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Peter FLÜGEL

The ritual circle of the Terāpanth Śvetāmbara Jains[1]

The empirical investigation of the changing role of pilgrimage and religious networks as forms of socio-political integration is one of the most fertile areas of South Asia research to date. Yet the related theoretical debate which broadly opposes Durkheimian[2] and Weberian[3] approaches suffers from the fact that the proponents of both camps share the

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1. The ethnographic present of this paper is the year 1991-1992, although fieldwork in India has been conducted in stages between 1988 and 1993. The leader of the Śvetāmbar Terāpanth during this period was ācārya Tulsī (1914-1997). He renounced his position (which he held for 58 years) on health grounds in March 1994 at the *maryādā mahotsav* in Sardārśahar in favour of his successor Mahāprajña (1921-) but retained the title of *gaṇādhipati* (leader of the sect) until his death in Gaṅgāśahar June 23 1997. Without his generous support my research on the Terāpanth would not have been possible. Earlier drafts of this paper have been presented to the 12th European Conference on Modern South Asian Studies, Berlin, September 1992, Panel 7, and to the Seminar of the Department of Anthropology, University College, London, February 1994. I am indebted to the participants, and to Maṅgilal Baid, Bahram Mirzai, and Roger Smedley for their helpful comments. I wish to thank Bruce Kapferer in particular, who inspired me with his enthusiasm and critical insight.

2. E.g. Mauss, Marcel & Beuchat, H. "Essai sur les variations saisonnières des sociétés Eskimo." In *Sociologie et Anthropologie*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, (1904/1905) 1968; Turner, Victor W. "The Center out there: Pilgrim's Goal". *History of Religions* 12 (1973), 191-230; Eck, D.G., "India's *Tirthas*: 'Crossings' in Sacred Geography." *History of Religions* 20 (1981), 322-344; Gold, Ann G. *Fruitful Journeys: The Ways of Rajasthan Pilgrims*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990; Chojnacki, Ch., "Lieux saints jaina dans le *Vividhatirthakalpa* (XIVe s.): représentation, fonction, panthéon." *BEI* 9 (1991), 37-59; Granoff, Phyllis. "Worship as Commemoration: Pilgrimage, Death and Dying in Medieval Jainism." *BEI* 10 (1992), 181-202.

3. E.g. Redfield, Robert & Milton Singer. "The Cultural Role of Cities." *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 3 (1954) 53-73; Cohn, Bernhard S. & McKim Marriott. "Networks and Centres in the Integration of Indian Civilization." *Journal of Social Research* 1,1 (1958), 1-10; Marriott, McKim. "Changing Channels of Cultural Transmission in Indian Civilization". *Journal of Social Research* 4 (1961), 1-13; Sopher, David E. "Pilgrim Circulation in Gujarat." *The Geographical Review* (1968) 392-425; Stein, Burton. "Circulation and the Historical Geography of Tamil Country." *Journal of Asian Studies* 37,1 (1977) 7-26; Burghart, Richard. "Regional Circles and the Central Overseer of the Vaishnavite Sects in the Kingdom of Nepal." In *Changing South Asia: Religion and Society*. Ed. K. Ballhatchet & D. Taylor, 165-179. Hong Kong: Asian Research Service, 1984; Van der Veer, Peter. "Structure and Anti-Structure in Hindu Pilgrimage to Ayodhya." In *Changing South Asia: Religion and Society*. Ed. K. Ballhatchet & D. Taylor, 59-67. Hong Kong: Asian Research Service, 1984.

Neo-Kantian view of history as a manifestation of cultural ideals. The former argue that religious rituals resolve conflicts and promote social integration, whereas the latter emphasise the dual functions of rituals for the reproduction of both social solidarity and the legitimation of power. It is now widely accepted that both theories are fundamentally a-historical and mainly rewarding for those who regard the values of socially dominant elites as paradigmatic for society as a whole. A slightly different, although still culturalist, approach was developed by Parsons and later applied to South Asia by Dumont (1980):

> "From this point of view, the systems of ultimate values are of two types: in the first, all spheres of life come immediately and formally under the same values; in the second, certain spheres have their own values, special but, by definition absolute within their sphere. Moreover, the first type corresponds to group-religion; in the second religion is attached to the individual person" (p. 316).

Dumont argued that although the hierarchical aggregation of the first and the second model accurately represents the ideology of the majority of the people of rural 'traditional India', the second model alone is increasingly relevant for an understanding of the processes of modernisation in the Indian cities (p. 217-31). In other words, even for him religion in India has already lost part of its function to represent and to mediate the social process as a whole, although this is apparently not yet reflected in the structure of the dominant *brāhmaṇic* ideology.

In contrast to Dumont who operates with an artificially monolithic notion of Hinduism (p. 296), and dogmatically assumes that even today "the politico-economic domain is encompassed in an overall religious setting" (p. 228), I don't think it is merely "the relation between the ideological and the empirical aspects which is at stake" here (p. 45), but a fundamental theoretical problem: From a Neo-Kantian perspective social change cannot be thought of in terms of the internal structural limitations of a given historical situation, but only as "a momentary compromise between the functional imperatives of the situation and the dominant value-orientation patterns of the society" (Parsons 1951:203). I therefore follow Habermas' (1981:338-51) suggestion to investigate culture (symbolic systems), society (norms), and personality (aims) not anymore in terms of free-floating transcendental meanings, but as the three principal empirical components promoting social integration in concrete lifeworld situations (notwithstanding their normative content). I also drop the culturalistic identification of lifeworld and society and analyse society from two complementary perspectives: as a "system of action which is both socially [via the three components of the lifeworld] and systemically [through the unintentional consequences of the ongoing struggle for existence] integrated" (p. 228). The dualism between the imperatives of culture and survival does not vanish in his model, which circumvents the radically functionalist position of Luhmann who focuses exclusively on the complexity of a social system disregarding the self-perceptions of the participants, but it takes a more realistic form by giving primacy not to cultural values but to the lifeworld itself. Habermas' approach allows us to understand the integration

of a society as the perpetually contested renewal of a compromise between two series of imperatives: the internal conditions of the social integration of the lifeworld, and the external conditions of its functional integration vis-à-vis an only partially controllable environment. If values and functions don't match, then a compromise holds only as long as the actual functions of social orientations remain latent. In the following I want to show that this shift of theoretical perspective has consequences for our understanding of the systemic and the social, personal and cultural role of contemporary Jain pilgrimage.

Although important studies of contemporary Buddhist, Vaiṣṇava, Śivaite and Liṅgāyat sects, and of the link between pilgrimage and religious nationalism have emerged in the last two decades, there is a lack of monographs on pilgrimage and the various sectarian movements within modern Jainism, even though the Jains are widely considered to be the Indian pilgrims *par excellence*.[4] From a Jain point of view, pilgrimage is the paradigmatic form of renunciation, and one of the keys to the understanding of Jainism itself. According to modern Jain cosmology the wandering of souls in the world is brought about by their being charged with *karmic* matter as a consequence of their desire for external objects, and this, too, is the primary cause of the world structure (*saṃsār*) itself. The manifold forms of existence are seen as the results of differential forms of interpenetration of essentially pure individual souls (*jīv*, lit. life-force) on the one hand and unanimated matter (*ajīv*) on the other. Every form of life thus appears to embody a dual orientation both towards the external world of desirable objects, and to the essentially unlimited potentialities of the inner life-force itself, which can be realised through renunciation (*tyāg*). If the liberation of the soul from embodiment can be achieved through acts of restraint, then, conversely, it is the power of human desire (*rāg*) that attracts matter and generates material life and rebirth. The dual perspectives are not mutually exclusive but hierarchically complementary within the continuum of a total cosmic field, which is considered phenomenologically homologous with the field of consciousness. This is why acts of self-limitation may appear as forms of potentialisation.[5]

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4. No study has yet been devoted to the investigation of the complex regional and supraregional networks of both laity and ascetics, nor of the translocal forms of ritual integration of Jain subsects as a whole. As a consequence, Jainism still appears as an elusive phenomenon. Recent empirical studies of the Jains have concentrated either on the description of local lay congregations (Oldfield 1982, Mahias 1985, Cort 1989, Laidlaw 1991, Carrithers 1988, 1991, Reynell 1991, Banks 1992, Babb 1996) or of Jain ascetics in general, without clearly distinguishing between individual organised Jain sub-sects, and neglecting the pivotal role of the renouncers in the ritual constitution of lay congregations (Shāntā 1985, Goonasekere 1986, Holmstrom 1988, Carrithers 1989, Cort 1991b).

5. According to H. Jacobi "*Jainism*." ERE (1914), 472 the *karma*-theory is an integral part of Jainism, and its constitutive soul-body dualism not an import from Brāhmaṇism but based on "Being as given in common experience" (p. 468). E. Husserl *Cartesianische Meditationen*. Hamburg: Meiner, (1929) 1987 similarly argued

From an observer's point of view, the main ideological function of Jainism is to sever the ritual links of the dominant socio-cosmic hierarchy and to reduce it to a collection of individuals. In contrast to the brāhmaṇical social system (*varṇa*), Jains, like Buddhists, traditionally use the term *saṅgh* (assembly) to delineate discrete social units.[6] From this perspective society appears "as a mere aggregate of men", surrounding a spiritually superior individual, whose ideal autonomy also implies a claim to status-superiority in hierarchical societies (Dumont 1980:300). According to Jain doctrine, assemblies spontaneously emerge at the place of the sermon (*pravacan*) of the wandering ascetics. Within the context of the assembly social differences and conflicts are temporarily suspended. Everyone is a pupil (*śiṣya*) and equal in submission to the supreme authority of the teacher (*guru*), who should be the exemplary embodiment of the Jain soteriological values of non-violence (*ahiṃsā*) and world-renunciation (*tyāg*), regardless of social differences in rank, status, caste or class outside the context of the assembly.

However, in practice the situation is not as fluid as the ideal suggests. As in Buddhism and Hinduism, time enduring structures have emerged amongst Jains through the development of permanent links between ascetic groups and certain lay elites, who support religious networks and pilgrimages not only for religious purposes but also as means of both status acquisition and political and economic integration. The main stabilising element of these emerging power-structures is religious property. In South Asia monastic groups without property tend to divide and subdivide and split along the lines of geography, charisma, demography, and lay patronage.[7] Yet, with the crystallisation of an infrastructure of religious institutions the question of control arises. Until recently most Jain temples and rituals were administered by a category of

that, by both living in the world and being conscious of the world, humans are constituted by a dual orientation towards the material world and towards the encompassing sphere of the transcendental consciousness. Because of this parallelism, phenomenological interpretations of intentionality could be more fruitful for the analysis of Jain ontological concepts than, for instance, approaches based on Weber's notion of subjective purpose or Peirce's objectivist concept of the indexical symbol. All-encompassing phenomenological approaches à la Dumont (1980:34) should, however, be complemented by a recognition of the tenuous co-existence of totalising ideologies and/or subjective experiences and the objective compartmentalisation of social life (cf. p. 316).

6. The word *saṅgh* refers to the ideal fourfold assembly (*caturvidh saṅgh*) of all Jains including the male and female laity (*śrāvaks*, *śrāvikās*). In Buddhism the word *saṅgh* is reserved for the ascetic community alone, although the notion of the fourfold assembly (*cattāro parisā*) or community (*cātuddisa saṅgha*) is similarly used. Different from the terms *gaṇ*, *gacch*, *śākhā*, *panth* or *dharmasaṅgh*, which refer exclusively to ascetic communities within particular sectarian traditions (*sampradāy*, *parampará*), the word *saṅgh* is also used to describe any category or group of Jains. Even lay organisations are called *saṅgh*.

7. Cf. Miller, David M. & Dorothy C. Wertz. *Hindu Monastic Life: The Monks and Monasteries of Bhubaneswar*. Montreal & London: Mc-Gill-Queen's University Press, 1976:130, Goonasekere 1986:201-4, Cort 1989:104, n. 20.

sedentary political monks, called *bhaṭṭāraks* among the Bīsapanthī Digambars and *yatis* or *śrīpūjyas* among the Mūrtipūjak Śvetāmbars, who exercised control over both religious property and their lay followers. Modern Jain sects have widely abolished the institutions of monastic landlordism, because the centralisation of political power and the collapse of feudal tributary systems have made them superfluous. Instead they revived the role of the propertiless wandering *sādhu*, while delegating the administration of religious property to the laity and conceding political control to the modern state.

There is however a wide variety of responses to the changing social environment within present-day Jainism. In this article I will show how one particular Jain subsect — the Śvetāmbar Terāpanth — organises the ritual interaction between ascetics and laity on a supraregional basis, and in which way it is strategically orientated within the overall field of South Asian religion and politics today. Jain doctrine and ritual is taken as an intermediary level, generative of both universally meaningful religious experiences and social harmony, but simultaneously serving as a vehicle for the mobilisation and legitimation of particularistic political interests. In the first part I describe the history and the internal functioning of the ascetic community (*dharmasaṅgh*) of the Terāpanth, as well as the religious organisation of their ritualised annual itinerary (*vihār*). In the second part I focus on the role of the main lay association, the *Terāpanth Mahāsabhā*, for the maintenance of this ritual and, indirectly, for the welfare of the members of the lay community (*samāj*), before concluding, in part three, with a few comparative observations on the changing political role of Terāpanth pilgrimage in the context of the modern Indian state.

I. THE TERĀPANTH ŚVETĀMBAR JAIN DHARMASAṄGH

The Terāpanthī ascetics belong to the non-image-worshipping section of the Śvetāmbar Jain mendicants, for which there is no Digambar equivalent. This tradition emerged in 1451 as an anti-*yati* movement amongst the Mūrtipūjak-laity in Muslim-ruled Ahmedabad, led by the Rajasthani-Osvāl court-jeweller, and copyist of Jain manuscripts, Loṅkā Śāh (ca. 1415-1489). Loṅkā noticed a widening discrepancy between precept and practice among contemporary ascetics because he did not find any references to idol-worship nor to sedentary monasticism in the oldest textual tradition. With the help of the Jain minister L.B. Bhansali from Patan he then started a revivalist ascetic tradition on his own in 1471 under circumvention of monastic rules of linear succession. Although Loṅkā never initiated himself, it was he who drafted a set of organisational principles for the new Loṅkā Gacch in form of 69 maxims (*Loṅkā Śāh kī Huṇḍī*). These rules played a paradigmatic role for all subsequent iconoclastic Śvetāmbar movements. They explicitly rejected idolatry and sedentary monasticism, and stressed the ultimate authority of 31 of the ca. 45 scriptures of the Śvetāmbar 'canon' (*āgam*), and the importance of ascetic

wandering (*vihār*) for the maintenance of a propertiless (*aparigrah*) monastic order into which 'only *baniās* [merchants] should be initiated'.[8]

The last point is particularly interesting, because it illustrates that often religious reform and socio-economical interests go hand in hand in Jainism. As a rule, the impetus for Jain religious reform arises first within the ascetic community itself, as long as it maintains its monopoly of religious knowledge and stays aloof of the laity. However, the modified or non-image-worshipping traditions that later emerged in North India under Mughal-rule, like the Śvetāmbar Kaḍuā Gacch, founded by Kaḍuā Śāh (1438-1507), and Tāraṇsvāmī's (1448-1515) Digambar Tāraṇpanth and its successor movements which are today associated with the Digambar Terāpanthīs,[9] were all initiated by religiously educated lay people which were eager to gain socio-religious autonomy vis-à-vis the tutelage of the *śrīpūjyas* and *bhaṭṭāraks*. Most of them rejected the ritualistic basis of the ascetics' claim to the monopoly of socio-religious leadership in the name of textual knowledge (*jñān*) and true inner religious experience (*samyag darśan*). Yet the problem of such anti-authoritarian ('protestant') lay movements, which can be found all over Asia, is their inability to continuously produce exemplary religious leaders. The presumed compatibility of religious leadership and householder status[10] has therefore often been

8. Loṅkā's rules are only known through Dharmasāgara's 1572 polemic *Pravacanaparīkṣā* (L.P. Sharma 1991:31-4). Nathmal (1968:6) mentions only 35 rules, and quotes five of them: "1. One should move out only with the preceptor's permission. 2. None but Baniās should be initiated. 3. After proper test a pupil should be formally initiated at the hands of a preceptor. 4. One should not engage Panditas for studies when their remuneration is arranged to be paid by householders. 5. Professional copyists copying more than a thousand stanzas should not be made to write other things..." Similar rules were subsequently composed, for instance by Kaḍuā Śhāh (see Paul Dundas, "Jainism without monks?: The Case of Kaḍuā Śāh". In *Approaches to Jainism: Philosophy, Logic, Ritual and Symbols*. Ed. O. Qvarnström & M.K. Wagle, 181-195. University of Toronto: Center of South Asian Studies, forthcoming). On the scriptures of the Loṅkā Gacch and the Sthānakvāsīs (who additionally accepted the *Vyavahāra Sūtra*) see Jaini 1979:49 n. 12.

9. The Śvetāmbar Terāpanthīs should not be mixed up with the equally reformist, but older and temple-worshipping tradition of the Digambar Terāpanthīs which are the dominant tradition among the Digambar today. Their present organisation in Jaipur was apparently started by Pandit Amar Cand Badarya from Sanganer in 1626. Other sources quote the name Amar Singh, although the Terāpanthīs were clearly influenced by the earlier Adhyātma (Vārāṇasīya) movement (1635-1669) of Rājā Todarmal (†1589) and Banārsīdās (1586-1644), which they later incorporated. When the name Terāpanth became current, the *bhaṭṭāraks* called their system Bīsapanth "since the number 20 exceeds 13 by 7" (Nathmal 1968:7). Closely associated with the Terāpanthīs in Jaipur, Agra, and Varanasi are today the Digambar Totāpanthīs in Nagpur and the followers of Śrīmad Rājcandra (1867-1901) and Kānjī Svāmī (1889-1980) in Gujarat. All of these institutionally independent movements are spiritually guided by competing *Pandits* who derive their inspiration from Kundakunda's mystical work *Samayasāra*, which denies the necessity of ritualised ascetic practice. On the monastic context of Kundakunda's original teaching, and his foreshadowing of the Śvetāmbar Terāpanthīs' doctrinal view of the futility of purely internalised forms of religion unaccompanied by external ascetic practice, see Johnson 1995:183 n. 132, 309-10.

10. Cf. Todarmal 1992:23. "He should not be of low caste" (p. 21).

criticised as a mere expression of greed and uncharitability.[11] This might have been one of the reasons for Loṅkā's decision to steer between the extremes in emphasising the importance of 'real', i.e. propertiless and rule-abiding, ascetics. However, some years later, after Loṅkā was murdered by the followers of a rival sect, the Loṅkā Gacch split into factions and the cycle of reform and routinisation started again. In protest against the renewed lax behaviour (*śithilācār*) of the ascetics and the re-emergence of temple-worship the *munis* Lavjī und Dharmsiṅhjī split off the Gujarātī Loṅkāgacch in 1644 in Surat and founded the Ḍhūṇḍhiyā (seekers) sect, which then divided itself into 22 schools (*bāistolā*) and later became known as the Sthānakvāsī (hall dwellers) tradition. For similar reasons *muni* Bhikṣu (1726-1803) and four *sādhus* broke away from the Sthānakvāsī *ācārya* Rughanāth in 1760 in Bagṛī (Mārvāṛ) and founded the Terāpanth *gaṇ* four months later in Kelvā through a collective rite of self-initiation (*bhāv dīkṣā*).[12]

In the beginning the Terāpanth was mainly an ascetic reform movement that was remarkable for its radical doctrinal and institutional innovations, some of which have since been imitated by other Jain sects.[13] The most significant doctrinal innovation was Bhikṣu's attempt to eradicate the legitimacy of religious property once and for all by strictly distinguishing religious (*dharmik*) acts of penance (*tap* or *pāramārthik dān*) from social (*laukik*) acts of charity (*vyāvahārik dān*), arguing that "if the act of giving is considered an act of religion then it is the rich people who would monopolise religion and a place in heaven" (L.P. Sharma 1991:100). Popular *pūjā*-rituals and material gifts were thus deprived of religious value, with the notable exception of the offering of food, drink etc. to the (Terāpanth-) ascetics themselves (*saṃyati dān*). Instead Bhikṣu

11. Cf. Vijayaratnasūri, in Lath, M. *Half a Tale: A study in the interrelationship between autobiography and history*. The Ardhakathānaka. Translated, introduced and annotated by M. Lath. Jaipur: Rajasthan Prakrit Bharati Sansthan, 1981:219-22.

