

University Paris 8 Vincennes Saint-Denis

UFR 3 "Territories, Economies, Societies" - Department of Geography

MEMOIR OF GEOGRAPHY

**OMKARESHVARA, A HOLY CITY OF THE NARMADA
IN THE COURSE OF TRANSFORMATION.**



Emilie CREMIN

Under the Direction of Mrs. Annick Hollé.

- October 2005 -

3rd part: A holy city in the process of development and integration in world space.

The holy city of Omkareshvara is organized in a traditional way. However, its urban space increases and adapts to the dynamic development that occurs there. Commercial activities become more diverse. The infrastructure, established in the past for the reception of pilgrims, accommodates more families, and recently tourist infrastructure has opened. Religious structures develop, thanks to the donations of the devout. All this multitude of reception facilities is integrated in the projects of the Madhya Pradesh government for the city.

The movement of men is done more often and more easily on Indian territory, reinforcing its connection within the network of the holy places. The festivities that occur draw visitors there coming from an air of attraction, expanding from local to national and beyond. This phenomenon expresses all the importance of this spiritual center in the Indian territory.

However, the Omkareshvara's space is simultaneously transformed by the construction of dam and its additional infrastructure, introducing a different dynamic there. This space is consequently defined by a new direction.

So how are the social groups in the city organized, and what are the new dynamics which restructures its space?

1. The organization of the sacred space of Omkareshvara.

The city was composed initially of three districts: Shiva, Vishnu and Brahma Puris, organized around a center symbolized by the Narmada and the Jyotirlinga temple. Because of the threats of external invasions, it had, for a long time, taken refuge on the island protected by the natural moat of the river. Thanks to the political stability ensured by the British administration in the 19th century, the city saw important transformation while being restructured along the banks. This transformation continued with

independence, and has particularly accelerated since 1979, the year of the construction of the old pedestrian bridge.

The districts were then added on the slopes and in the valleys of the island, like around the ancient village of the southern bank, expanding the city gradually. These districts are populated by various types of groups and social communities which maintained the principles of the traditional socio-spatial organization. However, this socio-spatial organization must nowadays integrate the new dynamic of territorial development and new principles of cohabitation between the groups forming the society.

1.1 The socio-spatial organization of the city.

The population of the small holy city of Omkareshvara multiplied by 7 during the 20th century:

Fig. 61: Settlement of the town of Omkareshvara from 1901 to the present.

DATE	Number of inhabitants	Sources
1901	832	Cunningham.
1908	900	Russell, CPDG, 1908.
1970	1,350	OJTT (Omk Jyot Tem Trust)
1978	3,295	INTACH, 1993
1991	4,412	Census
2001	6,616	Census 2001
2005	6,700 3,000 700	Town Council [?] Dam Employees Displaced opulation.

We did not find figures concerning the settlement of the medieval city. The urban growth accelerated with the installation of the pedestrian bridge (1979) allowing easy access to the island. Since 2003, the construction of the dam has generated the arrival of 3,000 workmen and engineers and caused the displacement of approximately 700 people

from the bordering village of Panthiaji including a great number who wished to remain in Omkareshvara. According to the recently installed population¹ of Omkareshvara, other families affected by the immersion will also try to be established in the city within three years; however livable space remains limited there. The dam temporarily employs 3,000 people. The camps of the employees and the building site will disappear after completion of the work, releasing that space for homes and new religious or industrial infrastructures. It is thus certain that the town of Omkareshvara will continue to expanding in the coming years.

Omkareshvara is on the whole a pedestrian city; the road suitable for motorized vehicles stops at the bus station located at the entry of the city. Its residential districts are organized on the southern bank on both sides of the commercial artery of Vishnu Puri and in the Brahma Puri district. On the island, the Shiva Puri district is found on the abrupt slope structured around narrow lanes of which the broadest, allowing the circulation of a great number of pilgrims, is that running from the old bridge to the Omkareshvara Jyotirlinga temple. The access to the remainder of the district is gained by steps. Beyond these, the island contains only two other districts, separated from the center, where the adivasi population lives, while the huts of the sâdhus are dispersed in wooded areas (Appendix 9).

Recently, new residential districts for the employees of the dam and the rural people affected by the project expand the city. They were established along the path suitable for motor vehicles, giving access to the heavy weights of the dam (Appendix 9).

1.1.1 A central urban space traditionally divided into districts of castes.

The caste system or rather that of “*varṇa**” and “*jāti**,” resulting from the Brahmanic Book of “Manu,” is theorized in the book *Homo Hiérarchicus* by Louis Dumont in 1966. It acts as a very complex social hierarchy, organized according to the hereditary degree of purity of a Hindu community and determining the codes of conduct which [it?] must follow. The word “*varṇa*” meaning “color” in Sanskrit is a concept used

¹ Talks carried out on the ground and the report of the JACSES and Ugerwald NGOs.

to qualify the division of society into four groups: Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shudras, respectively holding the status of priest, warrior, tradesman and servant. Apart from this qualification, there are the people “outside castes” [outside the caste system] often resulting from ethnic groups considered as impure and untouchable. These “varṇas” are subdivided in thousands of “jātis” often corresponding to socio-professional status (Zins, 1999 and Renou, 2001).

The socio-spatial organization of traditional cities is made up of various caste districts where the communities live together, thus maintaining the cosmic order, the “dharma” of the city. Indeed, the higher castes in the social hierarchy cannot traditionally mix with the castes considered as impure due to the risk of being tainted. There is thus a socio-spatial segregation. The social life of Omkareshvara partially preserves the socio-religious tradition of the division of the community by caste because of the presence of a strong community of Brahmans. Social and spatial division is characterized by the contrast between the districts populated by Brahmans and those where the people of adivasi origin reside, having different types of homes and very different ways of life.

However, Omkareshvara is a city where the social system evolves quickly with the assimilation of Western values brought by the people arrived recently from large cities. This phenomenon is observed particularly in the Vishnu Puri district (Appendix 6), where various people cohabit with the access to the commercial street, but it does not relate of course to all castes. The traditional system is still quite present.

The under-district or the *mohalla*² of the Brahmans.

The “varṇa” Brahman families are at the top of the hierarchy of the varṇas and are highly respected. They live in homes primarily concentrated around the Omkareshvara-Jyotirlinga temple and on the southern bank in the Vishnu Puri district (Appendix 6).

The number of Brahmans permanently living in the city is approximately 500 individuals. This community would amount to approximately 1,700 people, women and children included. Some arrived about ten years ago from the cities of Madhya Pradesh where religious activities are less intense (field research, 2005).

² As defined by K.D Sharma, the etymology of the word *mohalla* comes from Persian *muhalla*, which refers to a district, an urban district, a section, a gathering of groups. The term applies in India to streets, public gardens, places, courses... It refers to a spatial unit inhabited by a homogeneous community.

The dwellings of the Brahmans are generally durably built, composed of bricks covered with coating and sheet roofs. They are divided into several parts and are equipped with all the material necessary for modern comfort (kitchen, bathroom, ventilator, TV...).

In Shiva Puri, the Brahman families occupy several narrow lanes [?], across the levels of the slope and connected by steps. Construction space being restricted; the houses are lengthened and linear.

The Omkareshvara Brahmans work as Hindu priests and are some of the intellectuals of the city. They are supposed to know Sanskrit, mantras, and certain Vedic texts by heart. By habit, they are strictly vegetarians and regard as impure those who eat meat or drink alcohol.

The Brahmans are often solicited, because of the great number of pilgrims and especially during the time of festivities. Approximately 150 of them work in the Shiva Puri Jyotirlinga temple, of which 60 have a permanent station there under the direction of the foundation (trust) of the Omkareshvara temple. Within the Mamleshwar temple, 5 Brahmans occupy an official station under the responsibility for the Foundation of the Holkars³. [Koṭi-lingārcana] Many pandits⁴ find temporary work around this temple.

Each morning and evening, they recite sacred prayers while singing with the other faithful ones in the temple mandapas. It is a daily repetition which makes it possible to multiply the power and the potential effectiveness of communication with God ad infinitum (Claveyrolas, 2003). Everyday, especially Monday and at the time of the great festivals, they carry out pūjas with Hindu families and the devout coming to visit the temples. They are responsible for the management of the offerings brought by the pilgrims and the maintenance of the sanctuaries. They are regarded as servants of the gods. In each small temple of the Omkareshvara sanctuary, there are one or two Brahmans, who daily collect gifts and put tikas on the faces [forehead] of the pilgrims while reciting sacred mantras. They are also charged with praying during matrimonial ceremonies for all the various castes. Some work on ghāts such as those of Go Mukh where the male representatives of the families come to carry out funerary rituals and to

³ Families that reigned in Indore from 1728 to 1948 and economically supported religious life. The descendants of this family continue to run the foundation called the Holkar Trust.

⁴ Pandit, another name for Brahmans.

offer ashes of their late parents to the floods of the Narmada [? Fragment]. The most recognized Brahmans carry out the liturgies at the time of important events such as *Yagyas** organized by gurus or the sâdhu community.

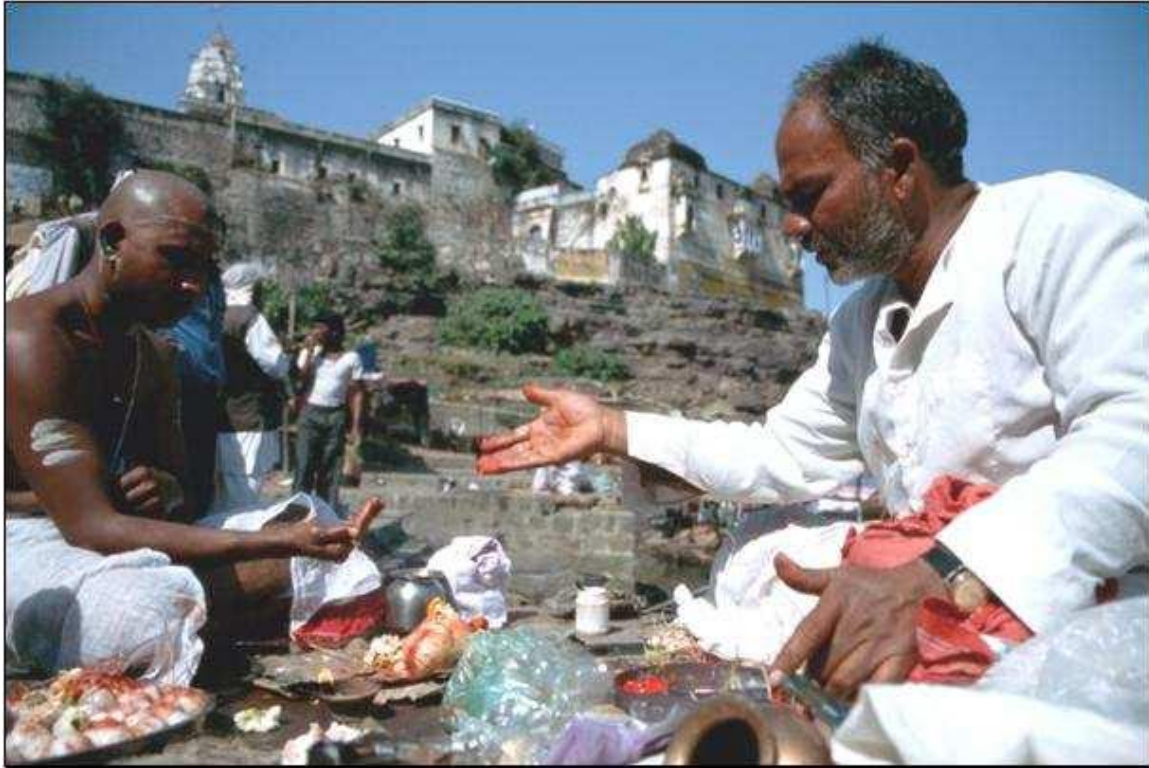


Fig. 62: A Brahman officiating a funerary ritual on the ghâts of Go Mukh. Source: CREMIN Emilie, March 2005.

The narrow road and pedestrian walkway that runs out of the Jyotirlinga temple, called “Shiva Puri *marg**” is bordered by around fifty shops. The families of Brahmans are the principal owners and personally occupy themselves with sales. They have between 40 and 45 shops, whereas only 5 or 6 depend on families of the Darbar Bhilala caste, and 3 or 4 belong to the families of the Bania-Agrawal caste, great merchants coming from Rajasthan. The families of Brahmans thus dominate the trade on this road. They store goods and generally live on the higher levels of their shops. The houses are generally of two levels with a flat roof and have a modern, urban style. They are of varied age; those built there more than 50 years ago are built out of brick and have facades made

of carved wood, while those built in the 1960s and 1970s are made of cinder blocks and have small terraces with concrete balustrades on the facades.

- The under-district of the Bhilalas.

The Bhilala caste would be, according to the history, the descendants of the mixed marriage between a Rajput Kshatriya king and a Bhil princess, an adivasi tribe considered to be outcasts. The Omkareshvara royal family came from this union after 1165 A.D. This caste is regarded as the highest among those of the adivasi tribes who assimilated into the Hindu social system. The current ruler of Omkareshvara, sitting in the Maharaja palace, practices Hinduism with enthusiasm, as well as members of his community coming daily to pray in the small temple of the royal palace.

The families of the Bhilala caste live in houses located around the palace on the southern slope of the island, in the Shiva Puri district (Appendix 6). The paths of this under-district are narrow and are staged on the slope. There are approximately 70 homes. The dwellings are organized around small paths separating two houses. Many are built out of wood and cob with a roof made out of natural materials (beam of wood, branch and straw) or out of slightly inclined sheet metal.

- Mixed districts.

The districts of Vishnu Puri and Brahma Puri on southern bank of the Narmada are composed of a mixture of families of varied castes (Brahmans, kshatria, vaishya, shudra, and outcasts) (Appendix 6). The inhabitants there live have various kinds of employment. Those who reside along the principal arteries work mainly in commerce.

The Vishnu Puri district greatly expanded during the last decade because of the arrival of many families from various areas in the north of India. For example, one of the principal grocery shops of the city is owned by a single Punjab Sikh family, one of the pharmacies belongs to a Calcutta family, also owner of a guest house (hotel), some come from other cities of Madhya Pradesh.

The southern bank has a flat space wider than on the slopes of the island, and dwellings are much more numerous here. Along the principal commercial street “Jaypee chowk,” the dwellings are characterized by an urban style. Shops are at the ground floor

in a large, open part of the street, while families reside at the back or the upper floors. Since 1960, all the dwellings were built out of brick or cinder blocks with flat roofs. Their facades, containing balconies, are covered with a coating of colors.

In the back of the principal street, the lanes become narrow and the houses are lower. They are built out of bricks and are covered with a sheet metal roof.

The Brahma Puri district is composed of families of various castes; they reside according to their means either in brick houses or in houses made out of wood.



Fig. 63: Principal street of the Brahma Puri district. The brick houses are covered with coating. Further away, one sees Mochi Harijan Dharmashala, dominating the district at its higher level. Source: CREMIN Emilie, February 2005.

1.1.2 Districts of the low castes and the tribes located beyond the center.

There is a large adivasi community in Omkareshvara: approximately 2,500 people according to the Panchayat. As a whole, these families assimilated into Hinduism and are now connected with the outcasts. These ethnic groups are regarded as lower hierarchically than the Bhilalas caste among the adivasis. They are considered low by the

Brahman community because of their alcohol and meat consumption. Contrary to the other districts, we observed fowl leaping around in the streets. The adivasi population of the neighbourhoods of Omkareshvara meets every Wednesday on the local market to sell or buy food or everyday items.

- The Kelasko district.

Many adivasi families settled in the valley located between the two parts of the plateau of the island of Mandhata (Appendix 6). This linear district, composed of approximately 150 houses and 800 inhabitants, exists on both sides of a one-meter-wide cement road in the bottom of the valley over a length of 500 m.

The individuals who live there come from the Kewat and Bhil adivasi ethnic groups, from low castes such as that of the Kumars, or the listed [?] castes such as that of the Mehtars *harijans*⁵. More than thirty years ago, the space of the island was devoted only to temples, the huts of the sâdhus, and the path of pilgrimage. However, during the last 25 years, many families whose members found employment around the temple have settled on the island, adapting this valley. Their choice was not dictated by a particular religious enthusiasm but by economic needs. Consequently, the district strongly expanded since 1979, the year of the construction of the bridge.

For several years, houses built with bricks and sheet metal have gradually replaced the huts made of wood and clay. Several types of architectures coexist:

- temporary huts made of various materials: timber structure, roof made of tarpaulin and varied fabric walls (Fig. 65);

- houses of the rural type, built of branches, partially covered with clay are still very prevalent. Plastic covers, maintained by the rocks, cover the roofs. These dwellings have only one part, which is 20m² (Fig. 64). A small courtyard at the front allows one to dry grain;

- Some houses are built of bricks and have a roof made of sheet metal. They have only one floor and contain two to three parts including one for the kitchen. Some let appear bricks whereas others, more finished [?]. They are coated and painted in various colors. At the back is the water room. In front, one generally finds a terrace (Fig. 65).

⁵ Harijan: untouchables.



Fig. 64: House of an adivasi family in the Kelasko district. Fowl are strictly prohibited in the districts of the high Hindu castes. Source: CREMIN Emilie, February 2005.



Fig. 65: Other types of adivasi houses: in the foreground a temporary dwelling made up of various materials, in the background is the more durably built dwelling of a family of low caste, further back, other brick houses belonging to adivasi families. Source: CREMIN Emilie, March 2005.

The inhabitants of this district live by the sale of flowers and boating activities. The women occupy themselves mainly with the sale of flowers and coconuts, collected for offerings to the gods. They hold the small, informal stalls on the ghâts or settle along the steps leading to the Omkareshvara temple. These shopkeepers are present daily at these strategic crossing points, offering their baskets of flowers and various leaves to the pilgrims. Some of these leaves, particularly appreciated by Shiva, are gathered directly in the forest. The rest of their goods are bought from wholesalers in Indore or Khandwa.

The men occupy themselves in the lucrative “business” of the boats. Before the construction in 1979 of the bridge connecting two banks of the Narmada, crossing by boat was the only means to get to the island. To reach the villages of Siddhavarakuta and Panthiaji located on the northern bank, the only transport was the river until the construction of the bridge constructed for the dam in 2003, which is sinkable and suitable for motor vehicles.

The people of the fishermen class are traditionally the ethnic groups or castes mostly represented on the banks of the Narmada. In Omkareshvara, they work primarily as ferrymen. The castes that live as traffic boatmen are Bhimar, Kahar, Kewat, and Rewar, but more and more this trade is accessible to all. According to the association of the boatmen, approximately 600 people work and live on income from the boats. The boats began to be motorized approximately 20 years ago. Following the construction of the bridge, this activity was no longer essential, yet it survived thanks to the development of tourism. The boat route from the Go Mukh ghât to Sangam at the western point of the island east runs approximately 2 km. The ferrymen currently take from 100 to 150 rupees (2 or 3 euros) for the round trip, which is very expensive since the local people employed as workmen on the dam get only 50 rupees per day. They are, however, not ensured to have customers daily. Omkareshvara has 258 boats of which 100 are motorized and 158 are manual; 100 are in daily activity. The dam poses many problems for navigation by strongly reducing the crossings, while making access difficult for certain places located upstream. Boatmen’s profits significantly decreased consequently, whereas they should have increased with the arrival of tourism. The boatmen affected directly by the construction of the dam claim compensation and economic aid from the state. Several

requests of this kind were made without success to various departments of Madhya Pradesh government and the central government.

The inhabitants of this district solicit the services of Brahmans at the time of the great ceremonies. On the other hand, they do not have any relation with the sâdhus who live on the island. They only appreciate the festivities in large ashrams on occasions in which they can take part in the collective banquets “*bujans**” [bhojans?] where food is offered free to all.

-The Sangam district:

This district is located at the western point of the island along the parikrama path, 2 km from the downtown area of Omkareshvara (Appendix 6). It was originally composed of some sâdhus’ huts made out of wood. Later on (20 years ago), adivasi families were established there. Around fifty houses were built, and approximately 500 inhabitants today are located there. The houses are built of cob, some made out of bricks with a sheet metal roof.

This district ***with the variation of the activities of the center of Omkareshvara profits from a peaceful framework, surrounded by the two rivers: Narmada and Kavéri. The sanctuary of Rinamukteshwar, dating from the 15th century, forms the center of this district. It is composed of several temples dedicated to the gods of the Visnouite sect Sita-Ram[72]. Every evening at night fall, it is animated by the pûja gathering of all those who wish to sing the glory of the gods. Many pilgrims visit this small religious center at the time of the great festivities.

Several huts of sâdhus are located a little away from this district, in adjacent wooded spaces. The Western tourists “back packers”[73] elected Sangam as their privileged stay in Omkareshvara. To answer the increasing request of these young visitors, the adivasi families put their dwellings in hiring. They propose pretty houses in cob, without domestic water requiring making the toilet in Narmada. The babas (sâdhus) also accommodate them in their huts. Thus nearly 50 tourists reside each day at it during the tourist season from November to mid-March, for more or less prolonged durations energy of a few days in more than one month. The passage of the pilgrims and the residence of the “back packers” supported the development of the trade. Five restaurants

and ten shops being useful of the tea with milk follow one another on the way of parikrama while arriving at the western point of the island.

The tourists and the sâdhus developed a real complicity since the year 1970. To Sangam, they pass their evenings together to smoke the shilom (chilam--pipe with hashish called Charas) around fire, the tourists listening to the sâdhus to tell their extraordinary mystical experiments. Sangam is thus a place of meeting not only between Kavéri and Narmada, but also between the sâdhus samnyasis and the young Western travellers. **Sangam has by now very bad reputation with the inhabitants of the center of Omkareshvara who see a den of iniquity there, not appreciating the activities of the young tourists, suspectant the sâdhus to be impostors and showing the men of the adivasi families of alcoholism. This place little attended by the inhabitants of the center of Omkareshvara is left with the variation and currently undergoes a desacralization in the collective representations.**

1.1.3 The sâdhus different from Omkareshvara and their distribution in sacred space.

The sâdhus pass a part of their life in roving and make the circumambulation of India. These holy men in wandering, renonçant [renunciante ?] with the social life, move, beg and preach their wisdom to city downtown. They do not have a dwelling fixed and live in a wandering way. Sometimes, they are sédentary temporarily, and find their hermitages in favourable places to practice exercises of asceticism and meditation, such as the caves called “gufa,” or clearings moved back in the forest where they build huts. **The town of Omkareshvara forms part of the spiritual retirement crossing points of the sâdhus.** Its sacred space was for a long time an isolated place, particularly adapted for this retirement bus of this will kshetra emanates an exceptional energy, favorable to the catch of connection between the men and the gods of the Hindu Pantheon. One finds a score of **huts of sâdhus, dispersed in the space of the island, with the variation of the city, sometimes in the forests, along banks of Narmada, or on the way of parikrama** (Appendix 9). Those who reside along the way can benefit more easily from the offerings coming from the pilgrims. When the sâdhus receive some disciples in their dwelling, this place is regarded consequently as an ashram.



Fig. 66: Hut of a sâdhu, called the “OM Shanti Ashram,” standing insulated on the top of the island. This dwelling is built in the whole out of vegetable materials, with the climbing plants covering the part where the fire is located. Only the part being used as shelter is built out of brick and is covered with a sheet roof. Around, a kitchen garden allows the sâdhu and his disciples to be partially self-sufficient in food. Source: CREMIN Emilie, January 2005.

In the center of their place of temporary dwelling, the sadhûs always fix a place for sacred fire (called dhuni), as well as an altar [kuṇḍa in Sanskrit?] dedicated to their divinities. The space for the sacred fire is fundamental for the shivaïte sadhus. It represents the center, the hearth around which they practice their ritual and perform their asceticism daily. In fact, the hearth should be regarded as the “house” and the “temple” that the sâdhus maintain with much care and precision. They add each day wafers of “cow dungs” which ensure the purity of fire and have the flowers sometimes around. They generally plant the trident of Shiva at side in order to connect the dhuni with the gods. The sâdhu remains in the vicinity, seated all the time in one of the positions of

āsanas * of Yoga. Thus he can practice the meditation, smoke the shalom [chilam], cook milk to make tchāï [chai] or to cook chapatis *. He uses holy ashes to coat the body, symbol of the ascetic status of the sâdhu, in order to coat itself with the essence even of Shiva. Pûjas are offered to the god of fire (Agni- Shiva ?) by nourishing it with a mixture of pure ingredients: seeds, sugar refineries and butter (ghee). The shilom is often smoked in community of sâdhus, devout and tourists making turn the pipe around fire, calling upon and inviting Shiva to divide while saying various will [sacred?] mantras: “Om Namah Shivāya! “(“Hail the Shiva Lord! “). The shelas [chelas][74] * of the sâdhus are their servants. They maintain the hut and are engaged in bringing all that is necessary for the sâdhu to achieve the ritual whereas this one gives spiritual lesson or diverts his visitors (Hartsuiker, 1993).

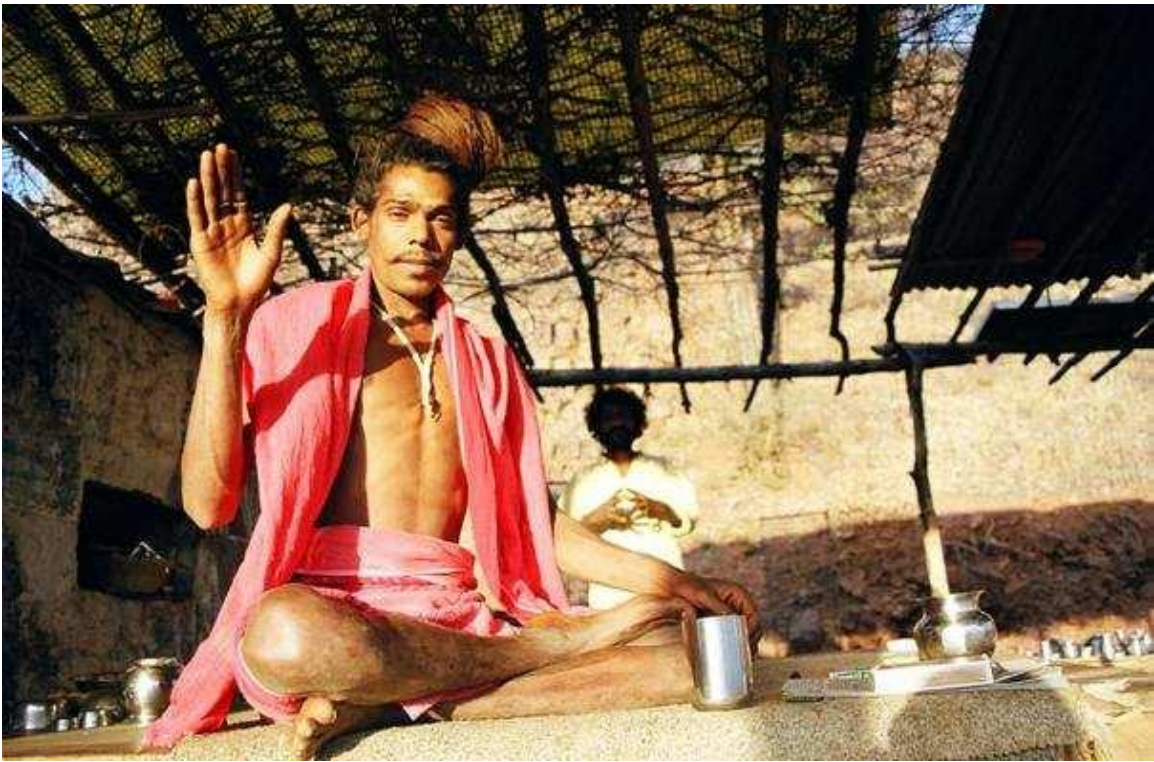


Fig. 67: Chotey baba with hia shela (second plan), in his hut, hung on the cornice of the island. He greets us with his tchāï with the left hand. Source: CREMIN Emilie, January 2005.

