Dāna and Dhyāna in Jaina Yoga: A Case Study of Prekṣādhyāna and the Terāpanth

by

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This dissertation examines the role one aspect of the Jaina tradition plays in a globalized world in the 21st century vis-à-vis an economically viable, socially just, and ecologically sustainable society. I address this by means of an in-depth study of dāna (giving, gifting, charity) and dhyāna (meditation) conducting a case study of prekṣādhyāna, a form of meditation developed by the Terāpanth, a Śvetāmbara Jaina sect, in 1975 and their stance on dāna. These practices, the Terāpanth claim, are transformative on an individual and societal level. I argue that while prekṣādhyāna’s spiritually transformative influence remains narrowly circumscribed to the individual level, nevertheless it allows the Terāpanth to participate in the booming economy of the transnational yoga market. Yet, as my analyses of their historically controversial position on dāna vis-à-vis the Jaina position on dāna and the recent change in this position within the Terāpanth reveal, their ability to transform the world is limited to their own community. I explore, through participation/observation, how prekṣādhyāna as a performative ritual brings an individual closer to spiritual liberation, and attempt to demonstrate how the Terāpanth construct this practice as a form of modern yoga by using authoritative discourses of science and scripture. I conclude by offering some final
thoughts on how successful the Terāpanth are in their dissemination of prekṣādhyāna to a global audience and what role the authoritative discourses of science and scripture play in the evaluation and/or erosion of Jaina theology.
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List of Conventions

Transliteration
I have used the ISO 15919 common Unicode for Roman transliteration of all Devanāgarī words (Sanskrit, Hindi, and Gujarati) in this dissertation.

Foreign Terminology
All foreign words are followed by the English translation in parentheses, for example, dāna (giving, gifting, charity) the first time they occur in the text. Frequently used words such as dāna and dhyāna (meditation) are not explained in English each time they are used.

All foreign words are italicized throughout the text.
**General Introduction**

In the contemporary milieu both in India and the West, yoga and meditation have become global phenomena with the focus primarily on health and well-being. Modern postural yoga traces its roots to the arrival of Vivekananda in the West in 1890 at the World Parliament of Religions in Chicago (De Michelis, 2004, Strauss, 2005) and claims Patañjali’s text the *Yoga Sūtra* as its classical source. *Prekṣādhyāna* (meditation), an innovation of the Jaina Śvetāmbara Terāpanth sect, is a late twentieth century transnational form of modern yoga that is particularly grounded in the Jaina tradition. In this dissertation, I look at practices of *dāna* (giving, gifting, charity) and *dhyāna* (meditation) as ethical imperatives of equal merit in Jaina yoga by means of a case study of *prekṣā* and the Terāpanth.

The term *dāna* is multivalent and throughout this dissertation I will be using the term in its various senses, according to the context – gifts to an esteemed being, almsgiving to one’s co-religionists, and charity to the needy. I will examine, through the prism of *dāna* and *dhyāna*, if and how such practices can be successful in responding to environmental and social justice concerns. Do *dāna* and *dhyāna* work in tandem towards a just society, which is economically and ecologically sustainable, or is there tension between *dāna* and *dhyāna* in which class is a determining factor? This question can be particularly well answered through a case study of the Terāpanthīs. Within the Terāpanth Śvetāmbara (white-clad) Jaina community, ecological awareness is created by practices of meditation (*prekṣādhyāna*), everyday morality (*aṇuvrata* – small vows of moral discipline), and principles of well-being (*jīvan vijñāna* or Science of Living). An economic network of almsgiving, which organizes the internal economies of the sect,
supports these practices and all this is driven by the moral and ecological education of society by both governmental and non-governmental institutions. It is not clear whether these activities within the Terāpanthī community constitute charity, social justice, or a path to liberation. Notions of charity have changed in postcolonial India, as demonstrated by modern socio-religious movements, such as the Ramakrishna mission and the Sai Baba movement, both of which are global networks.¹ While comparison between these well-known organizations and what the Terāpanthīs are trying to accomplish with their global institutional networks would render fruitful results, such a comparison between the Terāpanth position on charity and their Hindu counterparts is beyond the scope of this study. For the Terāpanth ascetics the economic network of almsgiving, even an arm’s-length association with money, can be seen as controversial since the stress within the faith is on asceticism. Can the concomitant practices of prekṣādhyāna, añuvrata, and jīvan vijñāna, which the Terāpanthīs claim “transmute human personality,”² have any impact in tackling broader social issues such as violence, social injustice, and environmental degradation, or will the Terāpanthīs’ controversial stance on dāna be a hindrance in applied ethics? The Terāpanthīs, starting with the founder Ācārya Bhikṣu, distinguish between the laukika (worldly), which includes all merit-producing religious

¹ For a detailed discussion of the Sai Baba movement see Srinivas 2008. Srinivas’s work shows how the Sai Baba movement has transformed the once village of Puttapparthy into a hub of middle-class urban civic life. Followers of the Sai Baba have been generous in their donations to build schools and hospitals in the village that benefit many under-privileged people. The Terāpanthīs, who have transformed the village of Ladnun in Rajasthan to a hub of middle-class urban civic life with educational and religious institutions that further their goals towards what they see as a just society, do something similar.

² The English title of Ācārya Tulsī’s Hindi work Prekṣā Anupalabdhi is Transmutation of Personality Through Preksha Meditation. The translator, R.K. Seth, in his preface states that the title and “certain other modifications in the text in keeping with the spirit of the original were decided in consultation with them” (them being Muni Mahendrakumarji, a senior in the Terāpanth ascetic order and the director of the Jain Vishva Bharati – a deemed university, a designation assigned by the University Grants Commission of India, founded by the Terāpanth). Ganadhipati Tulsī, Transmutation of Personality Through Preksha Meditation, trans. R. K. Seth. Ladnun, Rajasthan: Jain Vishva Bharati.
activities such as dāna to anyone other than an ascetic, and lokottara (that which is conducive to dharma leading towards liberation – activities, such as helping the ascetics that are considered purely religious or dhārmika).³ Dāna to non-ascetics, in this worldview, is seen as a purely social activity, which does not earn any punya (merit). However, having come under serious criticism, this stance has been modified by Ācārya Tulsī, the ninth preceptor, with the introduction of the doctrine of visarjana (parting of possession with complete abandonment). According to Peter Flügel, Tulsī’s introduction of the doctrine “asks the laity to practice acquisition together with renunciation (visarjan) of ownership” (1996:128).⁴