12. Bhikṣu criticised the Sthānakvāsīs in his *Ācār Kī Caupaī* (reproduced in Buddhamall 1995:22-5) which has been summarised by Nathmal (1968:5): "1. Monks of today stay in the houses built for them. 2. They make people purchase books, papers and habitation. 3. They are absorbed in vilifying others. 4. They make householders promise that they would be initiated by them alone and not by anyone else. 5. They purchase disciples. 6. They do not transcribe books. 7. They send messages with householders. 8. They keep more cloth than prescribed or permitted. 9. They take delicious diet in violation of the rules. 10. They go to public feasts for alms. 11. They are eager to have disciples — both male and female. They are concerned not with the life of a monk but only with the continuance of their sect. 12. They try by hook or by crook to prevent people from going to other monks. They sow the seeds of friction in their families. 13. To-day asceticism is on the decline. What is prospering is simulation". The pattern of this critique is conventional. It follows closely the example of Haribhadra's condemnation of the *caityavāsīns* in the 6th century. The name Terāpanth combines *terah* (thirteen) and *terā* (your) and either means the 'path of the thirteen' (at one stage it comprised only 13 *sādhus*) or 'your path' (Buddhamall 1995:69-76). It also refers to the presumed thirteen basic rules of Mahāvīr (5 *mahāvrats*, 5 *samitis*, 3 *guptis*) (cf. Nathmal 1980:148-9).

13. For example by the Sthānakvāsī Śramaṇ Saṅgh, whose centralised organisation was introduced in 1952 in Sāḍarī/Rajasthan by an assembly (*sammelan*) of 32 *ācāryas* who chose *ācārya* Ātmarām as their leader (cf. Sangave 1980:377, 1991).

emphasised the importance of a renunciatory disposition (*tyāg*) and of the 'gift' of knowledge (*jñān dān*) and of non-violent conduct as such (*abhayadān*) (AK I:56, Tulsī 1985:173), and recommended rigorous asceticism (*tap*) as well as internalised forms of religious practice, like meditation (*dhyān*) or religious study (*svādhyāya*), even for the laity: "*Tyāga* is possible even without offering anything to anybody" (p. 158).

On a doctrinal level the strict separation between religion and society, propagated by the Terāpanth, dissolves the characteristic ambiguity of key concepts of 'popular Jainism'[14] by differentiating between pure and impure forms (e.g. religious merit (*lokottar puṇya*) and social merit (*laukik puṇya*)).[15] The consequence of this doubling of traditional Jain concepts is that the social ritualism that pervades the life of every Indian family is considered to be 'non-Jain' or 'Hindu'.[16] Yet, the overall emphasis on the internal rather than the external aspects of religion does not suggest egalitarian ('protestant') forms of lay-dominated religious individualism, as one might assume. On the contrary, the additional importance given to outward ascetic conduct assures the reaffirmation of the authority of the *ācārya* and the ascetic order and its constitutive principle of 'hierarchical' individualism.[17] The difference between Bhikṣu's Terāpanth

14. Cf. Williams (1983:xix), Carrithers (1991:266-7,285), Cort (1989:449-70), Johnson (1995:310), Laidlaw (1995:354), and Babb (1996:98-101) on the ambiguous use of the terms *guṇa*, *samāj*, *lābh*, *maṅgal*, *udhar*, *sakh* etc. among image-worshipping Jains. Interestingly, only few of these concepts, like *pūjā* or *kriyā*, were incorporated into the *śrāvakācāra* systems of collective lay-rituals. Jains are careful to distinguish semantic ambiguity from philosophical perspectivism (*anekāntavād, syādvād, nikṣepa*), which is seen as an analytic instrument for disambiguation: "Whereas in the fallacy of *chhal* (fraud), one word has two meanings, no word in this argument [of *syādvād*] is of such nature. ... To declare the existence of an object from one point of view and to declare its non-existence from another point of view, is not to indulge in a *pun*, and thus to be guilty of this fallacy" (L. Kannoomal. *The Saptabhangi Naya or The Pluralist Aspects of the Jaina Dialectics*. Agra: Atmanand Jain Pustak Pracharak Mandal, 1917, p. 16. cf. C.R. Jain. *Faith, Knowledge and Conduct*. Allahabad: The Indian Press, 1929, p. 8, 16-18). See my paper "Power and Insight in Jain Discourse." In *Doctrines and Dialogues*. Ed. A. Henn & H. v. Skyhawk, Delhi: Manohar (forthcoming).

15. Cf. Tulsī (1985:68-71) on the Terāpanth notion of pure merit (*śubhkarm puṇya*) as a side-effect of penance. On the ambiguous case of the two-fold causal function of *puṇya*-generating penance, i.e. the destruction as well as bondage of *karma*, see the concept of *kṣayopaśama* (destruction-cum-subsidence of *karmas*) (p. 44, 63, 70, 80).

16. Cf. Dumont 1980:275.

17. The present Terāpanth *ācārya* Mahāprajña quotes UtS 5.19-20 in order to demonstrate that Mahāvīr himself conceded the possibility of householders reaching enlightenment if they are both knowledgeable and restrained. For him, preparation for enlightenment within a monastic setting is entirely conventional (Nathmal 1980:157-163). Cf. Johnson (1995:306-7) on the difference between the personal (intentionalist) and the social (rule-oriented) view of renunciation, and his theory of the strategic role of the Jain doctrine of the manifold aspects (*anekāntavād* and *syādvād*) for holding together these contradictory perspectives (p. 232), evading confrontation with other schools (p. 253), and bridging the gap between ascetics and laity (p. 79-90). With regard to Jain lay practices, Laidlaw (1995) similarly argues that "the conflicts between these different ways of being Jain are resolved, in so far as they are, in a wider domain of sociality" (p. 20-1). For a different interpretation see K.W. Folkert, *Scripture and Community*: Collected Essays on the Jains. Ed. J.E. Cort. Atlanta : Scholars Press, 1993: 215-27.

and many traditional ('hinduised') image-worshipping sects, which ambiguously combine considerations of ascetic purity and social power or auspiciousness within hierarchical cosmological systems, pivoting around a notion of moral kingship (*dharmarāj*), is that in the Terāpanth system the 'world-transcending' *ācārya* alone can be the ideal king (*mahārāj*).[18]

The refusal to recognise the religious merit of *pūjā* rituals and charitable giving, which are essential for the traditional ritual legitimation of power and the development of popular forms of religion, has led the idol-worshipping Mūrtipūjaks and Bīsapanthīs to question the religious value of the absolutist (*ekānta*) doctrinal literalism of the new sect as a form of islamisation (Jaini 1979:314,n.63); — an allegation which was countered by the Terāpanthī's claim for greater religious purity: "Some people say that by dividing religion into worldly and spiritual segments Ācārya Bhikṣu has really cut down life itself into various sections. We do not deny the charge but must also admit at the same time that we cannot help such fragmentation of life. Lord Mahāvīra has divided religion into secular and religious parts in 'Nikṣepa Vyavasthā'" (Nathmal 1968:15). Digambar Terāpanthīs, on the other hand, rejected automatic claims to spiritual superiority that are based on the outward characteristics of monkhood alone.[19] However, the strongest opposition to Bhikṣu's ideas came from Sthānakvāsī ascetics, like the ex-Śramaṇ Saṅgh

18. On cosmic kingship and the hybrid nature of 'traditional' popular religion cf. Dumont (1980:229,300-34), Heesterman (1985), Tambiah (1984), Kapferer (1983), and Gombrich & Obeyesekere (1988:15-29). Cort (1989) has recently observed that, although "kingly notions of power have almost totally disappeared from the contemporary Jain ideological universe", "the two dominant realms of value within the Jain context are *mokṣa-mārga* and well-being" (p. 15). He notices that there is a "different situation among the Jains of Marwar", who still "tend to imitate Rajputs in many social [sic!] customs" (p. 80, n. 80). But strictly speaking, there can be nothing 'Jain' about ideologies of political or economical power (*artha*), whatever their historical efficacy. Precisely this is one of the main agendas of present day revivalism, which, as we have seen, is particularly strong in Marwar. Terāpanthīs clearly do not recognise a separate realm of worldly 'Jain' values. Instead they are trying to implant ascetic principles of conduct into social life. Accordingly, the 21 qualities of the ideal Terāpanth layman (*śrāvak guṇ*), which were codified only recently by Tulsī (AK II:317), differ from Hemacandra's list of 35 qualities, which is popular among the Mūrtipūjaks (YS I.47-56, Williams 1983:260-269, Cort 1991a), by being unequivocally otherworldly. Moreover, popular social functions in connection with the completion of fasts etc. were ruled out by Tulsī again in 1960 (Mahāprajña 1987:34). The fact that Terāpanthīs confer royal attributes exclusively to the *ācārya 'mahārāj'*, is not unusual for Jain ascetics (cf. Carrithers 1988:830-1, 1989:228-9). Already the medieval Jain commentaries emphasised the equivalence of the administrative virtues demanded from both religious superiors and kings (Caillat 1975:55). According to Jainism, the ideal king is a renouncer, not a worldly ruler, and moral authority the ultimate form of power. Indeed, the predominant foci of 'group religion' — even among most modern Śvetāmbar and Bīsapanthī Jain sects — are today not quasi sacred kings, like the medieval *bhaṭṭāraks* and *śrīpūjyas* or today's *saṅghpatis*, but the *ācāryas* themselves, who fulfil certain 'royal' functions with respect to religion amongst their followers, while leaving the surrounding society standing as it is.

19. For a critique of the uneasy coexistence of renunciatory ritual behaviour and injurious everyday behaviour among 'Dhoondhakar' laity see Todarmal 1992:225-226.

muni Sušīl (1926-1994) who advocated social reform and services to mankind. They objected in particular to the 'selfishness' and the 'a-humanism' of Bhikṣu's radical pursuit of world-renunciation, which showed no concern for the alleviation of suffering in the world.[20] Like Kundakunda Bhikṣu was indeed convinced that the protection of life could only count as an act of social compassion (*laukik dayā*) but not as a religious act of liberation (*lokottar dayā*). In the eyes of many Sthānakvāsīs, this doctrine was predicated on "the economic perspective of the 'survival of the fittest' in a society of famines and droughts, poverty, starvation and death" and therefore merely "the natural product of the miserable social conditions prevalent in Rajasthan in the days of Bhikṣu" (Nair 1969:39): "Bikhanji's message of deliverance [through self-help] was a great boon to the economically weak, the miserly, the ungenerous and the selfish people. The money saved from giving charity could be accumulated to one's own benefit" (p. 37-8).

Obviously, the question of the social implications of such a radical separation of religion and society is a point of intense dispute within the Jain tradition itself. From a Durkheimian point of view the doctrinal distinction between 'pure' and 'impure' forms of giving must be seen as an ideological expression of the experience of increasing social differentiation and of the growing importance of 'organic solidarity' for the adherents of Jainism (cf. Dumont 1980:227). Parry (1986), for instance, suggested "that an elaborated ideology of the 'pure' gift is most likely to develop in state societies with an advanced division of labour and a significant commercial sector" (p. 467). This argument is widely accepted, although its precise implications are obscure. Certainly, Bhikṣu's emphasis on the internal, renunciatory aspects of giving, in opposition to the external, material aspects, cannot be explained in terms of the calculatory 'long-term' function of disinterested giving, as Parry suggests, because this would involve precisely the reduction of the gift to exchange which the Terāpanthīs criticise.[21] They interpret 'the gift' not transactionally but primarily ontologically, as a non-violent form of existence. Life itself, they argue, should be a perennial sacrifice, ideally embodied in the exemplary renunciatory conduct of the *ācārya* who, as a symbol of the corporate purity of the

20. Cf. Dumont (1980:274-5). In his eagerness to demonstrate the futility of intervening into worldly affairs, both for one's own and other's spiritual progress, Bhikṣu gave many controversial examples why ascetics should not help saving lifes, even if they could (Tulsi 1985:162-76, Nair 1969:App.1). From his purely monastic and liberation-oriented point of view '*ahiṃsā* lies solely in the spirit of non-cooperation', a perspective which renders the world empty of religious meaning in which charity is not only irreligious but also tends to perpetrate social inequality: "The undue emphasis on charity indirectly accepts the practice of exploitation. Terāpanth teaches the principle of non-exploitation and non-accumulation" (Nagaraj 1959:12).

21. J. Derrida *Given Time: I. Counterfeit Money*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991:76 makes this point and shows in turn how the general paradoxes of 'donating consciousness' may be better understood in terms of Heidegger's theory of *Dasein* as the constitutive ontological ground for subject-object distinctions *per se*, which are presupposed by 'the figure of the circle of exchange' (p. 24). I cannot enter into the epistemology/ontology-debate here.

saṅgha as a whole, regenerates the bifurcation of the spheres of religion and society as the precondition of the ritual circle of ascetic wandering and its implied social exchanges. While acknowledging the possibility of cheating by performing 'objectified rituals' with dual purposes in mind, which has been stressed by Laidlaw (1995:230) and Johnson (1995:310), Terāpanthīs have always insisted that the difference between religious (*saṃyam pravṛtti*) and worldly orientations (*laukik pravṛtti*) is not only subjectively felt but also visibly manifest in the overall conduct of an individual.[22] From their point of view, ascetic power invariably encompasses transactional rationality.

In spite of these conceptual refinements the new doctrine of Bhikṣu has effectively not been able to overcome the fundamental problem of routinisation as described by Weber (1985:142-8). It merely generated a new set of practical paradoxes. Generally, the increased degree of differentiation of religion and society produced both a greater immediacy and a greater indirectness of the links between the *dharmasaṅgh* and the laity. But the role of religious property has effectively not changed. As I will show in greater detail in the second part, a popular Terāpanth Jainism exists today, and there are Terāpanthī rituals of charitable giving, contrary to the official doctrine, although they are less visible and deprived of immediate religious value. Compared to Bhikṣu's vision of a purely ascetic Jainism, the Terāpanth of today has considerably changed, particularly through a series of controversial innovations that were introduced by *ācārya* Tulsī in the first decades after Indian Independence (1949-1981). In order to secure the growing influence of the Terāpanth under the changed social conditions, Tulsī gradually reverted back to a traditional Jain system by forming closer bonds with the laity and promoting programs of religious and moral education for the society as a whole. He showed great ingenuity in the construction of an all-inclusive corporative sectarian organisation by creating a new network of 'socio-religious' institutions for the laity, to carry the *Aṇuvrat* (small vow, 1949), *Prekṣa Dhyān* (insight meditation, 1975) and *Jīvan Vijñān* (science of living, 1980) movements, without directly violating Bhikṣu's principles.[23] Officially the

22. Cf. Kundakunda (Johnson 1995:230) and Todarmal (1992:16-7). Both Laidlaw and Johnson associate Jain doctrines with a limited set of social functions (social mobility, status maintenance, social integration, community survival). However, it seems that Jainism, like most religious doctrines, is compatible with a wide range of social contexts and not an ideological expression of limited class interests per se.

23. Numerous codes of conduct were set up both for Terāpanthīs and the general population alike. The *aṇuvrat* movement basically tried to overcome the unpopularity of the small vows among the Terāpanth laity in particular, in order to raise its standards of morality (AK I:27). There is a great deal of overlap between the various initiatives. The principal directives of Jain life-style (*jīvan vijñān*), for instance, are: "1. Equality: Not to behave hostile to someone on the basis of caste, not to consider anybody untouchable. 2. Peacefulness: To practice peaceful cohabitation. To avoid family quarrels. Not to be merciless in matters of dowry etc. 3. Labour: To develop self-sufficiency. Not to exploit labour. 4. Non-violence: To develop fearlessness. Not to commit suicide, murder, and abortion. To avoid unnecessary violence. To avoid substances produced through acts of violence and cruelty. 5. Moderation of desire: Not to acquire wealth by means of mixing food products, smuggling, trade in eggs and meat etc. To practice acquisition together with

lay-movements of the Terāpanth were simply defined as purely social activities. The only problem was that, in order to attract sufficient funds for the massive publishing and building projects involved, Tulsī had to amend Bhikṣu's theory of the gift. His modified version of 1970 is known as the doctrine of *visarjan* (lit. dispersion, abandonment, parting from possessions), and asks the laity to practice acquisition together with renunciation (*visarjan*) of ownership. It concedes that under certain conditions monetary donations may count as religious acts of renunciation (*tyāg*)[24] and promises an influx of meritorious karmas (*puṇya*) depending on the intention of the giver. It is said that giving for a good cause (*dān*) both contributes to the liberation of the self from attachments (*aparigrah, anāsakti*) and generates good karma (*śubh karma*) for the giver. But giving in order to increase one's social prestige (*mān*) diminishes the chances of liberation and generates bad karma (*pāp, aśubh karma*). Critics say that giving for the purification of the soul (*ātmaśuddhi*) has only been invented in order to raise money for the 'good purpose' of Tulsī's construction programs, and point to the fact that, by publicly asking for donations and promising merit, today's ascetics merely create opportunities for 'big men' to put their name plaques on the new Terāpanth buildings. The ideology that donations are only meritorious if they are not given to anybody specific but 'just being left for the use of society' (Mahāprajña 1987:16) — that is the religious trusts of the Terāpanth (AK II:154) — has not only provoked cynical comments but also motivated

renunciation (*visarjan*) of ownership. To limit the enjoyment of an object. 6. Pure food and release from addiction: To keep to the pure manner of eating and drinking — To give up eggs, fish, meat etc. To live a life free of addiction — To avoid alcohol, intoxicating substances, gambling etc. 7. *Anekānt*: Not to be contumacious and, as far as possible, attempting to settle controversial matters harmoniously. 8. Worship of resemblance: Studying the scriptures, equanimity etc. To do the prescribed *jap* of 5 *Navkār Mantras* three times every day — at dawn after getting up, before meals, and before sleeping. 9. Affection for the co-religionist: To behave fraternally to one of the same faith or religion (one who faithfully repeats the *Navkār Mantr*)" (tr. Tulsī, in: Māṇakcand Paṭāvarī (ed.). *Upāsanā*. Mitra Pariṣad Ātma Sādhanā Kendra: Calcutta, 1991:27-8).

24. AK II:153-5. According to Mahāprajña "there is a difference between donation and renunciation" (1994:109). Theoretically "acquisition can be seen as (1) its psychological counterpart (non-discrimination) and (2) the overt cause — (the object)" (Nathmal 1980:186). One of the four possible combinations of these two aspects being present or absent is the *visarjan dān*, which should be based on the ideal "to possess only the bare necessities" (p. 187). Surrendering possessions merely in order to gain selfawareness and social control is a form of acquisition (p. 188). *Visarjan* thus acts as an ambiguous intermediary category between 'worldly transactions' and the three 'religious gifts' of fearlessness (*abhay*), knowledge (*jñān*), and food etc. to the ascetics (*saṃyati*) — not unlike the Khartar Gacch practices described by Laidlaw (1995:294-301) and Babb (1996:190). The only difference is that, even if the intention is religious, materially monetary donations are still considered social or socio-religious. *Visarjan* is thus the result of an extension of the cognitive principle (*śubh upayoga*) underlying the restrained gift (*saṃyati*) to money, which, in contrast to food, cannot be handled by ascetics.

several discontented Terāpanth ascetics to split off.[25] Tulsī's reply that all the funds he had collected had been for the benefit of humanity, and that it is necessary to move with the times, has, on the other hand, been well received by the Sthānakvāsīs and the more traditional image-worshipping Jain sects (Muni Rājyaś, in: Nair 1969:xxxxi).

The principles of the *aṇuvrat, prekṣa dhyān* and *jīvan vijñān* initiatives clearly cover the same ground as the traditional *śrāvakācāra* regulations (cf. Williams 1983). But there are still important differences. Although having inserted a new ambiguous socio-religious sphere between the domains of religion and society, Tulsī has not entirely reverted to a Hinduised version of popular Jainism. The compilations of recommended rules and regulations for the Terāpanth laity are different from the *śrāvakācāras* of the image-worshipping sects. Charitability, for instance, is merely presented as a value of social morality and Hemacandra's classification of seven fields of giving (*kṣetradān*) (p. 165) is not accepted. However the Terāpanth lay community of today reproduces itself increasingly with the help of a standardised body of text-oriented rituals and of organisational rules, some of which were codified only recently (AK). These are scaled down versions of the religious practices and the idiosyncratic institutional rules of the Terāpanth ascetics, which were Bhikṣu's second important innovation.