Some sadhûs choose food in community in akhadas * or ashrams. In Omkareshvara, there are 4 akhadas on the side of Vishnu and Brahma Puri where the sâdhus of Omkareshvara meet and those who come to visit them.

The sâdhus samnyasis forming part of the sect shivaïte called the “Naga babas” are armed militants. They are organized in a system of regiment and reside within the akhadas which were, in the beginning, the places to form [train?] the sâdhus in the combat. These places were not intended to be the centers of religious study, but quickly the babas are reflected there to practice severe austerities and to be exerted with various types of yoga (Hartsuiker, 1993).

The akhadas were arranged [organized?] in 14th century. They hold in their enclosures the temples of this period, a cattle shed, a space for the fire around which a vast hypostyle [?] room used in the day to receive visitors and at night as a dormitory. There are four akhadas in Omkareshvara:

- Juna akhada, meaning “the old regiment,” located in the valley of Go Mukh near the temple of Mamleshwar;
- Gudad akhada associated Vishnu Mandir;
- Nirvani akhada located in Brahma Puri;
- Niranjani akhada.

Each one of these akhadas developed its characteristics, its tradition and identity nuances in the course of time. Juna akhada, located near the temple of Mamleshwar and Gudad akhada, close to the central place of Vishnu Puri, remain very active and frequently receive meetings of the sâdhu samaj (the company of the sâdhus) to organize the festivities such as Shivaratri or other events. According to the regulation, a sâdhu in passage [in yatra ?] will be able to reside only three days at it [one place]. Pûjas are offered there morning and evening.

The sâdhus who really lived with the experiments of exceptional asceticism, i.e., who entered the state of samâdhi or could make siddhis, held the attention of certain Hindu families. Those come to meet the saints recognizing in them the incarnation of a god or wise accomplished [siddha]. These devout give many donations allowing to increase their ashrams huts drink some with the dwellings on several floors into hard [?]. Thus, the guru Bajran [Bajaranga?] Das, sâdhu of the sect

vishnouite Sita RAM built his ashram in the part is island [?]. He was also elected representing sâdhus of Omkareshvara. In the same way, Raghunath baba, coming from a great family of the Brahmans of the city, built a temple dedicated to the Gayatri goddess equipped with a cattle shed to accomodate many cows, on the plateau of the island. These ashrams accomodate a great number of disciples, studying the lesson given by the gurus. Many sâdhus, brahmacharis or samnyasis have lived in these open ashrams during these last 40 years. They study there philosophies of their gurus and practice sâdhanâs, like various types of exercises of meditation while living in the community of the monks.

Many conflicts of being able and territorial possession of the religious centers for a long time divide the sects shivaïtes and vishnouïtes. In Omkareshvara, although this holy place is especially shivaïte because of the Jyotirlinga, the vishnouïtes are very present and have ten temples and ashrams.

The socio-spatial organization of Omkareshvara remains traditional in a general way. The Shiva Puri district constitutes the spiritual center of the city where the people are different according to their castes. The Vishnu Puri district formed of the commercial streets is composed as the functional urban center where the whole population mixes. All around these centers, the districts of dwellings are organized by Community groups of the high castes to the indexed tribes, the sâdhus form as for them an original community dispersing in space.

1. 2 functional Structures of the city: sacred with the layman.

The landscape of the holy city of Omkareshvara is structured by marks of sacred and géosymbols. According to Eliade (1965), a sacred space is directed around a fixed point, a center, whereas a secular place is homogeneous and neutral. “The center is the zone sacred par excellence, that of absolute reality.” It is around this sacred center that the secular space is organized. The spiritual life giving its direction to the city requires for its operation a structured organization of the urban life.

1.2.1 Religious function, places of worships.

The temples, the ghâts, the akhadas and the ashrams form the principal religious structures of the city as we saw in chapter 2. The ghâts are often used for more secular activities. The boatmen make use them as home port. Their principal quay is located on the ghâts of Go Mukh. It is thus difficult to reach water to take the ritual bath. The ghâts are also used to wash the linen. The ghâts are thus installations of the banks of the river having primarily a religious goal but are also used for various daily uses.

1.2.2 Places of residence of the devout: dharmashalas.

The dharmashalas are pensions [mansions?], existing everywhere in India in the holy places, intended for the reception of the pilgrims. They have a comfortable lodging so that the latter can be devoted within a framework favourable to the practices of the religious rites. In Omkareshvara, there are approximately 50 dharmashalas (Appendix 7, 8 and 9). “Dharmashala” is an Arab word of origin and means: “dhar”: “house”; and “salam”: “welcome.” [****Nonsense and rubbish!] Most of the dharmashalas of the city were built beginning 1980, but some date back to the 19th century. This system of reception of the faithful is very old. Lodging there is free or has a very modest cost. The pilgrims can remain there officially for 3 days.

With the origin, they are places of Community gathering at the time of the religious festivities. The dharmashalas are generally attached to communities (samaj) of the same caste or under-caste who organize in foundations called “trust” to build their own establishment. The “trusts” are the associations with nonlucrative goal, recorded and registered with the government, being used to collect funds in order to organize social activities. The financial resources of the dharmashalas come from the gifts given by families of the community. At the entry of each dharmashala, a tablet indicates the dates, the amounts and the names of the donors. Each room is subsidized by one or more families; an inscription is installed above the doors to indicate who were the donors. They profit there from a priority access at the time of their visits in the holy city. Certain families of particularly rich merchants build dharmashalas all by themselves, open to all, with an aim of achieving a good deed. Apart from the important events, the dharmashalas are open and can accomodate any type of pilgrims visiting Omkareshvara. The caste is

thus not an element of restriction or selection of the hosts, according to the testimony which we collected from the persons in charge of the building.

The 35 dharmashalas that we studied are all organized in an identical way around a court with a temple in the center dedicated to the most venerated divinities of the castes [?]. They are made up of 2 or 3 floors containing each one between 10 and 25 rooms of approximately 10m² making it possible to accommodate between 50 and 500 people. Large common and general-purpose rooms are on the ground floor, being useful for the gatherings or as dining room. The medical ones [medicines?] of common use are available on each floor or the ground floor. The richness of the interior and external decoration depend on the financial means of the communities (see Appendix 7 for more details on several buildings).

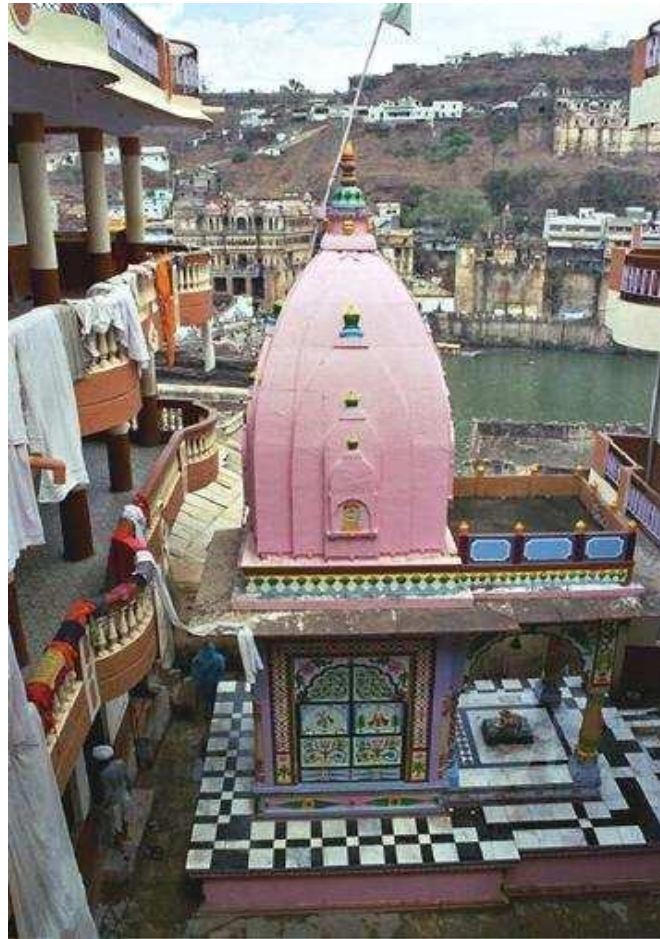


Fig. 68: Court of Jati Dharamsala with a temple. This infrastructure is made up of two floors containing each one 25 rooms and the medical ones. A kitchen and a large

general-purpose room are with rez-in-chaussée [?].Quarter Vishnu Puri. Source: CREMIN Emilie, March 2005.

1.2.3 Administration and public offices.

The public institutions all are located in the Vishnu Puri district, on the principal axes of the city (Appendix 9). Panchayat (Town Hall) is located on Annapurna Marga. Eight free school establishments--1 college [?] (3 classes of 30 pupils), 3 colleges, and 4 primary schools provide for a general education accessible to all the population.

A public dispensary and several private pharmacies are responsible for the public health. A bank, additional [a Branch?] of the Bank of Indore, is located in the principal street of Vishnu Puri. A distributor of the ticket is available there [?]. The police station is near the road station. These governmental services are intended for all the population without distinction of caste or religion, whereas the majority of the activities of the city distinguish them.

1.2.4 Commercial streets and the weekly market.

The principal axes of the town of Omkareshvara are bordered by very many shops selling mainly objects of devotion chocolate éclair [?] (Appendix 9). The city is pedestrian. Officially, the vehicles cannot drive beyond the carpark of the road station. Of course, [However?] the motor bikes make exception to all the rules, just as the governmental cars or those of the businessmen.



Fig. 69: End of the motorized zone. In second plan, the prospect for the principal artery of the city, bordered by stalls. Vishnu Puri district. Source: CREMIN Emilie, March 2005.

The largest district of Omkareshvara is that of Vishnu Puri, on the southern bank of the Narmada. The central artery which drains [draws] the devout from the bus station towards Narmada is the principal commercial street, called “Jaypee Chowk” (Appendix 5 and 9). This street counts approximately 200 traders.

The first part of the street, by going up the mall towards the center, is made up of gravers in boards and glazes by covers. These gravers sell: toys, jewels, various objects of worship (images of gods, lingas made of marble, shiloms, conches, empty bottles to fill them with water of Narmada, incense). Opposite, shops built out of brick and glazes of a sheet roof sell devotional HiFi, CD and the VCD [75]. One meets some barbers installing their material wherever they find a small space available. Shoe-makers and salesmen of shoes temporarily lay out their goods on the ground. Charettas [Carts?] are used to sell fruit and vegetables. In the second part of the street, the ground floors of the dwellings built into hard are used to accommodate shops of clothing, grocers, exchange central offices including 3 Internet coffees [Cyber café?]. The tradesmen generally live in the back shop or on the higher floor. A bank, a dispensary, several dharmashalas, a

school follow one another mixing in the street all activités. Tearooms, selling dairy products or coolings, and the restaurants concentrate at the end of the street, around the place located at the entry of the bridge. These trades are installed in simple buildings built out of brick of a stage on average.

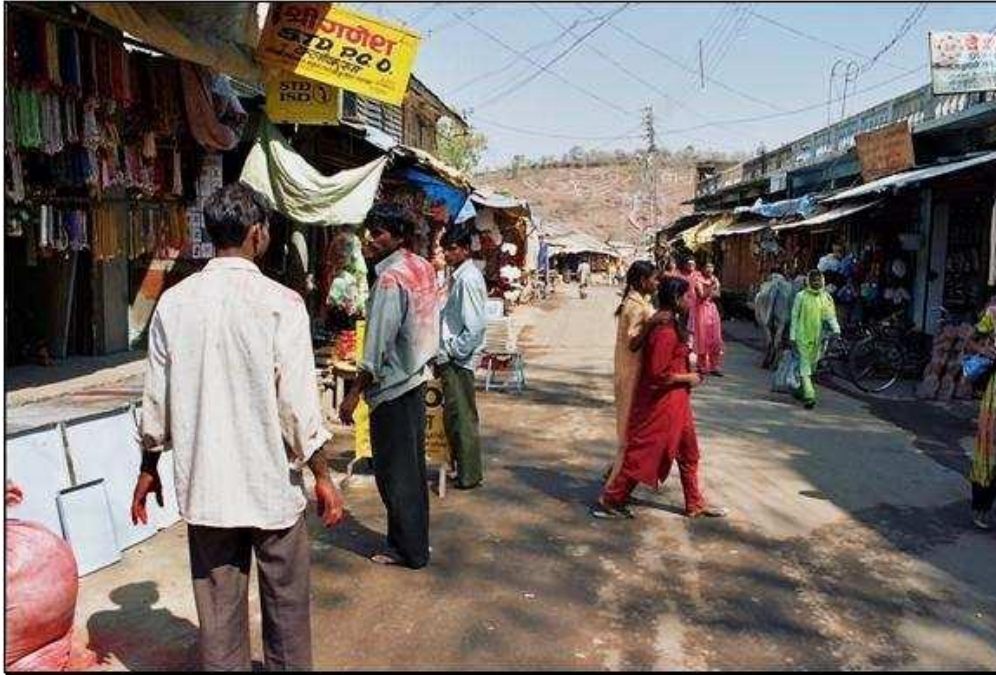


Fig. 70: Principal street of Vishnu Puri “Jaypee chowk.” Source: CREMIN Emilie, February 2005.



Fig. 71: Principal street of Vishnu Puri “Jaypee chowk.” On the left side, we can observe the frontage of a small dharmashala, in front of which is installed a fruit saleswoman and vegetables on a cart. A little further two salesmen from grains of rice blown for fish and pop-corns for the monkeys posed their goods on the ground and shelter in the shade of their umbrellas. The following trade, at the ground floor of a building of a floor sells various products. On right-hand side, the shops located on the ground floor of the building sell various toys and objects. The large red door decorated by an arc and surmounted chattris gives access to the enclosure of the Vishnu mandir. Beyond the shops follow one another in a simple building. Source: CREMIN Emilie, February 2005.

The steps leading to the valley of Go Mukh are also skirted by stalls or booths, just as the ones carrying out to the temple of Mamleshwar. In front of the ghâts of Go Mukh is another small market, cover of covers, [?] selling only devotional products.



Fig. 72: The market located in the gorge of Go Mukh is composed of graves covered with covers. On right-hand side, a dharamsala, opposite, fixed on the cornice, the red building of the “OM Bhakti Ashram,” the white temple of Brahmeshvara Mahadeva, behind the suspended bridge. On the left, ghâts of Go Mukh. Source: CREMIN Emilie, festival of Shivaratri 2005.



Fig. 73: Stall of powder for the offerings in the local market. Source: CREMIN Emilie, March 2005.



Fig. 74: Jewels on sale in the gravers of the commercial lanes. Source: CREMIN Emilie, March 2005



Fig. 75: Icons of the Hindu gods on sale on the market. Source: CREMIN Emilie, March 2005.



Fig. 76: Market located in the gorge of Go Mukh. Source: CREMIN Emilie, February 2005.



Fig. 77: Market located in the gorge of Go Mukh. Source: CREMIN Emilie, February 2005.

The booths of Shiva Puri Marga, held by the Brahmans, sell mainly devotional articles (conches, images of the divinities, books of astrology, incense, objects made out of copper, lingas of Shiva cut in various rocks, the rosaries, coloured powders, etc.). We also find there ten CD shops and dévotional VCDs, carrying images of Shiva and Omkareshvara, 2 large restaurants, 2 small, some grocers of general food.

All these commercial streets are animated all day. They are the principal axes of passage of the city. During festivals, they are saturated with thousands of visitors. The processions of tanks and reef tackles circulate there. Abstract salesmen settle on the market and sell seeds for fish, pop-corns for the monkeys and other products for the pûjas.

Each Wednesday, a large market is held in the valley of the southern part of the city (Appendix 9). This market gathers an important population coming from the villages, and the cities of the surroundings and Omkareshvara.



Fig. 78: The market of Wednesday. Source: CREMIN Emilie, February 2005.

A part of the market is devoted to the sale of very varied vegetables, fruits and spices, the other with the sale of products of common use such as clothing, the jewels, domestic products, etc. This market is very alive; all the castes, ethnos groups and all the social classes go there to make their fresh food reserve for a whole week.

1.2.5 Dwellings with tourist goal.

The Indian and Western tourists are increasingly numerous to come to visit the holy city of Omkareshvara[76]. Consequently, the tourist infrastructures develop quickly (Appendix 9). This phenomenon is supported by the government of MP that wishes to devote the city to religious tourism, national and international. Thus various types of hotels and guest houses were built within the city.

Hotels:

Tourist Bangalow is a hotel offering several standards of dwelling going from 250 rupees to more than 1 000 rupees (5 to 20 euros). It belongs to the Department of Tourism of MP and in general accomodates the Indian tourists of high social classes. It is

not very active currently except at the time of the religious festivals and events such as the inauguration of the dam.

Ashya [?] Surya is a hotel of big size located at Brahma Puri, lodging mainly Indian families.

The guest houses:

Ganesh guest house is the inn most appreciated by the Western tourists coming to visit for a few days. It contains 50 rooms from 100 to 150 rupees with a beautiful sight of the valley of Go Mukh, Narmada and the Temple of Jyotirlinga. It has a capacity of reception of 100 people. The guest house includes a restaurant on a terrace in pergola surrounded by a sprinkled garden, only a really green place all the year in Omkareshvara. The tourists pass there long evenings and mornings to be discussed [?] with the Western attitudes, breaking the strict principles of the behavior required by the traditional Indian company. Indeed, it is not suitable, for example, for a woman to have the stripped shoulders or to live as couple without being married. The tourists recreate there the atmospheres “chill out”[77] which they appreciate so much, in Goa, Pushkar or Manali.

Manu guest house is very much appreciated for its calms contrary to Ganesh guest house, and for its particular site in top of the cornice in the district of Shiva Puri, thus offering a panorama on the Narmada river and the city. This guest house belongs to a family of low caste. It contains 7 rooms and has a capacity of reception of approximately 15 people.

The Choksey family is owner of several places of dwelling for the tourists: Dewas guest house, Geeta Shri guest house and Deepak lodge. These Guest houses are much appreciated because the buildings are not finished, they cost more expensive and do not have pleasant space to slacken [?]. Each one of these inns can accommodate approximately 50 people.

1.2.6 The road station.

The road station is located at the entry of the principal commercial street of Vishnu Puri (Appendix 9, Fig. 79 and 80 p. 178). Between 5 and 7 buses and ten shared taxis can pull over there simultaneously. Approximately 5 buses leave each hour for various destinations. The local bus for Mortakka leaves the station every 30 minutes making it possible for the inhabitants to quickly join the large axes of regional transport. The other buses have as a destination Khandwa, Indore or other cities located along Narmada. Around the road station, one finds restaurants, kiosks with some products for usual human consumption, and the small mobile carts selling various foodstuffs to carry. During the days of great festivals, a parking space is especially arranged 1 km further, with the entry of the city. Indeed, additional tens of buses bring thousands of pilgrims. The road station is then animated exceptionally at night spectacles produced on a large scene assembled temporarily in this space.



Fig. 79: The road station one day without much multitude. A salesman of cane juice with sugar uses a cart. Source: CREMIN Emilie, February 2005.



Fig. 80: The road station one day before the feast day. A cart transporting a representation of Shiva, and announcing a ceremony in an ashram. Source: CREMIN Emilie, March 2005.

The city thus has a complete whole of infrastructures of the sacred type with the secular type, adapted to the various profiles of the visitors. The commercial activities, although primarily specialized in the sale of devotional articles, also make it possible to the inhabitants of the town of provide for their food and material provisioning useful for the daily newspaper [?]. The development of the religious urban structures automatically involves the development of the secular urban structures such as the administration, the means of transport, the places of reception and the trade. In the same way the development of the urban structures supports the rise of the religious infrastructures. There is thus a strong interdependence between the sacred life and the secular life in a city of this scale.

1.3 Religious networks on all the scales.

The religious networks put of connection various places holy and structure the Indian Territory. These networks could not be also strong without the phenomenon of attraction, generated by the spiritual importance of the sites, the presence of great saints and the organization of great festivals joining together of the massive the people.

1.3.1 Religious festivities attracting of the massive the people.

Many religious festivals enliven the town of Omkareshvara during the year. This high place of the Hinduism, in the center of India becomes animated at the time of the great festivals which proceed at the time of the auspicious days, calculated astrologically by the Brahmans. **These festivals are the fundamental engines of the economic life of the holy city.** During these few days, thousands of Hindu pilgrims make donations to the temples or the ashrams, allowing the Brahmans and the sâdhus to continue to live in a spiritual way. By acquiring devotional products, the visitors support the local trade and increase the income of the peasants who install abstract stalls. These festivities constitute special occasions of popular meetings having a more or less vast surface of attraction.

Ten great festivities proceed in Omkareshvara each year:

1. Kartika Mela Randikoshi [?] Yatra.

This great festival celebrates the cosmic apotheosis, when Shiva appeared in the column of light, as a supreme divinity proving his superiority over Brahma and Vishnu. This appearance announced the revival associated with the triumph with Shiva. Shudi Ekadashi [?] of Kartika Purnima (November) lasts 10 days. The principal night is that of full moon. The authorities estimate that 220 000 people take part in this festivity at Omkareshvara. Thousands of pilgrims come to visit the city on this occasion to carry out acts of devotion, to make offerings in the sanctuary of Jyotirlinga. Formerly, the human sacrifices for Bhairava were carried out on this date.

- Narmada Jayanti.

The birthday of the divinity Narmada, “Narmada Jayanti” is celebrated each year, about February 15, in all the holy places of the river. The festival lasts one day and the authorities estimate that nearly 100 000 people come to take part in it in Omkareshvara (discussion with the authorities). The whole of the festival proceeds on the ghâts. The Brahmins organize a whole group of ritual ceremonies for Narmada during the day. In the evening an exceptional festival takes place: with setting down of the sun, crowd gets gathered on the steps going down to the ghâts to observe the celebration. At the occasion of the festival, a podium is installed on the quays to accommodate the priests, the musicians and the guests of honor. The ceremony starts with a pûja raised of devotional songs in Sanskrit, dedicated to the divinity of the river. Famous families of the Brahmins carry out the abhisheka of Narmada surrounded by other Brahmins who recite and sing the holy texts.



Fig. 81: Ceremony for the birthday of Narmada. Thousands of pilgrims meet to take part in the ritual. At this time ritual, the Brahmin offers to Narmada milk while a second Brahmin recites will mantras them dedicated to the river. Source: CREMIN Emilie, February 15, 2005.

Thousands of pilgrims express their devotion to Narmada by depositing lamps of ghee * (butter) on its floods. The OM ignited on the slope of the island fills the crowd with wonder. The landscape of Omkareshvara changes for a few hours into a festival of light. This great festival expresses all the devotion of the pilgrims for Narmada.

- Mahavira Jayanti.

This great festival marks the day of the awakening of Mahavira, the great saint founder of the Jain religion. It is generally held about April 22. It acts as a Jain festival which is celebrated by all the Jain communities of India. Consequently, in Omkareshvara, it is celebrated only in the sanctuary of Siddhavarakuta.

- Hariyali Amavasya.

Each black moon (Amavasya) is the day of attraction for the Hindu pilgrims of the surroundings of the holy city. While taking their weekends, the visitors come from all India (families of the cities Indore, Bhopal, Bombay, etc.) Monday is one day particularly holy for Shiva. At the hour of the sun set, the orchestra of the temple carries out a procession to the river, carrying a representation of Shiva in a reef tackle to a boat. The statue makes rounds of Narmada below the temples, dam close to the ghâts to receive offerings, until the nightfall. If the new moon (the black moon) falls one Monday, this day becomes doubly auspicious. Thousands of pilgrims of all the adjoining areas are able then to make pûjas creating a large mela.

- Shivaratri.

Shivaratri or Mahashivaratri meaning the “Night of Shiva” is held during the months of Phalguna (February - March) and lasts as a whole 3 to 5 days, around the day of the new moon (Documentary video, Annexe 10). This festival of highly symbolic system like many others is attached to the lunar cycle.

It commemorates the union of Lord Shiva with his consort Parvati, and his consumption of the elixir of immortality which emerged at the time of the mythical churning of the ocean.

This festival is celebrated in all the shivaïte places of India, attracting on this occasion millions of Hindus. Thousands of devout go to the holy places of Narmada: Omkareshvara, Maheshvara, and Amarkantak.... The temples are then decorated with lights.

During these days, nearly 200 000 pilgrims and devout of all castes and all classes take purifying baths in water of Narmada, to have the darshan of Jyotirlinga then and to gather themselves in front of Shiva at the Omkareshvara temple. Lastly, they proceed to make Omkareshvara Parikrama. Many police officers are then posted to control the crowd (see the article of the daily newspaper Mid Day “India celebrates Mahashivaratri” of February 18, 2004).

During the day, processions put in scene of the marriage of the gods. All along Narmada, on the ghâts, hundreds of groups carry out their clean ritual with family, the richest being able to treat to the services of a Brahman.



Fig. 82: The day of Shivaratri thousands of people come to Omkareshvara to carry out pûjas. Source: CREMIN Emilie, March 8, 2005.

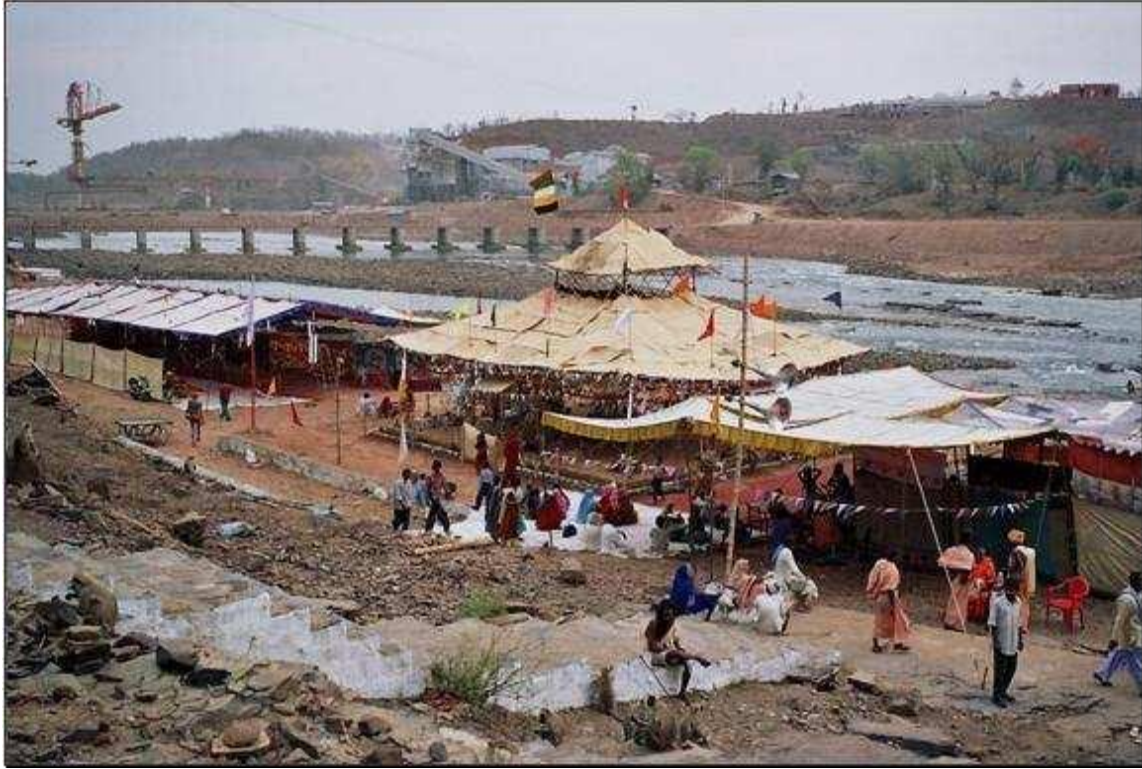


Fig. 83: Punt forms [?] of Yagya installed temporarily on the banks of Narmada at the time of Shivaratri. In second plan, dam in the course of construction. Source: CREMIN Emilie, March 8, 2005.

