Histoire*, Paris, Flammarion, 1989, (1st Italian edition, 1986).
- GOLD, A.G., *Fruitful Journeys. The Way of Rajasthani Pilgrims*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1988.
- GOSWAMY, B.B. and MORAB, S.G., *Chamundesvari Temple in Mysore* (Anthropological Survey of India), Calcutta, Shri Dhirendra Nath Bera, Teacher Book Stall, 1975.
- GURUMURTHY, K.G., *Indian Peasantry*, Delhi, B.R. Publishing Corporation, 1982.
- HEESTERMAN, J.C., *The Ancient Royal Consecration*, The Hague, Mouton, 1957.
- INDEN, "Orientalist Construction of India", *Modern Asian Studies*, 1986, 20, 3, 101-146.
- ISHWARAN, K.A., *A Populistic Community and Modernization in India*, Delhi, Vikas Publishing House, 1977.
- *Religion and Society Among the Lingāyats of South India*, Leyden-New Delhi, Brill & Vikas Publishing House, 1983.
- KERSENBOOM, K., *Nityasumangāli: Toward the Semiosis of the Deva-Dāsi Tradition of South India*, Utrecht, Ph. D., Rijksuniversiteit, 1984.
- LEVI, G., "Les usages de la biographie", *Annales*, E.S.C. (Nov./Dec.) 1989, 1325-1336.
- *Le Pouvoir au village. Histoire d'un exorciste dans le Piémont du XVII^e siècle*, Paris, Gallimard, 1990.
- MACCORMACK, W., "Lingāyat as a Sect", *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 1963, 93, 1, 59-71.
- MANOR, J., "Structural Changes in Karnataka Politics", *Economic and Political Weekly*, 29 Oct. 1977, 1865-1869.
- *Political Change in an Indian State. Mysore 1917-1955*, New Delhi, South Asia Books, 1978.
- MARGLIN, F.A., *Wives of the God-King. The Ritual of the Devadasis of Puri*, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1985.
- MORINIS, *Pilgrimage in the Hindu Tradition. A Case Study of West Bengal*, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1984.
- MUDALIAR, C.Y., *The Secular State and Religious Institutions in India. A Study of the Administration of Hindu Public Religious Trusts in Madras*, Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag, 1974.
- NANDIMATH, S.C., *A Handbook of Virasaivism*, Dharwar, The Literary Committee L.E. Association, 1942.
- PARVATHAMMA, M.C., *Sociological Essays on Veerasaivism*, Bombay, Popular Prakashan, 1972.
- PATIL, B.A., "The Jogati", *Man in India*, 1977, 57, 1, 23-43.
- POUCHEPADASS, J., "Politique, religion et société en Inde. Une approche ethno-historique", *L'Homme*, 1990, 114, XXX (2), 121-129.
- PRESLER, F.A., *Religion under Bureaucracy. Policy and Administration for Hindu Temples in South India*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- PUNEKAR, S.D., and RAO, K., *A Study of Prostitution in Bombay Karnataka*, Bombay, Lalwani Publishing House, 1967.
- RABINOW, P., *Reflections on Fieldwork in Morocco*, Berkeley-Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1977.

The State, the Temple and the Divine Slave

- REINICHE, M.L., "Le Temple dans la localité. Quatre exemples au Tamilnadu", *Purusārtha*, 8, L'espace du Temple, 1985, 75-117.
- *La configuration sociologique du Temple hindou. Tirunavannamalai, un lieu saint śivaïte du sud de l'Inde*, Paris, École française d'Extrême-Orient, 1989.
- REVEL, J., "L'histoire au ras du sol", Preface to Levi, G., *Le Pouvoir au village*, Paris, Gallimard, 1990, I-XXXIII.
- SAÏD, E., *L'Orientalisme. L'Orient créé par l'Occident*, Paris, Le Seuil, 1980.
- SHANKAR, J., *Devadāsī Cult. A Sociological Analysis*, New Delhi, Ashish Publishing House, 1990.
- SHANKARI, U., "Brahmin, King and bhakta in a Temple in Tamil Nadu", *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, 1984, 18, 2, 169-187.
- SRINIVASAN, A., "The Hindu Temple Dancer: Prostitute or Nun?", *Cambridge Anthropology*, 1983, 8, 1, 73-99.
- "Reform and Revival: The Devadāsī and her Dance", *Political and Economic Weekly*, 1985, XX, 44 (Nov. 2), 1869-1876.
- STEIN, B., ed., *South Indian Temples. An Analytical Reconstruction*, New Delhi, Vikas Publishing House, 1978.
- *Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India*, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1980.
- THIMMAIAH, G., and AZIZ, A., "The Political Economy of Land Reforms in Karnataka, a South Indian State", *Asian Survey*, 1983, XXIII, 7, 810-829.