Following the example of Loṅkā, Bhikṣu tried to contain the segmentary tendencies of Jain ascetic groups not by exploiting the stabilising effect of religious property but through discipline and a more detailed regulation of interascetic conduct. For this reason he introduced, from 1775 onwards, a new set of organisational rules (*maryādā*), which he subsequently amended in a series of additional writings (*likhats*). Rules like these have not yet been investigated, although they can be found in less elaborated form amongst all Jain sects (Schubring & Caillat 1966:87). Together with the older and more widely accepted *Ācārāṅga*, the *Cheda Sūtras*, and the *Mūla Sūtras* they form the Jain equivalent of the Buddhist *Vinaya* code and its extensions. They are

25. Ācārya Tulsī has been accused by the renegade *muni* Candanmal, whose orthodox Nav Terāpanth movement split off in 1981 after the introduction on the *samaṇ śreṇī*, of being too much involved in secular politics and in the administration of charitable trusts (cf. Muni Candanmal. *Ādhunik praśnoṃ ke sandarbh meṃ*. Calcutta: Viśva Cetanā, 1979 [published anonymously]; id. *Ācārya Śrī Tulsī ko bhejā gayā Muni Śrī Candanmalji kā mukti patra*. Jaipur: Milāp Bhavan, 29.10.1981; id. *Kyā āp jānanā cāheṅge?* Ratangaṛh, Rājaldesar, Paṛhihārā: Jain Saṅgam, May 1985; *Dān dayā: ek viśleṣna*. Bikāner: Akhil Bhāratiya Jain Saṅgam, N.N.). Tulsī, in turn, points at the fact that the Nav Terāpanthīs themselves (1993 only Candanmal and nine *sādhvis* remained, most male ascetics started their own initiatives) have given up wandering and begun setting up social institutions like the Arham Āśram in Gaṅgāpur (cf. Muni Candanmal. *Arham Āśram*. Droṇāñcal, Gopalpurā (Ḍūṅgar): Arham Āśram, 29.1.1990). Sthānakvāsīs applaude Tulsī's turn towards social service and humanitarian deeds as a major improvement upon Bhikṣu's 'misguided' doctrines (Muni Rājyaś, in Nair 1969:viii,xxxi). However, other Terāpanth *sādhus* left monkhood altogether, because for them Tulsī's U-turn was not radical enough and because they disliked his 'authoritarian' style of leadership (S. Kumar. *No Destination*. Bideford: Green Books, (1978) 1992, 35-6). The two forms of internal protest are characteristic for orthodox asceticism and lay Jainism respectively. See Mahāprajña's (1994:204-215) description of recent internal conflicts.

important for the monastic jurisprudence, but of diminished religious value: "Non-violence and mere organisational rules are two things" (Nathmal 1968:114). Today, one of the distinctive organisational features of the Terāpanth ascetic order is its constitution (*maryādā patr*), written down by Bhikṣu in 1802 (*māgh śuklā saptamī*) shortly before his death. It determines that there can be only one *ācārya* within the sect, and that it is he alone who initiates novices, excommunicates, and determines his successor (*yuvācārya*), as well as the overall policy of the sect.[26] The *ācārya* fulfils both spiritual and administrative, legislative and judicative functions within the order. By means of such a constitutionally fixed, centralised organisation, and a rigorous policy of excommunication, permanent schisms have been preventable so far.[27]

THE MONASTIC ORGANISATION

The Terāpanthī subsect (*gaṇ*) is today (1991) one of the largest organised ascetic groups among the Jains, with 149 *sādhus* (male ascetics), 554 *sādhvīs* (female ascetics)[28] and about 80 novices of different categories (*samaṇ, mumukṣu, upāsak*).[29] The *sādhus* and *sādhvīs* are at the moment divided into 126 *siṅghāṛs* (Skt. *saṃghāṭa-* gathering), which are small itinerant groups of 3-5 ascetics, each led by a senior called a *siṅghāṛpati* or *agraṇī*

26. The *sādhvīs* initially operated relatively independent. The central position of the chief female ascetic (*sādhvī pramukhā*), who is also appointed by the *ācārya*, has only evolved under *ācārya* Jītmal between 1853-1869 (Buddhamall 1995:403-6). Similar organisational rules are known from other Rajasthani sects, like the Vaiṣṇav Rāmāsanehi sect of Rāmcaraṇ, a friend of Bhikṣu (p. 46-7). More recent *gacch* constitutions are mentioned by Sangave 1980:377-8. An important Jain rule concerns the irreversibility of renunciation, and the social stigmatisation of excommunicated ascetics. See Bechert (1970:768f.) on the 'uncanonical' nature of pupillary succession rules in Theravāda Buddhism.

27. Jain *ācāryas* have always fulfilled administrative functions with regard to the ascetic order. In the past *yatis* and *bhaṭṭārakas* exercised also a form of theocratic control over the laity (Sangave 1980:93-101,317-22, L.P. Sharma 1991:131,212). However, the Terāpanth *ācārya* has 'swallowed the institution of the *yati*' (Cort 1991b:667) only to the extent that he controls his laity. The Jain situation was always different from the overall pattern in Theravāda Buddhism, where — as a rule — the king (or the government) determines the *saṅgharāj* and manages monastic disputes.

28. Cf. Weber (1985:297) on the sociology of the religious emancipation of women.

29. The introduction of the *samaṇ* category in 1980 is another notable innovation of the Terāpanth. *Samaṇs* can be compared to *yatis* and *bhaṭṭāraks*. They are initiated ascetics whose vows have been relaxed to allow them the use of modern means of transport and communication — but not to own property. They are utilised for overcoming the communication problems associated with the geographical expansion of the *vihār kṣetr* under Tulsī. One can be a *samaṇ* or *samaṇī* either temporary (*sāvadhik*) or lifelong (*yāvatjīvan*). A similar ambiguity underlies the categories of *upāsak* and *mumukṣu* — which are comparable to the Digambar *brahmacārin, ailak* and *kṣullak* — which either signify lay practitioners of the *pratimās* (doctrinal stages of lay religiosity) in general (*śrāvak upāsak* or *mumukṣu*) or members of two new categories of lay novices that were introduced by Tulsī. The possibility to become a temporary ascetic is new in Jainism and contributes to a further integration of the laity. At least among Digambars and Śvetāmbar Terāpanthīs, *pratimās* are not 'fossilized relics' as claimed by Cort 1991a:396.

(chief). In order to prevent schismatic tendencies, due to personal or regional attachments, their individual members are rotated every year by the *ācārya* (*'mahārāj'*), whose own group, called the *rāj*, comprises of 34 *sādhus* and 54 *sādhvīs* (see Table I below). Like a royal court, the *rāj* (lit. stretching oneself out) embodies the principle of unity of the 'divine kingdom' of the *dharmasaṅgh* as a whole, because it is the only monastic group that encompasses subunits of both male and female ascetics, which is a necessary condition for the capacity to generate a complete *caturvidh saṅgh,* and thus to establish an independent subsect in the Jain tradition.[30] The structure of the monastic hierarchy can be summarised diagramatically:[31]

Ācārya Śrī Pūjyajī Mahārāj	
Yuvācārya	
Mahāśramaṇ	Sādhvī Pramukhā (Mahāśramaṇī)
Agraṇī (Siṅghāṛpati)	Agraṇī (Siṅghāṛpati)
Sādhu	Sādhvī
Niyojak	Niyojikā
Samaṇ	Samaṇī
Sanyojak	Sanyojikā
Yojak	Yojikā
Mumukṣu Bhāī	Mumukṣu Bahan
Upāsak	Upāsikā

30. A capacity already given to the ascetic families (*parivārs*) — the equivalent of the *siṅghāṛs* — among the image-worshipping Jain ascetics (cf. Shāntā 1985, Carrithers 1989:233, n. 4, Cort 1989:154, n. 7). There are 7-8 subunits within the Terāpanth *rāj*, which correspond to the *siṅghārs* outside: 5 groups of *sādhus*, called *sājh* (partners), and 2-3 groups of *sādhvīs* under the rule (*niśrā*) of the *sādhvī pramukhā*, called *cittasamādhi* (lit. calm mind), because their members support each other by right. On the history of the *sājh* see Buddhamall 1995:392.

31. Double lines indicate key initiatory stages. The *niyojak* and *sanyojak* and their female equivalents are the leaders of all the *samaṇs* and all the *mumukṣus* and *upāsaks* respectively, but the *yojaks* lead only one group of *mumukṣu* novices. They can be compared to the *agraṇīs* among the *sādhus* and *sādhvīs*.

The various ascetic groups spend 7-8 months of the year on their *vihār* with or away from the *ācārya* (*bahir vihār*) and the four months of the rainy season (*cāturmās*) in residence in one particular place. Because temple worship is rejected, the *vihār* of the ascetics is the major form of ritual integration of the Terāpanth sect, and carefully planned. The way in which this is done today deserves close attention, not only because it involves the pivotal political processes within the sect, but especially because it comprises a new set of religious institutions, formerly unknown to Jainism, which combine ancient ascetic rituals with modern principles of organisation. They have been introduced in 1853-1864 by *ācārya* Jītmal (1803-1881) to prevent the fragmentation of the expanding ascetic order. Jītmal (Jayācārya) was the major consolidator and legislator of the sect. Not only did he re-introduce sanskritic literacy into monastic education, and invented an innovative system of monastic division of labour (*gāthā praṇālī*), but he also compiled, condensed and codified Bhikṣu's *likhats* in various ways for their recitation in ceremonial contexts. In order to guarantee the continuous implementation of these rules, he set up a system of three interconnected rituals: the *likhat*, the *hājarī*, and the *maryādā mahotsav*, each being based on the compulsory performance of an oath of acceptance of certain rules peculiar to the Terāpanth monastic organisation. The *lekh patr* or *likhat* (formular) contains the thirteen essential rules of the order and has to be individually recited and signed first thing every morning.[32] The *hājarī* (presence) is a ceremony of group purification cum teaching (*gaṇviśuddhī-karaṇ*). It was first organised by Jayācārya in 1853 as a fortnightly assembly of all the ascetics of the *rāj* (and each *siṅghāṛ*) for the recitation, explanation and acceptance of the *likhat* and other rules, as well as for public examinations of novices. Nowadays the *hājarī* is only performed at special occasions, and the *maryādā patr* — a new compilation of Bhikṣu's and Jayācārya's rules made by Tulsī — is read out in the presence of a large audience. In this way the general public is made familiar with the *maryādās* and can monitor the conduct of the ascetics independently. Afterwards the *sādhus* and *sādhvīs*, all standing in a row according to the seniority of initiation (*dīkṣā paryāya*), recite the *lekh patr* and accept it one after the other. The *hājarī* differs from the Buddhist *pātimokkha* because penances and confessions do not take

32. Vows (*vrats*) are accepted either by real or mental signature among the Terāpanth. The thirteen rules of the *lekh patr* are: "1. I shall not disobey you. 2. I shall follow your commands in every activity I undertake to do. 3. I shall always proceed on ascetic ramblings, rainy retreat etc. as ordered by you. 4. I shall have no disciples of my own. 5. I shall never indulge in forming factions. 6. I shall not meddle with your affairs. 7. I shall not use undesirable language in the least against you or any of the monks and nuns. 8. If any fault is found or comes to my notice in any monk or nun, wanting in conduct, I shall apprise him or the Ācārya-Śrī rather than propagating it elsewhere. 9. In any controversial dispute pertaining to principles, rules and regulations or traditions, I shall abide by your verdict with all reverence. 10. I shall have no connection whatsoever with anybody either excommunicated or resigned from the order. 11. I shall claim no ownership over the books, manuscripts and documents of the order. 12. I shall not become a candidate for any post. 13. I shall unhesitatingly abide by the orders of your successor" (tr. Tulsī & Mahāprajña 1983:480).

place before or during the *hājarī* (Tulsī & Mahāprajña 1983:186-198). However, the most important ceremony of the Terāpanth is the annual *maryādā mahotsav* (=MM) (festival of restraint). Like the *hājarī*, it was originally (1864) a ritual for the ascetics only, but has developed into a meeting of the whole fourfold assembly, which takes place for three or more days in January/February, and often attracts up to 50.000 pilgrims. The festival celebrates the date of the recording of Bhikṣu's last *likhat*, the constitution of the sect, through the recitation of the original text (*samūhik maryādā*) and the performance of an oath of allegiance to the '*dharma, gaṇ, ācārya*, and the *maryādā*' by the ascetics (p. 467-70).[33]

This annual meeting of all ascetics and important leaders of the sect is unique among Jain sects (although vaguely resembling the Buddhist *uposatha*). In its bureaucratic form it resembles a tributary royal ritual, and is the only festival of the year where — if possible — all the ascetics are assembled around the *ācārya*, together with representatives of the various Terāpanth lay communities from all over India. The effective community of the Terāpanth sect as a whole is manifest only on this occasion, where all the organisational, political and religious affairs of the Terāpanthīs are decided. Today not only the ascetics, who are obliged to participate, but also the laity are encouraged to vow allegiance to the *ācārya*, and to resolve their disputes, redistribute the fruits (*phal*) of their past year's socio-religious work (*kārya*), discuss new projects and receive new directives for the coming year. The importance of the collective oath of loyalty (*viśvasanīyatā kī śapath*) is underlined by the fact that it is considered as a form of self-sacrifice, generating the organisational unity and thus the potency (*śakti*) for all the religious activities of the year to come. In this way the annual cycle of ascetic wandering synthesises traditional religious and modern organisational rituals into a unitary process. The overall pattern of the Terāpanth religious year takes the shape of a polarised process of fragmentation and reintegration of both the *saṅghapuruṣ* — the corporate unity of the *saṅgh*, embodied in the *ācārya* as the moving centre of the sect — and the local *cāturmās* assemblies of the laity at the poles of the annual *vihār*. Interwoven with the agricultural cycle and related seasonal festivals (*utsavs*), there is an inbuilt alternation between traditional ascetic Jainism, which is prominent during *cāturmās*, and modern festive Jainism after the rains (the traditional season of marriages,

33. Cf. Buddhamall 1995:401-17, Renou & Renou 1951, Nagaraj 1959:4-6, Nathmal 1968:147-9, L.P. Sharma 1991:169-70. Terāpanthī scriptures mention three sect-specific festivals introduced by Jītmal: Jayācārya's succession-day (*paṭṭotsav*), Bhikṣu's last day (*caramotsav*), and the MM. The succession and *nirvāṇa* days of all *ācāryas* are holidays today. Historically the separate veneration of the organisational rules in addition to the succession-days developed through the generalisation and thereby depersonalisation of the *paṭṭotsav* celebrations. The MM, it is said, represents the *paṭṭotsavs* of all Terāpanth *ācāryas*. Originally it was celebrated together with the Jayācārya *paṭṭotsav* (*māgh śuklā pūṃimā*) which later was split into two different festivals (Buddhamall 1995:408-17, AK I:43). Ācārya Tulsī introduced additionally the separation-day (*abhiniṣkramaṇ*) and founding-day celebrations (*Terāpanth sthāpanā divas*).

wars, and business ventures), when the fruits of asceticism are harvested and redistributed, particularly at the MM.

In accordance with this overall cosmological design, the main organisational tasks of the MM are the rotating of the ascetics amongst the *siṅghāṛs*, and decisions about the next *cāturmās* residencies as well as the *vihār* route for each of the *siṅghāṛs*.[34] It is an important rule that the choices of *cāturmās* localities for all the groups are determined by the *ācārya* alone. However, the local lay communities are competing for visits from the ascetics, because there are more lay communities than *siṅghāṛs*. This is done publicly in a series of religious assemblies prior to the MM, where lay representatives praise the merits of their local communities (e.g. moral restraint, charity), and through invitation letters (*vijñapti patr*) repeatedly ask the *ācārya* to send ascetics. Competitive invitations are the only Terāpanth equivalent to the customary auctioning (*bolī*) of ritual acts among idol-worshipping Jains, and therefore particularly elaborated. The Terāpanth laity have a strong desire to be close to their saints, because the opportunity to worship the ascetics directly is crucial for non-image-worshipping Jains, not only for religious reasons, but also in terms of the implicated prestige (*mān*) and the auspiciousness (*maṅgal*), that in their eyes is generated particularly by a visit of the *ācārya* himself. Often the *ācārya 'mahārāj'* is treated like an idol, and venerated for his 'life-giving' and miraculously 'wish-fulfilling' (*camatkārik*) powers through the practice of secretly taking vows during *darśan*: *'If you help me to become prosperous, I will donate ...% of my earnings to your religious projects.'* Such popular Jain practices are considered to be inconsistent with the main teachings of the religion (Schubring 1978:316-7), but they are often "so thoroughly assimilated with them now that they are no longer perceived as alien" (Jaini 1991:187). At the end of the MM, when all decisions are taken, the assembly disperses, and the small groups of ascetics set out for their new *cāturmās* destinations, which might be a considerable distance and, after *cāturmās*, on to the place where the *ācārya* will hold the next MM. In this way, the fundamental ritual structure for the interaction between ascetics and laity is organised one year in advance.

TERRITORIAL ORGANISATION

The Terāpanthīs use a formal system of geographical categories to allocate circumscribed regions (*vihār kṣetr*) for each *siṅghāṛ*. It takes the territorial boundaries of the contemporary Indian states (*prānt*: province) as its basis, but gives a special priority to Rajasthan, the place of origin and the major focus of activity for the sect. Rajasthan has been further sub-divided into five regions (*sambhāg*), which do not correspond to the

34. Bīsapanthī and Mūrtipūjak subsects do not rotate the ascetics of their subgroups. Shāntā (1985:330-1), Cort (1989:105,n.21), Carrithers (1989:229) and Banks (1992:29) report a similar 'scriptedness' for their *vihār*, but do not mention any particular sub-sect organisation.

administrative districts of modern Rajasthan, but to the former territories of the principle *rājput* kingdoms. The elementary administrative units are the local region or circle of villages/lay communities (*grām maṇḍal*), the village (*gāṃv*) and the household (*ghar*). Unlike Mūrtipūjak or Sthānakvāsī ascetics, who reside in community buildings (*upāśrays*) or meditation halls (*sthānaks*), Terāpanthī ascetics cannot stay in purpose-built residences but rely on the homes of their lay followers for accomodation (which requires greater restraint and gives the laity more influence).[35] To avoid disputes, each ascetic group receives a written list (*parcī*) of villages to be visited. These areas which are demarcated by a mental boundary (*sīmā*) are called *cokhlā* (Buddhamall 1995:417, Nathmal 1968:137,147-8).[36] The free acceptance of such limitations of movement (*dig*) is considered as a form of religious self-denial in Jainism (BKB I.51-2). In any region which has more than one *siṅghāṛ* allocated to it, the most senior of the *siṅghārpatis* fulfills supervisional functions for all the other *siṅghāṛs* and organises the further distribution of villages and houses among them with the help of local lay-supporters. Important decisions, however, are always taken by the *ācārya* himself, who keeps in contact with all *siṅghārpatis* through written messages which are personally delivered by the laity who act as channels of communication as Jain ascetics are traditionally not allowed to use modern means of communication or transport.

The mode of distributing ascetics around the geographical zones and the routes of their *vihāras* changes every year. It reflects the general politico-religious aims of the *ācārya* who selects certain centres as loci for sectarian activity, and determines the basic structure of the *vihār* with regard to changing social circumstances. The *prānt* system itself, for instance, was only adopted after 1949, when *ācārya* Tulsī finally recognised the demands of the lay diaspora and decided to 'modernise' his sect and to extend the permitted range of the *vihār* of his ascetics in order to spiritually incorporate the whole territory of the new Indian state (and Nepal) (cf. map in Mahāprajña 1987:61). He initiated this process by symbolically turning his back on his former allies, the once all-powerful Gaṅga Siṅgh (1880-1943) and his son Sadul Siṅgh (1902-1950) — the *rājās* of Bikaner — by selecting first the new state capital of Jaipur and then the national capital, Delhi, for his *cāturmās* in 1949-1950 — an illustration of 'how power and religion go hand

35. Cf. Buddhamall (1995:71-2). Exceptions are the *sevā kendras* (service centres) for elderly ascetics in Rajasthan, and the *sabhābhavans* (assembly houses) of local Terāpanthī lay communities, which are sometimes used by visiting ascetics in big cities. In Rajasthan the ascetics use the mostly empty ancestral houses of their followers.