In February 2005, at the time of this event, the community of the sâdhus, chaired by the guru Bajran [?] Das, organized Yagya on the bank of Narmada. Hundreds of sâdhus of all sects were invited.

The day before, all the sâdhus and the Brahmans fast. The ceremony starts in the night with a large pûja in the various temples containing a linga of Shiva or Jyotirlinga of Omkareshvara and of Mamleshwar.

In the evening, several podiums put in scene spectacles of dance or Indian classical music. A show was organized on the vast steps of Nagar Ghât subsidized by the District of East Nimar and the Government of Madhya Pradesh presenting a spectacle of folk dance of Nimar and music composed by famous Kalidasa Académie of Ujjain. On its side, the community of the sâdhus of Omkareshvara organized another scene accommodating a famous group of Indian music coming from Bombay. All these spectacles are of course recent adaptations of the festival. The extent of this event remains more reduced than that of Maha Kumbha Mela.



Fig. 84: Sādhus Sita RAM (sect vishnouite) coming from all India at the time of one Yagya organized by the guru Bajran Das for Shivaratri. Source: CREMIN Emilie, March 8, 2005.

- The Maha Kumbha Mela.

Omkareshvara is in close connection with the town of Ujjain. This ancient city on the banks of the Shipra River was the center of many Hindu kingdoms which extended their power beyond Malwa and the Narmada valley. Ujjain is one of the four holy cities of India where every 12 years the Maha Kumbha Mela is held.

At the time of this exceptional event, 15 to 30 million enthusiastic Hindus come to Ujjain. Omkareshvara, located in the vicinity (150 km) accommodates then nearly 1,5 million devout during the month. There a great number of pilgrims benefit from it to come to visit the temples, to take there the darshan of its Jyotirlinga and Narmada. They settle in the dharmashalas and the ashrams because all those of Ujjain are then overcrowded.

This festivity is one moment of great social importance. It is the occasion for the sādhus and the Brahmans to reinforce their intercommunity relations. It acts as one moment of connection where the communities of various origins link themselves

in religious enthusiasm. This event is largely médiatisé [?] throughout the world and points out all the power of the Hindu religion.

Omkareshvara is a center of attraction particularly at the time of the great religious festivals dedicated to Narmada or Shiva. It is also within the network of the centers of pilgrimage attaching it to the whole of the Hindu religious territory.

1.3.2 Surfaces of attractions and networks of pilgrimage entering of connection this place. [?]

In Hinduism, the reputation and the effectiveness which one lends to a holy place (temple or town of pilgrimage) depend mainly on the number of the faithfuls whom it attracts, as the formula testifies some: “Pilgrims make the tirtha” (the pilgrims make the holy place). In fact all is combined on the mode of accumulation and the higher bid. Consequently, it is the accumulation of the devotion by which the source is sacred. The dévotional effectiveness is expressed by the redundancy of sacred. The cacophony which results from the higher bid is not the effect of chaos, but the required sign of the accumulation of the divine one.

According to Mathieu Claveyrolas (2003), in India, it is impossible to think that a space can be secular, because the ideological construction of the Hindu territory is formed of the hierarchisation of a space exclusively sacred and always auspicious accumulation of sacred by the play of setting in abyss of the various representations of the territory [?].

Omkareshvara, connected with the network of the holy places, is thus one of the multiple centers in a polycentric sacred landscape.

a) Surface of local attraction of the holy city.

The holy city of Omkareshvara is a very gravitational center for the population residing in the villages and the towns of its close surroundings. Many villagers go there each week for the market. They also regularly would visit the temple, especially on Mondays. At the time of the national festivals, such as the festival of the Republic Day, some families of the surroundings attend the parade of the children of the schools. At the occasion of the great shivaïte festivals or Narmada Jayanti, all the inhabitants of the

surroundings take part in the events. Omkareshvara is also known to attract the tribal the people of the Narmada valley, having assimilated the Hinduism and the low castes of the rural areas of Malwa. Korkus of the district of Dewas and Khandwa believe that they were created by the Shiva lord and that they also remain under his protection (Samanta, 1997). The temple of Jyotirlinga is very popular not only for Korkus, but also for certain ethnic groups such Bhils, Bhilalas and certain Gond families.

b) An area of regional and interregional attraction.

The more important festivals, such as Narmada Jayanti, Kartika Purnima or Shivaratri, have a surface of regional and interregional attraction. Many visitors come from the unit [?] from Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Maharashtra (State in the south of the district of East-Nimar), Jharkhand, Gujarat and other States. The population finding itself in Omkareshvara is then marked by a great diversity of people, being composed of the poor tribes of Maharashtra to the rich persons of commercial families of Bombay or Ahmadabad.

These festivals gather all the castes and all the social classes in a common objective: veneration of the gods.

As we explained in the first part, Omkareshvara forms a part of many tirthas of Narmada. This pilgrimage extends to both the banks of the river running out from Amarkantak to its estuary in the gulf of Oman in Gujarat. **The network of pilgrimage of Narmada Parikrama passing through Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh is thus interregional.**

c) A national network.

The festivals do not seem to attract the people of all India. On the other hand, **the institutional centers of asceticism (ashrams and maths *)** of Hindus make the relay. The akhadas, the ashrams and the temples of Jyotirlinga are integrated in a network of institutions structured on the whole of the territory of the Indian sub-continent. The twelve Jyotirlingas are associated with the same history, that of the generated lingas of light car.]?] That of Omkareshvara is thus integrated in the network of the 12 temples within the 12 most important centers of shivaïte pilgrimage of India. These religious centers are at the four corners of the country, forming a national network. Many devout especially of the renonçants [renunciants ? sannyasis?] class carry out the complete pilgrimage. They make the turn [full round] of the 12 holy places, thus reinforcing their connections (Fig. 85).



Fig. 85: Omkareshvara, a holy city in the center of the networks of pilgrimage of India. Source: CREMIN, 2005.



Fig. 86: Illustration of Shiva and Parvati in the center of the 12 Jyotirlingas. Source: Local market of Omkareshvara, 2005.

The sâdhus are fundamental actors in the social organization of all the religious centers. They also form a significant part of the pilgrims undertaking long pilgrimages (Bhardwaj, 1997). Their displacements narrowly follow the sacred topography of India and the network of the Hindu centers of pilgrimage. By their itinerary, they diffuse the knowledge of the holy places in the cities and the campaigns and contribute to make these religious centers famous and to connect them through the sub-continent. The sâdhus thus contribute to preserve the knowledge of the traditions and the ritual one of which that of the tirtha yatra (journey among the holy places).

According to the governmental census of 1911, it is found that the large majority of the samnyasis (sâdhus) come from the north of India, from Bengal the vishnouite saints, from Rajasthan, the valley of Ganga and Piedmont of the Himalayas the shivaïtes.

There was only a little growth in the south of the Narmada valley where one finds not many **institutional centers of asceticism (ashrams and maths)** as compared to the north (Gross, 1992). One can conclude from it that the town of Omkareshvara receives more influences and has more connection with the north of India than with the south.

The akhadas of Omkareshvara, seats of the regiment of the sâdhus, are connected with the akhadas located in all the holy cities of the Hindouized territory: Ujjain, Varanasi (Bénarès), Haridwar, Gokarna, Rameshwaram, Puri, Katmandu. This network makes it possible to keep a certain similarity in the ways of life through the Holy Land of India.

The sâdhus are divided into many sects, each one having particular holy places, and thus another circuit, another network of places to visit. Omkareshvara is a holy place sacred as much for the shivaïtes as for the vishnouites who respectively adore Jyotirlinga and Narmada. **This city would be thus a place of convergence between the two large sects of the Hinduism.**

The ashrams are also structured in networks. The leading gurus often build their first ashram. Then their disciples install subbranches (appendices) in other holy places of the Hindu territory.

Each ashram of Omkareshvara forms part of a religious institution dedicated to a saint. Omkareshvara thus constitutes a sacred center forming part of multiple religious networks and can be regarded as **a religious crossroad.**

2 The space recombining the city

The town of Omkareshvara was built around two foundational symbols: on one hand, that of Shiva represented by the Jyotirlinga; in addition, the goddess “Mata Narmada” represented by the river. A whole spiritual life was organized in the vicinity, developing the urban structures gradually. Today the religious infrastructures of the holy city continue to increase.

In parallel, the dam is currently in the course of construction a few hundred meters upstream to the religious center. Since the summer of 2003, this new space, symbol of the technological rise of India, is juxtaposed with sacred space. The industrial infrastructures, the offices, the dwellings of the employees attached to the construction

occupy the contiguous territory available. Moreover, many families of the village communities moved from the building site settled into the forest belt in the margin of the city. These new districts must from now on be organized near the old city.

2.1 The integration of new districts: Integration of the dam and its appendices in this sacred space.

New districts were formed in the east of the city since the beginning of the construction of the dam in 2002-03. The building site set up on the north and south banks of Narmada moved the villages which were earlier on their site. These recent dynamics of local development transform the city by juxtaposing new districts there (Appendix 9).

2.1.1 A new district associated with the dam close to the village of Siddhavarakuta.

a) The head office of the NHDC[78].

The head office of the NHDC at Omkareshvara was inaugurated in February 2005 by the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh. It was installed on the right bank close to the village of Siddhavarakuta. It acts as a large building of contemporary architecture containing the offices of the various departments of the governmental institution in charge of the project (administration, finance, technique, engineering, maintenance).

b) A new district for the permanent employees of the dam.

Near the seat, [?] infrastructures forming a new “colony” are in the course of construction to accommodate the offices and the dwellings of the employees of the administration, as of the engineers who will work permanently on the site, in order to maintain the infrastructures of the dam and to distribute energy. There are ten buildings of 5 étages[79] (field research, 2005).

This new district is equipped with all the modern installations (water, electricity, access roads, etc.) guaranteeing comfort of the employees. Markets will be open in order to allow the provisioning of the families. A school and a dispensary are also envisaged within the management[80].

2.1.2 The building site of construction and camps of dwelling of the employees.

a) Organization of the factories and the offices (temporary installations).

The building site, located at the east of the city, currently uses a vast surface. It is established on two banks of the river. The power station of the dam will be located on northern bank. All the offices of engineers, the hangars of storage and the factories producing the concrete and necessary to its realization are in the vicinity. On southern bank, the temporary installations depend on the construction of the dam itself. Several factories crush rocks and mix them with cement, water and sand to produce the concrete necessary for the construction. The hangars shelter the machines and building materials. A gasoline station allows the supply of the trucks. In proximity, the many prefabricated ones lodge the offices of the engineers and the technicians in camps or near the buildings in the course of rise. All these sheet infrastructures will be removed at the end of work. Currently, the activities of the building site produce significant harmful sound effects in the locality.



Fig. 87: Building site of the dam. Temporary installation on northern bank of Narmada close to the village of Siddhavarakuta. Machine preparation of the concrete (crushing) for the construction of the power station. In the center, two temples containing the sculptures of Hindu divinities, vestiges of the old temples which were located in this site before the beginning of work. Source: CREMIN Emilie, March 2005.



Fig. 88: Temporary installation on northern bank of Narmada close to the village of Siddhavarakuta. Machine preparation of the concrete (crushing) for the construction of the power station. Source: CREMIN Emilie, March 2005.



Fig. 89: Concrete-mixer on standby of loading. Machine preparation of the concrete. Source: CREMIN Emilie, March 2005.

b) Camps of dwelling of the employees (temporary installations) and their socio-spatial composition.

The camps of residence of the employees of the Jayprakash Company and other sub-contracting companies of the project are **temporary infrastructures** intended to house the executives, engineers, technicians, workmen and other categories of employees of the building site. These camps are installed on grounds rented with the commune by the companies and the NHDC. The number of employees rises with approximately 3 000 people, who come to grow bigger of as much the population of the holy city. These employees will reside at Omkareshvara for 5 years, having a contract corresponding to the total duration of the project. They come from various areas of India: Jharkhand, Bihar, Himachal Pradesh, Uttaranchal... but also of many foreign countries: Germany for the SIEMENS company; Chile, Colombia, China, Italy for company ROTEC[81] the USA. These employees generally already had a professional experience with the center their companies in the construction of great hydraulic infrastructures. Many dams of the Himalayan valleys in Himachal Pradesh were built by the Jayprakash Company. The personnel remains mainly the same one, it moves on an average every 5 years of building site in building site, sometimes with all their family which is accustomed to live in camps within small often isolated cities.

The camps of dwellings of the employees of the Jayprakash Company are vast enclosed and supervised pieces 24h/24h by guards. There are 3 camps having a total capacity of housing of 1 500 to 2 000 people. Any intrusion of external people is prohibited. Moreover, any information concerning these camps is censored. The people living around the camps are unaware of thus what it occurs there. One could regard these camps as **microcosms of the social life of the industrial and developed world.**

These camps of dwelling, subdivided in 4 types of under-camps, lodge the personnel in various categories of housing according to the status of the employee within his company. They have all the aspect of colonies, where all comfort is available for the graded tops and where the workmen live rapiécées[?] sheet houses. Three camps are arranged with the accesses of the building site: Annapurna I, II and III including one on southern bank and two on northern bank with Siddhavarakuta.

The composition of the under-camps.

The high and average ranks can reside in family, whereas the workmen must remain single during the total duration of the work and cannot return to visit their family, if they wish it, that at the time of their vacation[?]. The female intrusion in the camps of the workmen is strictly prohibited.

The under-camps of dwellings of the type A are intended for the senior executives. They offer all comfort: the dwellings are made up of 4 furnished parts with a kitchen and a private bathroom provided with a hot-water tank. Air-conditioning as well as satellite television are available there. The houses, built out of bricks, are surrounded by grass and flowered gardens.

The under-camps of dwellings of the type B are intended for the executives and the engineers. They offer an average comfort: the residences are composed of 3 parts furnished with a kitchen and a bathroom without hot water. The air conditioning is installed there. The bars [walls?] of the dwellings are built out of bricks with a sheet roof.

The under-camps of dwellings of the type C are intended for the technicians. They offer a moderate comfort: the residences are composed of 2 parts, where the air conditioning is available but the showers are common. The bars of dwellings are made of bricks with a sheet roof.

The under-camps of dwellings of the type D intended for the workmen are decayed. They form simple lines of parts of 15 m² each one, furnished with three beds for three workmen. In certain residences the ventilator is installed. The workmen can add to it what they wish. Construction is only made up of often rusted sheet. The showers and the medical ones are common and are at the end of the lines of dwellings (Fig. 91 p.195).

These installations are built for one duration from 3 to 5 years. All the materials of the camp are transferred thereafter to another site from this building site. The same infrastructures of lodging are used for several projects.



Fig. 90: Camps of dwelling of the employees on northern bank in the village of Siddhavarakuta (at the back, we can distinguish the Jain sanctuary). In the foreground, the sheet fence and offices of the guards of the camps. In the second plan, a part of the under-camp of the type A; on the left the car park of the engineers; then a part of the under-camp of the type D. Source: CREMIN Emilie, February 2005.

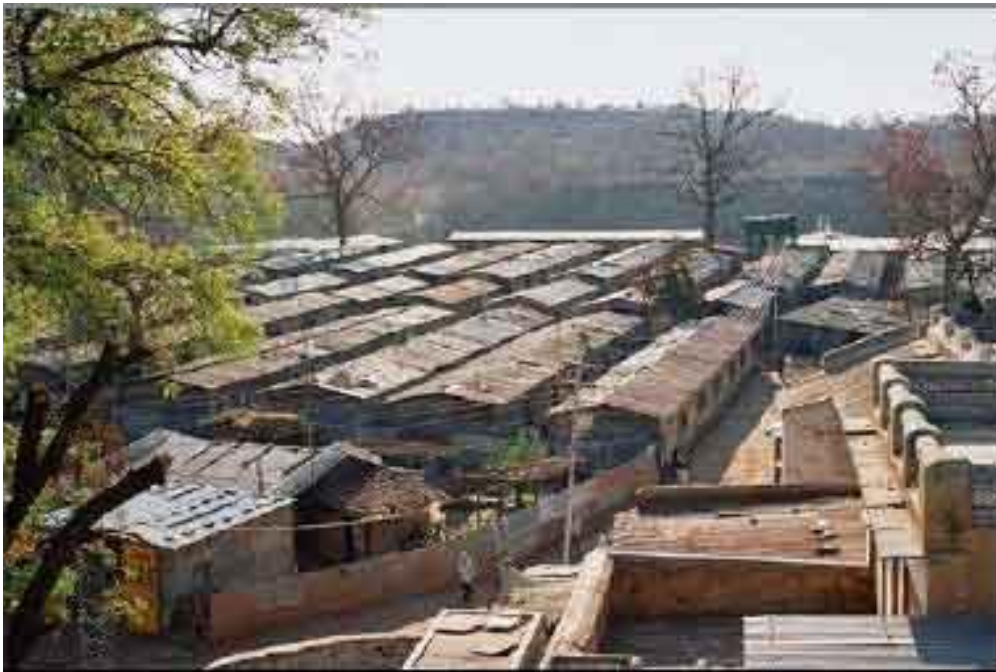


Fig. 91: Under-camp of the type D for the workmen of the building site. These dwellings are decayed and accommodate nearly a thousand of workers for one 5 years' duration. Source: CREMIN Emilie, March 2005.

The teams of the SIEMENS companies and ROTEC the USA are cosmopolitan origins (at ROTEC, there are 3 Italians of which the foreman, 2 Colombians, 2 Chilean, 2 Mexicans and 1 Indian including 4 mechanical technicians, 2 electricians, 2 engineers, 1 operator with Indian workmen). The team of ROTEC lays out to place itself of a house near the center town, containing all modern comfort. It is made up of 10 rooms, a kitchen with 3 cooks. These foreign employees are thus privileged compared to the Indians working at Jayprakash.

2.1.3 A new district resulting from displacements of population affected by the dam.

A new district, called Dukhia, was created following the construction of the dam, in the narrow margins available in the valley of southern bank. The peasants who lived in the zone currently occupied by the building site were the ones to be expropriés [?] first. This new district includes around fifty houses sheltering a population from approximately 300 to 400 people, made up of adivasi families and low castes. It is excentré on the margins of the commune and encroaches in the teak forests which border the holy city. The community of inhabitants of the village of Panthiaji was distributed in various places. Certain families wished to remain near the center of Omkareshvara and settled here. Thus grounds were requisitioned by the State around the city in order to allot grounds for the reimplantation of the villages. Dukhia is thus a new district of the city dating from the end of the year 2003 (discussion with members of Adivasi Trust of Omkareshvara, terrain survey 2005). The families live each one in a house. The tribal castes and groups cohabit. One finds there families which say [?] Rajput, Gurjar, Bhil (tribal), Ratia, Kewat, Kahar, Bhoï (fishermen), Takur, Bakhaon, Harijan bhalai and even some sadhûs (discussion with inhabitants of the village, terrain survey 2005) The houses of this district were built on the model of the rural houses in which the villagers lived before settling here. They as a whole are built with a structure of wood and a filling of branches or ground (cob). The roofs, either are composed of branches with a plastic cover, or out of sheet supported by a timber structure. The fences, expressing the will of the families to be insulated, but often they do not live any more in the vicinity of the

members of their community, are made up of closely dependent branches. These houses are different from the district of the valley of Kelasko because there are no brick houses.



Fig. 92: Lane and houses of the district of Dukhia. The house of left is built in cob with a sheet roof. The house of right-hand side is made up of branches and a roof of branches waterproofed by a cover. Source: CREMIN Emilie, March 2005.



Fig. 93: House belonging to a sâdhu, remarkable by the triangular orange flags. Opposite, a cattle shed lodges some sacred cows. On the right-hand side, the hut of a sâdhu. The walls are composed of branches while the roof is composed of a structure of wood, cover of a cover retained by stones. Source: CREMIN Emilie, March 2005.

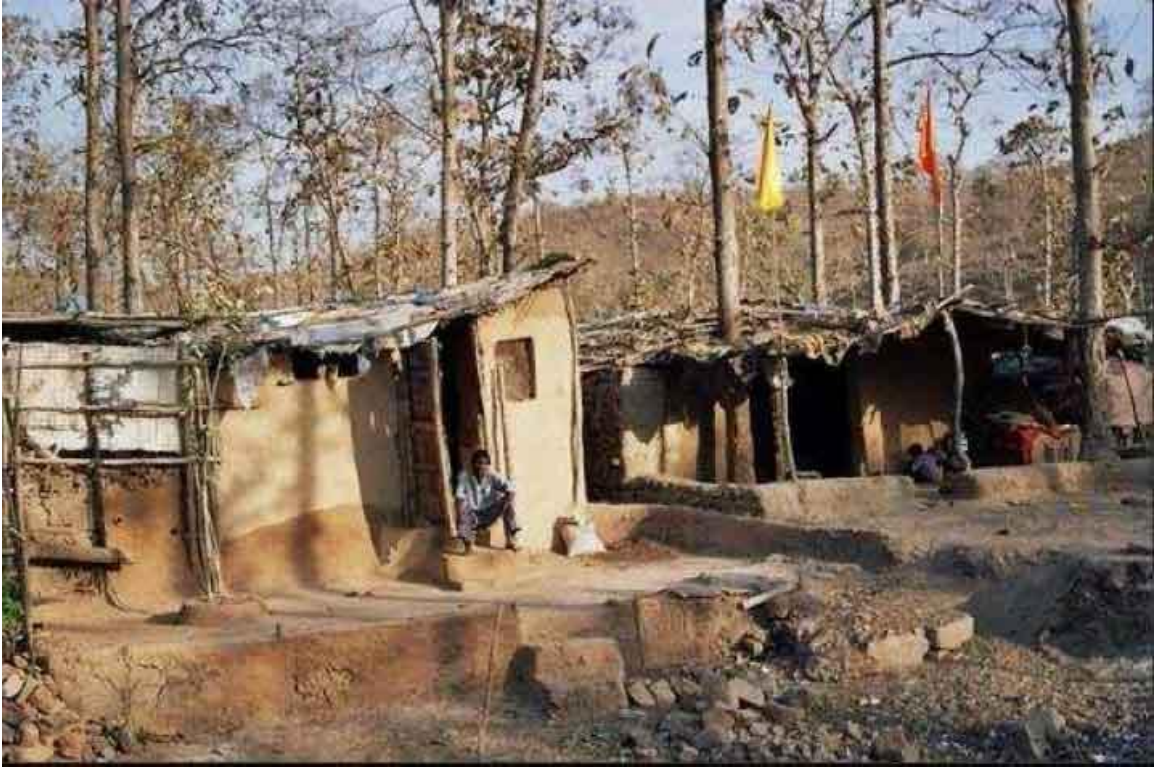


Fig. 94: Houses in cob with a roof made up of a timber structure, covered with covers maintained by stones. Small ground terraces beaten with the front one. Source: CREMIN Emilie, March 2005.



Fig. 95: Market of the district of Dukhia. The families of the fishermen sell their fish which are prohibited on the weekly market of the holy city. The tribal the people, of low castes and [except?] castes are not vegetarians. Source: CREMIN Emilie, March 2005.



Fig. 96: Motor-road going out to the site of the dam and separating the district from Dukhia of the remainder of the city. The buffaloes of the inhabitants circulate on the same ways as the trucks transporting building materials of the dam.

Source: CREMIN Emilie, March 2005.



Fig. 97: Village of Dukhia. Houses made up of branches. Source CREMIN Emilie, March 2005.

On the small places in the center of the village the inhabitants sell fish (salmons and trouts of Narmada) and alcohol coming from the Mahwa flower. Most of these people are illiterate or educated little according to representations that are made of them as the inhabitants of the city and the employees of the dam. A primary school was opened by the manufacturers making it possible to provide education for the children of the lowest castes. This school is close to the market of Omkareshvara.

The relations between the employees of the dam and the peasants moved are very distant, their cultures and their manners of living being strongly in contrast. On one hand, technicians and engineers trained in the universities of various States of India of North, and on the other the tribal the people who leave for the first time their insulation.

2.1.4 Directing diagram of development for development [?] in Bhopal.

The directing diagram [?] of development of Omkareshvara is currently under development in Bhopal in the offices of the Government. The Government of Madhya Pradesh, supported by the BJP[82], wishes to start a plan of development for the holy city and its neighbourhoods. It plans to classify Omkareshvara under the label of “**Pavitra Nagari City**” i.e. of “holy city,” with an aim of devoting this space to religious tourism. The government acquired the grounds of the island and control from now on this field which it plans to refit in order to create a tourist surface there. The forest belt of the island will be classified under the label of “Wildlife Sanctuary” (reserve of the biosphere) and will bear the name of “Omkareshvara-Mandhata Sanctuary.” Its management will be entrusted to the Department of the Forests of MP, while the ruins lying [remains] will remain under the direction of the Department of Archaeology (discussion with the foresters and the guards of the archeological sites). The program aims at creating a historical and natural park, within the framework of which the monuments of the inheritance will be preserved and restored. The small existing Museum of Archaeology will be increased and enriched by new parts. The tourist complex will be composed of the sacred space of Omkareshvara and the new dam whose tank will be able to become a nautical center. The government hopes that this center will attract a great number of Indian and foreign visitors each year in order to generate a strong economic growth in the locality.

The principal objective of the city will be to offer a space of holiness to its visitors. To ensure this role, these classified zones will need precise regulations and a discipline particular to the visitors. The latter will have to respect the codes of traditional Hindu behavior within the sacred space. Many restrictions on the cultural uses of the other communities will be applied: it will be interdict to sell?ufs [liquor?], fish or meat, because this zone will be strictly vegetarian in accordance with the Hindu practices. The production, the sale and the consumption of the alcohol of Mahwa will be limited to the offset [outlying ?]districts inhabited by adivasi population. In addition, it will be interdict to pollute the river with flowers of offerings or cleaning products chemical, to use plastic bags, to fish, or to cut plants. Ashes and the bones of the deceased of the families coming

to visit Omkareshvara could not be offered any more to Narmada (conversation with the local the people).

The adivasi population which lives on the island will be evacuated because they do not correspond to the image which the government wants to give to this place. Many houses, restaurants and shops will be moved towards the road station. The ashrams and the sâdhus living in huts are authorized to remain.

A third bridge will be built to facilitate the access to the Omkareshvara temple. The way of parikrama will be rebuilt in marble flagstones. Lastly, the access roads to Omkareshvara are in the course of improvement, the car park and the road station will be moved and increased (conversation with the local the people, terrain survey 2005).

2.2 The rise of the religious infrastructures.

During the last 30 years, many infrastructures and religious establishments (ashrams, temples and ghâts) have been built on the island and southern bank of Narmada in the Vishnu Puri district (Appendix 8 and 9). The buildings the component are [?] built gradually. These new installations increase the sacred space of the city. They make it possible to accommodate a greater number of pilgrims and devout wishing to devote themselves to the spiritual life. These places, very active at the time of the festivals, reinforce the sacrality of the territory of Omkareshvara.

2.2.1 The development of many centers of spiritual retirement.

The sacred space of Omkareshvara contains today more than 7 spiritual centers of retirement called “ashrams” (Appendix 8 and 9). It is difficult to understand the importance of their role in the sacrality of the city without knowing the spiritual bases of these religious institutions. The site of Omkareshvara, on the banks of Narmada is regarded as a place favourable for the meditation and the asceticism. That is why so many ashrams got built there. They are dedicated to the gurus recognized on a national and international scale, having founded or having belonged to different sects vishnouite or shivaïte. Each guru proposes a separate way to wake up and reach god. The techniques of meditation are often the same ones, nevertheless the philosophical speculations vary.

