

J

JAINISM

Jainism (Jinism), one of the oldest surviving religious traditions of the world, with a focus on asceticism and salvation for the few, was confined to the Indian subcontinent until the 19th century. It now projects itself globally as a solution to world problems for all. The main offering to modern global society is a refashioned form of the Jain ethics of nonviolence (*ahiṃsā*) and nonpossession (*aparigraha*) promoted by a philosophy of non-one-sidedness (*anekāntavāda*).

The recent transformation of Jainism from an ideology of world renunciation into an ideology for world transformation is not unprecedented. It belongs to the global movement of religious modernism, a 19th-century theological response to the ideas of the European Enlightenment, which Westernized elites in South Asia embraced under the influence of colonialism, global industrial capitalism, and modern science and technology. In the early discourse of Jain modernism, Jainism was framed not only as a religion, in the sense of the new *Religionswissenschaft* (Science of Religion), but also as a world religion, both by colonial administrators and by Western-educated Jain community leaders, promoting the reformist agenda that now dominates Jain culture, especially in the global Jain diaspora.

Early History

The origins of the doctrine of the Jinas are obscure. According to tradition, the religion has no founder. It is taught by 24 omniscient prophets, in every half-cycle of the eternal wheel of time. Around the fourth century BCE, according to modern research, the last prophet of our epoch in world history, Prince Vardhamāna—known by his epithets *mahāvīra* (“great hero”), *tīrthaṅkāra* (“builder of a ford” [across the ocean of suffering]), or *jina* (spiritual “victor” [over attachment and karmic bondage])—renounced the world, gained enlightenment (*kevala-jñāna*), and henceforth propagated a universal doctrine of individual salvation (*mokṣa*) of the soul (*ātman* or *jīva*) from the karmic cycles of rebirth and redeath (*saṃsāra*). In contrast to the dominant sacrificial practices of Vedic Brahmanism, his method of salvation was based on the practice of nonviolence (*ahiṃsā*) and asceticism (*tapas*). After enlightenment, Mahāvīra formed a mendicant order of monks and nuns, called *nirgranthas* and *nirgranthīs* (“unattached ones”), which became the heart of the *caturvidha-saṅgha* (“fourfold community”) of monks, nuns, male laity, and female laity. The mendicant orders of the *nirgranthas* were the first monastic organizations of the world. Access was not predicated on social criteria and, in principle, was open to all. Already during Mahāvīra’s lifetime, the mendicants began

to split into many independently organized groups or orders (*gaṇa*, *gaccha*, etc.) which, together with their respective lay following (often recruited from a particular local clan or caste), formed rival sects under a variety of designations. From the beginning of the Common Era, additionally, the two main denominations of the Digambara monks (“sky-clad”—that is, naked) and the Śvetāmbara (“white-clad”) monks developed along geographic and doctrinal lines. The former are still predominant in north, central, and southern India, and the latter prevail in western India.

Colonialism and Revivalism

The Sanskrit word *jaina* (colloquially: *jain*), or *jainī*, came to be more commonly used as a self-designation and in north India as a family name by the followers of the Jina under the influence of religious nationalism and communalism, in the 19th century, while the English word *Jainism* replaced ancient terms such as *jina-dharma* (“doctrine of the Jina”) or *jina-mārga* (“path of the victorious”). At the same time, the preachings (*pravacana*) of Mahāvīra, which are said to inform the scriptural corpus (*āgama* or *siddhānta*) redacted in the fifth century CE, were for the first time made accessible to a wider public, both Jain and non-Jain, through print editions and translations into Indic and European languages. Particularly influential were the text editions and translations of H. Jacobi (1882, 1884, 1894), which furnished clear textual proof for the historical independence of the Jaina tradition from Brahmanism and Buddhism. They still serve as reference points for the construction of communal Jain identity by means of modern charters such as *Jaina law* (Jain, 1926; Jaini, 1916), *Jaina community* (Sangave, 1959), *Jain ecology* (Singhvi, 2002), or *Jain economics* (Mahāprajña, 2000), and are cited in public forums, such as the first World Congress of Religions in Chicago 1893, where Jainism was presented to a global public by the lawyer V. R. Gandhi (1893), acting on behalf of the Śvetāmbara monk Vijaya Ānanda Sūri (1836–1896) who, in accordance with Jain monastic rules, could not use any means of transport and travel overseas.