36. In parts of Rajasthan the word *cokhlā* is still used to signify regional marriage circles, i.e. "an unit of caste (sub-caste) spread over a number of contiguous villages, binding the members of the caste to certain codes and regulations considered to be falling within the traditional jurisdiction of the caste (sub-caste) organization in that area, and subjecting the members to some effective controls through collective action" (Brij Raj Chauhan. *A Rajasthan Village*. New Delhi: Associated Publishing House, 1967:119).

in hand' (L.P. Sharma 1991:252; cf. Mahāprajña 1994:64-70). Today, as a rule, half of the ascetics (especially the older and weaker ones who cannot walk long distances) remain in Rajasthan or close to the *ācārya*. The other half are distributed in such a way that the sect can be said to have covered the whole of India (including Nepal). This new nationwide orientation distinguishes the Terāpanth *gaṇ* from the Mūrtipūjak *gacchas* who, due to a lack of centralised organisation, do not form effective groups beyond the level of *śākhās* (branches) and operate only regionally, although there are national organisations for the laity. However, at present even Terāpanth transregionalism appears merely as an example of a 'masked expansion' of a particular regional religious movement (Balbir 1983:44). Table I shows that the centres of Terāpanth activity in 1991 were Bikaner and Jodhpur, the traditional heartland of the Terāpanth sect.

TABLE I: TERRITORIAL DISTRIBUTION OF TERĀPANTH ASCETICS CĀTURMĀS 1991

	Groups			Ascetics		
	Śramaṇ	*Śramaṇī*	Sum	*Śramaṇ*	*Śramaṇī*	Sum
1. Rajasthan Prānt						
a. Jodhpur Sambhag						
Tulsī's group	x	x	1	34	54	88
other	4	16	20	11	76	87
b. Bikaner Sambhag	9	18	27	39	139	178
c. Udaipur Sambhag	6	19	25	19	88	107
d. Jaipur Sambhag	2	3	5	7	15	22
e. Ajmer Sambhag	-	2	2	-	8	8
sum	21	58	79	110	380	490
2. Madhyapradesh Prānt	1	2	3	3	9	12
3. Maharashtra Prānt	-	5	5	-	25	25
4. Gujarat Prānt	2	5	7	9	24	33
5. Andhrapradesh Prānt	-	1	1	-	5	5
6. Karnataka Prānt	1	2	3	3	11	14
7. Tamil Nadu Prānt	2	1	3	6	5	11
8. Orissa Prānt	-	1	1	-	5	5
9. Bengal Prānt	1	-	1	4	-	4
10. Bihar Prānt	-	2	2	-	10	10
11. Assam Prānt	1	1	2	2	5	7
12. Haryana Prānt	2	9	11	6	42	48
13. Punjab Prānt	1	5	6	3	23	26
14. Delhi	1	1	2	3	5	8
15. Nepal	-	1	1	-	5	5
sum	12	36	48	39	174	213
Sum	33	94	127	149	554	703

(Source:Navratanmal 1991)

FIELDS OF INFLUENCE

Formal territorial divisions like *prānt* and *sambhāg* have to be distinguished from functional regions, that is the places effectively visited by ascetics. Traditionally they are called *kṣetras* (fields of influence), and are characterised not in objective territorial terms, but by recurrent personal contact and mutual support between ascetics and lay followers. *Kṣetr* is a relational category, signifying a selective religious evaluation of people-*cum*-territory. From the ascetic point of view, *kṣetr* is a 'place worthy of residence' (Schubring & Caillat 1966:71), whereas from the lay point of view *kṣetr* is a "recipient worthy to be given alms" (Williams 1983:165). The *Terāpanth Kṣetr Pad* for instance is an annually published list of addresses of those privileged lay families or local associations (*sabhās*) who will be visited by ascetics during *cāturmās* (Navratanmal 1991). The *guru kṣetr* is the total field of influence of the *ācārya* himself which encompasses the networks of personal allegiances of all the ascetics. Its fluctuating size is dependent on the scale and success of the annual *vihār*, which ritually regenerates the effective unity of the *saṅgh*.

The process as a whole resembles the continually shifting and unstable segmentary state system (*maṇḍal*) of ancient India, where a king was merely a *primus inter pares* who had to prove his authority perennially through an "ever-renewed sacrificial contest as the mediating and organising institution" (Heesterman 1985:150). Jain *ācāryas*, like ideal kings, are considered as the 'life force' of their *kṣetras*, which they have to contest every year after *cāturmās* in a process perceived as one of self-sacrifice and sociocosmic regeneration (UtS IX, XVIII). Like ancient Indian kings, Jain ascetics are sometimes regarded as the 'embryos of the people', and their ritual wandering and entering of houses is symbolically associated with processes of impregnation, ripening and ritual rebirth as a form of symbolic incorporation of their followers, which is ontologically perceived as a process of the expansion of the soul, that is as an act of transcendence of differences and attachments: "The soul has a shape which is not like that of a material body. It is like a field of energy, which is not identical with shape [and which] .. pervades the body in the sense that it can feel any sensation in any part of the body [and] .. in any part of the cosmos by developing the relevant power. .. In all kinds of expansion, the points of the soul project themselves outside the body, and thereby the shedding off the relevant karmic matter is effected in large measure. In the expansion related to the omniscient, the soul pervades the whole cosmic space" (Tulsī 1985:151-3).

Terāpanth ascetics perceive themselves as spiritual warriors and their *vihār* as a *karma*-shedding form of self-denial and spiritual (self-) conquest. Always accompanied by lay-followers they roam barefoot throughout India, from one village or town to the next (*padyātrā*), collecting alms (*gocarī*), giving sermons (*pravacan*), and trying to attract converts by persuading them to make binding vows of allegiance in form of public or written statements of intent (*saṅkalp patr*). With the permission of the *ācārya*, individual ascetics and *siṅghāṛs* compete in terms of *padyātrā*-miles, charisma (*tej*) generating

austerities (*tap*), religious programs, and the number of (lay-) conversions (*prabodhit*).[37] The *agraṇīs* keep diaries (*kul yātrā vivaraṇ*) in which they write the names of the villages they visited, how many days they stayed, how much cloth (*vastr*) and medicine (*auṣadhi*) they received, and from whom, special achievements of each ascetic (*tapasyā, svādhyāya*), religious programs (*prekṣa dhyān*), pacifications of quarrels (*vigrah śaman*), the number and type of vows administered, and the services given and received from other ascetic groups (*bhakti*). These diaries have to be scrutinised every year during MM by the *ācārya,* who then evaluates the conduct of each ascetic (*sāranā vāranā*), and distributes rewards (so called *kalyāṇak* points) and punishments (*prāyaścitt*) accordingly.[38]

Particularly fierce is the rivalry between ascetics of different organised Jain subsects roaming in the same region. They compete as groups for status in terms of the idiom of behavioural purity and non-violence. These rivalries are fought with the help of the laity and sometimes take the form of open conflict for sectarian superiority in certain regions. The present dominance of the Terāpanth *gaṇ* in Bidasar and Ladnun (Bikaner), for instance, was gained through a focused campaign by *ācārya* Jayācārya from 1872-1877 against his Sthānakvāsī rival *ācārya* Jahvarlal. The Terāpanthīs maintained their commanding position in the region ever since, although in 1922 and 1926 Sthānakvāsīs and Mūrtipūjaks together tried to end their dominance by systematically disrupting the Bikaner *cāturmās*, including an alleged attempt to assassinate the *ācārya*. The defamation campaign was averted, however, through the intervention of Gaṅga Siṅgh, the ruler of Bikaner, who finally expelled some Sthānakvāsī mendicants and laity (L.P. Sharma 1991:177,229-34). Negative campaigning was later (1954) ruled out by Tulsī, who — in the interest of the renewed proselytization of Jainism — advocated for a more positive approach towards public relations: "Views of others should be tolerated. Hatred or disrespect towards other sects and their monks should not be preached" (in Nagaraj 1959:28).

37. That is vows given. Practices of self-sacrifice (*tyāg*) are seen to generate respect (*vandanā*) and to attract support (*dān*).

38. The present rules of the Terāpanth ask *sādhus* not to stay more than one month in one village (*sādhvīs*: two months), not to carry more than 69 hands (*hāth*) of cloth (which should not be accepted during *cāturmās*), to perform 30 days of fast each year, to avoid medical treatment etc. If an ascetic cannot comply with these basic rules, he/she has to atone for each mistake at the end of the *vihār*. The ascetic rules of conduct underwent numerous changes during the centuries, and no present Jain sect can legitimately claim to be orthodox anymore (cf. Nair 1969:50). Tulsī's main innovations are described in Mahāprajña 1994:170-1. The paradigmatic *yātrā vivaraṇ* is Sādhvīpramukhā Kanakaprabhā's account of Tulsī's religious conquest of southern India 1967-1971 (*Ācārya Tulsī: Dakṣiṇ ke ancal meṃ*. Chūrū: Ādarś Sāhity Sangh, 1977: 885-990).

RELIGION AND POLITICS

The structure of the Terāpanth *vihār* as a whole appears at first sight as an ideal manifestation of an ancient peripatetic asceticism. A closer view, however, reveals not only how a centralised bureaucratic organisation has been added to the pristine segmentary system of personal *guru-śiṣya* relationships, but also how the laity were gradually incorporated into an overarching framework, which nowadays combines traditional forms of moral sovereignty (*dharmarāj*) over a population-cum-territory (*janpad*) with modern 'democratic' ways of political-territorial organisation (cf. Dumont 1980:229, 332).[39] Most of these changes were introduced only recently under *ācārya* Tulsī in an attempt both to preserve the traditional way of life of the monastic community and to maintain its social influence under changed social conditions (territorial unification, spatial mobility, emancipation of economics, globalisation). Tulsī employed basically four strategies after 1949:[40] (1) the expansion and systematisation of ascetic wandering, (2) the use of modern media of mass-communication, (3) the regulation of popular religion and (4) the differentiation of monastic institutions. In order to create an integral religious system that is capable to address a nationwide mass audience, without violating the Terāpanth principles of centralisation and of direct interaction between ascetics and the laity, Tulsī first tried to stretch the ascetics' capability for barefoot walking to its physical limits (having covered more than 70.000 miles himself). In order to compensate for the self-created centrifugal tendencies he then had to improve the communication between the now even more widely scattered groups and to organise lay support in remote areas. He therefore decided (a) to draft a moral code of conduct for the laity (AK) (while remaining silent about their actual convictions)[41] and (b) to reform the monastic organisation: by modernising certain rules of conduct (use of microphones, flush toilets etc.), introducing a new system of administration (*nikāya*), and institutionalising and expanding the novice status. The reform program was finally completed with the introduction of the *samaṇ* order, that is a third category midway between the ascetic and the householder for the proselytization

39. The monastic organisation has been described by ācārya Mahāprajña himself as a feudal "mixture of despotism and democracy", because it combines the ideal principle of segmentation with an element of functional differentiation and centralised bureaucratic rule (Nathmal 1968:123, Balbir 1983:43). Democracy, because rules are not imposed, but are freely accepted; despotism, because one of the main functions of the *ācārya* is the 'royal' privilege to settle disputes and to impose sanctions on transgressors of monastic rules.

40. Cf. Singer's (1968:438ff., 1985:35) rather negative notion of 'adaptive' strategies.

41. A typical 'church' strategy to account for the *hiatus* between dogma and practice which Luhmann (1982:305-7) contrasts with the three strategies of popular religion: 1. unreflective orthodoxy, 2. interruption of interdependence, 3. reflective doubt. A version of the second strategy, where 'belief is not believed as a system but as it were topological: point for point' (p. 307), has recently been described by Humphrey & Laidlaw (1994:123-4).

of Jainism abroad, in 1980. The media could now be legitimately used by the *dharmasaṅgh* without conceding control entirely to the laity, or blurring the distinction between religion and society. Bechert's (1970) remarks on recent changes in Sinhala Buddhism also apply to the Terāpanth today:

> "Practically, a dual structure had come into existence in the historical development of the Theravāda *saṅgha*: it was organized along more modern organizational lines, but it had to keep the old structures as prescribed by the *vinaya*. The new structures were necessary, no doubt, for the survival of the *saṅgha* — but the old one had to be preserved in order to make the proceedings of the *saṅgha* lawful" (p. 773).

How are the spheres of religion and society related in practice? The crucial point is that, even though Bhikṣu renounced traditional notions of group religion and thereby ratified the relative autonomy of social life, from a devotee's point of view, religious values should still encompass all social pursuits. But in contrast to the former *śrīpūjyas* and *bhaṭṭāraks* the Terāpanth *ācāryas* (indeed most modern *ācāryas*) cannot directly control (religious) property or the social life of their lay followers anymore. Processes of control therefore operate indirectly, through 'secular' institutions, and through the individual religious *persona* of their followers, which may become progressively fixed (ethicised) through a competitive ritual system of self-imposed behavioural commitments (*vrats*) that are associated with specified religious status categories which imply the moral right to expect respect and religious services from the lower ranks. It is important to note that abstract Jain religious principles, like *ahiṃsā*, in practice always carry pragmatic — even legal — implications and presuppose systems of religious sanctions and customary behavioural specifications which are less visible. The actual observance of vows can, if at all, only be enforced informally via public opinion and sanctioned through a system of freely acceptable penances which is administered through various forms of religious book-keeping. Such a religious system of control through *Seelsorge* (Weber 1985:283) differs from modern state-bureaucracy because it does not operate in a disembodied way, but is predicated on the personal interaction of *guru* and *śiṣya* and on the exemplary conduct of the *ācārya*, who is the final authority of religious knowledge and sectarian religious law. However it shows features of the old patrimonial bureaucracy (loyalty, personal authority, and favor) (p. 127-131, 692ff.) which prevailed in the former princely states (Rudolph & Rudolph 1983:194). But although the monastic community itself is governed like a little kingdom on the basis of organisational rules (*maryādā*) and central offices (*pad*), its jurisdiction does not formally extend towards the laity. Religious sanctions (*prāyaścitt*) can only be imposed on their own demand.

There is no space here to provide a detailed analysis of the multiple layers of Jain (socio-) religious regulations and the history of their emergence. It is sufficient to re-state

the general principle of self-referentiality:[42] Internal processes of rule-selection and specification always reflect wider processes of social differentiation and historical change. They combine at each stage the past and the present, universal religious principles and specific institutional rules, as is manifest in our sketch of the historical elaboration of Terāpanthī monastic law through the extension of the traditional method of imposing religious vows. Involution is evident in the existence of at least two different layers of rituals and rules, generated by the doctrinal distinction between predominantly religious and social orientations: (1) Jain 'canonical' rituals (e.g. *āvaśyak*, *pakkhī*, *paryuṣaṇ*) and (2) Terāpanthī 'organisational' rituals (e.g. *likhat*, *hājarī*, *maryādā mahotsav*);[43] plus analogous structures among the laity, who additionally participate in 'Hindu' group religion.

This result leads us to the question of the relevance of the (post-) colonial setting for the emergence of new doctrinal interpretations and the development of bureaucratic and communal structures among the Terāpanth. In his celebrated paper *Nationalism and Communalism* Dumont (1980) argued that communalism as "the affirmation of the religious community as a political group" (p. 315) is a hybrid phenomenon, a janus-faced transitional state — intermediary between traditional group religions and modern religions of the individual. He further argued that communalism is the ideological manifestation of an emerging class-culture, which developed mainly through the impact of colonial rule and the christian missionary model:[44] Particularly the middle-class elites were enabled to free themselves from traditional forms of religious and political hegemony, and to transform themselves into dominant social groups. In the context of overall social change, many of these elites drifted increasingly towards the newly

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42. See Parsons' argument that the increasing external differentiation of a sub-system has to be compensated both by a higher level of internal differentiation and the generalisation of its principle of differentiation; and Goonasekere's (1986:39) and Cort's (1991b) observation that within the Śvetāmbar mendicant orders "one finds a replication of many elements of the social order" (p. 652) — and *vice versa* (Banks 1992:122-3). The Terāpanth case of an ascetic order that combines both the principles of segmentary differentiation and bureaucratic organisation shows the non-generalisability of the thesis of Caillat (1975:27), Reynell (1985:1), Goonasekere (1986:39), Cort (1991b:661-2) and Babb (1996:54), that Jain ascetic groups are modelled on the organisational principles of kinship and caste.

43. In practice the distinction between personal and social aspects of Jain practices proposed by Johnson (1995:307) and Laidlaw (1995) etc. dissolves. Although 'canonical' rituals nominally address the individual, both types of rites are obligatory and are performed collectively under supervision, and the details of universal 'Jain' rites differ from sect to sect. Even voluntary religious practices (*tap*, *dhyān* etc.) have to be permitted by the group leader and are highly ritualised exercises among Jains and Buddhists alike (cf. Tambiah 1984:324).

44. Dumont's (1980: 229, 315) view that social change in contemporary India should not be understood as a mere colonial imposition but either as a 'mixture' or a 'combination' of the old and the new (p. 229, 315) has been echoed even by his critics (cf. van der Veer 1994:76).

emerging forms of lay religiosity, based on doctrines of 'this-worldly asceticism' on the one hand and corporate lay associations on the other.[45]

As we have seen, the same combination of modernised religious doctrines and bureaucratic organisation can be found among the Terāpanth as well. But a lay revolution has not taken place, and the continuous dominance of the ascetic orthodoxy and caste prevented attempts to combine old and new features into a new communalist form of Jainism. Moreover, the fundamental principles of the Jain 'lay-revolution' go back to the 15th C., and Śvetāmbar reformers never rejected monasticism as such, while Digambar lay movements retained most features of traditional Jain group religion (image-worship etc). The emergence of these principles cannot be attributed to the historical influence of colonialism or christian protestantism. In contrast to Theravāda Buddhism, Jain codes of 'this-worldly asceticism' (*śrāvakācāra*) have 'canonical' roots and can hardly be interpreted as a modern phenomenon. Thus, everything speaks for a more cautious theory of Jain religious reform. Ācārya Tulsī himself, who has worried for national integration and Jain unity throughout his life, "is not in favour of the amalgamation of different sects into one" (Mahāprajña 1994:188) and has always opposed communalism in the name of 'pure' religion and freedom of thought. In Dumontian terms, the Terāpanth presently employs a 'mixed' strategy of modernisation, by striving to hierarchically encompass an increasingly modern social system within a traditional religious system. In accordance with the overall pattern, the legislation of the modern state had a greater impact on the formation of contemporary Terāpanthī lay-associations, which mediate between secular and religious law, than on the monastic order itself. Within the monastic order adaptation to changed social circumstances occurred mainly through hierarchical differentiation, that is the development of intermediary institutions between the ascetics proper and the laity. But on secondary levels the tenuous co-existence of religious and social orientations is intensely felt by the laity. As it becomes more functionally differentiated, modern Indian society corresponds less and less to the ancient system of hierarchically differentiated classes (*varṇa*) and, for the middle classes at least, the relevance of the religious principle of hierarchy is progressively reduced to guarantying the psychological compatibility of an increasingly compartmentalized way of life with the ideal of an integral personality. In the words of Mahāprajña (1994) "The individual today represents the capitalist aspect of vested interests. By presenting him with the principle of renunciation, Acharya Sri has given extension to the individual and added a new dimension to his social character" (p. 187).

45. The details of this general trend vary. They include devotional forms of worship (*bhakti*) of personal guardian deities (*iṣṭa devatā*), spirit possession (*bhūt-pret*), socialist or Gandhiist movements, or religious totalitarianism (cf. Dumont 1980:220-231, Bechert 1970, Gombrich & Obeyesekere 1988, van der Veer 1994).

The real situation of the Jains in India today corresponds less to a Hocartian than to a Dumontian (1980:299-301) scenario, where the ideas of moral kingship, which inform ritual exchanges of 'protection' and prestations, appear as rationalisations of actual social practice. I wish to argue, that the (inevitably paradoxical) attempt of a strict separation between religion and society, that is the simultaneity of religious reform and secularist tendencies (Bechert 1970:767) which is gaining organisational force among the Terāpanth and other contemporary Jain sects, allows only for a weak form communalism, by confining religious practice to the individual while strengthening the importance of dominant social practices, in contrast to traditional attempts to incorporate conflicting views within a cosmic hierarchy dominated by a Jain king and to the modern desire of image-worshipping lay reformers to "eradicate every non-Jaina element from the Jaina community" (Sangave 1980:410).[46]

But how are the Terāpanth laity organised? In the next section I focus on the political and economic implications of the *vihār*. Many studies have noted the ways in which modern South Asian elites instrumentalise religion for political ends. The most important strategy being the formation and control of sectarian lay-organisations which act on behalf of the religious community within the modern political and legal system. Jain organisations like these typically have an universalistic agenda although they are controlled by influential potentates and serve exclusively for the material benefit of their own, caste and class-based, membership.[47] Thus, two complementary developments can be observed: On the one hand, the tendency to create a unified religious community and to overcome internal doctrinal differences by focusing on few general religious principles, and, on the other hand, the tendency to harden internal boundaries with regard to social issues, like the control of religious property (p. 397). The paradoxes and ideological effects generated by these simultaneous tendencies towards external religious universalism and internal social separation cannot be solved once and for all. This is evident among the Terāpanth, who strictly distinguish religious and social issues on the level of doctrine, but whose laity is effectively integrated into a plural nationwide framework of exclusive lay-associations paralleling the monastic organisation, like in any other contemporary Jain sect.