These establishments built into hard are all relatively recent. The first were built in the years 1970. In the beginning they were only huts called “kutiya.” Thanks to the fame of their gurus, these ashrams managed by foundations (trusts) received important donations used to increase them gradually and to add ghâts to them on banks of the river. The disciples of the gurus come to make their spiritual retirement in a peaceful atmosphere. Their life is rhythmic there by the pûjas, the meetings of reflexion in group or the practice of the religious austerities. Each ashram has its own payment. These centers of spiritual retirement form part of a whole network of establishments living thanks to the donations of the devout.

-Omkarnath Ashram:

Omkarnath Ashram is dedicated to Guru Shri Sitaram Das Omkarnath, born in Bengal from a Brahman family in 1892. This ashram was founded in 1953, when this guru came for the first time in Omkareshvara. He lived then in only one hut made out of wood. These modest mud and wood huts are often at the origin of greater establishments. The building started to be built only in 1982, its current aspect goes back however only to 2003.

Experiments of asceticism (tapasya) that this great yogi realized here made this place famous. This guru is recognized on a national and international scale. He met during his life time many great spiritual Masters of whom Dalai LAMA, representative of the Tibetan nation (Varadarajan, 2002). The principal center of the foundation Sitaram Das is at Calcutta Shri Mahamilan Nath [?] in West Bengal. There are 25 ashrams, 3 institutions of teaching of the Sanskrit, 3 schools ordinary and 6 open hospitals on its behalf in India of which some established by himself, others by his disciples (Vitthal, 2004). The ashram of Omkareshvara [?] is composed of many symbols signifying the sacrality of this establishment: Shri Gufa is a cave where Shri Sitaram Das spent 22 months of 1955 to 1957 in “*Maha Mouna Sâdhanâ*”[83]. Following this hard austerity, he obtained spiritual revelation which he expressed later in his philosophical works. Vis-a-vis with Opposite to [?] this cave is a garden of tulsi flourishing (aromatic bushes adored by the followers of the sect vishnouite Sita RAM).



Fig. 98: An epigraph is registered [?] under a stock[?] of tree with two Shiva lingas: “Under this tree sacred Shri Bhagwan Sitaram Das entered several times a deep samâdhi. Here, he wrote his spiritual accounts “Sri Sri Nadilla Mrita,” “Sri Sri Narmada Mahima Mrita,” “Ujjivan Matrighanta,” “Namamrita Lahari”... “. Source: CREMIN Emilie, March 2005.

With the center even of the building, the atmosphere is characterized by the spiritual presence of the Saint. It contains a temple which is dedicated to him, preceded by a large room of prayer. A large dining room 100 m length makes it possible to accommodate many disciples. On the wall are written the names of the donors. It has 25 rooms, but only 5 monks live there nowadays. Other devout come to visit this place occasionally.

- The ashram of Ramakrishna Mission.

The Ramakrishna ashrams are very numerous in India and throughout the world. One counts of them a hundred in India and 30 in the Western countries (Ramakrishna Trust, 2003). The gurus Shri Ramakrishna (1836-1886), Mata [?] Sarada Ananda and

Vivekananda (1863-1988), came originally from West Bengal close to Calcutta. This last travelled in many countries of which the USA, diffusing their doctrines. Following the death of the great Ramakrishna ascetic, prophet of the harmony of the religions, a monastic order bearing his name was created to continue his instructions. A monastery (math) was founded close of Calcutta by his disciple samnyasis directed by swami Vivekananda. This monastic order has as objectives, on one hand to train teachers of the “Védanta samnyasis” and, on the other hand to undertake philanthropic works. This second objective was implemented since 1897 by a foundation called the “Ramakrishna mission association” (Ramakrishna Trust, 2003).

The appendix with Omkareshvara of this wide-area network of religious establishments is a center of spiritual retirement where the monks samnyasis come into practice to put the lesson of their gurus. It is built in a way staged on the cornice of the island, along the way of parikrama. In March 2005, it accommodated 6 disciples of Ramakrishna. The establishment is composed of a temple with a large hall of prayer, 15 rooms, a kitchen with a dining room, the medical ones, of a shaded garden by a large banyan, a pipal, a nim [84] and flowers for the pûjas.

- the ashram of Mâ Ananda May.



Fig. 99: Mâ Ananda May

Mâ Ananda May (1896-1982) is only the female guru represented in Omkareshvara. The first ashram which was dedicated to her was established in Dacca in 1929. Twenty others were created thereafter on her behalf in the north and the center of India the following years (Herbert, 1988). It came in the place from the current ashram from Omkareshvara in 1940. Then, its devotee built there a small sanctuary on its behalf. It was founded in 1964 by its disciple Swami Kedarnath Maharaj, but its construction was completed only 20 years later (maintenance with monks of the ashram, ground 2005).

An American monk of the ashram described us this site during a maintenance: “The place where the establishment was built is particularly favourable with the meditation because the energy of Narmada is omnipresent. The ashram clings to the cornice in the south of the island, above the course of the river, the steps carry out to its banks where small ghâts is arranged to take the bath “the ashram is composed of six stages in terraces. It counts about thirty rooms of which much is dug in the rock, such of the caves



Fig. 100: A large black linga is founded up on a terrace below laquel is the Pashupathinath temple, with a hall of prayer, opposite which Swami Kedarnath Maharaj lives. Source: CREMIN Emilie, March 2005.

With proximity [in the neighborhood of], the school of **Mâ Ananda May, Tripura Vidya Pith** offers free teaching provided by some brahmacharis residing at the ashram, for a hundred children adivasi or low castes living at Sangam and Omkareshvara.

- Barwani Ashram injury [?] dedicated to the guru Ramananda Shari.

Jagat guru Ramananda Shari is originally from Lalitpur in Uttar Pradesh. He died in 2004 at the time of his pilgrimage towards the Kailash Mount. He came for the first time in Omkareshvara 25 years ago. He was then 17 years old and lived a life of a sâdhu after having completed his higher education. He became Jagatguru during “Maha Khumbha Mela” of 2001.

This famous guru travelled in all India and 27 countries (the USA, Europe, South Africa), in order to organize yagyas, thanks to the donations of his dévôtees. Several other ashrams are dedicated to him in India. Hanuman Das, one of his disciples

originating from Surinam, is now the person in charge for the ashram where live actellement [?] 3 or 4 people, including one pujari*[85] and two brahmacharis.

This establishment is new (2-3 years), its construction is still unfinished. On the square, draws up a large tree of which a part is a pipal while the other is an arjun. At the foot of this sacred tree is a temple with representations of Mata Narmada and of Kali whose guru exerted the worship.

-Annapurna ashram.

Annapurna ashram located on the southern bank was built gradually since 1970. It is composed of several temples, located around a square, on which is a place for fire and a colossal sculpture of Vishnu represented in His 24 avataras. [This is Krishna's Cosmic Appearance--Virat Svarupa.] The enclosure of the ashram contains several large buildings containing more than 70 rooms and large halls of receptions. This ashram however lodges only some pilgrims and brahmacharis with the daily newspaper [?]. The ghâts which are associated with this can accomodate thousands of pilgrims at the time of the great festivals.



Fig. 101: Sight of Annapurna ashram (buildings, temple, high relief of Vishnu), of Nagar ghâts and Narmada from the island. Source: CREMIN Emilie, March 2005.



Fig. 102: Entry of Annapurna ashram. The capital of the gate is decorated with a temple in reduction in the medium of which the gods of Ramayana [wrong wrong!] are represented. On both sides of the alley which carries out to the temple, large composed buildings, on the left, of 2 times 25 coins [?], on the right, of 20 coins[?]. Source: CREMIN Emilie, February 2005.



Fig. 103: High relief of Vishnu and his 24 avatars [wrong wrong 1] carved in 2001 in Annapurna ashram. It is visible from the opposite bank of Narmada. Source: CREMIN Emilie, March 2005. [This is the Virat Svarupa of Shri Krishna.]

-Markandeya Sanyas ashram.

Markandeya Sanyas Ashram was founded by a Saint, Swami Maharaj Ramananda Ji Saraswati and his disciple Swami Krishna Pranawanand Maharaj Ji, 40 years ago. Swami Ramanand Ji came to Omkareshvara in 1963. He had travelled all over India but settled here because he appreciated the spiritual atmosphere of the place, near Jyotirlinga and of Narmada of which the weather was twice [?] during the parikrama. Rishi Markandeya is particularly venerated there, a representative statue is built at the entry of the ashram. Originally Ramanand Ji lived in a hut drink some[?] on banks of the river. He was present in this place until 2004, then left the ashram which continues nevertheless his activities undertaken by his disciples. The days are rythmées by the hours of pûjas (4h and 18h30), the meditations (of 4h30 with 6h30), the lesson of the guru (course of philosophy of 7h with 9h), the meals (11h and 20h) and the spare time.?



Fig. 104: Sight of Markandeya Sanyas ashram from the island. In the foreground, Narmada, with the second [front?] the ghâts in the course of construction, above, the ashram stretched on the bank, with the foot of the hills. Source: CREMIN Emilie, March 2005.



Fig. 105: Banyan [?] of Markandeya Sanyas ashram with lingas posed at its roots. Other side a brahmachari is impregnated with Narmada. Source: Idem.

The current establishment as it is today has been built gradually during the last 30 years. It was created to accommodate many brahmacharis and samnyasis so that they can be devoted to the spiritual life and the search of the absolute. Gradually their number significantly increased. They were not more than ten 15 years ago. Today this ashram has become more populous in Omkareshvara. It lodges approximately 45 brahmacharis and 15 samnyasis.

This ashram continues to increase day by day thanks to the donations. Festivals are organized each year. At the time of these events, the faithful ones come to return visit to the ashram, take the darshan of the guru and make donations. This religious establishment is composed of two temples, three buildings comprising 3 prayer and conference rooms, a dining room, 60 rooms, a vegetable garden and fodder crops for the go-shala * (cattle shed for the sacred cows). Ghâts are currently in the course of construction. This ashram has 7 appendices, in Amarkantak, Kashi (Bénares), Barabanki (UP) and in other places (investigation and maintenance in the ashram, terrain survey 2005).

- Shri Gajanan Maharaj ashram.

This center of spiritual retirement is currently in the course of construction. It is dedicated to a great guru Shri Gajanan Maharaj. He visited Omkareshvara once during his life time and then took a bath in the Narmada River. His disciples, under the tutèle [tutelage?] of the foundation “Shri Gajanan Maharaj Sanstha,” thus decided to build an ashram in the holy city. When they came here for the first time 6 years ago, there were no more grounds available in Omkareshvara. The trust of Ahilya Bai of Holkar offered a stratum [?] to them, in Brahma Puri close to the building site of the dam. Work started in 2003. This establishment of a very modest size is compared [connected?] with the large sanctuary of the guru in Maharashtra. It is built with the intention to be used by the devout coming to visit Omkareshvara, and includes a temple surrounded by a garden, two buildings containing as in all the centers of the halls of meeting, a canteen and rooms.



Fig. 106: Temple of Ashram Gajanan Maharaj in the course of construction. Source: CREMIN Emilie, March 2005.

The foundation dedicated to this saint is very rich. Thanks to the collected donations, the foundation could build many ashrams, temples of a great richness and make many charitable activities.

Philosophies of the saint transmitted to the disciples within the ashrams teach the renunciation of the physical world to reach higher spiritual values. However paradoxically, the economy of the gift is essential with the survival of these religious institutions.

2.2.2 Religious foundations which support the economic and social development.

Many gurus came in contact with the Occident at the end of the 19th century to diffuse Hindu spirituality beyond India. Vivekananda, during his long voyage, appreciated the comfort of the cultural and educational infrastructures, offering a framework favourable with the intellectual development of the population of the developed countries. This guru [He was much more than a guru] conscious of the misery which affected a great part of the Indian society realized that technological progress would make it possible for this society to grow rich and to become competitive compared to the developed countries. He proposed to base the great religious institutions on the same models as those of Occident. These institutions are managed by foundations or trusts, functioning thanks to the donations (Rolland, 1977). The various gurus who became famous through India and beyond, such as Ramakrishna, Vivekananda or the guru Gajanan Maharaj, created important foundations with charitable goal, thanks to the collection of gifts coming from their devout.

The large foundations, dependent on the spiritual heritage of the large gurus, thus invested in the development and the formation of the underprivileged Indian population. They direct their activities with a prospect for social progress. They wish to take part in the modernization of the country, while forming within their institutions of the qualified engineers, at the same time remaining within a spiritual framework. The foundations support each one a clean ideological nuance and more or less strong and varied political objectives.

a) Donations, an economic system maintaining the religious life.

The system of gift is the principal engine of the Hindu religious economy. The temples, the ashrams, the holy men all are maintained and preserved thanks to this essential system for the survival of the religious life.

Marcel Mauss showed that the gift is for the traditional companies the general form of relation of exchange between all the beings: plants, animals, human, divine. The local pilgrims and residents go each day to the temple to offer flowers, to make offerings (of coconut) and to sing songs of the glory of the gods. All the favorable conditions of the existence were given by the gods and so they must make their offerings in their turn, not to stop this vital circulation (Staszak, 2000). The practice of the Hinduism perceives the act of the gift (monetary) like a reciprocal act of exchange, which will bring merits in their social group, by hoping for a better future reincarnation.

The donors come from all castes and of all social backgrounds. They generally give according to their means. Largest donations often come from large cities. They are integrated there in the total economic system, working in the multinational corporations, the modern banks or other establishments. They wish above all to preserve their cultural identity of which they are proud, and thus support economically the Hindu religious life. However, to preserve this religion it is necessary that it adapts to the dynamism of the development.

b) Schools, centers of formation: an education which combines the monkhood with modernity.

The large foundations organized as of great religious institutions worked out various programs with an aim of providing for the needs for the Indian population. The Mission and the Ramakrishna Monastery (“Ramakrishna Maths and Mission”), created by Vivekananda in 1897, were recognized since 1901 by the government such two associations with nonlucrative and philanthropic goal. The objectives of “Ramakrishna maths” (monastery) were to preach the universal truths revealed by Ramakrishna for the common good of humanity and to train teachers being able to diffuse the knowledge Vedantic in India and throughout the world, while those of “Ramakrishna Mission” were to carry out actions of social services. The foundation hopes today to equip the Indian

population with new technologies within a spiritual framework (Swami Smarananda, 2003).

A few years later, in 1908, following the same objectives, the foundation “Shri Gajanan Maharaj Santhan [Samsthana]” was created in Shegaon under the direction of Shri Gajanan Maharaj with the currency [motto or ideal] “Sarve Bhavantu Sukhinah” (“That all are happy”) [May all be happy and prosperous]. By now, the foundation has carried out 45 projects of creative activities for the common good of humanity, irrespective of the castes, the beliefs, the cultures or the religions (Shri Gajanan Shikshan Santhan [Samsthana], 2004). During his life time Shri Gajanan Maharaj sanctified many places that became holy by his presence.

The foundation began some of its activities in the places of memory blessed by the saint such as Omkareshvara. The activities of the foundations “Shri Gajanan Maharaj Samsthana” and “Ramakrishna Maths and Mission” are varied but similar. On one hand, they make distribution of books and articles of prayer, open libraries theological and spiritual in order to diffuse the knowledge and to preserve the Hindu tradition. On the other hand, they organize itinerant medical camps annually to provide assistance to the poor people and those in the need in the backward and rural zones of the country. Dispensaries of ayurvedic medicine *, hospitals with several hundreds of beds provide free care to all people interested (Swami Smaranananda, 2003 and Shri Gajanan Shickshinny Sans than, 2004). Projects of development for the adivasi population are set up in certain localities of Deccan. Distribution of meals are provided for 5 000 devout each day in the spiritual centers including 200 in Omkareshvara (Shri Gajanan Shikshan Sansthan, 2004).

Health and education are their major areas of work. In its management report, Ramakrishna Mission states that it conducts 600 free school establishments of the primary education to the superior, of the specialized centers of education, the residences for the students, the polytechnic institutes and the data-processing centers. These institutions are recognized by the Indian government. They prepare diplomas of the secondary level to the doctorate in various scientific matters as varied as the data-processing philosophy, Sanskrit, chemistry and sciences (Swami Smaranananda, 2003). In the same manner the foundation “Shri Gajanan Maharaj Sansthan” opened 8 schools

teaching free English, engineering or the trade, of which some are addressed to the adivasis population (Shri Gajanan Shikshan Sanstha, 2004). The foundation established in 1983 “Shri Sant Gajanan Maharaj College of Engineering,” i.e. a higher school of engineers, in Shegaon in the north of Maharashtra. This institute is recognized amongst other things by the Council of the Technological Education of New Delhi and is affiliated with the University of Amaravati. It is the second school of engineering of Maharashtra selected to carry out research concerning the irrigation and hydrology. The mission of the institution is “to transmit a technical education to emphasize competences of the employees and students, human beings committed and complete having in the spirit the will to serve the nation and humanity like a whole” (Shri Gajanan Shikshan Sanstha', 2004).

The higher school is organized in a campus of 36 ha including many buildings for the functions and the varied architectures surrounded by a tropical garden and a complete installation of access roads. The campus is equipped with residences for its professors and its students. It is equipped with all the modern electric and telephone installations. The disciplines taught by professors are the engineering of electronics, telecommunications, data processing, and mechanics and technologies information. There is also a formation for the trade. The buildings are equipped with laboratories and materials of point necessary for each taught discipline, of computer rooms and a library-media library containing 60 000 works (Shri Gajanan Shikshan Sansthan, 2004).

This school of engineering has a department for the relationship with the companies and industries, facilitating the placement of its graduates. Their recruiters are large Indian companies. Beyond the university activities, courses of yoga are organized in the gymnasium to support the capacities of concentration, the spiritual development and the well being of the students. Festivals are organized during the year in collaboration with Ramakrishna Mission.

All that follows the way recommended by the greatest saint of India, Swami Vivekananda, who had expressed it as follows: (Fig.107):


Education is the Answer

"Education, education, education alone ! Travelling through many cities in Europe and observing in them the comforts and education of even the poor people, there was brought to my mind the state of our own people and I used to shed tears. What made the difference ! Education was the answer I got The only service to be done for our lower classes is to give them education, to develop their lost individuality.. They are to be given ideas; their eyes are to be opened to what is going on in the world around them; and then they will work out their own salvation.... (But if the mountain does not come to Mohammed, Mohammed must go to mountain, must reach them at the plough, in the factory, everywhere."

- Swami Vivekananda

**JOIN WITH CONFIDENCE
THE DIVINE GUIDANCE
WILL SHAPE THE BUDDING
ENGINEER & MANAGER
OF TOMORROW**

- Dr.D.G.Wakde -



Education is the answer:

Fig. 107: Last page of the booklet of information of the school of engineer of the foundation Shri Gajanan Maharaj. Translation above. Source: Shri Gajanana Shikshana Samsthana, 2004.

“Education, education, education alone! Traveling in many cities in Europe and observing there the comfort and the education even of the poor people, the thought relating to the state of our own population made me gather tears in my eyes. What makes the difference? Education was the answer that I have... The only service to be brought to our lower classes is to give them an education, to develop their lost individuality. It is necessary to give them ideas. It is necessary to open their eyes and let them see what occurs in the world around them; then they will work on their own safety. But if the

mountain does not come to Mohammed, then Mohammed must go to the mountain. We must reach them in the plough, in the factory, everywhere “(Shri Gajanan Shikshan Sanstha' 2004). Fig. 107: The last page of the booklet of information of the School of engineering of the foundation Shri Gajanan Maharaj. Translation above. Source: Shri Gajanan Shikshan Sanstha', 2004.

Thus, the foundations of the most popular saints of India built schools of engineers and form the elite of the Indian nation so that it can serve the country. These religious institutions wish to support the economic development of the Indian Union since, strategically, they form with trades of advanced technologies. This adaptation of the actions of the institutions proves their share of rationality. The economic development and the improvement of the standard of living of the population make it possible to increase the donations reinforcing the religious structures. The construction of the dam at Omkareshvara is thus not an upheaval for the Hindu religious life. Today the great institutions created by the religious associations train the future engineers of the great modern infrastructures of tomorrow.

CONCLUSION of the 3rd part.

The sacred territory of Omkareshvara from now on is divided into two zones which cohabit and develop simultaneously.

The sacred space of the holy city of Omkareshvara which increases is today in full reorganization. This space for a long time perceived, lived and represented as sacred, by the actors who act there, is upset by the space dynamic development, its landscape changes and expresses a new direction. The religious phenomenon and the phenomenon of space transformation due to the development cohabit without really communicating from one world to another. This cohabitation remains paradoxical. On one hand Narmada is divinised by the Hindu communities, whereas on the other hand, it is transformed in order to be exploited for material ends.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

Narmada and Omkareshvara: the spaces sacred in the course of transformation.

Two types of spaces cohabit and develop simultaneously in Omkareshvara: On one hand, the urban space of the holy city increases with the construction of new religious infrastructures. On the other hand, the new adjacent industrial space is composed of the hydroelectric infrastructures. These two poles have well differentiated objectives: the first aims at ensuring the perpetuation of the dedication of this space to the religious life, while the other aims at exploiting the resources of the river to create energy and to irrigate vast arable lands. These two distinct dynamic forces transform the landscape of Omkareshvara.

a) The development of sacred space.

The Hindu communities in the past adapted the sacred space of Omkareshvara, representing for them a ground of release, a place in charge of spiritual energy and peace, allowing the men to wake up with the universal truths and the absolute. Their religious design of the world is beyond rationality and of the material world. Another immaterial world exists, there acts amongst other things, of the space etheric [?] expressed in the cosmogony of the places and the holy cities. This immaterial world is visible in Omkareshvara in this microcosm where the island would be comparable with Mount Meru, and Narmada with the cosmic ocean.

The organization of the downtown area built around the temple of Jyotirlinga and Narmada, is traditionally dominated by the high castes of the Brahmans, holding Vedic wisdom and representing the spiritual order. The local caste of Bhilalas has coexisted there for a long time, exerting the temporal power. Then, other groups are existent there, settling in small islands made up of communities of low castes and tribes. Lastly, the southern bank continues to extend gradually with the arrival of the new inhabitants. The small town of Omkareshvara increased thus considerably during the last decade. Today it is in full transformation, on the urban level, by accommodating an always increasing population and new religious infrastructures.

This widening of urban space however will be limited by the zone of flood of the dam, the natural reserve occupying the escarpés slopes of the hills and by the directing

diagram of the government of Madhya Pradesh intending the city for the religious field. In this context the people affected by the construction of the dam will not find their place there.

In Omkareshvara the expression of religious enthusiasm also intensifies thanks to the use of the apparatuses of advanced technology. Will mantras sacred market themselves. They do not belong more to the only wisdom of the Brahmins. From now on, one hears them 18h on 24 in the shops of VCD of the lanes of the city. High speakers diffuse the devotional songs in the whole valley, of neons and of the neon signs flicker around the temples, the crashing to pieces noises of the dam nothing but do merge in all this general cacophony... The spiritual life is thus médiatisée [?], creating an atmosphere even more deeply pious, underlining the identity of the Hindu society.

The technological and economic developments, supporting the deployment of the means of telecommunication and transport, make it possible for the town to become increasingly of easy access, as well by the virtual ways as by the terrestrial ways. The number of pilgrims, Indian and Western tourists, does not cease growing each year. These visitors support the economic advancement of the city, getting for the local population advisabilities to create new activities. On the other hand, their stays are facilitated thanks to the existence of abstract services (carrying, carts, guides, small commercial traveling, deliverymen of tchai...), of tourist structures and trade of proximity. Moreover, the directing diagram [plan?] of development under study at Bhopal lays down to reorganize the public infrastructures of the locality.

The Hindu people are characterized by a perpetual interest for creation and the innovation. This is why, they appreciate the new religious constructions or the extension of old ones and are fascinated by the richly ornamented places of worship, attracting crowd increasingly more enthusiastic. Unfortunately, the majority of the archaeological vestiges of the island remain abandoned because, according to beliefs they would be inhabited by evil spirits. This historical inheritance from now on without reality, has been forsaken in nature, recalling however in the landscape a religious piety being expressed for several millennia. The sacred space of Omkareshvara is reinforced by the construction of new ashrams, those already existing being often increased. Many huts of sâdhus will know perhaps same destiny, if their Master had suddenly woken up with the universal

truth which will bring the many faithful ones to him, like their donations. Large ashrams presently located at Omkareshvara depend on the rich person foundations of the gurus, who play a really important social part by financing schools, dispensaries, centers of vocational training and by supporting projects of local development in the most backward areas of India. The social actions of the religious foundations show the possibility, in the design of the world of the contemporary Hindu society, to associate the cultural tradition founded on philosophical bases modernity and the technological development.



Fig. 108: Here, the court of the ashram of Lal Baba cohabits with the stone grinding plant which forms part of the infrastructures of the dam. Source: CREMIN Emilie, March 2005.

b) The construction of the dam: a vehicle of the development and local growth.

According to manufacturers of the dam, the NHDC and the Jayprakash Company, the dam will make it possible to support the local development, favorable to the

improvement of the standard of living of the population of the town of Omkareshvara and its surroundings. Many inhabitants of the area are employed by the present companies on the site.

Their purchasing power increases and the social status improves. As at the time of all great constructions, surrounding spaces are restructured. To reach the future building site, the old roads were improved and made suitable for motor vehicles. Since the beginning of the project, a new bridge was built making it possible to connect two banks. These infrastructures contributed considerably to the development of the locality.

The distribution networks of electricity were reinforced. Nevertheless even if the building site is fed permanently, the city has only two restricted time beaches. The dam which cannot support interruptions of current, one can hope that the town of Omkareshvara will be fed soon in the same way.

According to the persons in charge for the dam whom we met, tribal population a long time insulated and living in an “underdeveloped” way can from now on be integrated and take part in national construction and the economic growth of the country. Thus, the adivasi people are invited to take share with universalization. Their displacement would make it possible for them to leave their insulation (survey carried out near the executives of Jayprakash, manufacturers of the Omkareshvara dam).

One can thus regard the dam as an engine of the local development, a new industrial space juxtaposed in the religious urban center, which contribute with a larger opening of the city on the rest of the world. The devout seized the interest which the development can bring to the religious structures. The current constitution of the ashrams, does itself proof of a certain type of adaptation to the contemporary world.

The town of Omkareshvara is not from now on any more one city wedged in the hills of banks of Narmada. It is integrated in national and world dynamics social and economic development, as well by its dam as by its ashrams which are built, or by the increasing arrival of the religious and Western tourists. This phenomenon appears in the landscape of the small holy city.

c) Assessment: a development which affects much more ecology of the river and the tribal populations of the valley than the high castes of Omkareshvara.

The economic growth and social transforms and consumes the natural resources but to develop the companies, the Man owes artificializer the mediums in which it lives.

Narmada which represents an animated body will vitally be upset by the dams. These natural elements so long divinized, carrying the symbolic system of the life, are today reduced with a staging of artificial lakes whose water is condemned to remain stagnant. The Hinduism, which is at the base so close to nature by the worship of its elements, evolves/moves and loses its reference marks of origin... The environment of the valley and in particular the river are strongly degraded by the project of development, artificializant [?] the mediums with an aim of controlling them. The dams break the life of the rivers and unbalance their ecosystems. The construction of the dam with Omkareshvara is thus here more dramatic for the ecology of the river than for the Hindu culture. The conservation of the natural environment is not a priority for the government [?], bienqu'[,] it created some national parks and some reserves of the biosphere in the valley. Whereas Narmada is largely symbolic system, it is astonishing to note the disinterest of the local population vis-a-vis to its destruction. As much as one known as certain pilgrims: "It is necessary to lose something to gain another thing of it." The Hindu population thus seems ready to sacrifice nature for material enrichment. Hindus request Lakshmi, the goddess of the wealth, for their prosperity. The dam is in their representation an expression of the richness under development by the human will. According to the government, these infrastructures constitute means to meet the needs for the always increasing Indian population. Narmada is a feeder goddess giving the life. There is thus nothing contradictory to exploit the resources of them in order to make it possible to irrigate the rural zones and to feed out of water the urban or industrial zones. The hydroelectric infrastructures contribute to energy independence and the economic growth for the common good of the nation, by exploiting the resources which are on its ground.