Migration and Worldwide Mission

For economic reasons, from the late 19th century onward, Jain laity, the majority Gujarati and

Panjabi Śvetāmbaras from the Osvāl and Śrīmālī castes, started to migrate beyond famine-stricken South Asia, first to East Africa, where the majority worked in their traditional professions as shopkeepers and traders, and later to Britain, North America, and other parts of the world. Wherever they settled, the migrants constructed community centers and temples, which often transcended traditional boundaries of sect, caste, and region because of the small number of local Jain families. Devoid of the support of Jain mendicants and other religious experts, lay Jains also presented their religion in the public sphere and, in this way, contributed to the growing global recognition and appeal of Jainism even beyond the confines of the traditional Jain subsects and subcastes. The pattern of migrant trading communities contributing to the global spread of an internally highly diverse minority religion confirms sociological stereotypes. Yet, the values of orthodox Jainism, although universal in outlook and appeal, work against globalization, if understood as a set of material practices involving the unrestrained movement of people, goods, capital, information, and cultural values throughout the world. They demand, on the contrary, restraint in all spheres of action, in “mind, speech, and body,” and explicitly discourage long-distance travel and unlimited expansion of the spheres of action. The ancient Śvetāmbara scriptures stipulate the compulsory peregrinations of Jain mendicants, performed to ensure perpetual nonattachment, to be confined to a circumscribed region in northern India, between Aṅga-Magadha to the east, Kauśāmbī to the south, the Sthūṇā area to the west, and Takṣaśilā (Taxila) to the north (the fertile plains and heartland of Vedic culture between modern Bihar and the Hindukush), and all other regions “where Jaina knowledge, belief and conduct is well established” (KS 1.51). The daily begging round should also not exceed a certain distance, and the exceptional crossing of waterways by boat only was equally strictly regulated. One of the 12 principal vows for Jain laity, the *diga-vrata* (“restriction of distance”), demands a formal commitment not to transgress the limits of a circumscribed area of movement in order to reduce the overall quantity of violence against all forms of life. In practice, this vow is rarely taken, except in the last stages of life. Yet, acts of deliberate self-limitation in all spheres of action, especially regarding contexts of exploitation (of

animals and humans), (re)production, accumulation, consumption, and movement, are still highly praised and currently creatively reinterpreted in terms of the modern concerns of ecology, veganism, and world peace, unknown to traditional Jainism. For a variety of other, partly modern, reasons, such as fear of pollution, until the mid-20th century, Jains and other high-caste Indians were generally not permitted by their caste councils to travel overseas, on threat of excommunication. Although standards of conduct are perceived to be dropping continuously even in the Jain communities, in line with the doctrinally predicted overall trend in our “times” (*yuga*), there is still some stigma attached to occupations engaged in acts of violence, notably industrial production. Yet, an increasing number of monastic and lay community leaders criticize orthodox “obstinacy” to the “necessary adaptation” of religion to the “changed requirements of the times” and promote the use of modern technology and means of transport enabling not only laity but also novices and even fully initiated (but excommunicated) mendicants, who act on their own accord, to travel overseas to serve the diaspora communities and to promote Jainism as a world religion through missionary tours around the globe.

New Religious Ideas and Practices

Debates between “ancient” and “modern” interpretations of Jainism are old. However, Jain modernism as an ideology, that is, the belief in the superiority of the present over the past, and as a discourse, structured by the opposition modernism/antimodernism, is a development that affects the antimodernist rhetoric of Jain orthodoxy or traditionalism (*prācīntāvāda*) against heterodoxy or modernism (*navīntāvāda*) as well. In contrast to traditional discourses about problems of deviation of practice from precept or problems of adaptation of old models to new contexts though exegesis, the discourse of Jain modernism often uses old materials for the “invention” of entirely new concepts and practices, such as Jain ecology, Jain veganism, or Jainism as a world religion and answer to global problems. It is recognizable by its optimistic rhetoric of change, using terms such as *scientific*, *national*, *global*, *ecological*, *development*, *progress*, *revolution*, *mission*, *Jain community*, *Jaina law*, *Jaina studies*, and *Jain spirit*. Main features of

Jain modernism are the impact of modern science on the interpretation and frequently reductionist (re-)formulation of Jain doctrine (“essence of Jainism”) and the deliberate break with traditional sectarian and caste identities. The increased role and recognition of lay intellectuals and of women in religion are also notable, as is the use of English as a new lingua franca for global Jainism, supplementing cosmopolitan Sanskrit and sanskritized Prakrit in India, and of print and electronic media, which are all rejected by traditionalists. Central is the nontraditional understanding and imaginative rationalization and packaging, by modernizers and antimodernizers alike, of a great variety of received doctrines and practices from the point of view of modern science (Jain biology, Jain physics, Jain mathematics, Jain meditation, etc.). Increasingly, cosmology and mythology are not read literally anymore but as symbols of the path of salvation; asceticism and meditation are presented as means for improving physical and mental health; non-violence and the protection of life should not be practiced anymore primarily for “self-centered” salvific reasons but for social reasons and for the protection of the biosphere, animal liberation, and other “altruistic” motives. Innovative religious practices include new forms of Jain meditation and Jaina yoga, based on a new reading of selected passages in the Jain, Hindu, and Buddhist scriptures and ecumenical religious functions.