46. Cf. Sangave 1980 on the failures of the latter. Interestingly, both forms of Jain 'communalism' — traditional-hierarchical and modern-segregational — are associated with image-worshipping sects.

47. Cf. Mehta 1982:100-4, Nair 1969:148, Sangave 1980:313, 321, 329, 350-1.

II. THE TERĀPANTH LAITY AND THEIR ORGANISATIONS

There are today about 500.000 [some Terāpanthis say: 1 million] followers of the Terāpanth ascetics. They are organised and tightly integrated with the ascetic community in a variety of ways. Most of them were born into the sect, however, for converts it is mandatory to have an interview with the *ācārya*, and to undergo the formal lay initiation into the right belief (*samyaktva dīkṣā*). This ritual, which transforms individuals into second-order ascetics, or 'real' *brāhmaṇs* (Schubring 1978:285), is usually publicly performed under the guidance of the *ācārya*, who only under special circumstances also excommunicates *śrāvaks*. Ideally the candidates take a vow to accept the Jain doctrine and practice in general (*aṇuvrat*), and another vow to accept the *maryādā* of *ācārya* Bhikṣu, to support the Terāpanth ascetics, to monitor their behaviour, and to maintain exclusive loyalty to the *ācārya* throughout their life (*śrāvak niṣṭh patr*) (AK I:360-376).[48] A candidate, therefore, accepts not only the universal moral principles of Jainism, but also the specific institutional regulations of the sect as a corporate group. The commitment to these vows is nominally strengthened through their collective recitation in public assemblies (*hājarī*) and by a system of religious sanctions, which the ascetics apply to adjudicate confessed transgressions. Most effective, however, are informal social sanctions attached to prevailing notions of honour and face, which need not be enforced by the *sabhāpatis* (the leaders of the local lay-communities) who only intervene in the case of crime. In this way a strong moral and indeed legal bond is established between the *ācārya* and his laity, who are expected to adhere strictly to his political guidance and regulations (cf. Sangave 1980:379). Although the *ācārya* cannot exercise any political authority over his laity, his directives have great persuasive power and become rule for all practical purposes, simply by the fact of his constitutive role both for the reproduction of Jain religion and of the Terāpanth community. In practice, there is a certain overlap between various forms of jurisdiction (religious, social, legal). This is manifest both in

48. "1. I dedicate myself to the *maryādā* of Ācārya Bhikṣu, the disciples of the Terāpanth *dharm*, and the head of the order. 2. I shall perpetually remain vigilant regarding the indivisibility of the order. 3. I shall not give refuge to anyone who has been excommunicated by the order. 4. I shall not concur with any attitudes which are not in concord with the orders of the *ācārya*. 5. If I find any faults in any *sādhu* or *sādhvī* of the order, I will inform them directly or the *ācārya*. I shall not publicise it. 6. I shall maintain the purity of my food and drink. 7. I shall devote every day one *sāmāyik* [48 minutes] or at least twenty minutes to religious observances" (tr. AK 1991 I:376). Although the ascetics propagate this, born Terāpanthīs rarely accept the *samyaktva dīkṣā* or the *aṇuvrats* because these are very general and demand a lifelong commitment. More popular are the ten types of more specific ritualistic vows (*das pratyākhyān*) which are principally taken as part of the sixth *āvaśyak* (obligatory rite), either for a limited period or lifelong (*ĀvS* 6.1-10 in AK I:29, cf. Cort 1989:260, Laidlaw 1995:174). The *Aṇuvrat* movement has only gained 40.000 adherents in nearly 50 years and is seen by many Terāpanthīs more as a media show and an unnecessary formalism. The *śrāvak niṣṭh patr* has been introduced in 1982 by Tulsī on demand of the former education minister of Rajasthan, Candanmal Baid, who considered it a good idea to have sect-specific *maryādās* for the laity as well. It remains to be seen how effective this attempt of expanding monastic organisational rules to the laity will be.

the occasional mediating role of the *ācārya* in social disputes between members, and of his mirror-image, the Terāpanth lawyer, who acts in the courts on behalf of the sect. In sum, the Terāpanth, like other Indian sects, combines religious universalism with social exclusivism, and thus constitutes a well-organised and therefore powerful pressure-group that mediates between state, caste and family.

The great majority of the Terāpanth laity (and ascetics) are Rajasthani Bīsa Osvāl *baniās*. The fact that the Terāpanth, like most Jain subsects (Sangave 1980, Banks 1992:121-2), is closely associated with a particular caste (*jāti*) is also the historical consequence of an explicit rule which prescribed that only Bīsa Osvāl *baniās* should be initiated and accepted as lay followers. It was abandoned only in the 1950s, under the impact of the anti-caste politics of the Indian government.[49] The Rajasthani Osvāls are seen as a subcategory of the Mārvāṛīs, who are today a very mobile and wealthy segment of the Indian population (G.D. Sharma 1984:200).[50] Over the last 300 years many of them migrated from Rajasthan, which at times offered few economic prospects, to the major cities of India, where they now form small, semi-permanent trading communities (Timberg 1978:93). Traditionally they operate through kinship links and maintain well organised joint-family firms with communal assets which are controlled by the head of the family. Like the Terāpanth *ācārya*, the head of the Mārvāṛī family firms exercises civil jurisdiction over his sons and employees and rotates his personnel (mainly relatives and long-term associates of the family from Rajasthan) in order to prevent their attachment to a particular local branch and thus tendencies towards the premature division of the family business (p. 131,135). He also decides on the locations for a network of branches (*śākhā*, *koṭhī*) in promising trading locations where he sends his younger sons, often "by a process of uncles calling nephews, and fathers-in-law sons-in-law" (Timberg 1971:76). Even today diaspora Terāpanthīs maintain an attachment to the houses (*havelīs*) of their ancestors (*pitṛs*) in Rajasthan, where the cooperating members of the family lineage (*kuṭumb*) periodically assemble for marriages and funerals (i.e.

49. This rule goes back to Loṅkā. Similarly, Terāpanth accepted "only those with whom they can eat together" (Singh, Munshi H. *The Castes of Marwar*. Being a Census Report of 1891. Jodhpur: Books Treasure, 1991:110). Historically, it is rules like these and the political interests behind them, which are primarily responsible for the present close link between Jainism and commerce, in addition to the quasi 'protestant ethos' embodied in the Śvetāmbar *Śrāvakācāra* literature itself (cf. Weber 1978:207, Williams 1983:xxii).

50. The Gujarati Osvāls migrated earlier, mainly during the period of the Chalukya rule (974-1238 A.D.), from Rajasthan to Gujarat. Today they speak Gujarati and are predominately followers of the local Mūrtipūjak ascetics. They do not intermarry or interdine with Rajasthani Osvāls, which they consider as a lower status group (because they 'still eat onions'). Rajasthani Osvāls are internally divided in up to four status classes (*Heta*, *Pañca*, *Dasa*, *Bīsa*). The Bīsa Osvāls (Mv. *Bal Sajan*) are considered status-higher than the Dasa Osvāls (Mv. *Choṭā Sajan*). Cf. Babb (1996:137-73) on Osvāl origin myths, and Sopher (1968:424) on the lasting influence of the Chalukya empire on current patterns of Mūrtipūjak pilgrimage circulation.

feasts which involve the pooling and transfer of resources), as well as to Osiyān, the legendary place of origin of the Osvāl *jāti* near Jodhpur, where the lineage goddess (*kuldevī*) Saciyā (Durgā) is worshipped (cf. Babb 1996:137-160).[51] According to Timberg (1978:38) this combination of a network of branches and a centralised control with the family-firm explains the 'organisational superiority' of the Mārvāṛīs, which he regards as the key to their success. Between families of the same sub-caste (*jāti*) exist only weak status differences. Hindus and Jains still intermarry freely among Bīsa Osvāls and no ranking of exogamous groups (*gotras*), lineages (*kul*), cooperating family lineages (*kuṭumb*), and families (*parivār*) can be observed. In certain contexts, of course, differences of political influence and economic power become relevant, and the principles of solidarity and seniority also operate between families, and between members of religious communities, which are nominally equal.[52]

In the following I will concentrate on the implications of the *vihār* for the Terāpanth (Osvāl) laity, in demonstrating the important political and economic functions of their lay-associations. Timberg (1978) argued that Mārvāṛī commercial expansion "had little to do with the community" (p. 82). He denies the importance of cultural factors for economic development per se (p. 3-6), although he mentions the strong symbolic identification of the 'Mārvāṛīs' with Rajasthan and its culture, and the important indirect economic role of religious and family networks (p. 195). Bayly (1983), on the other hand, suggests that "the corporate identities of the later commercial middle classes were, at base, formed around conceptions of religion and credit" (p. 8) and that there is a direct relationship between mercantile credit and common sectarian attachment (p. 389). In focusing not only on the institutions of the family, but also on those of the religious community and caste, which Timberg neglects, I wish to combine religious and socio-economic perspectives. Although I do not share Bayly's (p. 383-5) appreciation of Jain stories as evidence for the presumed direct economic efficacy of proper religious conduct, I wish to emphasise the constitutive duality of the Terāpanth ritual circle, which plays both a religious and a social role, both conditioning and being conditioned by a dispersed community of lay supporters. The indirect function of the Terāpanth community as a socio-economic 'resource network' is less visible than in other Jain sects, because religion is officially divorced from the world of property. But its role as a political 'pressure

51. Sharing of assets is only practiced within a family (*parivār*). Members of family lineages (*kuṭumb*) — usually the families of brothers — are economically independent. But sometimes they maintain common charity-trusts for *dharmśālās* etc. which contribute to the transgenerational stability of a *kuṭumb*. The lineage (*kul*) is constituted through a common historical affiliation to a lineage god (*kul devatā*) and not of immediate socio-economic relevance.

52. Cf. H. Stern, "L'édification d'un secteur économique moderne: l'exemple d'une caste marchande du Rajasthan", *Puruṣārtha* 6 (1982) 142ff.

group' is manifest.[53] Yet no formal organisation of Terāpanth lay followers existed until the founding of the Terāpanth *Sabhā* (assembly) in Calcutta in 1913. Local communities assembled informally in the houses of leading *śrāvaks* to meet visiting ascetics or for other religious events. Only after independence were a whole variety of community associations founded locally and nationally to materially support the new educational programmes of *ācārya* Tulsī, most notably the *Aṇuvrat* movement in Delhi 1949, and the *Pūramārthik Śikṣaṇ Sansthā* (= PSS), a religious school for young women (*upāsikās*) and novices (*mumukṣus*) in Ladnun in 1949, and the *Jain Viśva Bhāratī* (=JVB) in Ladnun in 1970 (Mahāprajña 1987:11-12, 43-44). These organisations operate independently under the spiritual guidance of the *ācārya* and are financed by the *Aṇuvrat Trust* (1949) and the *Tulsī Foundation* (1980) respectively.[54] However, the most important organisation, the Terāpanth *Mahāsabhā* (=MS), which now funds the PSS, nowadays forms a national council of lay representatives, and provides a centralised organisational framework for the Terāpanth laity, parallel to the religious organisation of the ascetics.

THE JAIN ŚVETĀMBAR TERĀPANTH MAHĀSABHĀ

The Terāpanth Mahāsabhā was founded in 1913 in Calcutta by a number of Terāpanth Mārvāṛī businessmen and lawyers to foster the interests of the local Terāpanthī community. The Terāpanthī Mārvāṛīs of Calcutta belonged to the second wave of migrating businessmen, who came mainly from the Bikaner, Jodhpur and Shekhavati regions of Rajasthan and arrived in Calcutta in greater numbers from 1880 onwards. Timberg (1971) especially mentions the Koṭhārī family-clan from Bikaner, and other families such as the Baiṅgāṇīs and Baids from Ladnun and the Dugaṛs, Rāmpuriās, Nāhaṭās and Gadhaiyās from Sardārśahar and Ratangarh in Churu district. One might add the Coraṛiyās, Dāgās, Seṭhiyās, and Surāṇās. "On the border of Bikaner and Jodhpur states, four towns in particular (Ladnun, Chapra, Sujangarh, and Bidasar) sent a large number of Osvāls into the jute trade, especially in East Bengal" (p. 77). These families have produced the most prominent lay followers of the Terāpanthī ascetics and many of the office bearers of the *Terāpanthī* MS in Calcutta. It is therefore safe to say that not only did most of the Terāpanthī Osvāl Mārvāṛīs come from Bikaner district, but also that most of the leading Bikaneri Mārvāṛīs in Calcutta were Terāpanthī Osvāls (cf. Timberg

53. Cf. Weber (1985:203-7); and Dumont (1980:166 *pace* 322) and Cort (1989:15) on the growing emancipation of economics from politics in India.

54. Apart from the PSS which was established by the MS all socio-religious institutions were initiated by the *ācārya*. The JVB is a socio-religious college, open to non-Jains, which teaches Jainism, *prekṣa dhyān* and *jīvan vijñān* particularly to *samaṇs* and *mumukṣus*. For lists of the main lay-contributors to the *Aṇuvrat Vyāpār Maṇḍal* (S. Ancaliyā, J. Bhandari, C. Copṛā, J. Daftāri, S.K. Dasani, N. Gadhaiyā, D.K. Karnavat, M. Kaṭhotia, S.C. Rāmpuria, H. Surāṇā etc.) and the *Tulsī Foundation* (B. Dugaṛ, C.R. Bhansali, etc.) see Mahāprajña 1987:7-13,30-37.

1978:195). How close the relationship between Bikaner and the Calcutta Mārvāṛīs was (and is) illustrates the remark of Mahārāja Surat Singh from Bikaner in 1883: "Calcutta and Bikaner is one" (G.D. Sharma 1984:200). Most of the Mārvāṛīs traded in cloth and jute, and slowly established themselves in the business world of Calcutta by gaining more and more *baniāships* (guaranteed commission agencies) from British merchant companies. During the First World War they achieved an economic breakthrough and established the institutional and financial basis for their present position as one of the most influential business communities in post-independence India.

The history of the Mārvāṛīs is well known and it is sufficient to stress that, although there was a cultural bond which united the Rajasthani *baniās* in Bengal, a great diversity of social circles existed within the general regional category of 'Mārvāṛīs'. Not only because initially their families had to remain in Rajasthan,[55] Terāpanthī Mārvāṛīs kept mainly to themselves, maintaining closer links to their ancestral homes, and to other Bīsa Osvāl families all over India, rather than with their neighbours (Jain 1988). They participated of course in the activities of the main Mārvāṛī organisations (*Mārvāṛī Chamber of Commerce, Jute Association, Mārvāṛī Samāj Calcutta* (1898), *All India Mārvāṛī Federation, Mārvāṛī Relief Society*) and other cross-cutting economic interest groups, as well as the main Jain organisations (*Jain Sabhā, Jain Śvetāmbar Pañcāyatī Mandir*) (Sukhalāl 1991:47). The emergence of these two separate types of special interest groups illustrates the increasing compartmentalization of economic and socio-cultural spheres among Indian business people (Singer 1968:438). However, the focus of the socio-religious activities of the Terāpanthīs became the Terāpanth *Sabhā*, which was modelled on similar self-regulating institutions among other sects.[56] The establishment of the *Sabhā* as a formally registered religious association occurred only in 1913, in response to the *Navalik Cela Registration Bill* of 15.9.1913, which threatened to classify young Jain mendicants with 'professional beggars', and to imprison them if caught begging on the streets. L.S. Singh proposed a four-point resolution to the legislative council of the

55. Terāpanth *ācāryas* forbade their ascetics to visit large cities and places outside Rajasthan until 1949 (Nathmal 1968:147-8, S. Kumar (o.c.) p. 30). Following ancient precedent, Bengal was declared as a forbidden area (*anāryakṣetr*) not only for ascetics but also for women and children (Timberg 1978:195,193) until 1959, when *ācārya* Tulsī spent *cāturmās* in Calcutta (Mahāprajña 1994:197-8). Consequently, no religious community could be formed, and the *śrāvaks* had to return frequently to Rajasthan, usually after the end of the jute season (March-June). A similar pattern can be found among first generation expatriate Jains outside India (*pace* Banks 1992:8).

56. For instance the *Śeṭh Ānandjī Kalyāṇjī* trust (founded in 1821 in Ahmedabad, under the control of the Bīsa Osvāl *Nagarśeṭhs*) (Tripathi, Dwijendra. *The Dynamics of Tradition: Kasturbhai Lalbhai and his Entrepreneurship*. New Delhi: Manohar, 1981:9,199ff., Banks 1992:103-5) or the *Jain Śvetāmbar Conference* (founded 1903 by Ahmedabad millowners) (Mehta 1982:100-2), both of which contributed to the disappearance of the institution of the *yati* and to the contemporary success of the reformed (*saṃvegī*) *Tapā Gacch* ascetics (cf. Cort 1989:100, 1991a:402-5, 1991b:659).

government of the United Provinces, "to prevent minor boys and girls from being turned into beggars, mendicants or sādhus during the period of their minority either by the parents who make them over to the so-called sādhus or by sādhus who make them such by force or false representations" (Singh 1914:518). All Jains were alarmed by the plans of the legislative council, which, if passed as a bill, would have made the traditional itinerant life of the Jain mendicants (who distance themselves vehemently from 'brāhmaṇical beggars') impossible. The Terāpanthīs in Calcutta joined with the Mūrtipūjaks to protest against the resolution (which never became law: the beggars act of 1948 distinguishes *sādhus* from 'beggars') and R.B.G. Mukīm from Bikaner, the trustee of the *Jain Śvetāmbar Pañcāyat Mandir* in Calcutta, was invited to coordinate Jain protest. But very soon problems in working together emerged, apparently regarding the accountability of the trustee, who was forced to declare that the Mūrtipūjaks 'did not take any money' for running the temple for all the local Jains (Sukhalāl 1991:46-7). K.C. Koṭhārī then decided that the Terāpanth tradition (*sampradāy*) would establish its own independent organisation. A *Sabhā* meeting under the presidency of Talu Rām was called, and Dhadeva was elected president and K.C. Koṭhārī secretary of the new Terāpanthī *Sabhā*. The *Sabhā* thus came into being as a formal organisation not only to resist the *Navalik Cela Registration Bill*, and to please the colonial government with social reforms, but also to protect the shares of the Terāpanthīs in the religious property of the Jain community in Calcutta.

Although it fulfilled secondary social, political and economic functions, the *Sabhā* was primarily a vehicle for the defence of community interests in the courts. One of the main activists and the second president of the Terāpanth *Sabhā* was Chogmal Copṛā (1883-1976). He was an Osvāl, born in Derajsar (Bikaner), where his mother stayed in the family house (*havelī*), while his father Pūsrāj Copṛā worked in Rangapur (Bengal) as an accountant (*munīm*) of I.C. Nāhaṭā, an important jute merchant. I.C. Nāhaṭā was the first Jain Osvāl who broke the religious rule against travelling overseas and went to the UK in 1887. He was therefore declared an outcaste by the Bīsa Osvāl *pañcāyat* for the rest of his life, and even Chogmal's father suffered from his close contacts with Nāhaṭā. C. Copṛā differed from the rest of the Terāpanth business community through his higher education. In 1908 he gained a law degree in Calcutta, the first of the Mārvāṛī families from Bikaner to do so, and worked as a specialist in insurance law until he was 60. He was famed for the free legal advice he gave to 'people in need' — mostly prominent Terāpanth Mārvāṛīs (who today control the majority of the great law firms in Calcutta) — and developed into one of the most active social workers (*kāryakartas*) of the Terāpanth community (p. 39, 46). The fact that not a businessman, but a lawyer, a man of education, became the most influential community leader is not untypical for Jain communities. Jain businessmen do usually not dispose of the necessary 'cultural capital' to be able to construct a sufficient ideological platform on which to build a lay

community. This is why they need intellectuals to do this on their behalf. The intellectuals, on the other hand, often do not possess 'economic capital'. The characteristic relationship of hierarchical complementarity between ascetics and laity is thus replicated within the laity itself, whose leading members are intellectuals on the one hand and businessmen on the other.