Thus in Omkareshvara, contrary to all the disputes which took place around the dam Indira Sagar and Sardar Sarovar, the dam is really a representation of the "temple of modern India" like had said it Nehru in 1961. The populations go from front, and hope to improve their living conditions. But aren't these impregnated ambitions of materialism

opposed to the great philosophies of the saints renonçant with pragmatism of the material world to devote itself to the spiritual awakening?

The economic, beneficial development with Hindu enthusiasm and the development of its religious structures, does not benefit those as well from the tribal cultures which since more than one decade assimilate the dominant Hindu culture and are integrated in the total economy into the risk to lose their cultural reference marks.

The Hindu community aspires to be integrated in the world economy. The sacred space of Omkareshvara is also integrated into it without upsetting the cultural bases of the Indian company since it progresses and evolves/moves with modernity. The society and the space in which it lives assimilate the models of the contemporary Western development. There are thus no contradictions between the religious life and the economic and material development. On the contrary, the development makes it possible this culture to be consolidated.

The town of Omkareshvara thus reflects the singular richness of India, sharpening its contrasts in its evolution, where the traditions adapt and cotoient the developments more high-tech.

The dam is currently in the course of construction. It will be necessary to reconsider when it is completed to study at that time the representation which the people would have made and its impact on the everyday life of the residents.

As the great Greek philosopher Héraclite of the 5th century BC thought, nature changes its form constantly “Very runs out.” Every thing is moving and nothing is eternal. That is why we cannot “go down twice in the same river.” Because when I bathe the second time, the river is changed and I too. However, the Gods precisely appear in the transformations and contrasts of nature.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ACHARYA, Sabita

(1997) *Pilgrimage in Indian civilization*. Manak Publications

ALVARES, Claude & BILLOREY, Ramesh

(1999) *Damming the Narmada: India's greatest planned environmental disaster*.

Third world Network/ Natraj Publisher, Dehra Dun.

ANDRE, Yves

(1998) *Enseigner les représentations spatiales*. Anthropos, Paris.

ANDREOTTI, George.

(1997) « Aspects généraux du rapport entre paysage et religion ». In *Géographie et cultures*, n°23, p. 77-83.

APPADURAI, A.

(2001) *Après le colonialisme, conséquences culturelles de la globalisation*. Payot & Rivages, Paris, 322p.

ASSAYAG, Jackie

(2005) *La mondialisation vue d'ailleurs : l'Inde désorientée*. Seuil, Paris

BAILLY, André.

(1989) « L'imaginaire spatial, plaidoyer pour la géographie des représentations ». In *Espace-temps*, n°40-41, pp.53-58.

BAILLY, André. (coord.)

(1998) *Les Concepts de la Géographie humaine*, Armand Colin, Paris, 333p.

BAREL, Yves.

(1986) « Le social et ses territoires ». In AURIAC F. et BRUNET R. (dir.), *Espaces, Jeux et Enjeux*, Fayard, Paris, pp. 131-139.

BASU, Pratyusha & SILLIMAN, Jael

(2000) “Green and Red not saffron: Gender and politics of resistance in the Narmada Valley.” In *Hinduism and ecology: The intersection of Earth Sky, and water*. Coord. by Christopher key Chapple and Mary Evelyn Tucker, Oxford, Delhi.

BAVISKAR, Amita

(1997) “Displacement of the Bhilala tribals of the Narmada Valley” In *The Dam and the nation: displacement and resettlement in the Narmada valley*.

Oxford University Press, Delhi.

(1995) *In the Belly of the river: tribal conflicts over development tin the Narmada Valley*. Oxford University Press, Delhi.

BERTRAND, J-R. & MULLER

(1999) *Religion et territoires*. L’Harmattan, Paris, 291p.

BETHEMONT

(1999) *Les grands fleuves entre nature et société*. Colin, Paris.

BHARDWAJ, Surinder Mohan.

(1999) *Hindu places of pilgrimage in India: a study in cultural geography*, Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi.

(1997) “Geography and pilgrimage: a review” In *Sacred places, sacred spaces: the geography of pilgrimage*, Geoscience publication, Louisianne.

BHATTACHARYA, Narendra Nath

(1999) *The Indian mother goddess*. Manohar publisher, New Delhi.

BIARDEAU, Madeleine

(1995) *L'Hindouisme, Anthropologie d'une civilisation*. Champs Flammarion, Paris, 312p.

BONNEMAISON, Joël

(1981) *Voyage autour du territoire*. L'espace géographique, Paris.

BONTE, Pierre et IZARD, Michelle

(1991) *Dictionnaire de l'ethnologie et de l'anthropologie*. PUF, Paris.

BOURDIEU, Pierre

(1993) « Effets de lieu », In BOURDIEU, P. (dir.), *La Misère du monde*. Le Seuil, Paris.

BRETON, Roland

(1976) *Atlas géographique des langues et ethnies de l'Inde et du subcontinent*,
L'Harmattan

BRUNET, Roger

(1995) *Les mots de la géographie : dictionnaire critique*. Collection Dynamique du territoire, Reclus- La Documentation Française, 518p.

CAUFIELD, Catherine

(1996) *Masters of Illusion. The World Bank and the poverty of Nations*, Henry Holt, New York.

CHAUDERY, kapil

(1995) *Narmada river bassin: Geology*. Dept of landscape Arch & regional plng, University of Pennsylvania, USA.

CLAVAL, Paul

(2003) *Géographie culturelle : une nouvelle approche des sociétés et des milieux* A Colin

(1995) *La géographie culturelle*, Nathan, Paris.

(1995) *Ethnogéographie*, L'Harmattan, Paris.

CLAVAL, Paul ; RACINE, Jean-Luc et H. Murkias

(2000) « Lieux, espaces et territorialité en Inde : Une approche culturelle » In *Géographie et culture n°35*, Paris.

CLAVEYROLAS, Mathieu

(2003) *Quand le temple prend vie. Atmosphère et dévotion à Bénarès*. CNRS-éditions, Paris.

(2003) *Construire le territoire sacré hindou : l'exemple de Bénarès*. Séminaire Jeunes Chercheurs, AJEI, Poitiers.

COQUET, Michel

(2002) *Linga : le signe de Shiva*, Les deux Océans, Paris.

COSANDEY, Claude

(2003) *Les eaux courantes. Géographie et environnement*. Belin, Paris

DANIELOU Alain,

(1992) *Mythes et dieux de l'Inde : le polythéisme hindou*, Flammarion, Paris.

(1977) *Le temple hindou*, Buchet-Chastel, Paris.

DEBARBIEUX, Bernard; MERCIER, Guy & PETIT, Emmanuelle

(1997) «Les espaces religieux ». In *Géographie et Cultures n°23*, L'Harmattan, Paris.

DELIEGE, Robert

(1999) *Gandhi*. PUF, Paris.

DEEGAN, Chris

(2000) "The Narmada: Circumambulation of a sacred landscape" In *Hinduism and ecology : The intersection of Earth Sky, and water*. Coord. by Christopher key Chapple and Mary Evelyn Tucker, Oxford University Press, Delhi.

DELAGE, Rémy

(2003) « Propositions théoriques sur la géographie du pèlerinage en Inde du Sud. L'exemple de Sabarimala (Kerala) ». In *Mobilités en Asie du sud*, Séminaire de l'AJEI, Poitiers, 13p.

(1999) L'Hindouisme à l'épreuve du concept territorial : Analyse géographique de la complexité des processus de territorialisation socio-religieuse en Inde. Mémoire de D.E.A., Université Bordeaux III, 93p.

DI MEO, Guy

(2001) *Géographie sociale et territoires*. Nathan Université, Paris.

DUBAY, D.P

(2000) *Pilgrimage studies: the power of sacred places*, Society of Pilgrimage Studies,

(1985) "The sacred geography of Prayaga (Allahabad) : Identification of holy spots." In *The National Geographical Journal of India*, vol.31, n°4, The National Geographical Society of India Beneras Hindu University, Varanasi, pp.319-340.

DURKHEIM, Emile.

(1960) *Les formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse*, PUF, Paris.

DOSHI, Balkrishna

(1995) "Une ville modèle énergétique" In *Cité d'Asie*, Ed Parenthèses, Paris.

DUMONT, Louis

(1979) *Homo Hierarchicus : le système des castes et ses implications*, Gallimard, Paris.

DURAND-DASTES, François

(2000) « Monde Indien » In *Afrique du Nord, Moyen Orient, Monde indien* In Géographie universelle, Dir George Mutin, Reclus, Montpellier.

(1997) *Géographie de l'Inde*, PUF, Paris.

D'SOUZA, Dilip

(2002) *The Narmada Dammed: an inquiry into the politics of development*, Penguin books, Delhi.

ECK, D

(1981) "India's tirtha: crossing in sacred geography," *History of religions*, vol.20, n°4

(1998) "the imagined landscape: Patterns in the construction of Hindu geography," *Contributions to Indian sociology*, n.s 32, 2

ELIADE, Mircea

(1965) *Le sacré et le secular*. Gallimard, Paris, 185p.

FELDHAUS, Anne

(2003) *Connected places: region, pilgrimage, and geographical imagination in India*, Palgrave Macmillan,

FISHER, William F.

(2000) "Sacred rivers, sacred dams: competing visions of social justice and sustainable development along the Narmada." In *Hinduism and ecology : The intersection of Earth Sky, and water*. Coord. by Christopher key Chapple and Mary Evelyn Tucker. Oxford. Delhi.

FORSYTH, James

(1872) *The Highlands of central India: notes on their forests and tribes, natural history and sports*. Chapman and Hall, Londre.

FREDERIC, Louis

(1994) *L'art de l'Inde et de l'Asie du Sud-Est*. Flammarion, Paris.

FREMONT, André

(1999) *La région espace vécu. Espace perçu, espace vécu, espace représenté : les géographes dans le champs des représentations*, Flammarion, Paris.

GABORIAU, Marc

(1993) « Des dieux dans toutes les directions ». In BOUILLIER, V. & TOFFIN, G, *Classer les dieux ? Des panthéons en Asie du Sud*. Collection Purusartha, n°15, EHESS, Paris, pp.23-43.

GENTELLE, Pierre

(1995) « Haut lieu ». In *L'Espace géographique*, n°2, pp.135-138.

GROSS, Robert Lewis

(1992) *The Sadhus of India: A study of Hindu Asceticism*, Rawat Publication, New Delhi.

GUILMOTO Christophe, PICHARD, Pierre et REINICHE, Marie-Louise

(1990) *Tiruvannamalai : un lieu saint 'Shivaïte du sud de l'Inde. Tome 5, « La ville »*. École française d'Extrême-Orient, Pondichérie.

GALEY, J.C.

(1985-1986) *L'espace du temple*. Collection Purusartha, n°8, EHESS, Paris.

(1994) « L'universel dans la localité. Implications sociologiques du pèlerinage en Inde. »
In *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, PUF, pp.259-296.

GOVERNEMENT OF INDIA (GOI)

(1978-1979) *Award of the Narmada Valley Water Disputes Tribunal*.

HARTSUIKER, Dolf

(1993) *Sadhus: India's Mystic Holy Men*, Inner traditions, Vermont.

HERACLITE d'Ephèse

(2002) *Fragments : citations et témoignages*. Flammarion, Paris.

HERBERT, josette

(1988) *L'enseignement de Mâ Ananda Moyî*, collection «spiritualités vivantes», Albin Michel, Paris.

HOLLE, Annick

(2001) « Organisation socio-spatiale de la vieille ville de Katmandou à la fin du 20^{ème} siècle » In *Mappe Monde* n°61, Paris.

INDEPENDENT PEOPLE'S COMMISSION, SAMYA, National campaign for people right to information.

(2004) *Without land or livelihood. The indira Sagar Dam: State accountability and rehabilitation issues*. Report of the Independent People's Commission, New Delhi.

JACSES & Urgewald (Japan Center for Sustainable Environment and Society)

(2004) *The Omkareshvara Dam in India : closing door on people's future (Le dam d'Omkareshvara en Inde : fermant la porte au future du peuple)*.

JAFFRELOT, Christophe (ss. la direction de)

(2003) *Tribus et basses castes. Résistance et autonomie dans la société indienne*. Collection Purusartha, n°23, EHESS, Paris.

(1996) *L'Inde contemporaine de 1950 à nos jours*, Fayard, Paris.

JAÏN TRUST,

(2004) Brochure du sanctuaire jaïn de Siddhawarkut, Indore.

JHA, Makhand

(1991) *Social anthropology of pilgrimage*, Inter-India Publications, Delhi.

JOLY, Alain

(2005) «La situation environnementale en Inde,» Vandana Shiva.org.

KALIDASA

(1938) *Meghaduta* (le nuage messager) traduction, Belles Lettres, Paris.

KHADRAM, Sanjeev

(2004) *Dams and development : transnational struggles for water and power*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London.

KHANNA, Amar Nath

(2003) *Pilgrim shrines of India : mythology, archaeology, history and art (Hindu, Jain, Buddhist, Sikh, Jewish, Christian & Sufi)*, Aryan Books International, New Delhi.

KINKAR VITTHAL, Ramanuja

(2004) *The Eternal Festival, Sri Bhagwan Omkarnath in ever new forms*. Vol.1, Chattopadhyaya, West Bengal.

KIPLING, Rudyard

(1994) *Le livre de la jungle*. GF-Flammarion, Paris.

LAMBALLE, Alain

(2000) « L'eau source de conflits en Asie du Sud » In *Guerre mondiale et conflit contemporain n°195* p 115-168 (146-148)

LANDY, Frédéric

(2002) *L'union indienne*, édition du temps, Nantes.

LANDY Frédéric et CHAUDURI Basudeb

(2002) *Question d'échelles. Mondialisation et développement local en Inde*, CNRS-édition

LOTH, Anne-Marie

(2003) *Védisme et Hindouisme : images du Divin et des dieux*, Edition chapitre douze, Bruxelles-Paris.

MARG (Multiple Action Research Group)

(1987) Sardar Sarovar outstees in Madhya Pradesh, what do they know?, Delhi.

MC CULLY, Patrick

(1996) *Silenced River. The ecology and politics of large dams (Ces fleuves qu'on réduit au silence :écologie et politique des grands dams)* Zed Books, Londres

MEHTA, Gita

(1993) *A river Sutra*, traduit de l'anglais par Dominique Rinaudo, Librairie générale française, Paris, 189p.

MORSE et al. (Le rapport Morse)

(1992) *Sardar Sarovar. The report of the independent review*, RFI, Ottawa.

MULLER, Ulrick.

(1981) "Thimi, social and economic studies on a Newar settlement in the Katmandu valley," Giesser geographische, vol.49

NHDC

(2004) *NHDC Power behind Hydropower Development in Madhya Pradesh.*

(2003) *Historical review of Narmada basin Resource Development/* released on the occasion of Shilanyas Ceremony of Omkareshvara Project. August, 30, 2003.

NVDA, Government of Madhya Pradesh

(1993) Environmental management plan of Omkareshvara project (OSP), GOMP, Bhopal.

Madhya Pradesh (1993) Environmental management plan of Omkareshvara project (OSP), GOMP, Bhopal.

OMKARESHVARA JYOTIRLINGA TEMPLE TRUST

(2003) Omkareshvara Darshanika, Swami Tej Ananda, Khandwa.

PARANJPYE, Vijay

(1990) *High Dams on the Narmada: a holistic analysis of the river valley project in studies in ecology and sustainable development n°3* INTACH series (Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage), Delhi.

PETERFALVI, Jean-Michel

(1985) *Le Mahabharatha*. Traduit du sanskrit, GF Flammarion, Paris.

POUCHEPADASS, Jacques

(1982) *Caste et classe en Asie du Sud* Purusartha n°6

RACINE Jean-Luc

(2000) « Débat sur la Narmada : l'Inde face au dilemme des grands dams » In *Hérodote* n°100, Paris.

RENOU, Louis.

(2001) *L'Hindouisme*. Que sais-je ?, PUF, Paris.

ROLLAND, Romain

(1977) *La vie de Vivekananda et l'évangile universelle*. Stock/ Monde ouvert, Paris.

ROY, Arundhati

(1999) "Pour le bien commun" In *L'écrivain militant*, Folio document, Paris.

RUSSEL, R.V.

(1908) *Central Provinces Dist Gazeetters/ Nimar dist.*

(1997) *Central Provinces District Gazeetters/ Nimar disrict*, gouvernement du Madhya Pradesh.

-

SAMANTA, DK

(1997) "Sacred complexe of Ujjain" In reconstructing Indian history and culture n°13, D.K Printworld.

SANTHI, S.

(2000) *Sardar Sarovar Project. The Issue of Develloping River Narmada*, INTACH series, Current Environnemental issues, I, New Delhi.

SAGLIO YATMIZSK

(2002) *Population et développement en Inde*, Eclipse, Paris.

SHALINI KUMAR, ****

(1993) *Omkareshvara list of protected monuments*, INTACH, New Delhi.

SHETH, Pravin

(1994) *Narmada project : politics of eco-development*, Harnand publication

SHRI GAJANAN SHIKSHAN SANSTHA'S

(2004) *Shri sant gajanan maharaj college ingeenering Shegaon*, Information brochure, Shegaon.

SINGH Jai Pal Singh et KHAN Mumtaz

(2000) « marques divines dans le paysage du Kurukshetra » In *Géographie et culture* n°35

SINGH Satyajit

(1997) *Taming the Waters. The economics of Large Dams in India (Comment apprivoiser l'eau : économie politique des grands dams en Inde)*

Oxford University press, Delhi

SINGH, R.P.B.

(1987) "Emergence of the geography of belief systems and a search for identity in India." In *The National Geographical Journal of India*, vol.33, n°4, The National Geographical Society of India Beneras Hindu University, Varanasi, pp.184-204.

(1987) "The pilgrimage mandala of Varanasi : a study in sacred geography." In *The National Geographical Journal of India*, vol.33, n°4, The National Geographical Society of India Beneras Hindu University, Varanasi, pp.493-524.

(1992) "The Geography of Religion in India : perspectives and prospects." In *The National Geographical Journal of India*, vol.38 (The Roots of Indian Geography : Homage to S.P. Chatterjee, International Geographical Congress), The National Geographical Society of India Beneras Hindu University, Varanasi, pp.27-38.

(1992) "The Geography of Pilgrimages in India : perspectives and prospects." In *The National Geographical Journal of India*, vol.38 (The Roots of Indian Geography : Homage to S.P. Chatterjee, International Geographical Congress), The National Geographical Society of India Beneras Hindu University, Varanasi, pp.39-54.

STIERLIN, Henri

(1998) *L'Inde hindoue : temples et sanctuaires de Khajuraho à Madurai.* Taschen-Architecture Mondiale/ Cologne

STODDART, Robert & MORINIS, Alan

(1996) *Sacred places, sacred spaces : the geography of pilgrimages.*

Geoscience Publications - Dept. of Geography and Anthropology - Louisiana State University

SWAMI, Smarananda

(2003) The general report of Ramakrishna Math & Ramakrishna Mission, from April 2001 to March 2002, Ray & Ray, Kolkata.

TROUILLET, Pierre-Yves

(2004) *Hindouisme et lamaïsme face au transnational. Analyse des modes de territorialisation religieuse et de leur transfert spatial à travers le rôle original de l'Inde.* DEA « Dynamique des Milieux et Sociétés. Espaces tropicaux, domaines européens ». Sous la direction de M. SINGARAVELOU, Bordeaux III.

TULSIDAS, traduit par VAUDEVILLE, Charlotte

(1977) *Le Ramayana.* Belles lettres, Paris.

VARENNE, Jean

(2002) *Dictionnaire de l'Hindouisme,* Edition du Rocher, Paris.

VARADARAJAN, C.

(2002) *The divine life of Sri Sri Sitaramdas Omkarnath.* Kinkar Rameshananda, Kolkata.

VINCENT, Jeanne-Françoise

(1995) *La construction religieuse du territoire,* Éd. l'Harmattan

-

WARING MAW, Geoffrey

(1995) *Narmada : the life of a river,* édité par Marjorie Sykes, Hoshangabad. ****

WCD (World Commission on Dams)

(2000) *Large dams: India's experience.*

WEBER, Max

(2003) *Hinduisme et Bouddhisme*, Flammarion, Paris.

WILDLIFE INSTITUTE OF INDIA

(1992) "Impact Assessment Studies of Narmada Sagar and Omkareshvara projects on Flora and Fauna with attendant Human Aspects," Dehra Dun.

X (Traduit par plusieurs Sanskritistes),

(1974) "Narmada Mahatmya" *The Matsya Puranam. The sacred book of the Hindu (Le livre sacré des hindous)*, vol.17, partie2, Chapitre CLXXXVL à CXCV. AMS Press, New York.

ZINS, Max-Jean

(1999) *Inde : un destin démocratique.* La documentation française, Paris.

Oxford India

(2004) *Oxford student Atlas for India*, Oxford University, Press Delhi.



INTERNET SITES OF THE ORGANIZATIONS AND THEIR ACTORS:

- Department of the Forests of Madhya Pradesh.

www.mp.nic.in/forest/

- District of Khandwa

www.khandwa.nic.in

- Forum Social Mondial, 2004

www.fsm2004free.fr

-

- GOOGLE EARTH (Planisphère en imagerie satellite)

www.earth.google.com

-

- Image satellite.

www.spaceimaging.com

- International river network

www.Irn.org

-

- Jaypee Group- EPC contracts in hydroelectric sector

www.jilindia.com/epc_Omkareshvara.htm#Omkareshvara

- NCA (Narmada Control Authorities)

www.ncaindia.org/

-

- NHDC (Narmada Hydroelectric Development Corporation)

www.nhdcindia.com

-

- NHPC (National Hydroelectric Corporation)

www.nhpcindia.com

-

- NVDA (Narmada Valley Development Authority)

www.mp.inc.in

- Save the Narmada organisation, friends of the Narmada

www.narmada.org

- Sardar Sarovar Narmada Nigam Ltd.

www.sardarsarovardam.org/ -

- University of Missouri-Columbia (USA)

<http://web.missouri.edu/~omshanti/omkares.html>

- Wikipedia (encyclopédie sur le web)

www.wikipédia.com

➤ ARTICLES OF THE PRESS :

-

- Dharma Kranti / janvier-février 2005 (journal du Parti hindou Rastriya Hindu Sanghanthan s'opposant au dam d'Omkareshvara).

- Mid day

“India celebrates Mahashivaratri” 18 février 2004.

➤ □ FILMS DOCUMENTAIRES :

-

KAK, Sanjay

(2002) Words on water. 85 min.

SASI, K.P (Alternate Communication Forum)

(1999) A valley refuse to die: Narmada Valley Project.41 min.

PATWARDHAN, Anand.

(1995) Narmada Diary.

For the government and the elite, the Sardar Sarovar dam in western India is a triumph of industrialization and “progress.” For the Adivasi (indigenous people), farmers and fisherfolk living along the Narmada River, it is a disaster. As the dam rises, it has flooded thousands of acres of forest and fertile land, displacing hundreds of thousands of people. Many vow to drown rather than be moved. Combining politics, ethnography, and environmentalism, the film presents anti-dam protesters galvanizing a grassroots movement by walking from village to village, along with beautiful footage of Adivasi rituals and images of the surreal landscape created by the dam: submerged temples, drowned tree. Juliet Clark

Photographed by Dhuru, Patwardhan. (57 mins, In English and Hindi with English subtitles, Color, Beta, From First Run/Icarus)

DOCUMENTARY FILMS: KAK, Sanjay (2002) Words one toilets. 85 min. SASI, K.P (Alternate Communication Forum) (1999) A valley refuses to die: Narmada Valley Project.41 min.

PATWARDHAN, Anand. (1995) Narmada Diary. For the government and the elite, the Sardar Sarovar injury in western India is has Triumph of industrialization and “progress.” For the Adivasi (indigenous people), farmers and fisherfolk living room along the Narmada To rivet, it is has disaster. Have the injury small channels, it has flooded thousands of acres of forest and fertile Land, displacing hundreds of thousands of people. Many vow to drown rather than Be moved. Combining politics, ethnography, and environmentalism, the film presents anti-injury protesters galvanizing has grassroots movement by walking from village to village, along with beautiful footage of Adivasi rituals and images of the surreal landscape created by the injury: submerged temples, drowned trees. - Juliet Clark Photographed by Dhuru, Patwardhan. (57 mins, In Hindi English and with English subtitles, Color, Beta, From First Run/Icarus)

CENTER FOR DEVELOPMENT OF INSTRUCTIONAL ???

(1990) Narmada Puran. 25min

KAZIMI, Ali.

(1994) Narmada : a valley rises. 86 min.

Narmada: a Valley Rises is beautifully photographed, inspiring film. It documents a 200 kilometre non-violent Gandhian march involving 6000 participants. The film offers a compelling and intimate portrait of a unique movement while raises critical and universal issues of human-rights, social justice, and development within a democracy.

CENTER FOR DEVELOPMENT OF INSTRUCTIONAL ???? (1990)

Narmada Puran. 25min KAZIMI, Ali. (1994) Narmada: valley small channels has. 86 min. Narmada: Valley Rises is beautifully photographed, inspiring film has. It documents

has 200 kilometre non-violent Gandhian march involving 6000 participants. The film offers has compelling and intimate portrait of has movement single while raises critical and universal resulting of human-rights, social justice, and development within has democracy.

GLOSSARY

Ashrama: The same word “ashrama” first of all indicated the various stages of the human life, four for the male Hindu of the first three castes: First of all the stage of the brahmacharis during which, within the traditional framework of the Vedic studies, the student learned the Brahman, i.e. the word of Veda, texts Vedic. In the second time, the stage of the grihastha, that of the head of household “which remains at the house.” The third time is that of the stage of the vanaprastha, when the Hindu man “withdraws himself in forests” and y [?] practical of the rites. Lastly, the stage of the samnyasis, where the man renounces the social life to devote himself to its release (Mukta). This diagram [?] remains an ideal of life difficult to realize in a modern society.

Avatara: Incarnation of the gods in various forms. [The machine translated the word “Avatara” as Misadventure!! Nonsense and rubbish!]

Ayurveda: Ayurvedic medicine is an old Hindu medical practice using only products homeopathic. [Nonsense and rubbish!] Its receipts [!!!] are written in the Vedas.

Bhajana: devotional song.

Bhakti: devotion to the Hindu divinities. Dominant form of the Hinduism which implies a relation of grace of God to His creature and an integral relation of devotion of the creature to God. It makes it possible to obtain the delivery while remaining in the society. (Biardeau, 1995).

Bardan : gift. [Varadāna=granting of boon]

Bujan: [Bhojana] Banquet organized at the time of great festivals or Community meetings.

Brahmacharis: It is the name of the Brahmanic student for the 3 [!] years period which he spends with his guru to learn the Védas. He is dedicated then to chastity. It is also the

title which the monks carry who have reached the fourth stage directly from the first “state of life” (Biardeau, 1995).

Cella: Greek word. The cella is the room located at the center of a sanctuary, containing the representation of the god to which the temple is dedicated.

Chakra: Not energy. ???

Chattri: Decorative house [top] installed on the buildings of Rajasthani style.

Chaturmasya: Four months of monsoon.

Chakrawarti: Jain ascetic.

Chapati: Wafer of flour.

Chowk: Street [square]

Cow dungs: Wafers of manure of cow used as fuel.