The Scope of the Study

The question of how a method, which is supposedly mainly mental (such as meditation), claims to be successful in places other than the mind (responding to environmental and social justice concerns) can be answered particularly well by looking at the Terāpanth community. My study focuses on ascetics’ and laypeople’s approaches to and their experiences of prekṣā meditation and other traditional Jaina meditation rituals, such as sāmāyika and pratikramaṇa, and the significance (or lack thereof) of their practice of meditation and the concomitant practice of a moral discipline, and its application to the wider social world. I examine the Terāpanth position on dāna vis-à-vis

³ See Dundas (2002:258) for an example of activities that fall in either of these categories. Also see Vallely (2002) and Flügel (1996:123–129). Dundas and Vallely translate the term lokottara as “transcendent,” whereas Flügel translates it “as a religious act of liberation.” This latter notion is closer to my translation of the term. I believe that the dichotomy of worldly/other worldly or transcendental does not serve as a useful one as we are still talking about the loka or world even when we talk about siddha loka, the place where liberated souls reside in Jaina cosmology. I owe this clarification to Christoph Emmrich (personal communication).

⁴ In July 2008, on a preliminary field trip in Jaipur, I asked one of the Samaṇīs to explain the Terāpanth stance on dāna and she explained it in similar terms, saying that the Terāpanthīs are not stopping people from giving as social work, but people should not expect any merit in return. If dāna is done with visarjana and from genuine compassion then that is lokottara or true dāna.
the traditional Jaina position on dāna and dhyāna through the rhetorical device of the laukika and the lokottara. I illustrate not only how dāna and dhyāna help individuals to move toward personal aspirations of getting closer to spiritual liberation, but also attempt to show how this change at the individual level may or may not have an impact at the social level in terms of a viable economy, a sustainable ecology, and a just society for the poor. Although I provide an historical perspective to the doctrines, my primary focus is on the period from post-independence to the present during which the Terāpanthīs experienced growth and innovation through its ninth preceptor, Ācārya Tulsī (1914-1997), and his successor Ācārya Mahāprajña (1920-2010). Tulsī, through the Aṇuvrat movement, hoped to contribute not only to the spiritual welfare of the modern State, but also towards a more just global economy and a viable ecology. He also introduced the doctrine of visarjana, which as I endeavor to show in this dissertation, allows the Terāpanth to contribute to social projects even if they are narrowly focused on their own community. Moreover, Tulsī exhorted Mahāprajña to develop a form of meditation that would further this cause. Prekṣādhyāna and jīvan vijñāna are Mahāprajña’s contributions towards this telos.

Why is it significant to study Jaina yoga and prekṣādhyāna? I argue that yoga and prekṣādhyāna are the driving forces behind the Terāpanthī Jaina community movement. They are the strongest dynamics that allow the Terāpanthī movement not only to become a pan-Indian phenomenon, but also to become a transnational movement with presence in the U.K, Europe, and the U.S. In order to be able to answer the above questions it is important to ask the question: what constitutes Jaina yoga? How do the contemporary

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5 Ācārya Mahāprajña passed away in May 2010 after I completed my fieldwork, and though I made a follow up trip in 2011 to Ladnun, the bulk of my field research is based during Mahāprajña’s tenure.
practices of *prekṣādhyāna* and the concomitant practice of *ānuvṛata* and *jīvan vijnāna* fit into ‘traditional’ Jaina yoga practice, and how do they compare to what Elizabeth DeMichaelis (2005) calls ‘Modern Postural Yoga’? I will attempt to answer these central questions in this dissertation. While past scholarship relating to Jaina yoga, both traditional and Western, has focused on the textual tradition, my objective in this study is to augment the textual study with a critical examination of the lived tradition, for it is only through examining both that a meaningful picture will emerge. Such a study will contribute to the ongoing debate as to whether there has been a continuous, uninterrupted Jaina yoga tradition, as the Jainas themselves claim, or one with periodic ruptures and revivals.

**Principal Sources and Methods of Inquiry**

My methodology consists of textual analysis and ethnographic fieldwork. Specifically, it involves a close reading of Ācāryas Bhikṣu’s, Tulsī’s, and Mahāprajñā’s works. On the topic of *dāna*, I closely scrutinize Bhikṣu’s writings, in particular *Nava Padārtha* (Mārwārī with Hindi translation), and *Anukampā Chopāi* (Mārwārī with Hindi translation), and Mahāprajñā’s *Bhikṣu Vicār Darśan* (Hindi) to glean the Terāpanth’s founding position on *dāna*. On *dhyāna* I examine such texts as – *Prekṣā Anupreksā* (Hindi), *Transmutation of Personality through Preksha Meditation* (English translation), *Prekṣādhyāna Prayoga-Paddhati* (Hindi), *Prekṣādhyāna: Theory and Practice* (English translation),

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6 When I began my research there had been no ethnographic studies focused on Jaina meditation rituals that I was able to uncover. During my fieldwork in Ladnun I came across at least two studies focused on the effects of *Prekṣā* on mental changes in young girls (See Samaṇī Mallipragyā’s unpublished dissertation, *Influence of Preksha Meditation on Personality & Emotional States of Undergraduate Girls*, Ladnun: JVBI, 2007, and J. P. Mishra’s work, *Preksha Meditation and Human Health*). The recent unpublished dissertation of Andrea Jain (Rice University 2010) has been a welcome addition to the body of knowledge on Jaina yoga, and, in particular, on *Prekṣā* in the field of transnational yoga, health and well-being. For an historical, textual perspective on Jaina yoga and meditation see Bronkhorst, 1986 reprint 1993 and 1993a, as well as Tatia, 1986.
translation), Prekṣādhyāna Siddhānta aur Paddhati (Hindi), Acharanga Bhāsyam\(^7\) (Mahāprajñā’s translation and commentary on the first Śvetāmbara Jaina canonical text that elucidates Mahāvīra’s yoga), and Jaina Yoga (Hindi). On the Aṇuvrata movement I analyze the following works: Gati-Pragati (A History of the Origin and Progress of Aṇuvrata), Aṇuvrata: A Code of Conduct for Moral Development, and The Aṇuvrata Ideology, and on jīvan vijñāna and the environment I explore Jeevan Vigyan (The Science of Living), and Paryāvaraṇ: samasyā aur samādhan (Environment: Problems and Solutions), respectively. These texts allow me to discern how the Terāpanth preceptors reinterpret ancient scriptures to correspond with contemporary needs. My ethnographic work examines the lived tradition of the Terāpanthī community of ascetics and lay people in Delhi, Ladnun and Jaipur, Rajasthan, to observe how they translate the doctrine of prekṣā meditation into practice, and how this practice is given meaning. I also ask my interview subjects, ascetic and laypeople, how they interpret the Terāpanth doctrine of dāna and how those meanings translate into actual giving. I also conduct fieldwork within the Śvetāmbara Mūrtipūjaka (temple worshipping) community of Gujarat, specifically in Ahmedabad, to reveal how other Jainas react to the Terāpanthī reinterpretations of traditional practices, and how other Jainas cope with contemporary issues of social justice and ecology within their own practices.