Most of the decisive *Sabhā* members of the time belonged to the conservative wing of the Terāpanth *śrāvaks* and were supporters of the National Congress. They reacted to state-legislation but did not press for reforms within the Terāpanth sect itself. They were opposed by the young radicals of the now defunct Terāpanth *Taruṇ Saṅgh* (youth assembly), headed by Bhanvarmal Siṅghī and Siddharāj *ṛhaḍhaṛhā*, who even challenged the monastic orthodoxy itself. The changes they demanded were not only related to social customs (women, untouchability etc.) and business interests, which were best served by maintaining good working-relationships with the British,[57] but also concerned with the abolition of child initiation (*bāldīkṣā*), old fashioned excretionary practices of ascetics in towns, ritualistic inhibitions against industry, foreign travel, and the movement of wives, children and ascetics outside Rajasthan (cf. Timberg 1978:69). Most, but not all (viz. *bāldīkṣā*) of those demands were ratified by *ācārya* Tulsī forty years later in the course of the general social changes after Indian Independence and are now part of the official socio-religious policy of the Terāpanth (Mahāprajña 1987:10-13).

In the early decades of its existence, the *Sabhā* was an organisation designed purely for the interests of the Calcutta Terāpanthīs. The organisation was closed to Terāpanthīs from other regions of India. Only later, under the influence of *ācārya* Tulsī (1946-1960), was the membership of the *Sabhā* widened, and the organisation transformed itself into the first nation-wide institution of the Terāpanthī laity by recognising similar local Terāpanth communities all over India as affiliate members. From then on, the Calcutta *Sabhā* was named *Akhil Bhāratīya Terāpanth Mahāsabhā*, the great all Indian assembly of the Terāpanth laity. Today almost all of the Terāpanth lay associations are *sabhās*. Only a very few, mostly small, local communities in remote areas, still assemble around a prominent family, as is indicated by the names given in the annual lists of *cāturmās* locations of the ascetics (Navratanmal 1991). In due course the MS acted as the central coordinating organisation of the Terāpanthī laity for all India, under direct instruction of the *ācārya*. The main outward sign of systematic co-operation between the independent local communities became the centralised planning of the material infrastructure of the ritual *vihār* from the two central offices *(śākhās)* of the MS

57. Keśroy Cand Koṭhārī, for instance, who was secretary of the Terāpanth *Sabhā* in 1924, was praised by the *Census of India* 1921 for giving "considerable assistance in the course of the census operations" (Keshroy, Sheth Kesree Chand [K.C. Koṭhārī]. "Account of the Terapanthi Sect of Swetambar Jains." In *Census of India 1921*, Vol. I. India, Part I.— Report. Ed. J.T. Marten. Appendix IV, xiii-xiv. Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, 1924: appendix).

in Calcutta and Ladnun, and the sharing of expenses for the four months of *cāturmās* of the *ācārya* and his group, which are about Rs. 2.000.000 (Goonasekere 1986:207) which are usually paid by the local *sabhāpati*. Also in recent years major investments have been made in order to create a permanent infrastructure for the new community institutions, i.e. the Terāpanthī-centre in Ladnun and assembly houses (*sabhābhavans*) with libraries for the laity in major cities.

FORMAL ORGANISATION

How is a Jain lay-association, like the MS, organised? And how does it handle property? The prime official aim of the MS is to represent the interests of the Terāpanth community vis-à-vis the institutions of the modern Indian state, that is "to consider, (and) promote or oppose any legislation or other measures and enactments affecting Jainism, its tenets, culture or order of Jain Sadhus, Sadhvis, Shrawaks and Shrawikas" (JSTM 1987:5). The MS is also particularly concerned with maintaining legal control over its charitable funds as with similar charitable associations of the Jains (cf. Banks 1992:104-6). However, until *ācārya* Kālūrām's recognition of the MS, the concept of community welfare was rejected by the Terāpanth on doctrinal grounds. Instead, the family, and caste were favoured as the elementary social units (there are still no community meals among the Terāpanth laity). As non-image-worshippers, the Terāpanthīs could not promote the construction of temples and also rejected the Sthānakvāsī notion of charitable 'social work' as religiously illegitimate, arguing that the propagation of social charity as a religious value would only serve the rich (Tulsī 1985:162ff., Oldfield 1982:71). In accordance with Tulsī's reforms the MS therefore chose as its main aim the promotion of 'educational work' (i.e the propagation of Terāpanthī Jainism), stressing particularly the importance of meditation and the preservation and publication of books, which is a traditional concern of Jains (JSTM 1987:1-6).[58] Members of the association can be "any Shrawaka or Shrawika who has attained the age of 18 years irrespective of caste, colour, race and nationality" (p. 3). It thus appears as if membership of the MS is open to all Jains. But this is not the case, on the contrary, the general Jain terms *śrāvaka* and *śrāvikā* (male and female laity, lit. 'listeners' of the sermons of the Jinas) have been given a narrow, sectarian interpretation, reserving them for lay members of the Terāpanth sect alone: "'Shrawak' or 'Shrawika' means a person who has implicit faith in the Acharya of the Jain Swetambar Terāpanthī Sect, and his religious views, and in his rules of conduct and limitations, and in the Sādhu who follows his order, and also in the religious principles of the Jain Swetambar Terāpanthī Sect" (p. 3). Membership of the MS is thus

58. One aim is "to purchase, acquire or secure copyrights in Agama publications" (JSTM 1987:5).

predicated on discipleship to the *ācārya*. This partly explains the *ācārya's* power, because no excommunicated individual can remain in the MS.[59]

The organisational framework of the MS is designed to guarantee a centralised nationwide coordination of socio-religious activities of the Terāpanth laity. Its formal structure is modern and democratic, and combines features of bureaucratic centralisation and territorial segmentation, parallel to the *dharmasaṅgh*. The highest representative body of the MS is the *General Meeting* of all members. But more important with regard to the running of the day-to-day affairs of the organisation is the biannual *Annual General Meeting* of at least 51 members, who assemble at the site of the *maryādā mahotsav*. Its main function is the election of a president, who acts as the *sabhāpati* (leader of the lay community) and is the formal equivalent to the *ācārya* within the overall hierarchical structure of dual leadership, which is typical for modern Jain sects. The *sabhāpati* fulfils mainly representative and general supervisional functions. He should ensure that the rules and regulations of the *ācārya* and the MS are correctly observed, and has the right to criticise the behavioural 'laxity' of its members. During his presidency he is nominally forced to neglect his own business because he is preoccupied with visiting and supervising meetings and functions of the local *sabhās* throughout India. Like the *ācārya* or the head of a traditional Mārvāṛī 'great firm' he is constantly on the move. However, effectively, the MS is managed and supervised by a *Working Committee* of 100 members (incl. the president) who are directly nominated by the president (and with the consent of the *ācārya*) for a two years term. The *Working Committee* transacts all necessary business of the MS. It meets four times a year and is mainly responsible for the framing of regulations, the creation of new departments or committees, and the setting up and management of charities and funds. It also appoints the general secretary, the treasurer, and the heads (*sanyojaks*) of state-committees, and prescribes their duties (p. 15-8). The key person in the actual running of the organisation is not the president but the general secretary. He acts as the public spokesman of the MS and operates its office in Calcutta, where the accounts and the voters list etc. are kept. His main responsibilities are to keep proper accounts, to undertake any legal actions, and to sign all necessary papers in the name of the MS (p. 26-30). The two other key persons are the treasurer and the chief trustee. A system of mutual controls between them and the general secretary is to prevent the misuse of office (p. 30-1).

59. By adding a statute which defines the word *śrāvaka* as 'Terāpanth *śrāvaka*' and which is known almost exclusively to its members, the MS intentionally violates the common-sensical understanding of the term and effects organisational closure. The importance of this strategic reinterpretation for safeguarding interests of the MS is underlined by the fact that this point alone is reiterated again at the very end of the memorandum: "The definition of the words 'SHRAWAK' and 'SHRAWIKA' as given in the definition clause shall always remain unaltered" (JSTM 1987:37).

STATUS AND POWER

One of the main incentives for being a candidate for any of the key positions is to gain control over the management of the assets of the MS trusts. The community properties of the Terāpanth sect are, like those of other contemporary Jain sub-sects, held in the name of the sect (*saṅgh*), but managed by the elected, usually male leaders of the lay communities (*samāj*), thus establishing a system of balances that are crucially dependent on the maintenance of a strict separation between ascetics and laity. Decisions about investments in new socio-religious projects are usually taken by leading members of the Terāpanth community which assemble 'at the feet' of the *ācārya* to discuss the issue informally (*āntarik goṣṭhī*). The *ācārya* does not legally own any property, but he is informed of all new developments and always asked for his advice on where to donate surplus money for charitable (educational) purposes and how to spend the funds of the Terāpanth foundations. He will give his blessings only if he agrees with a project, and nobody will act against his recommendations. This arrangement is the norm among contemporary Jains, with the exception of the Digambar Terāpanth movements.[60]

It is necessary to distinguish between the charitable institutions, on the one hand, and the trusts and landed property owned by them and their members, on the other. Whether a particular fund is treated as 'secular' or as 'socio-religious' property depends entirely on the context. The statute that "any proprietary concern whose proprietor is an associate of (the) Mahāsabhā" (JSTM 1987:4) can also be a member, facilitates the temporary transformation of any business controlled by Terāpanthīs into a charitable institution. Charitable funds are sometimes used as communal sources of credit and fulfil major economic functions within Jain communities. In fact, the crux of disputes over pilgrimage sites and the internal political dynamic of Jain associations is often the battle for the control of community assets which have been accumulated over decades or even centuries.[61] These funds have to be invested in the best interests of the community. Therefore the most prosperous and capable individuals are usually elected to the posts of chief trustee, treasurer and general secretary, who take all economic decisions for the MS trusts and manage the funds of the association as if it were a business (Mahāprajña 1987:11).[62] This *potlatch*-like system favours the rich and supplies them with access to

60. Cf. Sangave 1980:376-9, Mehta 1982:100-2, Banks 1992:107-8,123, Carrithers 1989:231,233.

61. Cf. Sangave 1980:329, Reynell 1991:51, 53, Banks 1992:6, Carrithers 1988:817-8, Balbir 1990:178.

62. They have to "preserve, maintain, develop and safeguard all the properties and funds of the Mahāsabhā" (JSTM 1987:22), and can "give loans on interest ... without securities" (p. 23, cf. Oldfield 1982:87-8). Generally, the management of Jain religious property is based on trust. However, sometimes the powerful few do not repay what they have withdrawn from the community funds, and accusations about the mishandling of community accounts are commonplace. See for instance the alleged misuse of JVB-funds by its secretary C.R. Bhansali (P. Mukherjee "CPI intensifies probe into swindle...", *The Asian Age* 23.5.1997, p. 10-11).

community assets and prestige, in the expectation that the community itself can profit from their prosperity, because it is expected that those in control, in turn, donate generously to the various funds of the organisation and pay all the expenses occurring during their two years in office. As a rule, only renowned 'social workers' (*prabhāvakas, kāryakartas*), who donate regularly to the socio-religious projects of their sect, will be elected.[63] Among the Terāpanth all this was rendered possible only through Tulsī's doctrine of *visarjan*, which turned charitable donations into an attractive proposition even for businessmen. However, the continuing doctrinal devaluation of charitable giving generated two paradoxical effects: Firstly, the property held in the name of the sect is regarded as 'social' from the religious point of view and as 'religious' from the social (legal) point of view. Secondly, the prestigious process of giving money is hidden from public view, although the names of the donors and the donated sums are published by community magazines. The consequence of the fact that several candidates are involved in secret competitive giving (*maunsevā*), particularly during the process of issuing invitations for *cāturmās*, is that the total assets continue to grow, thus, reinforcing the incentive to give even more.

How do Terāpanthīs, then, conceive of the relationship between status and power? No doubt, lay people often venerate ascetics only because of their presumed magico-religious powers (*oj, tej, śakti*) which, they think, can be transmitted through direct contact with their toes, hands, and eyes. Charitable transactions, on the other hand, are considered to be merely of socio-religious value. As a rule, asceticism generates respect and attracts religious support. Similarly, charitableness attracts social support. In theory, therefore, two parallel status-systems operate within the community, a religious one, culminating in the *ācārya*, and a socio-religious one, culminating in the *sabhāpati* (who is not necessarily the individual with the greatest economic power). Purely socio-economic status criteria, like wealth (*dhan*) or power (*śakti*), are regarded as non-religious, as are *brāhmaṇic* notions of purity.[64] In practice, however, religion and power

63. Cf. Sheth (1984:14). Reynell (1985:172), Laidlaw (1990) and Smedley (p.c.) made similar observations among Jaipur (Khartar Gacch-) Mūrtipūjaks: "In devoting his surplus money to charity the merchant is signalling both that he is wealthy, and also that he uses his wealth wisely and well. Both potential investors and potential trading partners are fully aware that the money he is giving is hardly being thrown away. The more rich and prominent he is, indeed, the more closer the donor is likely to remain to the money given. The prominent merchant families which make big donations to charity frequently include members of the trust committees which preside over the funds, and the places on the saṅgh committees which control religious property circulate between them" (Laidlaw 1990:114). Jains spend most of the charitable expenditures on their own sectarian projects (Williams 1983:153), and can be considered minimal transactors (Marriott) in this sense, although most communities — in particular the Sthānakvāsīs but also the Terāpanthīs — promote public health and education as well.

64. Cf. Dumont 1980:190f. Effectively Terāpanthīs distinguish three levels: religion and society, and within the social sphere again: the religious community and other social spheres. The official Terāpanth doctrine does not recognise a 'complementarity' of female *tap* and male *dān* (Reynell 1985). It also does not regard

are often two sides of the same coin. As Dumont (1980:187, 215), Bechert (1970:766) and Tambiah (1984:49) have shown, traditionally both Buddhists and Jains recognise a hierarchical continuum between power and renunciation, and operate with ambiguous status-categories which mediate between *dharma* and *artha*. The fundamental notion, informing socio-religious life, being the concept of the spiritually superior person (*mahāpuruṣ*), i.e. the socially encompassing moral hero, who through exemplary acts of renunciation converts raw power into status, and who rules primarily through personal moral authority. The Terāpanth system is nominally different but operates in exactly the same way, except that only the *ācārya* has the power to invest a person formally with socio-religious status: Terāpanth community leaders are considered to be the protectors of the religion in the social sphere, thus embodying both morality (*dharma*) and power (*artha*), like ideal Jain or Buddhist kings (*dharmarājās*). They present themselves in public therefore as individuals of religious education and of flawless moral character. Politico-economic power is presupposed, but hidden away and not explicitly emphasised in socio-religious contexts.

There are only few legitimate avenues for charitable donations. Most lay-projects concern religious publishing and Tulsī-inspired building projects. The MS, for example, promotes the construction of *dharmśālās* and of memorials (*smāraks*) in the villages of Rajasthan to honour those who have 'served the cause of Jainism' (JSTM 1987:3, 6). The most famous of these are the *Bīkhāṇjī kā janm sthān* in Kanṭāliyā, the *Jaitasimhajī kī chatrī* in Bagṛī, and the *Bhikṣu smārak* in Siriyārī, which mark the important events (*kalyāṇak*) in Bhikṣu's life, and which became second order places of pilgrimage along with Tulsī's birthplace and the JVB in Ladnun and the site of his cremation in Gaṅgāśahar, which both will be marked with new memorials.[65] In order to qualify as

the 'twin-ideals' of *mahāśrāvak* and *śeṭh* for the 'ideal Mūrtipūjak layman' (Cort 1991a:410) as religious values. To be wealthy is not a spiritual value but merely a matter of socio-economic status (*haisiyat*). Cort's analysis of the 'spiritual value' of wealth among Mūrtipūjaks is implausible, because in the material he presents *śeṭh* is not used as separate religious category but as honorific term for a merchant who acts AS a *mahāśrāvak* (cf. Bayly 1983:383).

65. The five historic sites (*aitihāsik sthal*) of the Terāpanth are all related to Bhikṣu's life: his birth in Kāṇṭāliyā, Āṣāṛh Śuklā 13 1726, his enlightenment experience (*bodhi*) in Rājangar 1758, the separation (*abhiniṣkramaṇ*) from the Sthānakvāsīs in Bagṛī, Caitra Śuklā 9 1760, his self-initiation (*bhāv dīkṣā*) and the founding (*sthāpanā*) of the Terāpanth in Kelvā, Āṣāṛh Śuklā Pūrṇimā 1760, and his death (*svargavās*) in Siriyārī, Bhādrapad Śuklā 13 1803 (AK I:43-4). In contrast to other Jain *ācāryas*, Bhikṣu's life is often represented as a replication of Mahāvīr's life by underplaying the importance of his initiation (*dravya dīkṣā*) into the Sthānakvāsī sect in Bagṛī, Mārg Kṛṣṇā 12 1751. Cf. Chojnacki (o.c.) p. 49 on the hierarchisation of pilgrimage places in Jain sacred geography and Laidlaw (1995:258) and Babb (1996:108) on second order Jain shrines. Visiting their historic places has a predominantly touristic aspect for the Terāpanthīs, who of course also visit other sacred sites, like Osiyan etc. (cf. Sopher 1968:422, Balbir 1990:184), but the *smāraks* at the funeral sites of Bhikṣu and Tulsī — the two main *ācāryas* — are also used as 'miracle shrines' by śrāvaks who seek help for worldly endeavours via commemoration of their saints, especially at the anniversaries of their days of death (cf. Granoff (o.c.) p. 183).

a form of socio-religious service (*sevā*), community work has to be validated through public appraisal by the *ācārya*, who alone holds the right to confer socio-religious titles. Tulsī bestowed no less than 49 different types of honorific titles (*sambodhan*) during his reign, on both ascetics and laity; and the Terāpanth foundations give cash awards (*puraskār*) of up to 1 *lakh* rupees to acknowledged lay individuals who did 'good work for community and religion', including members from other sects (cf. Mahāprajña 1987:12). The motivating effect of public honours on community workers can be explained by a combination of rational and empirical factors: For Terāpanthīs honorific titles are desirable not only because they guarantee public recognition but also because they substantiate claims to real assets. For outstanding contributions ascetics receive *kalyāṇak* bonus points from the *ācārya*, which may be cashed in as compensation for penances received for negligent conduct, and lay people receive cash awards. In order to motivate service to the community the Terāpanthīs also employ a great variety of social status categories, which they reinterpret in terms of the Jain concept of the spiritually superior person. The ascetics, for instance, often allude to the Mārvāṛī ethos of moral respectability (*ābrū*) and family honour (*izzat*), or they refer to the pride (*mān*) associated with access to high office and proximity to the holders of politico-religious power, even though, from a strictly doctrinal point of view, this can only be considered as a form of *karmic* delusion (*māyā*). Public honouring (*sammān*) and dishonouring (*apmān*), both in religious and social contexts, are a common means of generating status differentials among the nominally egalitarian Mārvāṛīs, which affects their social credibility and stirs competitive instincts.[66] Laidlaw's (1995:354) theory — derived from Bayly's (1983) study of North Indian society 1770-1870 — that among Jains socio-religious status translates 'directly' into economic credit seems however implausible (this presupposes monopoly markets), particularly in the light of growing complaints about vanishing community spirit and growing egotism. Today, even among Jains, and despite the moral recommendations of the ascetics, business is one thing, and religion another. But, it is crucial for the individual to get the balance right.[67]

In sum, through the mediation of the value-ideas of *karma*, status, and honour, which focus on the social *persona* of an individual, Jain charitable institutions ideally transform the relative competitive advantage of wealthy families into a form of well-being and security for the whole community. They grant them access to the charitable funds but expect adequate returns in the form of religious donations flowing back into the institution. The system aims at synthesizing individual self-interest and community well-being to help the successful members legitimate their wealth and to become even

66. Cf. Weber 1985:723, Bayly 1983:389, Reynell 1985:173, Banks 1992:84ff., Cort 1991a:407.

67. Cf. Bayly (1983:387,392-3) and Singer (1968) for different historical forms of compartmentalisation.

more successful, if they are prepared to limit themselves and to share some of that wealth with the community. The social pressures and competitive constraints of this system, which in the case of the Terāpanth is restricted to the funding of the annual pilgrimage and Tulsī's moral-educational projects and practically excludes the wider society, explains the political importance of the selection processes preceding the *vihār*.