Darshan: “See, to observe, look at, perceive.” In the Indian culture, the merits by an individual are obtained by the sight of something or somebody recognized as saint or sacred. The vision of an individual would have the capacity to transform it and to transmit the energy of a sacred object to him. The darshan can be taken of a holy man, a temple, an important river, a holy mountain such as the Kailash Mount, the rising sun or the image of gods. The darshan is thus given by God and received by a devotee. To take a “darshan” is a central act of the Hindu worship based on the orthopraxie (the realization of devotional actions). It is thus fundamental and thus represents the goal of the Hindu pilgrimages.

Deep daN: [dīpadāna] Butter candle. ????[offering—donation—of a lamp]

Dharmashala: Lodging for pilgrims and devout visiting holy places. They are often built by a group of the same community or caste collecting funds with an aim of building and maintaining a building making it possible to place them at the time of the religious events.

Dharma: “Law.” Hindu order sociocosmic which organizes this world. It is one of the four paramount religious values which guide the men, the “four great goals of the man” (purushârtha), which are religious bases around which the society is recognized. The dharma is the general law, the whole of the rules and the natural phenomena governing the order of the things, the companies and the men. It is also the ethical behavior of the

individuals which conditions their birth and which includes all their actions according to the karma (“the law of the acts”).

Jati: caste and under caste (litt. Birth). ?

Gandharvas: Angels.

Gāyana: Song of the adivasi people celebrating the elements of nature. [?]

Ghât: Religious installation [series of steps] installed on the banks of a river, lake or pond, giving safe access to the sacred water. Staircases [series of steps] which carry out the faithful from secular world to the sacred world. The ghâts are often in the tirthas.

Ghee: Butter clarified, dairy product coming from the cow. It is regarded as a sacred food.

Goshala: Cattle shed for the sacred cows. Attend in the ashrams.

Guru: Spiritual Master, professor, who shows the way of delivery to his disciples.

Graben: A graben or basin of collapse is a depression produced by a subsidence along faults. To it the synonym of rift is given. One can see grabens in many tectonic areas.

Parikramā: Pilgrimage. [!] [Circumambulation]

Gurudwara: Sikh Temple.

Harijan: Name given by Gandhi to the untouchables (except caste). “Hari” is one of the names of Vishnu. These people would thus be protected by this god.

Ikshwaku: Dynasty of the kings going down from the race of the sun and the moon. [!] Ishwaku had 100 wives of which ???king Mandhata who reigned during the era of Satya Yuga at Omkareshvara. Other descendants of this grand race are as famous as Rama or Krishna. [Misinformation!]

Jagatguru: Guru holding the highest degree of holiness and recognized in the whole of the Hindu religious community.

Jyotikūtas: Eternal column of light symbolizing the impregnated god all (Shiva).

Kali, Devi Kali: Black and malefic incarnation of the Parvati goddess.

Karma: What each man must assume during his existence. Explained in Bhagavad Gita.

Kshetra: “feudal Field,” “field,” “sacred place.” By extension, it corresponds to the sacred territory (of a divinity for example).

Kshatriya: Caste of the warriors.

Kunda: Water basin located in the river bed of a river [?]. The basins of this type are often regarded as holy places because they would contain the presence of watery divinities.

Lakshmana: Younger brother of Rama. He remains throughout Ramayana close to his brother and assists him to find Sita, abducted by Ravana to Lanka.

Linga: Aniconic representation of Shiva, representing its phallus in the center of the ovule “yoni” of Parvati. The Nandi bull, vehicle of Shiva, is generally kept in front of this one. There are many types of lingas according to their creators: mânusha-linga formerly manufactured by the Brahmans, according to extremely precise mathematical rules. The arsha-lingas which were established by the past rishis, recognizable by their spheroid forms. The sthâpita lingas are polished by the current of the sacred rivers [?], Those of Narmada are very famous. One can buy some in the market of Omkareshvara. The most venerated are the crystal lingas, and especially the svayambhûs and Jyotirlingas. The devout perform their pûja by anointing them with water, milk and/or butter, then by adding flowers, rice or seeds of sesame. They burn incense around and offer prayers.

Loka: “World,” area of the universe distinguished by those which reside in it or reign there.

Loṭā: Copper vase that one fills with holy water like that of Narmada.

Mahadeva: Great God.

Mahabharata: Bulkier of the two Brahmanic works (the other being Ramayana), relating to the lunar dynasty. It tells the history of a great war where Krishna comes to help the Pandavas to restore Dharma. Its composition is spread out over centuries and it comprises various regional versions.

Mahatma: Of great soul.

Mandala: Geometrical diagram representing the Universe as a whole and the laws which control it. Its significance in Sanskrit means initially circle and by derivation territory. It is a diagram with esoteric cosmic connotation intended to allow its author or those which look at it with concentration, to reinstate their own nature within the universe. It acts as a cosmogramme which represents the whole Universe looked like a temporal cycle. The mandala synthesizes, in a form accessible from the visual point of view, a complete system of spiritual knowledge of the world, the divine laws of creation, its maintenance

and dissolution. By another analogy, we can describe the mandala as being a kind of complete “chart” of the visible and invisible Macrocosm, except that the “geography” of this chart is not physical. It refers to all that exists, including all the worlds and the plans of conscience. The majority of the mandalas is devoted to divinities and form part of tantric rituals which are intended to them. One can compare them with the Yantras of Hinduism which preceded them and they are a little the morphological derivatives.

Mandapa: Hypostyle room [?] of the Hindu temples.

Mandir: Temple.

Mantra: Magic [sacred] formula accompanying a rite which is always characterized by the fact that these are not the direction which count, but its stating at the desired time. It is also the formula which the new initiate to a sect receives. He will have to repeat it as a part of his daily ritual (japa).

Marga: Street.

Mathas: Hindu monastery.

Mela: A “mela” is a fair or a festival organized at the time of a great festival or at another particular occasion.

Moksha: Delivery from the rebirths. Opposed to “transmigration will [?] samsara.” It is the highest goal of the man.

Mohalla: “District” in the Persian language. As defined by K.D. Sharma, the etymology of the word mohalla comes from the Persian the muhalla, which refers to a district, an urban district, a section, a gathering of groups. The term applied in India to streets, public gardens, places, courses. It refers to a space unit inhabited by a homogeneous community

Panchayat: The traditional Council of a city or village.

Pandavas: Pandavas are the five brothers, sons of Pandu of the lunar dynasty. They are the principal protagonists of the Mahabharata.

Pandit: Another name for a Brahman, priest.

Parikrama: Pilgrimage [wrong]. Parikramā-vāsins: Name given to the pilgrims of Narmada. [!]

Pilgrim: man who moves towards god.

Pradakshina: Circumambulation. Properly Hindu total logic of setting in abyss. Diagram of concentric circles or each circle delimits a quality of sacred at the same time absolute

(each circle is doubled of a road of pilgrimage; in other words: each concentric territory is separately updated) and relative compared to the smallest circle: paroxysm of sacred. (Claveyrolas, 2003)

Pranava: Technical name of OM as a liturgical formula, will [?] mantra.

Prasad: “grace” (divine), symbolized by a little devoted food that the highly pious person receives in a temple in return for the offering which he brings. Offering coming from god for His highly pious person.

Pratishtha: Support. [!] [Sanctification]

Pûja: Worship, dévotional worship performed to try to be in communication with the divinities. Practiced by Hindus morning and evening. “Pûja is essentially and originally... year [?] invocation, reception and entertainment of the deity as a royal guest.” The iconographies of the divinities are used. They are generally kept in the cella of the temple or a small altar [!] [altar or temple] in particular houses. The Brahmans or the devout then ring the bells to awake them. Then they sing bhajans in their honor. They give them various offerings, flowers, water, etc. The incense burns at a side. Then the worshiper lets the gods rest by drawing the curtain of the altar [?]. Shiva purâna describes the word pûja thus: “In the Vedas the etymology of the word worship (pûja) is as follows: “It by what obtaining (puh) comes (jayate). The syllable “puh” indicates obtaining the fruits of the pleasure and the syllable “jâ” the rite by which that comes. In more of the wished objects of pleasure, also the good thoughts and knowledge come. Thus is well known, in truth the direction of the word “pûja,” in the world and the Veda “(Varenne 2002).

Pûjari: Priest who carries out the pûjas. Often young Brahmans.

Purana: A collection of texts belonging to the Hindu tradition. Theoretically they tell the origin of the humanity and the Indian history. In fact, they contain and put at the range of all the matter of treatises of ritual, of code of laws, the description of holy places---all that a Hindu must know to act correctly under all the circumstances. Very variable dates of composition (Biardeau, 1995).

Puruṣa: The Hindu cosmic being, at the same time the vital principle (in partnership with female energy), the male spirit and the total spirit of humanity.

Rama: An incarnation of Vishnu as a king of Ayodhya (city currently in Bihar). Principal Protagonist of Ramayana and venerated by the devout of the Vishnuite sect of Sita RAM.

Ramayana: Epic of King Rama going to rescue Sita, abducted by Ravana to Sri Lanka with the assistance of Hanuman and his brother Lakshmana.

Rishi: Sage.

Sâdhanâ: Process of the realization of one's own self of the mode to be Absolute which, at the end, is equivalent to an identification with him (Biardeau, 1995).

Sâdhu or Baba: Wandering Monk, wise mystic.

Samâdhi: Technical term of the yoga which indicates the highest form of mystical meditation. Form Yoga to indicate the goal or the term of yoga: complete and total (Sam prefix) a fixing (verb dhî) of the spirit on (â) the final object. That is to say absolute without perceptible phenomenal method. The samâdhi is the ultimate stage of the sâdhanâs, mystical state of rapture, a high spiritual stage. The stage of the realization of God.

Samnyasis: Ascetics and renouncants: they can be sâdhus "virtuous men Hindu or Jain," yogis, vairagis "indifferent to the world," mounis "ascetics having made wishes of silence"...

Samsara: cycle of birth and death.

Samaj: Society

Sangam: Confluence. Place of meeting of the holy men. Name of the place, village, located at the western point of the island of Omkareshvara-Mandhata.

Sangath: Association, community. Collective, associative community not recorded by the government.

Sanskrit: Language root of the Hindi. Studied by the Brahmins. The prayers are generally in Sanskrit like much religious term.

"**Scheduled castes**" and "scheduled tribes": Castes and tribes indexed by the government.

Shakti: "Power, divine energy." Female aspect of the divinity that ensures her demonstration in cosmos.

Shanti: "Peace." The term with always a religious connotation. It is the peace of that which recognizes absolute reality.

Shastra: “Treatise” making authority whose author, mythical or historical, is always a Brahman.

Shela: Disciple and servant of a guru or a sâdhu. Chela.

Shilom: [Chilum] Conical pipe of form used by the shivaïte sâdhus.

Shiva-linga: linga of Shiva, to see the definition of linga.

Sita: Queen of Rama.

Sthāṇu: “pillar.”

Siddhas: magician, man having achieved miracles [?].

Siddhi: Mystical State of fright.

Svayambhu: self born

Tapasyā: Ascetic austerity realized by a Hindu highly pious person. Heat, ascetic heat, kind of explosion psychic leading in the case of the gods to the creation of universe, in that of human with the acquisition of capacities such as very the gods tremble in front of them. Shiva as a supreme ascetic maintains the universe thanks to his tapasya. He establishes the bond between the men and the energy of the universe just like, according to the beliefs, Narmada maintains the bond between humanity and Shiva energy.

Tchai: [Chai] Milk with the sweetened tea.

Tehsil: Administrative district.

Tirtha: Literally “passage to ford.” Represent the passage from one world to another world of the men towards that of the transcendent gods. At the edge of the temples, one always finds a place reserved for ablutions called Tirtha--river, lake or built basin (Coquet, 2002). Place where spiritual sciences are learned and where one can enter in relation to God. Place where a large highly pious person obtains the knowledge of spiritual sciences. Capacity of the tirthas: the Hinduism attaches a great importance to the release of the man from the cycle of the birth and death. A Hindu must cultivate his purity and accumulate sufficient merits to reach the release (Moksha) cycle of the reincarnation. Major tirthas are endowed with the capacity to confer the purity, to erase the sins, and to get merits for the pilgrims “the secular religious values” = a long life, a good health, prosperity. Water is a powerful magnetic accumulator whose fertilizing capacity is a benefit for the peasants as much as for the pilgrims. There are several types of Tirthas: - simple Tirtha: passage to ford with the junction of a river with another river -

Mandir Tirtha: literally a temple, a palace. “The holy place, in Sanskrit, is tirtha, i.e. a passage, a threshold, a ford. This is what famous Bénarès represents perfectly: the descent of the goddess Ganga from the world of the gods towards the world of the men opened the way for the passage in the other direction of the men towards the gods “(Claveyrolas, 2003). **Tirthayatra**: Tirtha = a ford = not a very major depth of a river where one can pass on foot.

Yatra = Tirthayatra voyage: “Turn of the sacred fords” connotes a journey to perform a purifying bath in the rivers, lakes or ponds located in the sacred places.

The visit of a Hindu to a sacred sanctuary is one will [?] yatra (a dévotional visit). The term “will yatra” corresponds with that of “pilgrimage” can confuse two different actions in the Hindu context: - one being a voyage for a purifying bath. - the other to take (sights) sacred visions = darshan of one or several specific divinities. In the Hindu tradition, a holy character, always alive, is often described like a tirtha, and visit to such a person is also one will tirthayatra. The space dimension of a pilgrimage concentrates on the circulation or the description of a religious sacred place, its relationship to other sacred places, or its symbolic system in the religious system, phenomenon of circulation of the pilgrimages (Bhardwaj, 1997).

Tulsi: Aromatic plant, basilica, divinized by the devout of the sect vishnouite, Sita Ram and Krishnaïtes.

Trimurti: Level of the manifestation of the divinity where it is made triple to head the various states of cosmos (Vishnu, Shiva and Brahma).

Trust: Foundation subsidized by the members of a community or the devout devoted to a guru, carrying out various types of holy activities with a collective aim.

Vahana: Conveyance transporting the gods. Can take different forms: the Nandi bull is, for example, that of Shiva.

Vâk: Word, emitted thanks to the divine breath.

Varna: “Class,” “Color.” The Brahmanic community is divided ideally into four varnas. The term defines at the same time a social function, a statute and a religion specific to the Vedic ritual (Biardeau, 1995).

Vastu Mandala: “Parliament of foundation” at the base of the foundation of any Hindu temple, putting in scene an assembly of gods having each one the specific East and qualities determining the organization, the orientation, architecture, and the iconography of the temple.

Vastu Puruṣa: The “Man of foundation” of a Hindu temple, this one reproducing the anthropomorphic body of the Hindu ideal man, to be cosmic for it: Purusa.

Vastupurusamandalas: treatises of Vedic architecture and town planning of Hindus on the scale of the city resulting from texts going back to 2000 B.C.

Veda: Lit. “Knowledge.” It is the Knowledge par excellence, the Revelation. The texts which constitute it are divided into four great groups which constitute the four Vedas: Rigveda, Yajurveda, Samaveda and Arthaveda. The first three correspond respectively to the three categories of the priest of the Vedic sacrifice. The fourth which contains many magic formulas is regarded as inferior (Biardeau, 1995).

Wildlife Sanctuary: Reserve biosphere.

Yakshini: Female divinity.

Yagya: Sanskrit term meaning “worship, prayer, offering, sacrifice.” Ritual of sacrifice carried out to call the gods. It is a question of giving offerings to Agni, sacrificial fire. According to the Hindu beliefs, all that is offered to divine fire reaches the hands of the gods. This ceremony is traditional officiated by a group of Brahmans reciting the Védas. A platform is installed, following precise instructions, in the center of which the hearth is kept. The participants settle around and give to the fire various kinds of food, such as ghee, coconuts, sandalwood, grains of sesames, etc. These rituals are organized by various communities. Many viewers observe the ceremony from the outside of the platform which they circumambulate. In modern Hinduism, the sacrifices of animals are not practiced any more there, a probable influence of the Jaïn and Buddhist. (Wikipédia.com).

Yatra: Devotional travel.

Yantra: In Sanskrit, the word will [?] yantra means “external support” or Secret Instrument of telepathic communion and spiritual connection.” (cf. Mandala) ([HTTP://membres.lycos.fr/mahesvara/articles/yantra_madala.htm](http://membres.lycos.fr/mahesvara/articles/yantra_madala.htm)) It acts as a representation in the form of a diagram of the universe and the forces of the absolute.

Will [?] yantra is a simple geometrical diagram, where are treated on a hierarchical basis the characteristics essential symbolic systems of a certain Great Cosmic Power, a divinity or a certain divine energy of the macrocosm. It is used for a spiritual telepathic consonance, in order to carry out fusion with the Conscience or the reality of this sphere of force, being an essential symbol of its divine characteristics, its capacities or certain fundamental aspects. Each Great Cosmic Power has a characteristic Yantra in order to carry out a subtle connection very intimate with a Cosmic Power, the form geometrical essential by which this power can be contact have be reveal with wise clear-sighted. Thanks to a constant work with a Yantra (concentration or meditation), various paranormaux capacities - Siddhis - can occur gradually, corresponding to the various characteristics of the Cosmic Power in question.

Yoga: Group of psychophysiologic techniques which are different notably according to schools. In theory, the goal to be reached is the experiment of the state “delivered” dice this life, but one also believes to be able to obtain thus capacities supra normal. The methods pass by physical exercises aiming to the control of the smooth muscles and by mental exercises intended to empty the thought of very contained empirical and to maintain it in a perfect immobility. The traditional system of yoga is what the orthodox thought of these concrete yogas retained (Biardeau, 1995).

Yug: Means temporal “era.” Name of cosmic periods grouped by four and of which each one indicates a given state of perfection or degradation of the dharma.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: POEMS FOR THE NARMADA.

A River Sutra/ Gita Mehta.

Interpretation of a poem of Shankaracharya by a ménestrel [?] on the banks of Narmada.

GO TO THE ORIGINAL!!!!

The wise ones said: That can which sings your praises With the dawn, the twilight, at the night, In its human form Acquired in the suffering of So many births, To approach in the honor Feet of Shiva itself. Thus hears my praises; O Sacred Narmada. Your presence is A grace for the ground. The faithful ones name you Kripa, Thanks even. You purify the ground Of its impurities. The faithful ones name you Surasa, The sacred heart. You cross-pieces ground while leaping Like a stag which dances. The faithful ones name you Rewa, Leaping. But Shiva named you Délicieuse And, in its laughter, It gave you the name of Narmada. Water color of copper Under a sky color of copper, Penitence of Shiva you became water. Of water you became woman If beautiful that gods and ascetics, Tended flesh of desire, Gave up their contemplation To follow you. Once, only, Since the wheel of the existence turns The terrible one was moved until laughing. Raising the eyes of its internal contemplation To pose them on you, the destructor said: Ô young lady with the beautiful hips Evocative of Narma, the desire, You will be for all Narmada The most sacred rivers. O river born of penitence, Baptized by the laughter, The disordered network of your water Is crimped in the rock of the Vindhya mounts Like the gilding of the ichor on the water of the elephant. Along banks Cheesecloths of the mordorées flowers of Nipa Bore the envelope of their petals In the desire for you. The wood heavy of wild jasmine Te gird of their perfume. With the noise of your steps, young mango trees Flowers are covered suddenly. The wise ones in meditation on your banks say to you Twice born, Once of penitence, Once of the Love. According to them, the Ascetic, in its frolicking with the goddess, With mixed sweat with its heat with tirednesses with the love Sourdant of its centers, And changed you into river To cool the desire of the saints men And named you Narmada, That which alleviates passions. It is not to the seed of Shiva

That your cold bed does not harden as the stone, And each drop becomes An idol to be torn off with your bluish black water, With venerated with garlands of flowers In the temples which border banks. Ô river born of the love, Baptized by the laughter, Your water crimson slips like a clothing Of your smooth banks. Kalidasa is questioned: who could only give up you? Who thus could give up a woman, the covered kidneys, When he knew the pain of his body? The layout of your course Fact of the jumps of antelopes On the places of the villages which border you, shade Sacred trees grouillent birds. Apples of wonder obscure your water Gloss of the maturing fruits. Wild mangos choient in the movements of current tone Such of the flowers in the hair of a girl. It is known as in the Writings That you were present at the birth of time When Shiva, in the shape of a dorré peacock, Wandered by the ocean of the vacuum. You pointed out the destructor That creation awaited only one order of him. Then, deploying its frightening feathers, Shiva procreated this world and the mountain Where it meditates Until the hour of the destruction. You were present at Creation, By the only will of Shiva only will remain you At the hour of the destruction. It is predicted by the wise ones which knows the truth: At midnight, per hour when will go up the dark floods, A girl you will become Bright like a column of gloss. A trident in your small hand, you will say: Wise, leave your woodland hermitages Without delaying more. Here come time from the great destruction. While the destructors dances All will be destroyed. Me and me only am sanctuary. Come, with your knowledge of humanity, Follow me. I will lead you to next creation. Ô messenger of the time which passes, Ô sanctuary of the hello You the fear of time itself dissipates. Ô Narmada sacred. You erase the spots of the evil. You release the wheel of the suffering. You relieve the worlds of his burdens. Ô Narmada sacred. Bards and acètes sing your wonders. Players, cheaters, dancers sing your praises All, we find refuge in your pressure, Ô Narmada sacred.

Poem of Shankaracharya.

APPENDIX 2: Chart of the districts of Madhya Pradesh.



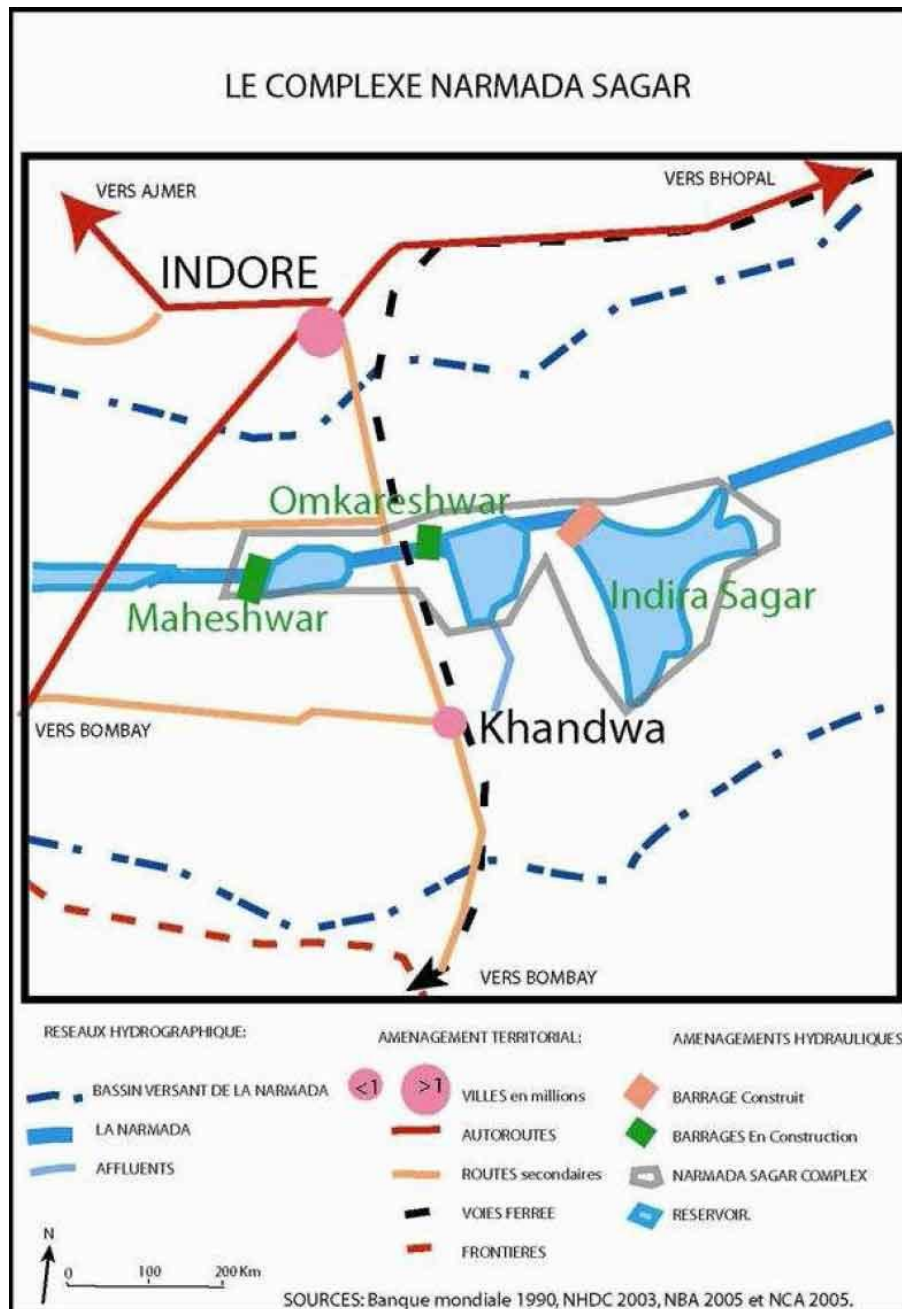
Carte des Parcs Nationaux et des Wildlife Sanctuaries du Madhya Pradesh.
 Source : www.mp.nic.in/forest/ site du Département des forêts du Madhya Pradesh.

	RESERVE NATURELLE		PARC NATIONAUX
1 Bori	11 Nauradehi	21 Sailana	1 Bandharvan
2 Badgara	12 Panchmarhi	22 Ralamandal	2 Fossil
3 Phen	13 Panpatha	23 Orchha	3 Kanha
4 Ghatigaon	14 Kuno	24 Gangau	4 Madhev
5 Ghandisagar	15 Pench	25 Durgawati	5 Panna
6 Karera	16 Ratapani		6 Pench
7 Ken Ghari	17 Sanjay Dubr		7 Sanjay
8 Kheoni	18 Singhori		8 Satpura
9 Narsingharh	19 Son Ghariyal		9 Vamvihar
10 Chambal	20 Sardarpur		

Natural Reserves

National Parks

APPENDIX 3: COMPLEX NARMADA SAGAR



APPENDIX 4: STATISTICS OF POPULATIONS AFFECTEES BY THE VALLEY DEVELOPMENT PROJECT OF THE NARMADA.

INTERNET SITE Of NVDA ([HTTP://nvda.nic.in/statistics.htm](http://nvda.nic.in/statistics.htm))/AUGUST 2005.

TABLE (1) - VILLAGE AND FAMILIES

State	No.of Villages affected			Families to be rehabilitated including major sons (As per latest information March 1999)	Population affected as per 1991 Census
	FULL	Partial	Total		
Madhya Pradesh	1*	192	193**	33014	89796
Maharashtra	-	33+	33	3113	19650
Gujarat	3	16	19	4600	18000
Total	4	241	245	40727	127446

* Complete agriculture land of this village is likely to be affected due to submergence, but people do not reside in this village.

**Out of 193 submergence villages of Madhya Pradesh, in 82 villages less than 10%, in 32 villages 11% to 25% in 30 villages 26% to 50%, in 14 villages 51% to 75%, in 4 villages 76% to 90% in 1 village 100% agricultural land will be submerged. Only in 21 villages government waste land will be submerged.

* Out of 33 villages coming under submergence in Maharashtra 12 villages have less than 25 ha. Of private land getting submerged. 6 have less than 50 ha. and 1 village is deserted. Thus 19 villages out of 33 are only being marginally affected.

COMPARAISON AVEC LE SITE INTERNET NCA (NCAINDIA.ORG) :

States	Villages Affected			Familles Affected
	Full	Partial	Total	
Madhya Pradesh	1	191	192	33014
Maharashtra		33	33	3698
Gujarat	3	16	19	4728
Total	4	240	244	41440

**TABLE (2) LAND
Submergence of Land under SSP**

Type of Land	Gujarat	Maharashtra	Madhya Pradesh*	Total ha
Private cultivated land	1877	1519	7883	11279
Forest Land	4166	6488	2731	13385
Other land including river bed	1069	1592	10208	12869
Total	7112	9599	20822	37533

* In MP the area may change to some extent on verification at field level.