I situate my work within the framework of recent Jaina ethnographies such as The Archetypal Action of Ritual (Humphrey and Laidlaw, 1994). Though Humphrey and Laidlaw are concerned with the ritual of pūjā, nevertheless in their view “ritual is a quality which can in theory apply to any kind of action. Ritualization begins with a

\(^7\) This is the English Spelling of the Text as published by the Terāpanth. The Sanskrit spelling of the text is Ācāraṅga Bhāsyam.
particular modification of the normal intentionality of human action” (Humphrey and Laidlaw 1994:71). Based on this definition, any action that has undergone such modification falls within the purview of ritual action. Moreover, following Marcel Mauss’s theories on “body techniques”, James Laidlaw (Laidlaw 1995) has effectively mapped the Jaina bodily practices of tapas (fasting), and meditation. Laidlaw demonstrates that the way the asceticism of Jaina renouncers is incorporated into Jaina lay life “is the way the human body is made an instrument of religious action and a medium of religious thought” (1995:151). Seeing meditation as an intentional act, in which the human body is made an instrument of religious action, would throw the practice of prekṣā meditation into a new light. Within this broad framework, each chapter has a different theoretical framework given the broad and multi-disciplinary nature of the dissertation. I explicate these below in the section on chapter summaries.

Why is it a Significant Contribution to Scholarship?

As my survey of the literature pertaining to Jaina yoga (chapter three) and Jainism and ecology (chapter five) indicates, there has been some scholarly work in the area of textual analysis of the historical development of Jaina yoga, but even here there is practically no reference made to prekṣādhyāna, the exception being Bronkhorst’s one line reference (1993:158). There has been no textual analysis of the interface of any contemporary Jaina yoga movement and ecology. Furthermore, with the exception of the three works cited above on prekṣādhyāna (f.n.:6), all concerned with some aspect of the effects of prekṣādhyāna on health and well-being, there has been no ethnographic study of the ritual and practice of prekṣādhyāna and the impact of prekṣādhyāna, aṃuvrata, and jīvan vijñāna on ecology, economy, and social justice. While there is a significant body
of work based on anthropological theories of gift following Marcel Mauss (1990), and while Maria Heim’s work on theories of gift in South Asia (2004) has been an important contribution, there has been no scholarship on dāna and dhyāna in Jaina yoga. My work strives not only to add to the body of scholarship on Jaina yoga and theories of gift, but also contributes to the growing body of research on modern yoga, ecology, and social justice, all areas of new epistemology for the Jainas. I attempt this by building upon three significant ethnographic studies on the Terāpanthīs – the substantial body of work by Peter Flügel on the Terāpanthī ritual circle (1996), on the religious economy of the Terāpanthī (2003) and codes of conduct (2003a), Anne Vallely’s (2002) work on the female ascetics in the Terāpanthī order, and the recently completed Ph.D. dissertation by Andrea Jain (2010) on prekṣādhyāna. Flügel’s work sheds a critical light on the institutional organization of the Terāpanth, while Vallely’s work builds on the two important concepts of laukika and lokottara. These have been of immense value to me as I connect the Terāpanthī concepts of laukika and lokottara to their stance on dāna and dhyāna. Jain’s work situates prekṣādhyāna within the transnational modern yoga movement of health and well-being.

In “The Ritual Circle of the Terāpanth Śvetāmbara Jains,” Flügel not only describes the history and the internal functioning of the Terāpanth monastic community (the dharmasangh), but also provides the structure of the ritual of vihār, the annual itinerary of travel by the itinerant ascetics. Moreover, he details the role played by the primary lay organization, the Terāpanth Mahāsabhā, in the smooth functioning of the vihār itinerary. In developing the history of the Terāpanth, Flügel touches upon the core concepts of dāna and the separation of all things laukika and lokottara, from which no
work on the Terāpanth can escape. However, his primary focus is on the vihār and the lay organization’s role in it. I build upon this work, which sheds light on the Terāpanth, but it is not a detailed study of dāna or dhyāna and their impact on ecology, economy, or social justice. Flügel’s other work, “Spiritual Accounting: The Role of the Kalyāṇaka Patra in the Religious Economy of the Terāpanth Śvetāmbara Jain Ascetics,” delineates the role of merit-making plays in the internal economy of the Terāpanth ascetic order. Merit-making has generally been seen as the domain of the laity, since all activities that the ascetics perform are supposed to be either producing nirjarā (the shedding of karma) or are a combination of punya (merit) and nirjarā. By tracing the history and analyzing the current function of the Kalyāṇaka Patra, Flügel attempts to show that, “for Jain monastic jurisprudence, group service poses doctrinal problems similar to dāna in the sphere of the laity, since it involves not only self-restraint, but also material benefits” (2003:171).

Although Flügel speaks of “Jain monastic jurisprudence,” his work specifically addresses the situation within the Terāpanth when Jayācārya, the fourth preceptor of the Terāpanth, introduced some innovative changes to increase the meager manuscript collection of the Terāpanth. In order to promote the systemic copying of manuscripts from the bhaṇḍāras (collections) of other sects, Jayācārya introduced the idea that for every śloka (32 syllables) copied, a monk would be remunerated one bonus point called gāthā (verse), which could be “cashed in for certain goods and services within the monastic community” (2003:172). This merit-making spiritual activity gradually developed into an economic system of rewards for all sorts of other mundane activities such as the making of begging bowls, the mouth masks, and the garments that the ascetics needed for their daily living. The division of labour – the intellectual activity of
manuscript copying, and the production of material goods – mirrored the division of labour amongst the laity, the male sādhus performing the intellectual tasks while the female sādhvīs relegated to performing the domestic tasks (2003:173-175).