Regional and Local Assemblies

The selection of members of the *Working Committee* by the president is carefully regulated: 20% of the committee members are selected from representatives proposed by the various affiliated Terāpanth institutions, and 80% are nominated directly from the 'state assemblies' of the Terāpanthī sect, according to the following territorial quotas:

TABLE II — TERRITORIAL QUOTAS FOR THE SELECTION OF WORKING COMMITTEE MEMBERS

1. Rajasthan		7. Assam	2
(a) Jodhpur Sambhag	5	8. Orissa	1
(b) Ajmer Sambhag	1	9. Tamilnadu	2
(c) Udaipur Sambhag	5	10. Karnataka	2
(d) Jaipur Sambhag	2	11. Andhra Pradesh	1
(e) Bikaner Sambhag	6	12. Maharashtra	3
2. Haryana	3	13. Gujarat	2
3. Punjab	3	14. Madhya Pradesh	2
4. Delhi	2	15. Uttar Pradesh	1
5. Bihar	2	16. Nepal & other foreign countries	2
6. Bengal (a) excluding Calcutta	2		
(b) Calcutta	31		

(Source: JSTM 1987:11-12)

The table shows the highly disproportionate number of reserved seats for the members from Calcutta, who still control the *All India Jain Śvetāmbar Terāpanthī Mahāsabhā*. It also shows that the territorial divisions of the modern Indian state have been incorporated not only within the 'religious' but also within the complementary 'secular' organisational structure of the Terāpanth. However, these territorial divisions are merely formal structures, and important only with regard to electoral matters and for the allocation of *vihār* regions. The limits of effective communities are, in fact, impossible to determine in terms of clearly demarcated geographical areas (Weber 1985:217). Jain communities, like others, are not substantive, territorially bound entities, but situationally shifting segmentary structures, perceived by the participants in terms of widening circles of personal allegiances and overlapping commitments to a whole variety of informal and formal institutions, which are often intentionally constructed for specific purposes.[1] Although the Jain laity are organised and tend to live together in urban neighbourhoods of families of common regional, sectarian, caste, or class background, they do not form

monolithic 'corporative entities' which 'press their interests upon their members', as Carrithers & Humphrey (1991a:6-7 *pace* p. 8-9) assume, but multiple overlapping networks of social, economic and religious relationships. As a rule these are focused on the male householders, who compete not only economically but also in terms of socio-religious status.[2] In spite of the coordinating activity of the MS, and the efforts of *ācārya* Tulsī to transform the entire fourfold *saṅgh* into a corporative religious organisation, actual community among the Terāpanthīs is always a situational, temporary affair, and manifests itself in the assemblies of the members of those dormant lay institutions, which are temporarily activated by visiting ascetics, whose translocal *vihār* serially links several local Terāpanth associations in a spatio-historical chain of revived community institutions.

Within the framework of the MS the segmentary dynamic manifests itself through the process of committee formation. The system of constituting (sub-)committees, which are given the powers to raise funds independently, is one of the crucial mechanisms for the articulation of the competition for control within the MS. Committees are temporary organisations which are formally established by the *Working Committee* for a specific socio-religious purpose, and therefore the equivalent of the *siṅghāṛs* of the ascetics and the branches of Mārvāṛī firms.[68] Examples are legal committees or committees for the promotion of educational or charitable causes (libraries, scholarships, meditation camps (*śibirs*), free medical help etc.). The paradigmatic case for committee formation occurs during the *vihār* of the ascetics, whose infrastructure is organised as a communal effort by a whole series of state and local committees, and during *cāturmās*, when the ascetics are maximally dispersed among the lay communities. Their presence requires 'local action' for organising a whole variety of religious and social functions, and special-purpose committees are elected by local *sabhās*. Terāpanthīs tend to stress the organisational 'unity' of their lay associations in order to limit the 'artificial' competition between the local *sabhās*, which are substantively independent and not under direct control of the MS. Throughout the year the Terāpanthī institutions are formally united and form a single body of members. The rivalry between local *sabhās* surfaces only before the *maryādā mahotsav*, when temporary local committees are set up under the auspices of the MS to compete for the visits of ascetics during *cāturmās*.

The crucial point about committee selection is the role of the charitable trusts. The local *Sabhās* maintain religious trusts administered by elected committees. Various members compete for the control of these funds allocated to a specific sub-committee to finance a particular religious event, which they may treat as a form of credit. However, the main incentive is the prospect of gaining temporary access to the wider national pool

68. It is the duty of the working committee "to open branches in other places and to form and establish institutions, departments or committees or sub-committees for furtherance and fulfilment of the objectives of the Mahāsabhā" (JSTM 1987:6).

of all community funds combined. This is possible, because it is the duty of MS "to assist, promote, aid or subscribe to the establishment and maintenance of any institution, association, fund, trust or charity for the benefit of Jains and the cause of Jainism" (JSTM 1987:6). Leaders of any local *sabhā* can approach the *Working Committee* and ask for help in organising specific religious events, once they have gained the blessings of the *ācārya* for their religious or educational project. The moral principle underlying this selection process is that all Terāpanth associations, families, individuals have to support the selected family or committee for the time being, materially and socially. Even a relatively poor committee or family can momentarily become the focus of the Terāpanth lay activities, and draw onto resources from the whole India-wide network of the Terāpanth Mārvāṛīs for the support of the *ācārya* and his projects. In this limited way, the lay community acts also as a socio-economic resource group. Similar principles concerning the pooling of resources also apply between Jain subsects, once agreement has been reached between their *ācāryas* to support certain religious events.

Community is thus functionally defined with reference to specific socio-religious projects, like organising provisions for the *vihār*. Despite the obvious tendencies towards corporatism and bureaucratisation, the *vihār* is a volatile and contested process which not only integrates but also systematically dissolves the unity of the elements which have been temporarily assembled. A *total* communal integration and reification of *a* Terāpanth community is systematically prevented because of the principally unpredictable and arbitrary way in which the *ācārya* distributes his favours. His actions continually break open a social space which vested interests, like the local *sabhās* or powerful families, try to control and monopolise. In this sense the autocratic religious regime of the Terāpanth *ācārya* is indeed the precise opposite of a dictatorial political organisation, as the Terāpanthīs maintain (Nathmal 1968:123). Although he has no immediate control over community property or the social life of his followers, he is not only the source of spiritual power, but also the effective organisational focus of the sect. The potential for community formation — and consequently the ability to mobilise the resources of the community — is literally embodied in his 'life-giving' personality, as the tangible manifestation of Jain values. His social strength derives not only from his religious position, but also from his functional contribution to the maintenance of a balance between the latent competitive tensions between independent business families which are nevertheless loosely interdependent and tied by marriage links and therefore interested to submit to a common social framework vis-à-vis competing social groups and the state.[69] There is a residue of the ancient role of the moral king in the institution of the *sabhāpati*, who mediates between the *dharmasaṅgh*, the laity, and the modern state. His relative weakness, compared to the *ācārya*, may be peculiar to the Terāpanthīs. However,

69. Cf. Weber 1985:201, Elias 1978 II:236-41, 346-65, Rudolph & Rudolph 1983:206.

it can be explained through the dynamic structure of competitive interdependence among the laity, which is both reinforced and regulated through the strategic choices of the *ācārya*, who, paradoxically, through his autocracy, prevents the emergence of monopoly structures among the members of his sect (whatever their powers outside his sphere of influence).

NON-VIOLENCE AND DISPUTE MANAGEMENT

"A non-violent being participating in community life does accept the restraint of a social system but his orientation is more towards freedom from systems" (Nathmal 1980:119).

For Jains it is essential to maintain a public image of non-violence and purity, because this determines their social status, both individually and as organised groups.[70] In practice, however, the value of non-violence inevitably encompasses its contrary. It is the eternal dilemma of Jainism that "the lay estate cannot exist without activity and there can be no activity without the taking of life" (Williams 1983:121). In order to reconcile this contradiction Jains employ a multitude of strategies:[71] One strategy was. Bhikṣu's attempt to differentiate clearly religious and social orientations on a doctrinal level. Another was chosen by the MS, who ruled that no information about internal conflicts should become public knowledge, on pain of social stigmatisation or excommunication: "No member shall indulge in any activity prejudicial or derogatory to the interest of Mahāsabhā or of the Jain Swetamber Terāpanthī Sect or its tenets" (JSTM 1987:10). Similar regulations apply within the ascetic community (Tulsī & Mahāprajña 1981:93, Nathmal 1968:145). The existence of such rules is often hidden from the public gaze, although they were already elevated to religious principles in the medieval *śrāvakācāras*: "faults committed by co-religionists should, as far as lies within one's power, be concealed" (Williams 1983:44). This shows that the principle of self-regulation (*samiti*) of conflicts, the control of information about them, and the monitoring of corporate purity is one of the constitutive ideals of Jain organisations, in contrast to the state-controlled and therefore relatively open monastic communities in the countries of Theravāda Buddhism, where disputes are generally adjudicated by government-sponsored ecclesiastical courts.[72]

As we have seen, disputes among Jains often concern property. In one way or another all the major scandals within Jain communities revolve around community assets, and sometimes the struggle for the control of pilgrimage sites and religious trusts even

70. Cf. Nathmal 1968:118, Jaini 1979:154-5, Reynell 1985:172.

71. Cf. Weber 1978 I:573, Luhmann 1984:488ff, Bayly 1983:387, Flügel (o.c.).

72. Cf. Bechert 1970. On self-regulation see Dumont 1980:61.

degenerates into violence[73] or is fought out in the public courts.[74] In order to avoid such outbursts of public self-humiliation the Terāpanth prefer a centralised regime of dispute management not only for the ascetics but also for the laity. Osvāls settle their disputes traditionally through the mediation of their local *pañcāyats* under the leadership of an elder whose advice is widely respected. He is called the *kartā* (doer), and informally chosen among prominent local caste members. Many disputes concerning matters that are regulated by customary law are still settled this way; and even though the *kartā* has lost his legal powers, his judgements are enforcable through the District Magistrate Courts. A modern equivalent of this institution is the Terāpanth MS board of arbitrators. Disputes among the members of the MS have to be mediated by an elected *Board of Arbitrators*. This is to prevent recourse to judicial courts regarding internal affairs of the members of the sect (JSTM 1987:35): "No member shall file any suit or take any legal action in any court of law with regard to any matter relating to or concerning the Mahāsabhā before referring such matter to the Board of Arbitrators" (p. 10).[75] The process of arbitration takes place in secret and involves only the parties directly concerned and the arbitrators, who keep records of the proceedings and who also have summary powers (p. 36). However, if conflicts between community members cannot be resolved, the *ācārya* himself is asked for advice and often settles the disputes: "Ācārya is he who pacifies the raging conflict between thou and me" (Nathmal 1968:134). Religious and social adjudication was one of the traditional duties of the *śrīpūjyas* and *bhaṭṭāraks*, who fulfilled royal functions among Mūrtipūjaks and Bīsapanthīs (Sangave 1980:101, 319). The Terāpanth *ācārya*, however, like the *kartā*, has no political and legal authority over the laity anymore, and the acceptance of his suggestions are based entirely

73. A well-documented case is the fight for control over *Śrī Pārśvanāth Atiśay Kṣetr* in Udaipur 1927, where Śvetāmbars killed 5 Digambars and injured 165, provoking the following analysis: "The so-called charitable funds, I fear, are somewhat responsible for these riots. The managers of these funds and specially their wire-pulling, foot-stooly myrmidons, devise and invent, programmes of mischief like the Russian pogroms and incite and persuade the holders of the pursestrings to follow these programmes by civil and criminal proceedings in and out of the Courts. It behooves the real leaders of the community to go into this aspect of the question. The Śvetāmbars and Digambars both are rich. Their charitable funds are fairly fat. Their psychology is non-violent. Even if it is criminal, it is non-violent criminality. Their sins are mammonclad. Their crimes are garbed in gold. They do not kill a man; they kill his power by crushing him with their money or by depriving him of the power or vitality of his money. Similarly, the root-cause and general procedure of their riots regarding sacred places may be found to be their gold, their violent instruments in their non-violent crimes of pride and aggression. Who finances the preparations for crimes?" (J.L. Jaini 1927:148). Cf. Jaini 1979:313, Carrithers 1988.

74. Cf. J.L. Jaini 1927, Sangave 1980, Sukhalāl 1991:46-7, Carrithers 1988:819, Banks 1992:103-6.

75. Similar rules are observed by Terāpanth ascetics, who transpose the Jain ideal of autonomy and self-regulation (Nathmal 1968:122) to the group level, and "do not go to the courts of law" (Nagaraj 1959:8, cf. L.P. Sharma 1991:230).

on respect for his superior judgement and the implicit threat of excommunication (cf. Mahāprajña 1994:77).

From a Neo-Kantian perspective it may seem that the most important means for resolving disputes and promoting social cohesion is the outward orientation towards Jain ascetic values themselves. After all, religious forms of conflict management are visibly manifest at the time of the obligatory ethical rituals of repentance (*pratikramaṇ*) and of mutual forgiveness (*kṣamā yācan*) on the evening of *saṃvatsarī*, the most sacred holiday of the Jains. The local laity assemble for this occasion and beg each other for forgiveness for the injuries inflicted upon each other during the past year: *'micchā mi dukkaḍaṃ'* may the evil of it be in vain. Marcel Mauss argued that the reason for such communal rites of repentance must be sought in the desire to neutralize feelings of envy which may threaten social co-operation within segmentary societies with weak authority structures.[76] Weber (1985:201-7, 277ff.) similarly indicated not only the link between asceticism and individualism, but also how ascetic soteriological cults facilitate the constitution of exclusive and often elitist 'exemplary communities' which cut across family ties and political boundaries, and often intersect with economic interests. Certainly, among North Indian merchants "the devotion to a *guru* or a set of precepts which attracted a group of devotees from several different castes fulfilled the requirement that involuted social relations had to subsist with wider business contacts" (Bayly 1983:389). However, religious and economic interests are not isomorphous, and the resolution of social conflicts between group-members is, if at all, rarely achieved through the participation in communal rituals, which is strictly voluntary, and can be avoided if necessary.[77] Among the Terāpanth neither common discipleship nor membership in a religious (or caste) association implies the right to expect material help in times of distress. This is symbolically manifest in the absence of communal meals after *saṃvatsarī*.[78] As in most public 'therapeutic' rituals, the performative effect of the

76. Cf. Mauss & Beuchat (o.c.) p. 467. Most Jain rites involve ceremonial oath taking (*vrat*). J.M. Roberts "Oaths, Autonomic Ordeals, and Power". *American Anthropologist Special Publication* 67,6,2 (1965) 186-212 found that oath-taking — another form of self-denial — is typically related to complex social conditions of high political integration "where there is no sufficient power to effect judicial determinations through physical power or strategy or both", except through psychological mechanisms (p. 207).

77. In contrast to the Digambars, Śvetāmbars celebrate the 'social' rite of *kṣamā yācan* immediately after the obligatory 'religious' *saṃvatsarī pratikramaṇ*, which is usually performed collectively. Terāpanth laity who vow the *saṅkalp patr* commit themselves to perform the *kṣamā yācan* annually (AK I:366). The *kṣamāpanā* was originally an ascetic ritual (Shāntā 1985:415, 425 n. 44). In contrast to the unstructured egalitarian *kṣamā* of the laity, Jain ascetics practice a hierarchical form of the ritual: they beg each other for forgiveness in the linear order of monastic seniority. The presence of all ascetics of a group is compulsory.

78. Sthānakvāsī, Mūrtipūjak and Bīsapanthī hold communal meals usually the day after *saṃvatsarī*. These are called *svāmī vātsalya* (affection for the lord) among the Mūrtipūjak. Terāpanthīs celebrate communal meals only occasionally at the time of breaking fasts (*pāraṇā*), especially at *akṣay tṛtīyā* (*varṣītap pāraṇā*), and sometimes at *holī* and *divālī*. Rajasthani Osvāls organise meals for caste members to mark the life-cycle rites, and local caste members share the utensils that are required for these occasions.

kṣamāpanā is largely confined to transitory experiences of communal feelings which often amounts to nothing more than a formal exercise of communal self-affirmation (cf. Kapferer 1983:82, 87, 104). Effectively, periodical celebrations of religious communality happily coexist with economic antagonism, social competition and friction in other contexts, even though the ideology of communality may help preventing openly violent conflicts between members.

Jain sects have to be situated in a wider historical context and analysed as integral social sub-systems, encompassing both ascetics and laity and their relationships to the rest of society, if one wants to understand the actual social functions of Jainism. To avoid reductionist interpretations a variation of both religious and social perspectives is required.[79] An example of the problems associated with a monistic approach is Marriott's (1976:123-8) analysis of the 'inborn *varṇa* strategies of castes' which focuses exclusively on religious transactions. The onesidedness of his depiction of 'the' Jains (indeed all *vaiśyas*) as 'minimal transactors' is revealed once both religious and non-religious transactions are taken into consideration.[80] It then becomes clear that effectively Jain traders combine the role of minimal transactors in the religious sphere and of maximal transactors in the social sphere, as Bayly (1983:386-9) demonstrated for 19th cent. North Indian merchants in general. In Marriott's (1976) own terms this type of behaviour corresponds not to the 'minimal strategy' but to the 'optimal strategy', which he unfortunately reserved for the *brāhmaṇs* alone:

> "The Brahmans earn, through refusal or controlled acceptance, the minimal transactor's gain of nonmixture and integrity for their own substance-code. They also earn, through their wide distributions, the maximal transactor's gain of universal domination. Their tactic thus may be considered as an asymmetrical compromise made up of the more rewarding parts of those two opposite symmetrical tactics" (p. 129).

Marriott presumes that the 'Western common sensical assumption' of a 'separability of action from actor, of code (*dharma*) from substance (*śarīra*)' is generally absent in India (p. 110).[81] I wish to argue, on the contrary, that the main social function of the dualist Jain doctrine was to contribute to a relative de-substantialisation of popular preconceptions. If this interpretation is correct, it seems that in orientating themselves towards a 'minimal transactional' Jain ascetic code of conduct, and thereby de-coupling

79. Cf. Habermas 1981:229,349. See also Weber 1985:304, Dumont 1980:90-1,182 and Luhmann 1982:308ff.

80. Marriott's (1976:122, 135) assumption of an 'isomorphous' nature of moral and economic transactions, shared to an extent by Bayly (1983:385), Laidlaw (1995:354), and Babb (1996:193), seems questionable in the light of the contributions of Dumont (1980:165, xxix), Singer (1968), Parry (1986:467) and others.

81. Cf. Humphrey & Laidlaw 1994 for a diametrically opposed view.

themselves from the substantivistic underpinnings of the *brāhmaṇ* social system, Jain laity were enabled to become competitors of the *brāhmaṇ* priests in the social transactional sphere and also to engage legitimately in the maximisation of profit.[82]

However, my main point is different: A historical-comparative perspective shows that it is unrealistic to assume that religion generates social integration per se but not conflict. Yet, from a Neo-Kantian perspective one has no other option than to assume that disputes and conflicts are deviations from the Jain ideal of religious harmony, or that its values are contradictory.[83] I argue, differently, that the principal effect of using the 'ready-made' value-ideas of Jainism, i.e. schematised ritual procedures or decontextualised symbolic codes, is not the avoidance of conflict per se but its formalisation. If Jainism is seen from the perspective of the functioning of a code, it paradoxically contributes not to the repression but to the proliferation of chances of conflict.[84] Habermas (1981:92ff.) suggested that abstract interpretative schemes, like ethics and law, backed up by institutions, effectively function as protective mechanisms for society, or second order rituals, because they anticipate conflicts and thereby transform them into manageable affairs which do not threaten the collapse of the social order per se but are internal to the social fabric.[85] By framing expectations, classifying types of proper and improper conduct as well as religious rewards and penances, ethics and law provide not only sophisticated languages for conflict analysis but also procedures for negotiating antagonistic interests without having to resort to physical violence. Similarly, doctrinal Jainism can be analysed as a set of interpretative and procedural schemata that are constructed through a series of binary oppositions: the principal Jain categories can for instance be generated with the help of the asymmetrical code violence / non-violence combined with secondary codes like soul / body, prohibited / permitted, etc. Because of the specific semantic content of the fundamental opposition of non-violence / violence, which cuts across the *brāhmaṇic* distinction

82. In principle both Brähmans and Jains severed themselves from the sphere of immediate production (cf. Weber 1978 II, Williams 1983:121f., Dumont 1980:151, 190). Note that 'Jain laity' is considered as an intermediary category opposed to 'non-Jains' (Schubring 1978:49).

83. Cf. Weber 1978 II:217, Cort 1989:426, Laidlaw 1995:5, 12.

84. Marriott (1976) acknowledges this possibility indirectly in noting that those "who do not exchange with each other at all, even indirectly, are considered to be ... potential antagonists" (p. 112).