PROJECT AFFECTED FAMILIES (PAFs) – CATEGORYWISE

S.No.	Name of Project	Cultivators	Encroachers	Landless Agricultural labourers	Other landless labourers/ Traders/ Artisans etc.	Total	No. of Affected villages.
1	Sardar Sarovar Project						
a.	Families	9983	2	5776	2235	17996	
b.	Major sons	9740		3412	1866	15018	
	Total	19723	2	9188	4101	33014	193
2	Man Project						
a.	Families	353		108	12	473	
b.	Major sons	230		114	10	354	
	Total	583		222	22	827	17
3	Jobat Project						
a.	Families	325				325	
b.	Major sons	380				380	
	Total	705				705	13
4	Maheshwar Project						
a.	Families	1169	83	909	103	2264	
b.	Major sons	1064		608	64	1726	
	Total	2233	83	1517	167	4000	61
5	Indira Sagar Project						
a.	Families	10756	263	3826	1758	16603	
b.	Major sons	10469	173	2078	1416	14136	
	Total	21225	436	5904	3174	30739	249
6	Omkareshwar Project						
a.	Families						

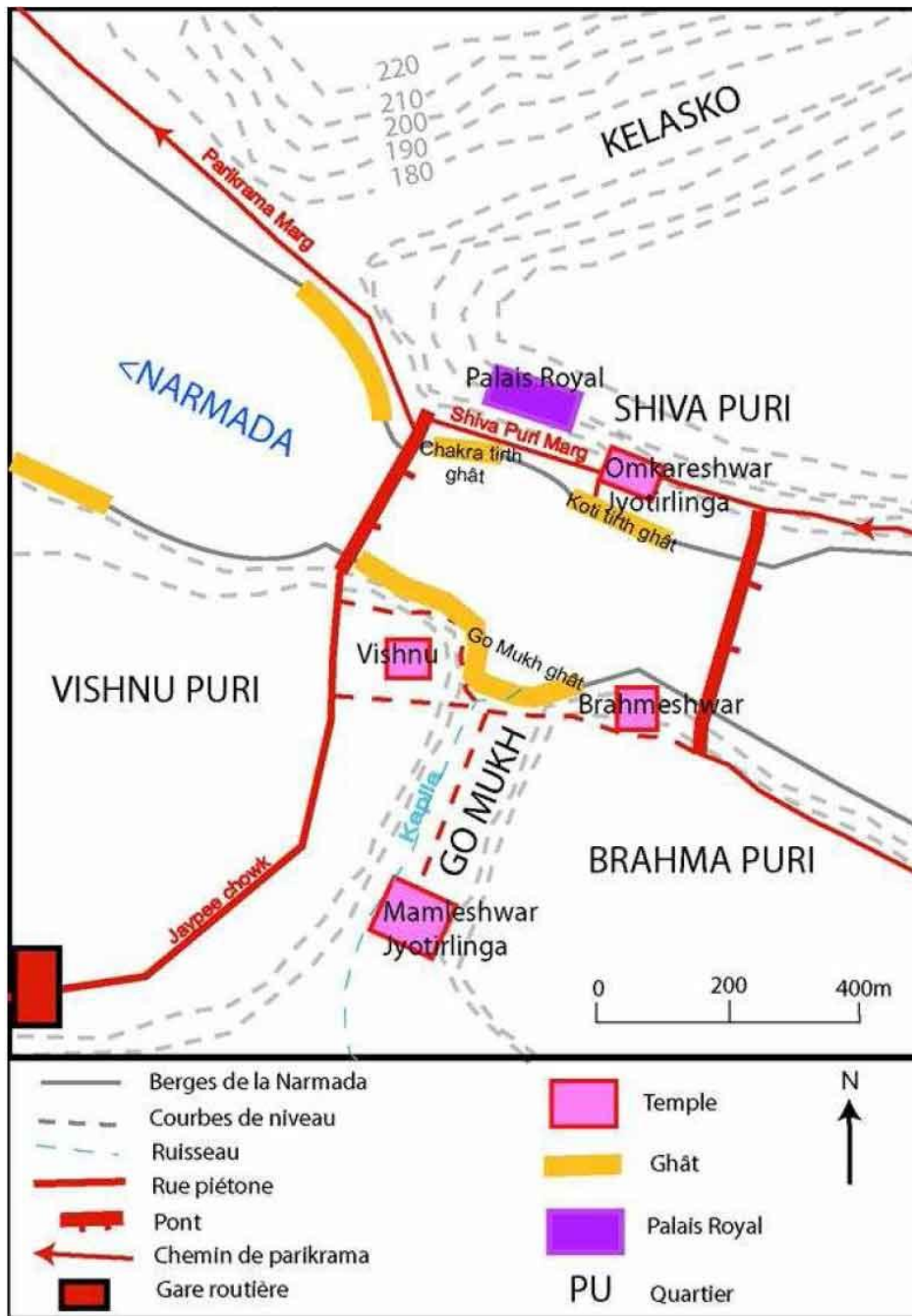
b.	Major sons	546*		505*	70*		
	Total	1482		1400	142	3024	30
	Grand Total	45951	521	18231	7606	72309	563

Note : * Assumed figures.

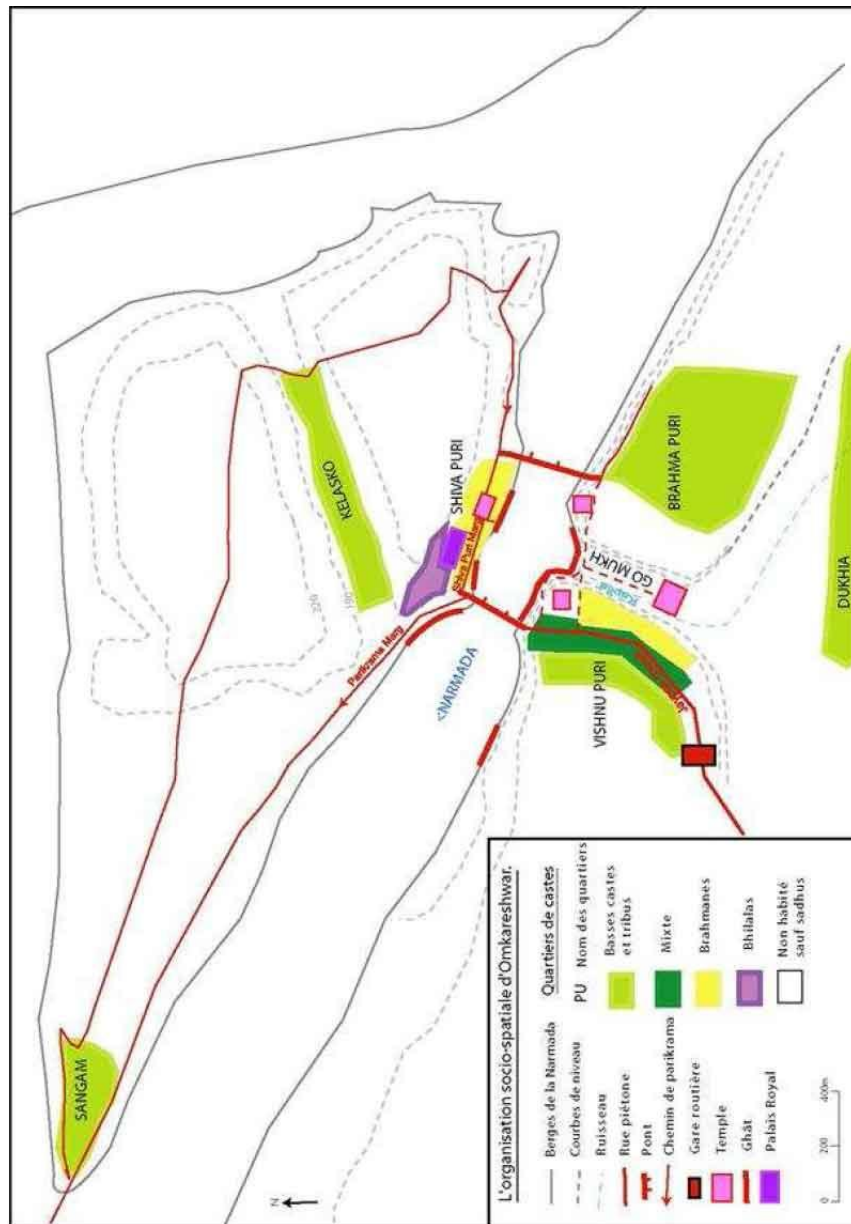
**SCHEDULED CASTES/SCHEDULED TRIBES
PROJECT AFFECTED FAMILIES (PAFs)**

S.No.	Name of Project	Scheduled Caste PAFs	Scheduled Tribe PAFs	General PAFs	Total PAFs
1	2	3	4	5	6
1	Sardar Sarovar Project				
a.	Families	2236	5234	10526	17996
b.	Major sons	1380	4730	8908	15018
	Total	3616	9964	19434	33014
2	Man Project				
a.	Families	2	459	12	473
b.	Major sons	3	341	10	354
	Total	5	800	22	827
3	Jobat Project				
a.	Families		325		325
b.	Major sons		380		380
	Total		705		705
4	Maheshwar Project				
a.	Families	401	26	1837	2264
b.	Major sons	247	10	1479	1736
	Total	648	36	3316	4000
5	Indira Sagar Project				
a.	Families	2018	3174	11232	16424
b.	Major sons	1628	3078	9609	14315
	Total	3646	6252	20841	30739
6	Omkareshwar Project				
a.	Families	203	862	838	1903
b.	Major sons	203	660	258 q	1121
	Total	406	1522	1096	3024
	Grand Total	8321	19279	44709	72309

APPENDIX 5: CHART OF The DOWNTOWN AREA Of OMKARESHVARA.
 Source: CREMIN Emilie, 2005.



APPENDIX 6: CHART OF ORGANIZATION SOCIO-SPATIALE OF The CITY.
 Source: CREMIN Emilie, 2005.



APPENDIX 7: DHARMASHALAS.

THE CONCEPT OF DHARMASHALA:

The dharmashalas are equipment, [?] infrastructures, built in order to offer a comfortable lodging to the pilgrims coming to visit the holy city, so that they can be devoted within a framework favourable with the practices of the religious rites. Lodging there is free or has a very modest cost. The pilgrims can remain there for 3 days. The financial resources of the dharmashalas come from the gifts given by more or less rich families. They can make a gift in proportion with their means. The dharmashalas are often founded by leaders of the same communities, caste and sub caste: they thus have the facility of a place of gathering at the time of the festivities. Apart from these important events, the dharmashalas are open and can accommodate any type of pilgrim visiting Omkareshvara. The caste is thus not an element of restriction or selection of the hosts, according to testimonies which we collected from the persons in charge on the ground. The dharmashalas are thus financed often by the members of the same community collecting the gifts and organizing themselves in an association or a foundation called "trust" recorded, in the shape of acts, by the State as an association with nonlucrative goal whose objective is to work for the common good. At the entry of each dharmashala, one can read the name of the donors with the sum and the date of their donation. Moreover, certain donors offer sums corresponding to the price of a room. Their names, the dates and the sums of their gifts are then registered on tables above the doors of each room. They have there a priority access at the time of their visit to the holy city. Certain families particularly of rich merchants build by themselves the dharmashalas, open to all, with an aim of achieving a good deed. In Omkareshvara, there are more than 200 associations recorded with the government undertaking various actions of charities for the general interest or that of special communities in particular. Here are some examples of the dharmashalas:

- Adivasi Dharmashala. Adivasi Dharmashala was built by a trust or a foundation made up of 17 adivasi members most of whom are public servants. Their objectives are not just to create dharmashalas, but also to conduct other activities for the common good of their total community: old people's homes, camps of care, organization of marriages arranged

within the community, spiritual education, and academic training to integrate the community in the nation. This association also wishes to fight against the bad habits of the adivasi people such as the production of alcohol of Mahwa and alcoholism. By these activities, the foundation helps these people long isolated to improve their standard of living and to be integrated in the principal current of the development of the entire Indian nation. The budget of the foundation is formed by the donations of the members, of the public, and the subsidies of the MLA (Members of the Legislative Assembly) and of those of the Parliament. The funds thus come from many public or under-privileged sources. Adivasi Dharmashala is at the end of the city because it is a very recent construction (2002) and that there are no more sites available in Omkareshvara. They received a ground owned by the royal family of Omkareshvara. Indeed, the city is currently in full growth, but constructions of new dwellings are limited by escarpée [?] topography. There does not remain much of a constructible land.

- Mochi, Balaï Harijan, Basor and Mehtar Dharmashalas.

These dharmashalas represent scheduled castes, the untouchable ones. These castes represented in 1961 9% of the population of the district of the East Nimar (Russel, 1997). They concentrate in rural medium where they can reach 88% of the total population. The company of Balaï's was traditionally advertisers, troubadours. The Mochi company under caste of Chamars is traditionally a caste of tanners, who manufacture shoes and resell them. Mehtars are cleaners. The dharmashalas of these castes are offset of the urban center. They are located in the district of dwelling where various castes and indexed tribes mix.

- 3 dharmashalas Gurjar: Reva Gurjar Dh, Jadan Gurjar Dh, Mandlia Gurjar. Founded in 1974, thanks to donations of 1 RS has 1000RS [?]. The the people of the caste of Gujars live mainly in the districts of Kargaon [?] and Khandwa. They are traditionally farmers and retailers of MP. The the people of this caste migrated from Gujarat during the Moghol period and were established in the central part of the Narmada valley. This social group itself is divided into under-castes: Rewa Gurjars, Mandlia Gurjar and Jadan Gurjar. The system of trusts allows this caste, relatively poor, to put joint money to build dwellings in the cities in order to facilitate its members to have the access to the urban and religious activities. The dharmashala contains 45 rooms, 2 halls, 1 temple dedicated

to Krishna (they also have their particular divinity Kali Devi), two kitchens, a pump to draw up the water of Narmada, 6 latrines for the women and 6 for the men. This dharmashala has a capacity of reception of 500 people according to the person in charge. The castes can be mixed there.

- Kunbis Patel Dharmashala. The caste Kunbis Patel is very famous in the district for agriculture. They would have migrated from Gujarat to the district of the East Nimar during the Moghol time. Its members are traditionally farmers and produce lenses [?].

- Patidal Dh and Anjan Dh. These castes (Patidal and Anjan) are in the beginning those farmers, owners of great land surfaces which produce cane with sugar, cotton and pepper.

- Dawali Samaj Dh. The Dawali community is under caste of the Vaishyas. Their traditional occupation is the breeding of the bovines and the buffaloes. They produce milk and dairy products (yaourth [yogurt?], ghee, cheese and butter) for the sale. This caste is the same as that of Krishna which is Yadava caste. Yado (stockbreeders ?). The dharmashala is made up of 3 floors. On the ground floor, there is a hall with a temple dedicated to Krishna and to the gods of the caste. The Saint Singa Ji who lived in the 18th century, came wise [?] from this community: he is always their guru. It contains 43 rooms, a dining room and an office.

- Shri Dhanjar Samaj Dharmashala. This dharmashala located in the commercial street depends on the caste Dhanjar, a caste of the varṇa of the Vaishyas which is traditionally farmers. Its members cultivate cotton and corn in Malwa and Nimar. The dharmashala contains 40 rooms, with at the ground floor a hall with a temple, dedicated to Radha-Krishna.

- Jat Dharmashala. This dharmashala was built in the year 1980 on the central place of Vishnu Puri. The caste of Jat is a caste of the varṇa of the Kshatriyas, coming mainly from the State of Haryana, Rajasthan, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh and MP (Northern India). The members of this community are vast ground owners and practice agriculture. They cultivate cotton, cereals, bananas or peppers. They are sometimes employed in the national administration and the army. They also work in the commercial field.

- Baheti jati Dh. Baheti Dharmashala is located in Shiva Puri in the street leading to the Omkareshvara temple. It is the oldest dharmashala of the city built in the 18th century, by the community of Agarwals (Agarwal Samaj) or that of Maheswari Bania, caste of

commercial rich persons. They built hundreds of dharmashalas all over India. Today the 5 brothers by holding the property live in Bombay. These rich and religious men make good deeds by supporting the devout in their dévotional practices. Formerly they also gave meals to the pilgrims. They have one second dharmashalas on the southern bank. This establishment is composed of two stages with a total of 30 large rooms and 5 large structured halls of gathering goshawks [?] of a central court. The style of this building is Rajasthani of Bikaner, with arcs polylobés, decorative columns, details and the chattris on the roof.

- Agrawal Dharmashala. The owner family of the caste of Bania Agrawal lives in Khandwa. They conduct trade and are especially wholesalers. The dharmashala was built in the year 1980. On the ground floor there are shops but there is no temple. It contains 42 rooms very badly maintained. On the other hand, everyone little to reside at it, all confussed castes. The rooms have a very moderate price: 25 RS/jour less than 50 cents of euros.

APPENDIX 8 :

LIST OF EDIFICES BY CATEGORIES RELIGIOUS INFRASTRUCTURES

The buildings are listed in each category in order of their appearance in the text.

Classifications are indicated on the chart Annexe 8, above the symbols corresponding to the categories of the buildings.

➤ □ **LIST OF REMAINS**

Portails en ruines.

1. Dharma Raj (Porte Ouest extérieure 1 ère butte)
2. Porte des Pandavas (Porte Ouest intérieure 1)
3. Porte de Katyayani Devi et de Mahishasura Mardini. (Porte Nord 1)
4. Porte Est (Porte Est 1)
5. Chanda Suraj Dvar (Porte Ouest 2 ème butte)
6. Bhima Arjun Dvar (Porte Est 2)
7. Hundi Kundi Dvar (Porte Sud 2)

Temples in ruins

1. Temple de Sita Mata
2. Temple de Kunti Mata
3. Siddhanatha
4. Temple de la Lune

➤ □ **LISTE DES TEMPLES ACTIFS**

Temples actifs

1. Omkareshvara Jyotirlinga
2. Mamleshwar Jyotirlinga
3. Vishnu Mandir
4. Brahmeshvara
5. Ashapuri
6. Gauri Somanatha
7. Khedapati Hanuman
8. Kedareshwar
9. Rinmukteshwar
10. Krishna Sita Ram
11. Kashi Vishvanath (Temple de Bénaires)
12. Sanctuary Jaina

□ **LISTo DES ASHRAMS**

 Ashrama

1. Omkarnath Ashram
2. Ramakrishna Mission Ashram
3. Mâ Ananda Mayi Ashram
4. Barwani Dham Ashram
5. Annapurna Ashram
6. Markandeya Ashram
7. Shri Gajanan Maharaj Ashram
8. Lal baba Ashram
9. Center de recherché spirituelle
10. Adivasi Samaj Ashram
11. Punjabi Ashram
12. Gayatri temple/ guru Raghunath.
13. Bajrendas Ashram

➤ □ **LISTE OF DHARMASHALAS**

1. Reva Gurjar Dharmashala
2. Jadav Gurjar
3. Mandalia Gurjar
4. Jati
5. Kashi Kshatri Kuswaha agriculture et vente de fleurs [?]
6. Kunbi Patel
7. Narmada Brahman (Mamleshwar)
8. Mochi
9. Balai Harijan
10. Dashora (Brahman Bania)
11. Shri Bania Brahman
12. Sahasra Audicya Brahman
13. Akhil Bhartiya Jarna Charana [?]
14. Baheti
15. Baheti (commerce)
16. Rajput
17. Agrawal (Omkaara Mandira Marga)
18. Patidar (Agriculture)
19. Anjana
20. Visva karma (charpentiers menuisiers) [?]
21. Gowali (fermiers éleveurs) [?]
22. Malwi barur
23. Denger Barur (éleveur produits laitiers)
24. Ratur
25. Tirole (agri)
26. Pirkuswa (agri)
27. Jaina
28. Gurudwara (Sikh)

29. Guru Nanak (Sikh)
30. Adivasi
31. Agrawal (près du bus)
32. Yatrika
33. Dawali Samaj
34. Yadav
35. Banjara

APPENDIX 8: LIST EDIFICES BY CATEGORIES Of RELIGIOUS INFRASTRUCTURES.

The buildings are listed in each category in the order of their appearance in the text. Classifications are indicated on the chart Annexe 8, above the symbols corresponding to the categories of the buildings.

LIST OF THE RUINS

■ Gates in ruins.

1. Dharma Raj (Western Door extérieure 1ère ridges)
2. Carry [?] of Pandavas (Western Door intérieure 1)
3. Carry of Katyayini Devi and Mahishasura Mardini. (Porte Nord 1)
4. Door Is (Est 1 Door)
5. Chandra Suraj Dwar (Western Door 2ème ridges)
6. Bhima Arjun Dwar (Door Is 2)
7. Hundi Kundi Dwar (Southern Door)



★ Temples in ruins

1. Temple of Sita Mata
2. Temple of Kunti Mata
3. Siddharnath
4. Temple of the Moon

LIST OF THE ACTIVE TEMPLES

■ Active temples

1. Omkareshvara Jyotirlinga
2. Mamleshwar Jyotirlinga
3. Vishnu Mandir
4. Brahmeshwar
5. Ashapuri

6. Gauri Somnath
7. Kerapati Hanuman
8. Kedareshwar
9. Rinmukteshwar
- 10 Krishna Sita RAM
- 11 Kashi Vishvanath (Temple of Bénares)
- 12 Jain sanctuary

LIST OF THE ASHRAMS

Ashram

1. Omkarnath Ashram
2. Ramakrishna Mission Ashram
3. Mâ Ananda May Ashram
4. Barwani Ashram Injury
5. Annapurna Ashram
6. Markandeya Ashram
7. Shri Gajanan Maharaj Ashram
8. Lal Baba Ashram
9. Center of required spiritual
- 10 Adivasi samaj Ashram
- 11 R[?]unjabi Ashram
- 12 Gayatri temple Rajgunath [?] guru.
- 13 Bajrendas Ashram

LIST OF THE DHARMASHALAS

Reva Gurjar Dharmashala 3.

Jadan Gurjar Mandalia

Gurjar Jati Kashi Tshatri Kuswara (agri) culture and sale of flowers

Kunbi Patel

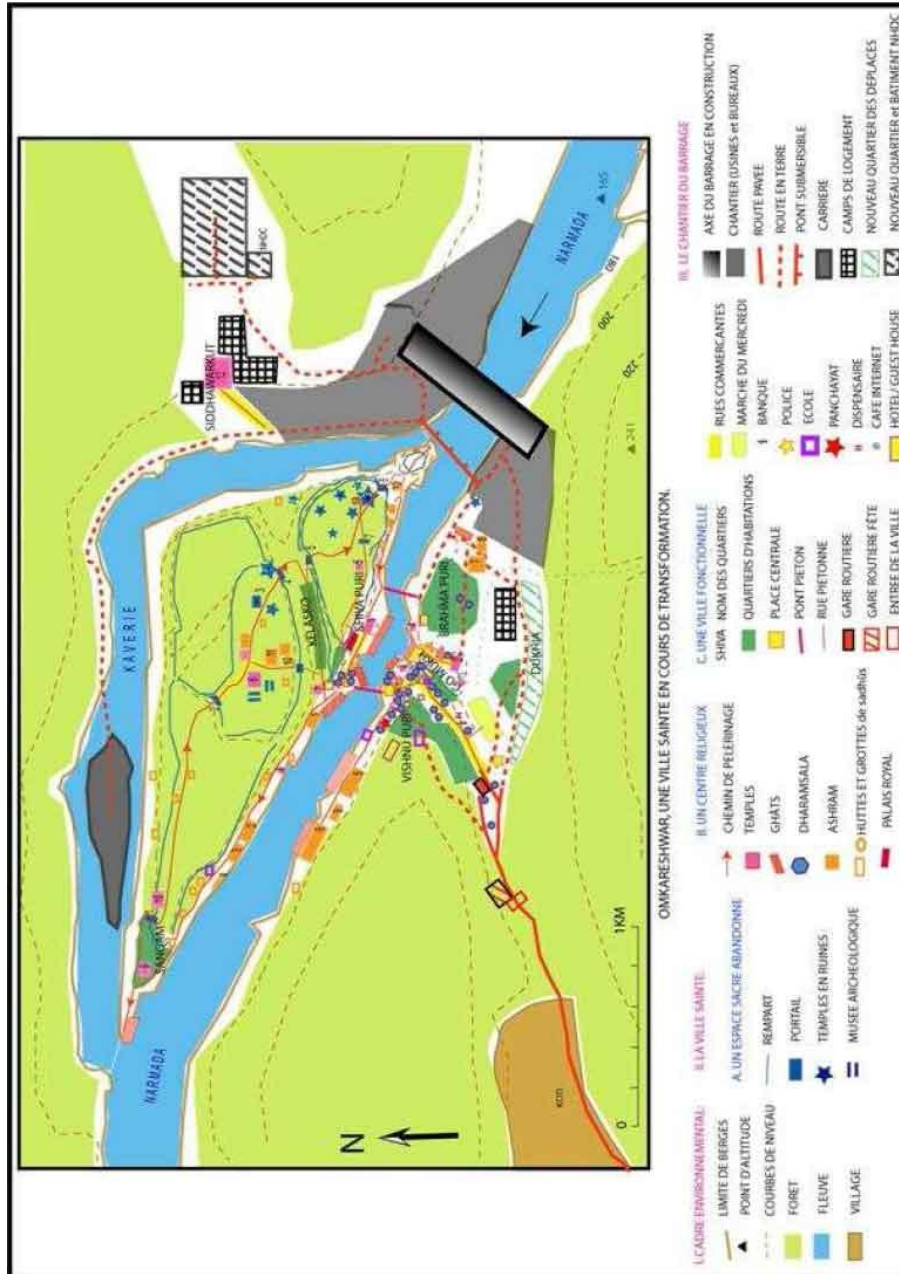
Narmada Brahman (Mamleshwar)

Mochi Balai Harijan Dashora (Brahman Bania) Shri Bania Brahman

Sahasra Audichya Brahman

Akhil Bhartiya Jarna Charana Baheti Baheti (trade) Rajput Agrawal (Omkar to mandir Marg) Patidar (Agriculture) Anjana Visva karma (carpenters carpenters) Gowali (farm stockbreeders) Malwi barur Denger Barur (elevor dairy product) Ratur Tirole (agri) Pirkuswa (agri) Jaïn Gurudwara (Sikh) Guru Nanak (Sikh) Adivasi Agrawal (close to the bus) Yatrika Dawali Samaj Yadaw Banjara

APPENDIX 9: CHART OF The TOWN Of OMKARESHVARA.



APPENDIX 10: DOCUMENTARY VIDEO.

Titrate[Title?]: Omkareshvara, a holy city of Narmada in the course of transformation

Realization: CREMIN Emilie.

Duration: 10 minutes.

Date from turning: January, February, March 2005.

Date from the assembly: September, October 2005.

Summary: The town of Omkareshvara vibrates each day by the Hindu expression of the religious devotion. Thousands of pilgrims come to achieve the ritual one there, celebrating Mata it Narmada and Shiva. However, today dam is in the course of construction with the center even of its sacred space. Then, how do these two dynamic a priori contradictory coexist and appear? This documentary will try to make feel with the public all the intensity of Hindu enthusiasm being affirmed within a sacrilized environmental framework but currently in the course of change.

[The original has “mutation” for “change.”

FOOTNOTES:

[1] Shankaracharya was a great reformer of the Hinduism in the 8th century. Poêm translated from the Hindi by Gita Mehta into (1993)

CONTINUATION IN APPENDIX 1...

[2] Quantify]?) evaluated and concluded by the judgment from the court from the businesses from water from Narmada (NWDT) starting from the statements from the output from the river at the border between Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh between 1945 and 1979.