Vallely’s work *Guardians of the Transcendent: An Ethnography of a Jain Ascetic Community* (2002) reflects this mirroring of the laity in the monastic organization. In examining the concepts of laukika and lokottara, especially as they apply to the female ascetics, her ethnography illuminates the life of the sādhvīs (fully ordained nuns), the samanīs (middle order nuns), and the mumukṣus (novices) in Ladnun, Rajasthan. Vallely concludes that while the lives of the sādhus (fully ordained monks) are a clear rupture from their lay life (before ordination), the life of the female ascetics remains an extension of their domestic lay life. Male members of the ascetic order, most often, renounced a life of wealth and luxury in a well-to-do Jaina family. Their renunciation was seen as great sacrifice. Women, on the other hand, did not always come from wealthy families, and often renounced to attain liberation from the inevitable “chores” of a domestic married life. Some women also saw renunciation in the Terāpanth order to be an opportunity to be educated, since female ascetics within the order are highly educated, many having graduate degrees. Vallely’s work makes an important contribution to the understanding of the laukika and lokottara, concepts that are important to my study, and which I elaborate upon in applying these terms to dāna and dhyāna.

Jain’s recent work, *Health, Well-Being, and the Ascetic Ideal: Modern Yoga in the Jain Terapanth* (2010) is a study of prekṣādhyāna, which she squarely locates within the modern yoga movement. She traces the historical trajectory of the Terāpanth that embraced a world-rejecting ideal to the development of prekṣā in the late twentieth
century, and sees the *samanīs* playing a major role in the dissemination of this ‘brand’ of meditation. By the time I was able to access Jain’s unpublished dissertation, I had already developed my chapters on *dāna* and *dhyāna*. While there is some overlapping in our two works, particularly on the use of science by the Terāpanth, our respective studies differ in focus. Jain’s work concentrates on *prekṣādhyāna* being a tool for ‘health and well-being,’ and how it intersects with late capitalism’s consumer culture. I too touch upon these ideas, but they are not the central concern of my work. I have endeavored to show how *dāna* and *dhyāna* work in tandem as ethical imperatives for the development of the soul, and how they may or may not help alleviate twenty-first-century concerns for ecology, economy, and social justice.

In this regard, I also build upon the literature on Jainism and ecology and on Stephen Scharper’s work on liberation theology and development (2006). My command of Hindi and Gujarati has allowed me to contribute to the study of Jaina vernacular literature, particularly since Christoph Emmrich points out “there [is] no knowledge of the literature in the modern Indian languages” (2005:574). Furthermore, John Cort “argues in favour of studying the cross currents between these two strands” – the traditions of textual transmission and religious practice (Emmrich 2005:577). My study attempts to study such “cross currents.”

In a manner, the Jainas in general, but the Terāpanthīs in particular, are reinterpreting and transforming the traditions from within which they hail and my work strives to shed light on how this transformation is occurring. I attempt to answer how, for instance, the Jainas, in particular the Terāpanthīs, are transforming traditional Jaina tenets like *ahimsā* (non-violence) and *aparigraha* (non-possession), and how are they
translating modern concepts of ecology, economics, social justice, peace, and health into Jaina terminology.

Both my textual analysis and the ethnographic examination have enabled me to pose critical questions about my subjects. It is important to understand, in the case of the Terāpanthīs for instance, how they use canonical texts. Thus, I pose these questions: Which texts are privileged and read and reread in a contemporary light, and which ones are ignored? Is there a hierarchy in the texts? What is the relationship between the prescriptive discourse and the actual practice of dāna and dhyāna? What texts do they privilege in their understanding and reinterpretation of ancient concepts of non-violence and non-possession to further social justice and the environmental cause? Can the nexus of yogic philosophy and practice, and contemporary environmental philosophy and practice, result in a traditionally grounded, politically engaged social justice and environmental ethic?

**Fieldsites and Ethnography**

Before I delve into discussing my fieldsites and ethnography, I should discuss my role as a Western religious studies scholar, and as a Śvetāmbara Mūrtipūjaka Jaina, who was born and raised in Gujarat, India, conducting fieldwork amongst the Terāpanth in Rajasthan. Anthropology has often been critiqued as a colonial construct, particularly in its representation of the other as ‘exotic’, creating an’us/them’ dichotomy. Talal Asad (1973) has called it a project of Western colonialism. Addressing the issue of the disparate nature of the two types of activities, the Western anthropological analysis and the conceptualization by the ‘other’ (native) of the causes and outcomes of their activities, Marilyn Strathern states that it would be quite “shortsighted” and “disparaging”
to speak of “our ideas as ‘ethnocentric’ and that we should look at ‘their’ ideas” (1988:16). Rather she suggests that we (Western anthropologists) must recognize and be conscious that we come with our own preformed thoughts and images, and that “their ideas must be made to appear through the shapes we give to our ideas” (16). For Strathern, when we assume that one type of society (the other’s) is an inversion of another (ours) then the fiction of ‘us/Them’ is created. By being conscious of our own constructs we can avoid the pitfall of an ‘us/them’ dichotomy.

As an Indian, a Jaina, and a trained yoga teacher I did not anticipate the feeling of ‘otherness’. After all, this was my community. Being an insider did open doors for me. Yet, I have spent my entire adult life in a Western country (Canada) and am acculturated in Western ways and this posed some interesting challenges during the fieldwork.

Because I am an Indian and a Jaina, I was partially accepted by the Terāpanth as one of them, which came with responsibilities. I was expected to behave like them, act like them and be more understanding and receptive to their doctrines. However, there were degrees of separation between the community I was researching and myself. First, I was a non-resident Indian, an NRI, an acronym generally applied to Indians living abroad, which meant that I filtered matters through a different lens. Second, although I was a Jaina, I was not a Terāpanth, which meant that not only did I bring my own subjectivity as a person raised in the Jaina tradition, but also I was not privy to the Terāpanth doctrines in their specificity, for example, their stance on dāna. Third, I was a Western researcher, trained in a Western university, which led me to be critical and objective, even if it was a difficult prospect at times. Part of my ethnography was based on the participant/observer model. Thus in the prekṣādhyāna camps I attended (three in
total – one in Jaipur in 2008 as preliminary research, and two in Ladnun during my fieldwork in 2009-2010), I shared in the experiences that my interlocutors in the camp did, although our interpretation of the shared experiences may have been different given our varied backgrounds and our different lenses in viewing things. Furthermore, in the four months I spent in India from September 2009 to January 2010, I conducted over 300 interviews, both formal and informal conversations amongst the ascetics and laypeople. On a return trip to Ladnun in February 2011 (during a visit by the current and 11th Ācārya Mahāśramaṇa), I also did follow-up interviews with some of the ascetics and laypeople.