85. Cf. Jürgen Habermas, "Treffen Hegels Einwände gegen Kant auch auf die Diskursethik zu?" In *Erläuterungen zur Diskursethik*, 9-30. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, (1986), 1991: "'*Moralisch*' möchte ich alle die Intuitionen nennen, die uns darüber informieren, wie wir uns am besten verhalten sollen, um durch Schonung und Rücksichtnahme der *extremen Verletzbarkeit* von Personen entgegenzuwirken. Unter anthropologischen Gesichtspunkten lässt sich nämlich Moral als eine Schutzvorrichtung verstehen, die eine in soziokulturelle Lebensformen strukturell eingebaute Verletzbarkeit kompensiert" (p. 14). Cf. Luhmann (1984:509-13).

between pure / impure discussed by Dumont (1980:42-7,191), and its predominant application to the actions of individual living beings,[86] Jainism is uniquely disposed to the minute classification of types of actions and corresponding states of being. With the help of the Jain conceptual system the individual devotee is enabled to anticipate, discriminate and to pre-judge types of events, and may acquire a sharpened awareness of the moral (*karmic*) implications of alternative modes of conduct, and eventually develop a generalised social competence which can be of use in both religious and social pursuits. In other words, Jainism can be seen as a cultural-specific action-theory which motivates strategic reasoning, and by means of which conflicts become calculable:[87] In the words of the Ācārāṅgasūtra "He who knows the violence done for the sake of special objects, knows what is free from violence; he who knows what is free from violence, knows the violence done for special objects" (AS 1.3.1.4). Jainism can thus be interpreted as a protective device, a historically adaptive 'immune-system', which compensates for the vulnerabilities that are structurally inbuilt in a given pattern of social differentiation.

One can add a historical dimension to this type of analysis in correlating the changes in the Jain doctrinal and ritual system with changes in the relative predominance of the principal forms of social differentiation, that is segmentary, hierarchical, and functional differentiation (economically constituted class-societies).[88] Studies of the social division of labour have shown that under conditions of functional differentiation, paradoxically, both individual independence and mutual dependency increase, and that processes of individuation and social integration generated through competitive interdependence are complementary both in a socio-economic and a moral sense. If indeed "what happens within one actor is by nature not much different from what happens between actors" (Dumont 1980:xxxvi)[89] then it follows, first, that a social ethos changes in accordance with the type of social differentiation, and, second, that moral education via generalised ethical rules and regulations will only be effective if these reflect some genuine sentiments in the world — and if their actual social functions

86. Cf. AS 1.1.6.2. The extension of these notions to corporative groups is merely metaphorical, but none the less effective in cutting through the 'structural universe of caste'.

87. From Marriott's (1976:110) point of view, Jainism could be described as a form of ethnosociology. To my mind the difference between Dumont's (1980:45, xxix, xxxiii) dualistic distinction of form and function and Marriott's non-dualist approach is largely based on a shift between observer's and participant's perspective, and has nothing to do with cultural predispositions as such. Laidlaw (1995:28) dismisses the cognitive content the Jain *karma* theory altogether as 'unclear'.

88. Cf. Luhmann 1984:37-9, Habermas 1981:248-2. I modified Luhmann's schematism, which is clearly insufficient, by substituting Dumont's notion of 'hierarchy' for 'stratification', and adding Habermas' equivalent to 'functional differentiation' in brackets.

89. A fundamental axiom of Jainism: cf. AS 1.1.7.1, 1.2.5.5, 1.3.3.1. See also G.W. Mead. *Mind, Self & Society from the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, (1934) 1967.

remain latent. Because the complementarity of socialisation and individuation explains the prominent role of personality-structures for social integration, and therefore the social implications of asceticism, a general theory of asceticism may be predicated on the fact that, within society, a sense of freedom from external constraints can only be achieved by way of internalised modes of self-control, even though their precise form varies indirectly in accordance with social pre-conceptions and the type of constraints experienced.[90]

III. A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

In this article I have focused almost exclusively on the intracommunal processes and structures of the Terāpanth, although I have indicated the way in which processes of internal differentiation reflect changes in the social environment. I have concentrated on the description of the catalytic function of the ritual circle as a key mechanism for the maintenance of a self-regulating social system whose contextual functions are predicated on the dynamic interdependence of conflicting interests, and are ultimately unplanned. Now I want to add a few final observations about the wider social implications.

The historical development of the Terāpanth, from an introverted and conservative ascetic splinter to a proselytising modern religious organisation with a self-proclaimed mass appeal, can only be understood before the background of the initial religious marginalisation of the ascetics and the relative poverty of the laity, who did not belong to the class of influential court officials, like other Bīsa Osvāl Jains, but to a group of highly specialised overland traders, who operated in the arid western districts of Rajasthan.[91] The diminishing importance of the caravan routes through the *Thar* desert and the scarcity of local resources generated increased competitive pressures which forced most of them into a semi-permanent diaspora, which in turn contributed to the strengthening of various forms of social and religious co-operation. Within the wider category of the Mārvāṛīs, religious sectarianism combined with local, caste and class differences and contributed to the emergence of socially self-conscious groups, which were able to defend common interests vis-à-vis the institutions of the modern state and the traditional caste society. The internally valued egalitarianism of their family-

90. In contrast to individual renouncers living in the forest, Jain ascetics live among householders and are entirely dependent on them.

91. Cf. Gupta, B.L., *Trade and Commerce in Rajasthan During the 18th Century*. Jaipur: Jaipur Publishing House, 1987:30-1, 99 on the relatively modest role of the Dāgās, Koṭhārīs, Rāmpuriās, Baids and other Osvāl merchants as regional wholesellers in the 18th cent. kingdom of Bikaner, and on the local competition of Brāhmaṇ traders, which can also be found in Gujarat (Dumont 1980:387, n. 65j).

centred segmentary system, which principally only acknowledges differences of individual status, was thus combined with an outward emphasis on hierarchy and the claim to superior corporative status relative to the rest of society. Group status was not primarily determined by birthright but functionally, in terms of economic success and the collective behavioural purity. In this way classificatory principles gradually encompassed those of caste and genealogy. It is yet another irony of history that the once liberating iconoclastic anti-ritualism of a subaltern elite, like the Terāpanth, who regard "possession in all its forms as the root of sin" (Mahāprājña 1987:16), has turned into a system of legitimation for a now economically dominant group, whose members combine politico-economic secularism with a form of religious individualism which does not demand expensive social charity (beyond the contributions to the communal *potlatch*), but propagates a cult of self-development and national character building via asceticism and moral education. The critique of charity thus allowed the Terāpanthī to sever their substantive ritual links with the rest of the society, while maintaining an universalist façade through the propagation of abstract ethical values for the private religion of the individual.[92] In the words of Nair (1969:40) "the outcome of Bhikṣu's crusade against traditional religion was freedom to a small section of society from the conventions of collective responsibility for promoting social welfare."

In response to such criticism and to the changed social circumstances *ācārya* Tulsī launched his reform programme. He made it clear from the beginning that the *Aṇuvrat* movement in particular was not intended as a religious programme but as a social initiative for the improvement of the moral standards of society.[93] In his analysis the fundamental problems of post-independence India are caused by the transformation of the feudal caste society into a modern class society: "Today's society is tortured by class consciousness. Both the haves and the haves-not seem intent upon denying each other's existence" (Mahāprajña 1994:187); "the accumulation of wealth in one pole gives rise to the attempts towards aggression and destruction from the other pole and neither philanthropy nor violent class struggle will resolve this conflict" (Tulsī in Guseva 1971:102). For him the only practical solution of this problem is a combination of (Jain) moral education and state socialism, involving three elements: (a) the reduction of the 'grabbing instincts' through attitudinal change and behavioural modification, (b) the reduction of the number of beggars through the limitation of charity ("the more is given

92. Cf. Dumont 1980:157, 227, 221, 301, Jaini 1979:309-12, Carrithers 1989:232.

93. Cf. R. Misra, "The Jains in an urban setting". *Bulletin of the Anthropological Survey of India* 21,1 (1972):64, Sangave 1980:55-6, Mahāprajña 1987:20, 23, 36.

to the poor, the more will be the number of the poor in this world" (p. 101)),[94] and (c) the reduction of the social violence through the just redistribution of the means of production by the state, and the organisation of co-operative efforts of all members of society.[95] However, such lip-service to state-socialism combined with a critique of private charitability effectively deepens the rifts in society, because it releases the rich from their traditional social obligations, while notionally delegating all social responsibilities to an impoverished and increasingly corrupt state apparatus. Guseva comments:

> "In the opinion of Acharya Shri Tulsī, in a socialist state like India it is the government which must direct social life, realise just distribution of riches and adjust a just mutual relationship between various groups in the society. This programme is a reflection characteristic of many bourgeois scholars and a part of Indian bourgeoisie, looking upon state as a public organ above class" (p. 102).

More importantly, the Indian state is conceived as a public organ above religion. Indian rulers were always forced to support several religions at the same time in order to transcend religious differences to a certain extent. The option for the control of the socially disruptive side-effects of capitalism through an all-encompassing religious nationalism is blocked in this situation. Not surprisingly, social elites have therefore traditionally chosen the alternative individual-centred option, that is the ideology of the integral personality, which remains indifferent and self-controlled even in situations of conflict and tension. Today the moral potency of Jain asceticism is used in multiple ways by spatially dispersed social elites in order to promote the ideological hegemony of non-violent pluralism within the context of the Indian state in competition with similar icons of religious nationalism,[96] like Gandhi, who was initially criticised by the Terāpanthīs for instrumentalising asceticism for political ends (Chopra 1945:35), or the BJP hero *Rām*, whose violent depiction in Hindu mythology is also rejected (Mahāprajña 1994:215-243). In contrast to many of its competitors the Terāpanth openly admits the political character of its new *Aṇuvrat* and *Jīvan Vijñān* initiatives, which correspond to Gandhi's *Sarvodaya* (universal welfare) movement, but for one difference. Aṇuvrat propagates primarily self-control for 'the masses', instead of a charitable redistribution of wealth: "It

94. Cf. G.W.F. Hegel, *Enzyklopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften* III. Werke 10. Frankfurt am Main:Suhrkamp, (1830) 1981: "Durch das Sicheinführen des göttlichen Geistes in die Wirklichkeit die Befreiung der Wirklichkeit, zu ihm wird das, was in der Welt Heiligkeit sein soll, durch die Sittlichkeit verdrängt ... statt des Gelübdes der Armut (dem, sich in Widerspruch verwickelnd, das Verdienst des Wegschenkens der Habe an die Armen, d.i. die Bereicherung derselben entspricht) gilt die Tätigkeit des Selbsterwerbs..." (p. 358).

95. "Anuvratis say that they accept the idea of equality from the communist teaching but do not accept the appeal to violence. So far as capitalism is concerned, they approve of the idea of capital as an instrument of organised commerce and business but they object to its excessive accumulation and exploitation. Thus they wish to hold back the proletariat from violence by re-educating the capitalists" (Guseva 1971:103).

96. Cf. Carrithers 1988:838-41, Van der Veer 1994:xiii, 107.

does not call for people to gift away what they have in excess but simply exhorts them to leave it for use by society" (Mahāprajña 1987:16). Not surprisingly this recommendation appealed only to few members of the dominant strata, and is at present not a serious option for the country as a whole. In practice no distribution of riches has taken place, and as with Gandhi's *Sarvodaya* movement, nothing but the defence of particularistic interests and the vain attempt of disciplining the rich remained. Effectively the Terāpanth legitimised the regime of the Congress Party after Independence, but faces difficulties in the changed political climate of today, where Hindu-Nationalism seems the only ideological instrument left for the traditional elites to contain the growing tensions between the classes (cf. Van der Veer 1994:94-8).

The only real impact the Terāpanth reform programme could have is in the field of moral education, i.e. in the field of socialisation from above, but only if the attempts to move the Government to include *prekṣa dhyān* and *jīvan vijñān* into the national curriculum take fruition. Critics perceive this endeavour primarily as a sectarian initiative, although the Terāpanthīs themselves "criticised the Acharya by declaring that he no longer insists on the people becoming Jainas" (L.P. Sharma 1991:287). In their stress on meditation and innerworldly asceticism these initiatives resemble Anagārika Dharmapāla's reforms in Śrī Laṅkā, which have been characterised in the literature as a form of 'Buddhist modernism' or 'protestant Buddhism', in extension of the Weber thesis.[97] Weber (1978 II:203, 212, 217) himself broadly contrasted 'protestant' and 'hinduistic and buddhistic' religions, only excepting Jainism to a certain extent from his broad opposition of western 'innerworldly asceticism' and South Asian 'otherwordly asceticism'. His analysis of 'Jain protestantism' as a still ritualistic and therefore 'internally contradictory' intermediary doctrine, which associates Jainism as a whole with aristocratic and middle class consciousness, informs much of the recent sociological writing on the Jains. However, as critics like Elias (1978 II:312), Luhmann (1984) and Habermas (1981:421) have argued, Weber's individualist bias led him to exaggerate the role of rational thinking and of soteriological ideologies for processes of modernisation. Instead they stress the unplanned character of historical processes, and investigate the dynamics of social differentiation through competition, generating both greater independence and interdependence. The inbuilt structural tensions of such processes which enforce both the individualisation and the compartmentalization of roles, they argue, may compel the individual (and society) to develop far-sightedness, self-control and other features of rationality. The various forms of Jainism and other religions, I argue, are rationalisations of the social-psychological processes involved. In fact,

97. Bechert 1970:775, Gombrich & Obeyesekere 1988:6.

Durkheim's[98] theory of 'competitive modernisation' and of the emergence of 'religions of the individual', can be modified, and it may be argued, that the transition from predominantly segmentary and hierarchical forms of social differentiation to modern forms of functional differentiation, is necessarily accompanied by different types of individualism: (1) the heroic individual of segmentary society, (2) the hierarchical individual of feudal society, and (3) the atomised individual of modern society. A strict separation between religion and society is only possible in the latter case, where it necessarily takes the form of anti-ritualistic subjectivism. Modern Jainism, this is the argument of this paper, reveals various intermediary solutions within the global trend towards modern cults of the individual.[99]

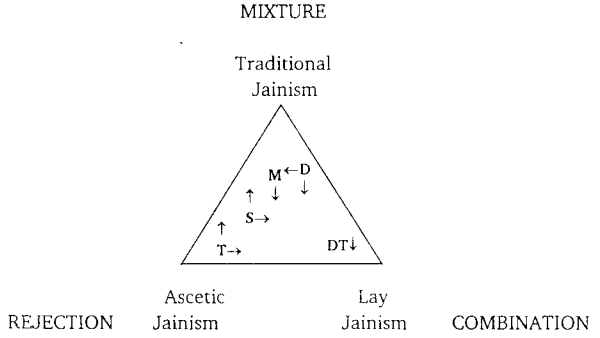
Dumont (1980) distinguished three general types of interaction between traditional and modern features in India: "rejection, mixture, in which traditional and modern features exist happily side by side, and combination, which unites them intimately in new forms of a hybrid nature and ambiguous orientation [here: communalism, religious totalitarianism]" (p. 229). Similar adaptive strategies can be found in any context of modernisation. The Terāpanth attempt to encompass modern socio-economic secularism within a traditional religious framework signifies in Dumont's terms a shift from a radical rejectionist strategy to a mixed strategy. In contrast to Bhikṣu's original 'ascetic Jainism' today's Terāpanthīs promote most of the features of reformism (focus on scripture, meditation, anti-ritualism, scientific outlook, modern lay-associations, innerworldly asceticism, etc.) but contain them within an orthodox ideological and institutional framework, with the *ācārya* as the social focus. This approach differs markedly both from the 'traditional Jainism' of the Mūrtipūjaks and Bīspanthīs and the 'lay Jainism' of the Digambar Terāpanthīs, because by strictly separating society and religion the Terāpanth still restricts the sphere of Jain group religion to a bare minimum.[100] Although from a 'traditional' Jain perspective it may

98. Most of these arguments originated from Hegel (o.c.) and Marx, *Das Kapital I*. MEW 23, Berlin: Dietz Verlag (1867) 1977: e.g. the link between capitalism, protestantism and individualism (p. 93), the link between individuation and social dependency through the division of labour (p. 122), negative solidarity (p. 189f.) and competitive modernisation (p. 377f.).

99. I am obviously not proposing to revert to a purely socio-economic explanation, as criticized by L. Dumont "The Functional Equivalents of the Individual in Caste Society". *CIS* 8 (1965), p. 89, but to correlate the history of the competing world-views with social history. It would be interesting to correlate types of renouncers and types of differentiation.

102. I don't think Banks' (1992:196-217) distinction of 'orthodox', 'heterodox' and 'neo-orthodox' Jain belief categories works. My use of the admittedly unfortunate term 'traditional Jainism' corresponds to Dumont's (1980) 'traditional Hinduism' and Gombrich & Obeyesekere's (1988:4-10) 'traditional Buddhism', that is hegemonic forms of religion which are socially all-inclusive, but distinct from modern forms of 'mixed' integration. To avoid ambiguity I use 'lay Jainism' instead of Weber's 'protestant Jainism', which corresponds to Bechert's 'Buddhist modernism' and Obeyesekere's 'Protestant Buddhism'. All categories are analytical.

still appear as an exclusivist ascetic movement, after Independence the Terāpanth was the first Jain tradition to symbolically incorporate the new structures of the modern Indian state, and to reject Jain communalism in favour of a Gandhiesque policy of religious tolerance; whereas the principal image-worshipping traditions, because of their different doctrinal and organisational structure, continued to combine sectarianism on a regional level with a lay dominated Jain communalism on a national level. In other words, from different starting-points both 'traditional' and 'protestant' movements drift towards a 'combined' strategy, although at present only the Digambar lay movements have the potential to develop egalitarian forms of religious communalism. The radically changed social circumstances after Independence thus turned traditional inclusivists into exclusivists, and exclusivists into inclusivists. Because of their great internal diversity the Sthānakvāsīs must be treated as a special case. Many Sthānakvāsī traditions are very orthodox even though their biggest sub-sect, the Śramaṇ Saṅgh, adopted a centralised organisation structure and modest reforms similar to the Terāpanth. Other Sthānakvāsī groups, like Amar Muni's Vīrāyatan, are engaged in social work, thus blurring the distinction between ascetics and laity. In one respect the Bīsapanth traditions resemble the Terāpanth more closely than any other Jain sect, because they too responded to adaptive pressures through organisational involution, that is by recognising two different types of ascetics. Yet the administrative focus of their sects are the *bhaṭṭāraks* and not the *ācāryas*. The relative strategic position of the main contemporary Jain sects can be summarized in diagrammatical form:[101]



'Ascetic Jainism' thus covers both 'original' and 'revivalist' forms. In practice various combinations of these basic orientations can be observed. Cf. Van der Veer's (1994:22) distinction between 'orthodox' and either moderate or radical 'reformist' tendencies, which exploits Dumont's analysis while outwardly dismissing it as 'ahistorical' (p. 17-8). A key doctrinal difference between 'traditional' and both 'ascetic' and 'lay Jainism' is a weakened emphasis on the concept of the four *tīrths* — which is nonetheless respected — on the part of the latter.

101. T = Terāpanth Śvetāmbar, S = Sthānakvāsī, M = Mūrtipūjak Śvetāmbar, D = Bīsapanthī Digambar, DT = Digambar Terāpanth, Kānjī Panth, Rāycandra Sampradāy. Arrows indicate current developments.

To conclude, the Terāpanthī reforms between 1760-1980 are unique because they effectively replaced the traditional system of medieval Jainism, where ideally all spheres of life are formally encompassed by religion, with a mixed traditional and modern ideological system where 'certain spheres have their own values, special but, by definition absolute within their sphere' (p. 316).

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RÉSUMÉ

Le présent article montre comment une secte jaïne spécifique — les Śvetāmbara Terāpanthī — organisent l'interaction rituelle entre les ascètes et les laïcs sur une base suprarégionale, et comment elle s'agence de manière stratégique au sein de l'ensemble du contexte politique et religieux dans le sous-continent d'aujourd'hui. La doctrine et le rituel jaïns apparaissent comme un niveau intermédiaire, générateur d'expériences religieuses significatives et d'harmonie sociale ; mais, en même temps, ils font office de moyens destinés à mobiliser et à légitimer des intérêts politiques particularistes.

La première partie décrit l'histoire et le fonctionnement interne de la communauté monastique (*dharmasaṅgh*) des Terāpanthī, ainsi que l'organisation religieuse de leurs pérégrinations annuelles (*vihār*).

La seconde partie souligne le rôle de la principale organisation laïque, la *Terāpanth Mahāsabhā*, pour le maintien du rituel de pérégrination et, indirectement, pour la prospérité de la communauté des laïcs (*samāj*), tandis que la troisième partie se termine par des observations comparatives sur les orientations de l'évolution des principales sectes jaïnes dans le contexte de la société indienne moderne.