Social and Political Activism

Jain modernism is significant, because it projects itself globally as an alternative form of modernity. It offers templates for a better lifestyle, integrating science and ethics under a canopy of universally acceptable Jain values such as nonviolence and non-one-sidedness. It claims that the universal implementation of Jain values in the world was always part of the sociopolitical agenda of the tradition. Yet, at the beginning of the modern reform movements in the 19th and 20th centuries, social reform within the Jain community topped the agenda, including the abolishment of casteism, sectarianism, introduction of modern Western-style education (for both men and women), abolishment of dowry, ostentatious wedding and funeral feasts, and other outdated customs, as well the purification of the *saṅgha*, that is, improvement of the standards of conduct and education of monks

and nuns. Communalists stress the importance of Jain marriages across sectarian and caste boundaries, while excluding non-Jains, and the religious minority rights of Jains. Others argue that Jains, although distinct from a religious point of view, are culturally and socially Hindus. They tend to reject isolationist political agendas and highlight the organic integration of Jains into “Hindu society.” Other points of controversy concern indiscriminate charity to members of low castes, the poor, even if they are meat eaters and consumers of alcohol, and the acceptability of members from non-Jain castes in the newly constituted modern community organizations. The recent transcultural and transnational social and political agenda of Jain activists is entirely different from the earlier social reform movements in India. Beyond individual political and social preferences, it addressed globally shared concerns of the educated middle classes, Jains and non-Jains alike (Tobias, 1993): (a) self-development through change of lifestyle: vegetarianism (health, nutrition, etc.), fasting, meditation, retreats, and so forth; (b) sustainable development based on self-restraint; (c) ethics of nonviolence and global peace initiatives (especially Gandhism); and (d) animal rights and ecology.

Global Organizations

The first generation of migrants of the emerging global Jain diaspora fashioned modern lay associations and registered charities reflecting traditional divisions of caste, sect, and regional background. These organizations are primarily oriented to community self-help. By contrast, the abundance of new competing national and world Jain federations, whether engaged in transnational activity and aspects of global society or only virtually existing, are a relatively recent phenomenon. At least six factors contribute to their growth: (1) modern forms of mass communication and transportation; (2) global commercial interests and networks; (3) the transnational Indian and Jain marriage market; (4) worldwide Jain missions, both sectarian and trans-sectarian, lay and mendicant led, and interfaith networks; (5) the desire of the Jain elites to secure recognition, rights, and privileges for their religion, community, and organizations by the United Nations, national governments around the globe, and other national

and international forums; (6) the growing interest of non-Jains in the Jain way of life, philosophical pluralism, and the resulting incorporation of Jainism in school and university curricula worldwide. The globally perceived significance of the understanding of the Jaina tradition and its influence is currently reflected in a plethora of new textbooks and university courses on Jainism being set up across the world. It is too early to assess the social impact of the new culturally thinned-out globalized versions of Jainism and of one trans-sectarian global Jain community, which are significant primarily as regulative ideas. It can be expected that traditional sectarian divisions will reemerge in the Jain diaspora as soon as a critical mass of migrants is locally present. Conversions to Jainism will probably remain exceptions. Yet the new global reverberations of Jain ideals and practices of nonviolence as a paradigm for alternative lifestyles are potentially immense.

Peter Flügel

See also Acculturation; Animal Rights; Colonialism; Community; Cosmopolitanism; Diasporas; Elites; Empires; Global Religions, Beliefs, and Ideologies; Identities in Global Societies; Religious Identities; Values; Women's Rights

Further Readings

- Banks, M. (1992). *Organizing Jainism in India and England*. Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press.
- Cort, J. E. (2000). Intellectual *ahimsā* revisited: Jain tolerance and intolerance of others. *Philosophy East & West*, 50, 324–347.
- Dundas, P. (2002). *The Jains* (2nd ed.). London: Routledge.
- Flügel, P. (2005). The invention of Jainism: A short history of Jaina studies. *Journal of Jaina Studies (Kyoto)*, 11, 1–19.
- Gandhi, V. R. (1893). The philosophy and ethics of the Jains. In *The world's congress of religions* (pp. 370–376). Boston: Arena.
- Jacobi, H. (Trans.). (1884–1895). *Jaina sūtras*. In M. Müller (Ed.), *Sacred books of the East* (Vols. 22 & 45). Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press.
- Jain, C. R. (Comp.). (1926). *The Jaina law*. Madras, India: Mallinath.
- Jaini, J. L. (1916). *Jaina law (“Bhadrabāhu Samhitā”)*. Arrah, India: Central Jaina Publishing House.