Although my primary fieldwork was conducted in Ladnun, Rajasthan, I arrived in Delhi in September 2009 and spent ten days at the Ādhyātmik Sādhanā Kendra (Spiritual Practice Centre), a Terāpanth satellite centre, where they offer daily prekṣādhyāna and yoga classes, and also offer prekṣādhyāna teacher’s training. I chose to take this route as it allowed me to get myself immersed in the Terāpanth culture prior to arriving in Ladnun without being overwhelmed. Also, I had met and interviewed Swāmi Dharmānand, the director of the centre, in 2008 while conducting preliminary fieldwork during my sojourn in India with the International Summer School for Jain Studies.

Chapter Summaries

In chapter one I map the historical trajectory for the impetus for the foundation of a new sect, the Terāpanth, its organizational structure, and its institutions. I also describe the fieldsites in some detail to set the stage for the remaining chapters. The historical background helps us understand the founder’s position on dāna, which I explore in chapter two. This chapter is an exploration of the Terāpanth position on dāna versus the ‘traditional’ Jaina perspective on dāna and is set within the anthropological framework of
debates on the notions of gift and exchange, following Mauss’s essay (1990). It begins with an explication of classical Jaina theories on dāna and the ritual of almsgiving (baharānā). I explore how the rhetorical split between the laukika and the lokottara leads the Terāpanth to an extreme logical conclusion making their stance on dāna untenable for their opponents. This exploratory chapter sets the stage for an in-depth analysis of dāna and dhyāna in chapter four. Chapter three is set within the theoretical context of ritual as a performative, in which the body is used as a tool to move towards Self-realization, and investigates how prekṣādhyāna camps and the prescriptive literature fit into this context. I discuss how the Terāpanth utilize the discourse on Scripture and the language of Science as authoritative rhetoric, both of which are invented traditions, to give import to the practice in a competing marketplace for universals such as modern yoga and meditation.

Having already set the stage in chapters two and three – explicating the Terāpanth position on dāna and describing the ritual practice of prekṣādhyāna – I analyze in chapter four the relationship between dāna and dhyāna by examining the notion of lokottara following Holt (1991), not in contrast with the laukika, as the Terāpanthīs do, but as being in the world and remaining unattached to it. This theoretical construct allows me to examine how the Terāpanth doctrine of visarjana can be understood. I also examine how this new doctrine becomes a source of divisiveness and opposition, both within the Terāpanth and in the rest of the Jaina community. Furthermore, using the background of colonial charitable laws (Birla 2009) I explore how the Terāpanth Mārwārī community participates, through dāna and dhyāna, in the economy.
Set within theories of globalization and post-modernism, the Terāpanthīs, I argue in chapter five, use the discourse of globalization and post-modernism as a rhetoric to propound that dāna as visarjana, anuvrata, and jīvan vijñāna along with ‘relative economics’ will potentially lead to an ecologically sustainable, economically viable, and socially just society.

In the concluding pages, I summarize the Terāpanth discourses on dāna and dhyāna to see if these discourses have allowed the Terāpanth to succeed in their effort towards a morally imbued, just society, which is ecologically and environmentally sustainable. I bring the discussion to what it means for the Terāpanth and Jainism as the Terāpanth changes, reinterprets, and adapts new doctrines all the while claiming the authority of the canon, and at the same time integrating science and other contemporary influences. I explore the question of whether this masks an erosion of Jaina theology or is simply the use of adaptive strategies to cope with changing times that all evolving religions must face.
Chapter One – The Terāpanth: History and Organization

Introduction

In this chapter I outline the history of the formation of the Terāpanth as a “reform movement,” and explicate the structure of the monastic and lay organization to put a context to the overall material in this dissertation. In order to understand the founder’s strict code on dāna – a code that has marked the Terāpanth from the rest of the Jaina sects – it is crucial to have a grasp of its founding history. Furthermore, since the study principally focuses on the second half of the twentieth century to the present, it is important to understand the organizational changes introduced in the post-independence period and to be able to visualize the sites in which much of the researched activity takes place.

The Terāpanth: The Impetus towards a New Sect

In this section I delineate the plausible reasons for Bhikṣu’s founding of a new sect and his literal adherence to the Jaina doctrine, which leads to his separation of laukika and lokottara and to his position on dāna. Before I summarize the legend of the founding of the Terāpanth, which has been well documented by scholars, it would be useful to shed some light on the political landscape of the period between 1740-1818 in the Rajput states in general and in the Mārwār region specifically to help us contextualize the development process of the new sect in the Mārwār region.

In the waning days of the Mughal Empire and the waxing days of the colonial period, the Rajput states (present-day Rajasthan) were in a state of flux. Individual states were embroiled in disputes over the succession to the gaddi (throne), and neighbouring states and ambitious nobles, sometimes involving close relatives, were often involved in
such disputes (Jain 1996:2). In the period between 1740-1818, such disputes were often resolved through outside help, mostly involving the Maratha rulers, who, unlike the British, had no interest in extending imperial power over Rajasthan. The Maratha rulers, generally in need of money, played a significant role in the Rajput disputes, particularly during 1743-61, and worked in exchange for chauth tribute. With a lack of imperial authority, feudalism became the order of the day (1996:2-9). In Mārwār during the period of 1753-61, the Rajput ruler of the princely state, Maharaja Vijay Singh, had antagonized his leading chiefs, and adopted a policy of creating dissension amongst them by encouraging rivalries between two particular clans – the Champawats and the Kumpawats. He persecuted the former and beheaded the latter (16-17). By the time of Vijay Singh’s death (1793), Mārwār, which once had been an important player in Mughal and Rajput affairs, had fallen “to a second rate position for a major part of the 19th century” (18). The post-1761 period was characterized by internecine wars throughout the Rajput states.

In the latter half of the 18th century and the beginning of 19th century old structures, particularly bureaucratic administrative procedures, were changing and new institutions were being created throughout the Rajput states. The three surviving institutions still remaining from the pre-1818 days were the monarchy, the nobility, and the army. The British were partly responsible for the changing policy towards the clan-based feudal nobility, and by 1857-58 the rulers were completely dependent on the British and clan loyalties were diminishing (1996:v).9

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8 1818 was the end of the third Anglo-Maratha war, which brought a formal end of the Maratha Empire and firmly established the British East India Company.