[3] Quantify evaluated between 1945 and 1992. Written submission one behalf of Union of India (Conclusion deposited in the name of the Indian Union), Feb. 99. [4] Geological Survey of India.

[4] ?

[5] Reserve biosphere

[6] Census of 1961 (Russel, 1997).

- [7] The tirthas are points of passage to ford, they represent for Hindus, a passage between terrestrial space and celestial space.
- [8] Linga of Shiva: aniconic representation of Shiva.
- [9] Yugs are the great Hindu chronological eras marking the 4 cosmic phases: the period of creation and the truth “Satya Yug,” the order “Treta Yug,” the disorder “Dvapara Yug” and the destruction “Kali Yug.” These periods are repeated eternally.
- [10] Another name of Shiva.
- [11] Asceticism or austerity supporting the meditation and the communication with the gods.
- [12] Vishnu: one of the three gods of the Hindu Pantheon. He is the conservative of the cosmic order. To save the world from its destruction, he incarnated in 24 avatars.
- [13] In the Hindu practices, it is necessary always to preserve the objects sacred on its line. Indeed, the right hand is regarded as pure, being used only to make pious actions while the left is impure since it should be used only for the actions of cleanings. With dimensions the left is thus disrespectful.
- [14] There are 12 illuminated lingas of Shiva in India.
- [15] Siddhi: Mystical State of trance.
- [16] Samsara: cycle of reincarnations.
- [17] Mythic history of Ramayana. cf Bibliography
- [18] Indian cinema produced in Bombay, very popular throughout India and beyond the sub-continent.
- [19] Since the arrival of Nehru, the Indian State, with an aim of consolidating its independence and arriving at its food self-sufficiency and energetics vis-a-vis to the other large developed countries, set up five-year plans to increase the agricultural and industrial productivity in order to allow the economic growth of the country (NHDC, 2003). This planned economy would have made it possible to fill the delay with respect to the Occident, to reduce the social and economic inequalities, and to make pass India from an agrarian society to the status of an industrial power.
- [20] The Government of the Central Provinces became Madhya Pradesh in 1950.
- [21] The Government of Bombay became the State of Maharashtra in 1950.
- [22] Sardar Sarovar Project

[23] cf Monthly observed flows of the Narmada at Garudeshwar (monthly observations of the flows at Garudeshwar) Hydrology Studies Organization, Central Toilets [?] Commission, New Delhi 92.

[24] Written submission on behalf of the Union of India (Conclusion deposited in the name of the Indian Union), fev 99.

[25] Indira Sagar Project to see Fig. 20, p. 68.

[26] NCA Narmada Authority Control

[27] Narmada Bachao Andolan (NBA) is an important movement of protection of Narmada and its residents.

[28] Narmada Valley Developpement Authority (NVDA) is an institution created by the court of the businesses of water of Narmada. It must control the building work and implement the decisions of the court of Madhya Pradesh.

[29] Narmada Control Authority (NCA) is an institution created by the court of the businesses of water of Narmada in 1985. It must control the building work and make apply the decisions of the court in the whole of the valley.

[30] The saffron is a spice of orange color. This color is carried by the devout of Shiva and represents the color of the Hindu religion. In this political context where the green appoints the ecologists and the red, parties of left; the saffron indicates the Hindu nationalist ideologies.

[31] See Part 2: 2.1.1 p.103

[32] See Part 2: 1.1.2 a)

[33] Administrative unit.

[34] Magic sentence.

[35] Hindu traditional texts.

[36] Technical name of OM as a liturgical formula (will mantra) [?] and soufle vital. [?]

[37] The residents usually use the sheets of nirguan in the treatment of gastric problems

[38] Shikara: pinnacle of a temple.

[39] King of the locality.

[40] Mountain in the North of Narmada.

[41] God of the Vindhyachala Mountain.

[42] Meru Mount Also Called Kailash Mount: mountain where resides Shiva.

[43] Gods.

[44] Rishi: half gods.

[45] Shiva Loka: field of Shiva on the Kailash Mount.

[46] Mrityu Loka: Earth.

[47] Markandeya was a great highly pious devotee of Shiva. He would have written Markandeya Purana and would have lived on the banks of Narmada and with Omkareshvara.

[48] Great King of the Mahabharata, father of the five Pandavas.

[49] Mahabharata: founder of Aryan India. Fraternal Battle between Pandavas and Kauravas.

[50] Ikshvaku: Dynasty of kings going down from the line of the sun and the moon [?]. Ishwaka [?] have 100 wire [?] of which king Mandhata who reigned during the era of Satya Yug on Omkareshvara. Other descendants of this sacred line are as famous as RAM or Krishna[!!!]

[51] God of the air, the destiny...

[52] Goddess of water.

[53] Mahadeva: the great god, another name of Shiva.

[54] Destroying avatara of Shiva.

[55] Parvati, consort of Shiva, in her form of black goddess.

[56] Supreme guru.

[57] Hall of prayer.

[58] Omkareshvara Jyotirlinga Temple Trust: foundation responsible for the maintenance of the temple, its events and the management of the gifts granted by the pilgrims.

[59] The trust of the Scindias depends on the heirs to the old kingdom of the Sindias who ruled for a time MP.

[60] Trust of Holkar: foundation belonging to the former royal family of the Holkars (1728-1948). The Holkar dynasty governed this city for some time, its descendants remain particularly attached there.

[61] Mahisasuramardini is the goddess that destroyed the demon buffalo. The myth is allegorical: The gods had fought for one century against the demons who gained

supremacy. The gods in anger created this divinity and gave their weapons to her. She made tremble the ground [?] and after a hard combat she killed the demon.

[62] Cf. Festivals of Omkareshvara, Narmada Jayanti p.174.

[63] Notice of the Department of Archaeology on a panel beside the temples.

[64] Calepinage[?] : techniques of conservation of historic buildings consisting of the classification of the stones of a building to rebuild it identical in another site than that of the origin.

[65] Chakrawarti: Jain ascetic.

[66] Siddhas: Magicians.

[67] Talk conducted on the ground and report of NGO JACSE JACSES and Ugerwald.

[68] As defines by K.D Sharma, the etymology of the word mohalla comes from Persian the muhalla, which refers to a district, an urban district, a section, a gathering of groups. The term applied in India to streets, public gardens, places, courses... It is referred to as a space unit inhabited by a homogeneous community [?].

[69] Families having ruled from Indore from 1728 to 1948 and having supported the religious life economically. The descendants of this family continue to support the foundation called Holkar Trust.

[70] Pandit, another appellation of the Brahmins.

[71] Harijan: untouchable. [God's people MLN]

[72] Sect Vaishnava Sita RAM: sect making the worship of king Rama. Cf. Ramayana.

[73] Back packers: tourists travelling with back bags generally for several months.

[74] A shela [chela?] is a disciple and a servant devoted to a sâdhu.

[75] VCD: Compact Video Disk.

[76] Inalienable estimates

[77] Slackened.

[78] Recall NHDC: Narmada Hydroelectric Development Corporation.

[79] We did not succeed in obtaining the data concerning the number of residences and the number of inhabitants envisaged. We observed however the building site of construction of this district and collected certain information from the engineers of the dam.

[80] Idem.

[81] Multinational American company, having obtained a contract with the NHDC to occupy itself of the installation and the use of material and machines of construction of high technology such as the cranes, swinger, line conveyer, big dog 20-20, creter cranium.

[82] BJP: Bharatya Janata Party (Left nationalist Hindu).

[83] Great quiet asceticism.

[84] Sacred trees.

[85] The pujaris are young master of ceremonies Brahmans [priests?].

[86] A shela [!] is a disciple and a servant devoted to a sâdhu.

APPENDIX 6: CHART OF ORGANIZATION SOCIO-SPATIALE OF THE CITY.

Source: CREMIN Emilie, 2005.

ANNEXE 7: DHARMSHALAS. THE CONCEPT OF THE DHARMSHALA:

The dharamsalas are equipment, infrastructures, built in order to offer a comfortable lodging to the pilgrims coming to visit the holy city, so that they can be devoted within a framework favourable with the practices of the religious rites. Lodging there is free or has a very modest cost. The pilgrims can remain there for 3 days. The financial resources of the dharamsalas come from the gifts brought by more or less rich families. They can make a gift in proportion with their means. The dharamsalas are often founded by of the same communities caste and under caste, they thus have the appearance of a place of gathering at the time of the festivities. Apart from these important events, the dharamsalas are opened and can accomodate any type of pilgrim in visit with Omkareshvara. The caste is thus not an element of restriction and selection of the hosts, according to testimonys' which we collected from the persons in charge on the ground. The dharamsalas are thus financed often by the members of the same community collecting the gifts and organizing themselves in an association or a foundation called "trust" recorded, in the shape of acts, by the State as an association with nonlucrative

goal whose objective is to work for the common good. In the entry of each dharamsala, one can read the name of the givers with the sum and the date of their donation. Moreover, certain givers offer sums corresponding to the price of a room. Their names, the dates and the sums of their gifts are then registered on tables above the doors of each room. They have there a priority access at the time of their visit in the holy city. Certain families of particularly rich merchants alone build the dharamsalas, open to all, with an aim of achieving a good deed. In Omkareshvara, there is more than 200 associations recorded near the government taking various actions of charities for the general interest or that of communities in particular. Here some examples of dharamsalas: - Adivasi Dharamsala. Adivasi Dharamsala was built by a trust or a foundation made up of 17 members adivasis of which much is civil servant. Their objectives are to create dharamsalas but also of other activities for the common good of their community: old people's homes, camps of care, organization of marriages arranged within the community, education spiritual, academic, training to integrate the community in the nation. This association also wishes to fight against the bad habits of the populations adivasis like the production of alcohol of Mahwa and alcoholism. By these activities, the foundation helps these populations lengthily isolated to improve their standard of living and to be integrated in the principal current of the development of all the Indian nation. The budget of the foundation is formed by the donations of the members, of the public, and the subsidies of the MLA (Members of the Assembled Legislative one) and of those of the Parliament... the funds thus come from many public or deprived sources. Adivasi Dharamsala is at the end of the city because it acts of a very recent construction (2002) and that there are no more grounds available to Omkareshvara. They received a ground pertaining to the royal family of Omkareshvara. Indeed, the city is currently in full growth but constructions of new dwellings are limited by escarpée topography, it does not remain much of constructible grounds.

Mochi, Balai Harijan, Basor and Mehtar Dharamsala. These dharamsalas represents indexed castes, the untouchable ones. These castes represented in 1961, 9% of the population of the district of the East Nimar (Russel, 1997). They concentrate in rural medium where they can reach 88% of the total population. The company of Balais was

traditionally advertisers, troubadours. The Mochi company under caste of Chamars is traditionally a caste of tanners, who manufacture shoes and resell them. Mehtars are cleaners. The dharamsalas of these castes are offset of the urban center. They are located in the district of dwelling where various castes and indexed tribes mix. - 3 dharamsalas Gurjar: Reva Gurjar Dh, Jadan Gurjar Dh, Mandlia Gurjar. Founded in 1974, thanks to donations of 1 RS has 1000RS. The populations of the caste of Gujars, live mainly the districts of Kargaon and Khandwa. They are traditionally farmers and retailers of MP. The populations of this caste migrated of Gujarat for the Moghol period and were established in the central part of the Narmada valley. This group social itself is divided into under-caste: Rewa Gurjars, Mandlia Gurjar and Jadan Gurjar. The system of trusts allows this caste, relatively poor, to put joint money to build dwellings in the cities in order to facilitate to its members the access to the urban and religious activities. The dharamsala contains 45 rooms, 2 halls, 1 temple dedicated to Krishna (they also have their particular divinity Kal Devi), two kitchens, a pump to go up the water of Narmada, 6 latrines for the women and 6 for the men. This dharamsala with a capacity of reception of 500 people according to her person in charge. The castes can be mixed there. - Kunbis Patel Dharamsala. The caste Kunbis Patel is very famous in the district for agriculture. She would have migrated of Gujarat to the district of the East Nimar during the Moghol time. Its memebres is traditionally farmers and produces lenses. - Patidal Dh and Anjan Dh. These castes (Patidal and Anjan) are in the beginning those of farmers owners of great land surfaces which produce cane with sugar, cotton and pepper. - Dawali Samaj Dh the Dawali community is under caste of Vaishyas. Their traditional occupation is the breeding of the bovines and the buffaloes. They produce milk and dairy products (yaourth, ghee.. cheese and butter) for the sale. This caste is equal to that of Krishna which is of caste Yado (stockbreeders). The dharamsala is made up of 3 stages. With rez-dechaussée, there is a hall with a temple dedicated to Krishna and to the gods of the caste. The Saint Singa Ji who lived at the 18th century, came wise from this community: he is always their guru. It contains 43 rooms, a dining room and an office. - Shri Dhanjar Samaj Dharamsala. This dharamsala located in the commercial street depends on the caste Dhanjar, a caste of the varna of Vaishyas which is traditionally farmers. Its

members cultivate cotton and corn... in Malwa and Nimar. The dharamsala contains 40 rooms, with at the ground floor a hall with a temple, dedicated to Split-Krishna.

Jat Dharamsala.

This dharamsala was built in the years 1980 on the central place of Vishnu Puri. The caste of Jat is a caste of the varna of Kshatrias, it comes mainly from the State of Haryana, of Rajasthan, of the Punjab, Uttar Pradesh and MP (Northern India). The members of this community are ground owners vast and practice agriculture. They cultivate cotton, cereals, bananas or peppers. They are sometimes employed in the national administration and the army. They also work in the field commercial. - Baheti jati Dh. Baheti Dharamsala is located at Shiva Puri in the street carrying out to the Omkareshvara temple. It acts of the oldest dharamsala of the city built at the 18th century, by the community of Agarwals (Agarwal Samaj) or that of Maheswari Bania, caste of commercial rich person. They built hundreds of dharamsalas in all India. Today the 5 brothers by holding the property live in Bombay. These rich and religious men make good deeds by supporting the devout in their dévotionnelles practices. Formerly they also gave meals to the pilgrims. They have one second dharamsalas on southern bank. This establishment is composed of two stages with a total of 30 large rooms and 5 large structured halls of gathering goshawks of a central court. The style of this building is Rajasthani de Bikaner, with arcs polylobés, decorative columns, details and the chattris on the roof. - Agrawal Dharamsala. The owner family of caste of Baniyas Agrawal, lives in Khandwa. They make trade, and are especially wholesalers. The dharamsala was built in the years 1980. With rez-dechaussée shops are but there is no temple. She contains 42 rooms very badly maintained, on the other hand everyone little to reside at it, all confused castes. The rooms have a very moderate price: 25 RS/jour less than 50 cents of euros.

APPENDIX 8:

LIST EDFICES BY CATEGORIES OF RELIGIOUS INFRASTRUCTURES.

The buildings are listed in each category in the order of their appearance in the text. Classifications are indicated on the chart Annexe 8, above the symbols corresponding to the categories of the buildings.

LIST OF THE REMAINS

Gates in remains.

1. Dharma Raj (Western Door extérieure 1ère ridges)
2. Door of Pandavas (Western Door intérieure 1)
3. Door of Katyayini Devi and Mahisasur Mardini. (Porte Nord 1)
4. Door Is (Est 1 Door)
5. Chandra Suraj Dwar (Western Door 2ème ridges)
6. Bhima Arjun Dwar (Door Is 2)
7. Hundi Kundi Dwar (Southern Door 2) 254

Temples en ruines

1. Temple de Sita Mata
2. Temple de Kunti Mata
3. Siddharnath
4. Temple de la Lune

LIST ACTIVE TEMPLES active Temples

1. Omkareshvara Jyotirlinga
2. Mamleshwar Jyotirlinga
3. Vishnu Mandir
4. Brahmeshwar
5. Ashapuri
6. Gauri Somnath
7. Kerapati Hanuman
8. Kedareshwar

9. Rinmukteshwar
10. Krishna Sita RAM
11. Kashi Vishvanath (Temple of Bénares)
12. Jain sanctuary

LIST ASHRAMS

1. Omkarnath Ashram
2. Ramakrishna Mission Ashram
3. Mâ Ananda Mayi Ashram
4. Barwani injury Ashram
5. Annapurna Ashram
6. Markandeya Ashram
7. Shri Gajanan Maharaj Ashram
8. Lal baba Ashram
9. Center from required spiritual ?
10. Adivasi Samaj Ashram
11. Runjabi [?] Ashram
12. Gayatri temple Raghunath guru.
- 13 Bajrendas Ashram

LIST OF DHARAMSHALAS

1. ?
2. Reva Gurjar Dharamsala
3. Jadan Gurjar
4. Mandalia Gurjar
5. Jati
6. Kashi Tshatri Kuswara [Kshatriya Kushwaha] (agri) culture and sale of flowers ??
7. Kunbi Patel

8. Narmada Brahman (Mamleshwar)
9. Mochi
10. Balai Harijan
11. Dashora (Brahman Bania)
12. Shri Bania Brahman
13. Sahasra Audicya Brahmana
14. Akhil Bhartiya Jarna Charana
15. Baheti
16. Baheti (trade)
17. Rajput
18. Agrawal (Omkar to mandir Marg)
19. Patidar (Agriculture)
20. Anjana
21. Visva karma (carpenters)
22. Gowali (farmers stockbreeders)
23. Malwi barur
24. Denger Barur (elevor dairy product)
25. Ratur
26. Tirole (agri)
27. Pirkuswa (agri)
28. Jain
29. Gurudwara (Sikh)
30. Guru Nanak (Sikh)
31. Adivasis
32. Agrawal (close to the bus)
33. Yatrika
34. Dawali Samaj
35. Yadaw
36. Banjara

APPENDIX 10: DOCUMENTARY VIDEO.

Titrate: Omkareshvara, a holy city of Narmada in the course of transformation

Realization: CREMIN Emilie.

Duration: 10 minutes.

Date from turning: January, February, March 2005. Date from the assembly: September, October 2005.

Summary: The town of Omkareshvara vibrates each day by the Hindu expression of the religious devotion. Thousands of pilgrims come to perform the ritual there, celebrating Mother Narmada and Shiva. However, today the dam is in the course of construction even in the center of its sacred space. Then, how do these two dynamic a priori contradictory coexist and appear? This documentary will try to make feel with the public all the intensity of Hindu enthusiasm being affirmed within a sacrilized environmental framework but currently in the course of change. Diffusion the day of the defence of this memory ???.

COUNT OF THE FIGURES:

Fig. 01 Illustration of Narmada.....	p 6
Fig.02: Chart of the basins slopes of India.....	p20
Fig.03: Graph ombro-thermics of precipitations and the average temperatures in the Narmada valley.....	p22
Fig.04: Chart of precipitations in India, situation of Narmada in this unit.....	p23
Fig.05: Physical chart of the catchment area of Narmada and its close areas.....	p25
Fig.06: Photo southern Slope of the plate of Vindhya.....	p27
Fig.07: Photo Plain of Nimar under the fog, seen plate of Vindhya.....	p28
Fig.08: Chart of the pattern of the tribal settlements in India.....	p32
Fig.09: Photo village located in the zone of flood of the Omkareshvara dam.....	p34
Fig.10: Photo Fisherman close of the village of Bakhatgar to the upstream of Omkareshvara.....	p35
Fig.11: Chêvres photograph leaving in pasture.....	p35
Fig.12: Old metal shelf appearing the icon of Subdued Narmada Ji.....	p39
Fig.13: Ghâts photograph of Narmada with Maheshwar in the plain of Nimar...	p43
Fig.14: Ilustration Shankaracharya teaching his disciples on the bank of Narmada.	p45

Fig.15: Photo Pilgrims of Narmada.	p47
Fig.16: Photo Pilgrims of Narmada going up Northern bank towards Amarkantak. ...	p49
Fig.17: Photo solitary Pilgrim taking an installation on banks of Narmada.....	p51
Fig.18: Cut of Narmada with its major tanks.....	p57
Fig.19: Chart of the valley development project of Narmada.....	p58
Fig.20: General plan of the dam Indira Sagar in Punasa.	p68
Fig.21: Photograph of the dam Indira Sagar seen of the downstream soon completed.....	p69
Fig.22: General plan of the project of Omkareshvara dam.....	p70
Fig.23: Photograph of the Omkareshvara dam in the course of construction.	P71
Fig.24: Photograph of the Omkareshvara dam, the power station.....	p72
Fig.25: Photograph the power station.....	p72
Fig.26: State photograph of progress of the work of the dam of Omkareshvara.....	p73
Fig.27: Table Numbers villages and families affected by the dams.	p79
Fig.28: Photo Posters policy of the Hindu party Rastriya Hindu Sanghanthan.....	p89

Fig.29: Chart of the localization and the situation of Omkareshvara.....	p93
Fig.30: Illustration Representation of the island of Omkareshvara in the form of the “OM” in the center of Narmada.....	p97
Fig.31: Satellite image. Is the local belief that the island would have the form of an “OM” confirmed on the satellite images?	p97
Fig.32: Illustration. Omkareshvara, a holy city of Narmada.....	p101
Fig.33: Photograph the island of Mandhata seen of Southern bank.....	p102
Fig.34: Popular illustration of Shankaracharya.....	p109
Fig.35: Low photograph relief representing Shankaracharya and his Master.....	p110
Fig.36: Photo Rajgunath Baba contemplating on banks of Narmada with Omkareshvara....	p111
Fig.37: Photograph Jyotirlinga decorated with offerings...	p114
Fig.38: Photo Frontage of the Omkareshvara temple.....	p116
Fig.39: Illustration Yantra de Shiva.....	p118
Fig.40: Chart of the center sacred of the city of Omkareshvara.....	p119
Fig.41: Graphics Organization of the space sacred of the center of Omkareshvara.....	p120

Fig.42: Photo Way of the parikrama of Omkareshvara.....	p123
Fig.43: Photo Representation of Mahisasur Mardini.....	p128
Fig.44: Photo Representation of destroying God Bhairav.....	p129
Fig.45: Photo Ruins of the temple of Kunti Subdued.....	p131
Fig.46: Photo recent Representation of Hanuman posed at the top of a stone tumulus belonging to an old temple.....	p132
Fig.47: Photograph the Temple of Siddhanath.....	p133
Fig.48: Photo Temple of Gauri Somnath.....	p135
Fig.49: Photograph the staircases which carry out to the temple of Gauri Somnath and the large OM ignited each year at the time of the festival Narmada Jayanti.....	p136
Fig.50: Photograph a landscape made up of a mosaic.....	p138
Fig.51: Photo Vestige of a palace of the 19th.....	p138
Fig.52: Photograph ghâts of Chakrathirt.....	p139
Fig.53: Cella photograph of the temple dedicated to King Mandhata.....	p141
Fig.54: Photo Temple of Brahmeshwar Mahadev in the district of Brahma Puri.....	p142
Fig.55: Ghât photograph of Go Mukh.....	p143
Fig.56: Photograph Vishnu Mandir at the time of the festival of Shivaratri.....	p144

Fig.57: Photo Temple of Pashu Pathinath founded at the 13th century, destroyed by the bulldozers.....	p146
Fig.58: Photo Temple of the 24 Misadventures “Chaubis Avatar” moved and currently on standby to be rebuilt.....	p146
Fig.59: Illustration. The sanctuary jaïn of Siddhawarkut.....	p147
Fig.60: Photo Enclosure of the sanctuary jaïn of Siddhawarkut. Several temples organized around the square.....	p147
Fig.61: Table Settlement of the town of Omkareshvara of 1901 to our days.....	p151
Fig.62: Photograph a Brahman officiating a funerary ritual on the ghâts of Go Mukh.....	p155
Fig.63: Photo principal Street of the district of Brahma Puri.....	p157
Fig.64: Photo House of a adivasi family of the village of Kelasko.....	p159
Fig.65: Photograph Of other types of houses adivasis.....	p159
Fig.66: Photo Hut of a sâdhu insulated on the top from the island.....	p163
Fig.67: Photograph Chotey baba with its shela86 * in its hut.....	p164
Fig.68: Photo Court of Jati Dharamsala with a temple.....	p168
Fig.69: Photo End of the zone motorized.....	p169

Fig.70: Photo principal Street of Vishnu Puri “Jaypee chowk”	p170
Fig.71: Photo principal Street of Vishnu Puri “Jaypee chowk”	p171
Fig.72: Photograph the market located in the gorge of Go Mukh.....	p.172
Fig.73: Photo Graver of the market of Go Mukh.....	p172
Fig.74: Photo Jewels on sale in the gravers of the commercial lanes.....	p173
Fig.75: Photo Icons of the Hindu gods on sale on the market.....	p173
Fig.76: Photo Market located in the gorge of Go Mukh.....	p174
Fig.77: Photo Market located in the gorge of Go Mukh.....	p174
Fig.78: Photograph the market of Wednesday.....	p175
Fig.79: Photograph the road station one day without much multitude.....	p178
Fig.80: Photograph the road station the one feastday old old woman.....	p178
Fig.81: Photo Ceremony for the birthday of Narmada.....	p181
Fig.82: Shivaratri Photograph.....	p183
Fig.83: Photo Punt forms of Yagya installed temporarily on banks of Narmada at the time of Shivaratri.....	p183
Fig.84: Photograph Of the sadhûs Sita RAM (sect vishnouite). Shivaratri.....	p184

Fig.85: Chart multiple networks of holy places in India.....	p187
Fig.86: Illustration of Shiva and Parvati in the center of the 12 Jyotirlingas.....	
Fig.87: Photo Building site of the dam. Temporary installation on northern bank.....	p191
Fig.88: Photo Industries temporary on northern bank.....	p192
Fig.89: Photo Concrete mixer on standby of loading. Machine preparation of the concrete.....	p192
Fig.90: Photo Camps of dwelling of the employees on northern bank in the village of Siddhawarkut.....	p195
Fig.91: Photo Under-camp of dwelling of the type D for the workmen of the building site.....	p195
Fig.92: Photo Lane and houses of the district of Dukhia.....	p197
Fig.93: Photo House of the district pertaining to a sâdhu.....	p197
Fig.94: Photo House of the district.....	p198
Fig.95: Photo Market of the district of Dukhia.....	p198
Fig.96: Photo Motor-road carrying out to the site of the dam and separating the district from Dukhia of the remainder of the city.....	p199
Fig.97: Photo Village of Dukhia. Houses made up of branches.....	p199

Fig.98: Photograph Omkarnath Ashram.....	p203
Fig.99: Photo My Ananda May.....	p204
Fig.100: Photo My Ananda May Ashram.....	p205
Fig.101: Photo Sight of Annapurna Ashram.....	p206
Fig.102: Photo Entry of Annapurna ashram.....	p207
Fig.103: Photograph High relief of Vishnu and its 24 Avataras	p207
Fig.104: Photo Sight of Markandeya Sanyas ashram from the island.....	p208
Fig.105: Banian photograph of Markandeya Sanyas ashram.....	p209
Fig.106: Photo Temple of Ashram Gajanan Maharaj in the course of construction.	p210
Fig.107: Booklet Last page of the booklet of information of the College of Engineering of the foundation Shri Gajanana Maharaj.....	p215
Fig.108: Photograph Here, the court of the ashram of Lal Baba cohabits with the stone grinding plant which forms part of the infrastructures of the dam.....	p219

COUNT OF THE APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: Poem for Narmada.....	p 244
APPENDIX 2: Chart of the districts of Madhya Pradesh.....	p 247
APPENDIX 3: The hydraulic complex Narmada Sagar.....	p 248
APPENDIX 4: Statistics of the populations affected by the project of development of the Narmada valley.....	p249
APPENDIX 5: Map of the downtown area of Omkareshvara.....	p252
APPENDIX 6: Map of the socio-spatial organization of the city.....	p253
APPENDIX 7: Dharmshalas.....	p254
APPENDIX 8: List buildings by categories.....	p256
APPENDIX 9: Map of the town of Omkareshvara.....	p259
APPENDIX 10: Documentary video.....	p260