- KS = *Das Kalpa-sūtra. Die alte Sammlung jainistischer Mönchsvorschriften* [The Kalpa-Sūtra. An old collection of disciplinary rules for Jaina monks] (E. Leumann, Ed.; J. A. S. Burgess, Trans.). (1905). Leipzig, Germany: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Mahāprajña, Ā. (2000). *Economics of Mahavira* (S. R. Mohnot, Trans.). New Delhi, India: Vikas.
- Sangave, V. A. (1980). *Jaina community* (2nd ed.). Bombay, India: Popular Prakashan. (Original work published 1959)
- Singhvi, L. M. (2002). Jain declaration on nature. In C. Chapple (Ed.), *Jainism and ecology* (pp. 217–224). Cambridge, MA: Harvard Center for the Study of World Religions.
- Tobias, M. (1993). *Life force: The world of Jainism*. Fremont, CA: Asian Humanities Press.

JOHANNESBURG

Johannesburg is a large, inland metropolis located in the northeast of South Africa. Its size and current economic strength make it one of the leading cities in the global South, while its illustrious past as a world mining capital lends it a place among history's key cities.

Johannesburg is the capital of Gauteng Province, one of the nine politico-administrative regions that were established during South Africa's transition from apartheid in the mid-1990s. Gauteng is the smallest, but economically most significant, province in South Africa. With a total population of 10.5 million (close to one quarter of the national population), it is also the country's most populous province. Consisting of a series of densely connected and expansive urban municipalities, Gauteng Province is best described as a massive conurbation. The municipal district of Johannesburg constitutes the biggest part of that conurbation. Indeed, with a land area of 1,645 square kilometers (just over 635 square miles) and a population estimated in 2007 by South Africa's national statistical agency at 3.9 million, Johannesburg is the largest and most densely populated city in South Africa. In terms of size, Johannesburg ranks well below the mega-cities of Africa such as Lagos in Nigeria and Cairo in Egypt (both with an estimated population of around 15 million). Yet it is one of the main economic centers of sub-Saharan Africa,

contributing one tenth of the subcontinent's gross domestic product.

Johannesburg has often been called "the powerhouse of Africa." This is in reference to its strong industrial foundation and its high manufacturing output, both of which stem from the development of the mining industry in and around the area of present-day Johannesburg. The origins of the city lie in the late 19th-century discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand (literal translation, "White Waters' Ridge") of South Africa. Until that time, the region now constituting Johannesburg was largely agrarian, settled first by an indigenous San population (colloquially known as Bushmen) and from the early 13th century onward by Bantu-speaking migrants from central Africa. European settlers, in the form of Voortrekkers descended from Dutch colonizers who initially established a maritime outpost at the Cape, arrived during the first part of the 18th century. Seeking independence from the Cape's new imperial powers—Great Britain—and having defeated the native Matabele, the Voortrekkers established the independent Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek (ZAR). This republic encompassed the Witwatersrand and some towns in the far north of South Africa. The discovery of gold on a farm in 1886 in what is present-day Johannesburg sparked a gold rush and the influx of scouts and aspirant miners from as distant as Europe, the Americas, and Asia. Rapid population growth soon transformed the farm into a large settlement. In October 1886, the ZAR proclaimed it as a permanent settlement and it was named Johannesburg. There is some dispute over the choice of the name. A predominant theory is that the settlement was named after Johann Rissik and Christiaan Johannes Joubert, two officials appointed by the ZAR to demarcate a suitable area within the Witwatersrand for mineral prospecting.

Whatever the origins of its name, Johannesburg grew at a rapid pace, outstripping the development of other South African cities. Johannesburg was declared a city in 1928, having established itself by that time as the unquestionable industrial engine of the country. Much of this growth founded on the large-scale extraction of the gold, coal, and precious metal reserves located in the city and surrounding areas but was bolstered by the development of a manufacturing industry and the expansion of secondary production. At the same