9 The history of the East India Company and the eventual rule of India by the British crown are well known. However, briefly, the 1857 mutiny was a watershed moment for the Company after which the
Throughout this period the Jainas played a significant role in the administration of the Rajputs. According to Monika Horstmann, “The functional elite, the military bureaucracy, consisted mainly of Jains and Kāyathas […] The Rajput nobility […] prominent as the king’s kin and in military function, were largely kept away from running the administrative machinery of the state, for they were potential claimants to regnal power” (2006:7). Writing about Savāī Jaisingh, at the royal court of Āmer/Jaipur in the waning days of the Mughal empire, Horstmann states that Jaisingh saw himself at a turning point in history, and “perceived that turning point in history in the fashion of the ancient concept of the transition of the Kaliyuga to a new age of perfection, the Satyayuga” (10). Given this political background one can conjecture as to the socio-economic impact. The Jainas were part of an elite group as ministers in the state machinery. They were wealthy merchants who provided much needed revenue to the coffers of the warring states. This kind of wealth would have led the Jainas to contribute funds towards temple building, and in the case of the Sthānakvāsi (hall dwellers) Jainas built, and continue to build, upāśrayas (dwelling halls) for their ascetics. Such activities are traditionally seen as merit producing.

Like Savāī Jaisingh, who saw himself at a turning point, Ācārya Bhikṣu, the founder of the Terāpanth, saw the malaise (according to Bhikṣu, the monks were becoming lax, and too familiar with the laity) in his Sthānakvāsi Jaina community, attributed the decline to the kaliyuga, and decided to herald a new “satyayuga”. Bhikṣu

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Crown took over control of India. Prior to this period, the Company entered into subsidiary alliances with princely states. The state paid for the maintenance of a British army in the princely state, and in return the British offered protection to the princely state from other warring neighbouring states. If the state failed to make payments then part or whole of the princely territory became annexed as British territory. 

10 The turning point for Savāī Jaisingh was in the period after 1713 in the waning days of the Mughal Empire after the death of the Mughal emperor, Aurangzeb. With the Mughal imperial authority weakened, Savāī Jaisingh distanced himself from the ruling Mughal emperor and sharpened his image as a Hindu king – one who ruled according to brahmanical dharma (Horstmann 2006:8-11).
(1726-1803) was born into a Śvetāmbara Mūrtipūjaka Jaina family of the Bisa Oswal merchant caste in Mārwār. He was initiated into the Sthānakvāsi order by his guru Raghunāth in 1751, and after eight years of living as a monk and studying the Jaina scriptures, Bhikṣu came to the conclusion that Jaina monks had veered away from the path of Mahāvīra, as evinced in the canonical literature (Choprha 1946:3-6).11 The town of Rājanagara, according to Mahāprajña, is Bhikṣu’s bodhi kṣetra (field of insight). According to the Terāpanth legend Bhikṣu’s guru sent him here to placate the laity because the Jaina laity refused to pay obeisance to the monks owing to the latter’s lax behavior. Bhikṣu was forced to face the truth about his community and when his guru did not heed his warnings, Bhikṣu and twelve other monks left the order to form the Terāpanth (Mahāprajña 1992:33-34).12 Bhikṣu claimed that the monks in the Sthānakvāsi order had so fallen that they expressed little interest in following their mahāvrata (the five great vows that all Jaina ascetics observe), and charged them with a long list of infractions (1992:3-6). Bhikṣu’s opponents scorned his group as the path of the thirteen, Terah (thirteen) pantha (path). Bhikṣu later interpreted this as Tera (your) pantha (path) or “emanated from you, Lord Mahāvīra,” and as the number of rules observed by Jaina monastics, namely the five mahāvratas, the five samitis or conduct codes and the three guptis or restraints (Mahāprajña 1992:3-6, Flügel 2002:1266-1267).

The Terāpanth Institutions

Monastic Organization

12 All translations of the text from Hindi to English are mine.
The principal outlook of the Terāpanth has not changed much over its 250-year history; however, according to Flügel, “its forms of application and its institutions have changed” (2002:1266). To prevent schisms, Bhikṣu stipulated that there remains a single authority at the head of the order, an ācārya, chosen by his predecessor. He also formulated maryādās (limits or rules of conduct). The Terāpanth’s fourth preceptor, Jayācārya (1803-1881), who created an elaborate institutional framework for the organization, formalized the institution of a single ācārya and introduced the Maryādā Mahotsava (annual festival of monastic conventions, rules and regulations) to commemorate the maryādās, which has been celebrated by the Terāpanthīs since 1863.

The last seventy years have seen more changes within the Terāpanth. Its ninth ācārya, Tulsī (1914-1997), a reformer, modernized the order and changed it from the world-negating order to a world-transforming movement. He started the nonsectarian Aṇuvrat movement in 1949 for the implementation of nonviolence and morality within society. He departed from Bhikṣu’s doctrinal principles and promoted worldly charity for his many educational projects (Flügel 2002:1267). In 1960 a new movement, nayā moda (literal meaning: ‘new curve or bend’; here meaning: ‘new direction’) founded under Tulsī’s leadership, abolished social customs which were deemed “outdated”, chief amongst them was the female purdah (veil). In 1980 Tulsī introduced a new order of ascetics called samaṇ (male order) and samaṇī (female order), which was a radical departure from any previous Jaina ascetic order. This new order of ascetics was allowed to eat food cooked specifically for them, travel on modern conveyances, and wear shoes. In addition, they do not have to shave or pluck their hair.\footnote{Traditionally, Jaina ascetics are peripatetic, do not wear shoes, do not use modern conveyance, do not eat food cooked specifically for them (they collect alms from the lay people) and shave or pluck their hair.}
of Jain Shwetambar Terapanth’, Tulsī created this new category of ascetics “in an effort to bring the ascetic order more in congruence with modern society and its conditions.”¹⁴

This has allowed the Terāpanthīs to send these ascetics abroad, and for the first time in its history, Jainism is being proselytized, which is a key factor for its yoga practice. In 1975, under Tulsī’s guidance, the then Muni Nathmal, who later became the tenth preceptor of the order in 1994, known as Ācārya Mahāprajña (1920-2010), founded a Jaina version of insight meditation, which he coined preksādhyāna. The motivation to develop a Jaina meditation may have followed from the popularity of S.N. Goenka’s vipassana meditation movement¹⁵ and the immensely popular Transcendental Meditation of Maharishi Mahesh Yogi¹⁶ and other such movements in the rapidly growing transnational market of yoga.

The monastic order is organized in a hierarchy under the leadership of the Ācārya, and the Yuvācārya (literally, from here on lit., ‘Young ācārya’, here ‘ācārya in waiting’ or ‘successor’) is below him. The position of yuvācārya is meant to ensure succession planning. It seems that this position has not always been occupied. Tulsī occupied the position for three days and the identity of his predecessor (Kalugaṇi) was concealed in a sealed envelope until the passing away of his guru.¹⁷ In 1979 Muni Nathmal was appointed to the position,¹⁸ and later at the age of 74, in 1995, became Ācārya

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¹⁵ S. N. Goenka founded Vipassana Meditation following in the tradition of Sayagyi U Ba Khin. See the official website of the movement, www.dhamma.org
¹⁶ Transcendental Meditation was founded by Maharishi Mahesh Yogi – guru to such famous personalities as the Beatles, and American comedian Jerry Seinfeld who endorses TM on national television – who took his brand of meditation and universalized it with followers worldwide by making it a secular practice. See the official website of the TM movement, www.tm.org
¹⁷ Personal communication with Samaṇī Unnatapragya (March 15, 2013).
¹⁸ The appointment of Muni Nathmal to the position created a schism within the ranks and some ascetics, slighted by the appointment, left the Terāpanth to form the Nav Terāpanth (New Terāpanth). For details on the schism see chapter four in this dissertation.
Mahāprajña, the tenth preceptor. Ācārya Tulsī stepped down at the age of 80 in 1995, and was bestowed with the special epithet of Gaṇāḍhipati (‘lord of the group’) by his successor, Mahāprajña, a precedent-setting act in the Terāpanth since no Ācārya before him had done so. Since the passing of Ācārya Mahāprajña in May 2010 when Yuvācārya Mahāśramaṇa (b.1962) became the eleventh ācārya, the position of yuvācārya has not been filled. However, Mahāśramaṇa has recently appointed a senior monk and his dīkṣā (initiation) guru, Muni Sumeralji, as a mantrī (counselor) muni. Historically, another learned monk, Maganlālji Swāmi, who saw the tenure of five ācāryas from the fifth ācārya, Maghgaṇi, to the ninth ācārya Tulsī, also occupied the position of mantrī muni.

Below the yuvācārya, the female ascetics are led by sādhvi pramukhā (chief nun) and under her is the mukhya niyojikā (chief administrator). Neither of these positions has an equivalent amongst the male ascetics. Beyond this the male and female orders have the same administrative structure – sādhu/sādhvī, niyojaka/niyojikā, samaṇ/samaṇī. The ascetic community currently has 154 sādhus, 518 sādhvīs, 1 samaṇ, 84 samaṇīs and 10 samaṇīs abroad. The community is organized into 148 singhārs (smaller units of 3-4 ascetics). I provide the details of the organizational structure of the Terāpanth saṅgha so that the reader has an appreciation for the complexity of the organization all managed by the central authority of a single guru. Not only does the ācārya have control over the ascetic order, but also as I show below, weilds power over the lay organizations that run the many charitable foundations of the Terāpanth.

**Lay Community and its Organizations**

Although the Ācārya cannot legislate the lay activities, no high level development occurs without his sanction. The planning and on-going development of the Terāpanth
saṅgha occurs at the highest level of the lay society with members chosen from the elite within the community. There is prestige and honour (māna) involved in being chosen to be on the boards of lay organizations. The ‘Terapanth Vikās Pariṣad’ (TVP ‘The Terāpanth Development Council’) consists of a high level advisory committee of five members and an executive committee of nine members. The executive committee is comprised of the convener, the chief council and seven additional members who are presidents and trustees of the most important Terāpanth lay organizations. They include the Managing Trustee of the Jai Tulsī Foundation (JTF); the President of JVB; the President of Jain Śvetāmbar Terāpanth (JST); the President of the Akhil Bhāratiya Yuvak Pariṣad (All India Youth Council ABTYP); the President of Akhil Bhāratiya Mahilā Maṇḍal (All India Women’s Circle); the President of the Aṇuvrat Mahāsamiti (the great council of Aṇuvrat); and the President of Ādarśa Sāḥitya Saṅgh (a Terāpanth publishing house). The makeup of the executive committee shows the importance of the lay organizations because all of the members are pillars within the community who own large businesses and are very visible on every important occasion within the Terāpanth.

While one may not have access to the inner workings of the Terāpanth lay organizations unless one is an insider, nevertheless the basic organizational structure of these associations is well documented on the ‘Official site of Jain Shwetambar Terapanth’ (cited above). According to the website and my own sources in the field, at 19 I conducted formal interviews and had informal conversations with key members of the lay organizations, including Sri Surendra Choraria, President, JVB; Smt. Suraj Baradia, President, Akhil Bhāratiya Terāpanth Mahilā Maṇḍal (All India Terāpanth Women’s Circle or ABTMM), Smt. Pushpa Baid, Secretary, ABTMM. These people were very visible during my stay in Ladnun in 2009-10. They are part of prominent business families and make many resources available to the Terāpanth. For example, Surendra Choraria, the President of JVB, had a car permanently at the disposal of JVB in Ladnun even though he lived in Calcutta for most of the year. The car was often used to transport Samāṇīs from Ladnun to other Rajasthani villages and on one such occasion I accompanied them to Tamkor, the birthplace of Mahāprajā. 
the top of the lay organizational hierarchy is the ‘Jain Śvetambar Terāpanth Mahāsabhā’ (great assembly or society JSTM), which was established in 1913 and is the national lay body. The JSTM is the umbrella organization that oversees all Terāpanth lay activities. All other lay organizations come under its purview. Its primary objective is the welfare and the well-being of the Terāpanth community. JSTM ensures that all local sabhās uniformly conform to its general mandate. It centrally conducts training for the teachers in the jñānaśālavā (lit. ‘School of knowledge’). Jñānaśālavā operate in the same manner as Sunday Schools conducting classes for religious training for Terāpanth children on the weekends. The Terāpanthīs use the term ‘inculcate’ in all their literature when speaking about teaching or training. One is not quite sure in what sense they use the term. Are they indoctrinating children not only in the Jaina tenets, but also in Terāpanth specific doctrines? The JSTM also centrally trains upāsakas (advanced lay people engaged in serving the community) who function, in the absence of monks and nuns, as substitutes in small communities during the rainy season, particularly during the paryūṣaṇa parvā. Moreover, they publish a monthly magazine called Jain Bhārati, publish scores of books of historical significance to the Terāpanth, honour lay people chosen by the Ācārya as worthy of merit for their contribution to the community, and manage the Bhikṣu Granthāgar, a library of some 10,000 books.

Below the JSTM is the ABTYP, an organization of young males (age group of early 20’s to early 40’s), whose primary purpose is to recruit a younger generation into

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20 For a history of the formation of JSTM see chapter 3.
21 The paryūṣaṇa parvā is a eight-day (Śvetāmbara) or ten-day (Digambara) most holy religious festival amongst the Jainas held during the rainy season when even the not so pious lay people undergo some form of restraint such as fasting for a meal, or a day if not more. At the end of this period they collectively perform the samvatsari pratiṣṭhāna – a ritual confession at the end of which they ask each other’s forgiveness for any offence caused. For a detailed description see Jaini 1979:216.
the fold to carry on the goals of the JSTM and ultimately groom the next generation of JSTM members. They perform activities directed by the TVP. Members of the ABTYP are very involved in the organization of prekṣādhyāna camps and do most of the work in the days leading up to the camps and during the camps to ensure that the camps run as planned. They also publish a weekly paper ‘Akhil Bhāratiya Terāpanth Times’ and a monthly magazine ‘Yuva Drishty’ (Youth Vision). Hierarchically, the ABTMM, the women’s organization, incorporated in 1971, seems to be below ABTYP both in terms of their visibility and status. This is a possible consequence of a male-dominated society, and reflects the hierarchy within the monastic order in which the Sādhvī Pramukhā Kanakaprabhāji, a senior elderly nun and head of the female monastic order, is not only below the Yuvācārya, but technically below all male ascetics and is required to pay obeisance to them. In reality Sādhvī Pramukhā does not bow to the younger monks.

The ABTMM’s primary goal seems to be to create social awareness “debated through seminars, workshops and through newsletters” (www.Terāpanth.com). Through its 361 branches across India, the website shows that they have a three-pronged approach to social causes. Under the banner of ‘Healthy family program’ it imparts “training & advice on physical & mental state” and it imparts “moral education to girls … on the moral values & cultures of the society.” Exactly who imparts what sort of training on physical and mental state and to whom is not clear. The other two areas that the organization is involved in are: the public awareness project on ahimsā through pamphlets, posters, and newspaper articles; and under the ‘service to mankind project’ providing medical camps for women’s illnesses, eye care, vaccination, dialysis, and providing clothes, medicine and food to orphans, as well as scholarships for needy
children. Given the Terāpanth position on dāna (see chapters two and four), these social projects are a change from the past and more in keeping with contemporary notions of charity. The Terāpanth have many other lay organizations pertaining to its various activities involving the Anuvrat movement, the various memorial building projects, etc., that I do not elaborate upon, but refer to their website. I elaborate upon the two organizations that are important, the JVB and JVBI, in the section below on fieldsites.

**Sketching the Fieldsites**

My purpose for sketching the fieldsites and my daily activities is to transpose the reader to the physical space I inhabited during my fieldwork so that s/he is able to contextualize the rest of the chapters. As I stated in the introduction, my primary fieldsite was the JVB campus in Ladnun, Rajasthan, but I also spent ten days in Delhi in September 2009 at the Ādhyātmik Sādhanā Kendra (Spiritual Practice Centre). I begin with a depiction of the Centre in Delhi followed by the portrayal of the JVB campus in Ladnun, Rajasthan.

I was familiar with the Ādhyātmik Sādhanā Kendra, but had never stayed there prior to my research. The centre has a residence/guest house available on a per night basis similar to a hotel room, which includes three meals. People coming for intense sādhanā (meditation practice) for longer periods or who are undergoing teacher’s training do stay for longer periods. As you walk into the main gates of the centre there is a big, white smārak (statue) of Ācārya Tulsī and to the right of the statue is an open ground (space that is sometimes rented out). Past the open ground on the right is a zen-like walking

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22 My source within the Terāpanth tells me that as of March 2013 the open space is under construction to prepare for the 2014 cāturmās (four month rainy season retreat when Jaina ascetics stay in one place) during which the Terāpanth rāja saṅgha (see reference above to the organizational structure) will be
path made of river rocks upon which people walk barefoot to get the benefits of ‘reflexology’. Past the brahmācārya walk is a white dome-like structure, which is a private samādhi space for people who want to engage in intense meditation practice. Beyond this is the main residence for guests and at the very back are the private residence and office of Swāmī Dharmānand and his wife. ‘Swāmi’ is an honorific title conferred upon the lay upāsaka, a (celibate), according to his wife for the last 35 years of his life. He has devoted his life to the propagation of Terāpanth, and prekṣādhyāna in particular. To the left of the main residence and in front of it is the main meditation and yoga hall, where daily there are morning and evening meditation sessions. Many attending the sessions are from the residence, having arrived from all parts of India, and there are two young students studying to become prekṣādhyāna teachers. I feature their stories (with pseudonyms – Raj and Kiran) in chapter three. In addition, there are local residents from the neighbouring areas in Delhi, men and women, not necessarily Terāpanth or even Jainas, who come each morning primarily for the health benefits – mental and physical – that the practice of meditation and yoga provide them. In front of the meditation hall and to the left of it is another huge hall that is used as a banquet or special events hall. During my stay at the Centre, the banquet hall and the empty ground space near the entrance were occupied by the very popular Hindu group, the followers of Sri Sri Ravi Shankar, the charismatic founder of ‘The Art of Living Foundation’. Everyday, over loudspeakers, I heard Hindu bhakti (devotional) songs and in the evening there were hāvanas (fire ceremonies) followed by bhakti. This offered a peculiar, but interesting backdrop to a Jaina spiritual centre. Perhaps it fit into the ecumenical image that the Terāpanth were staying at the Adhyatmik Sadhna Kendra and there will be a massive crowd of lay devotees arriving for the period. Personal communication with a Terāpanth layperson March 16, 2013.
trying to project. There is here space for all religions. My interviews with the residents, the young prekṣā teachers, and the Swāmi created an early picture of the Terāpanth for me in a less intense setting.

I arrived in Ladnun on the evening of September 23, 2009, after having flown from Delhi to Jaipur early in the morning, and after having been driven, in a chauffeured car by my Terāpanthī friend and her uncle, for five hours over rural roads in Rajasthan. It was already dark outside so I could not see much of the lovely campus outside my car window. My friends left me at the Needam residence, where a reservation was made prior to my arrival. This was my first experience of Ladnun in the 50+degree Celsius of the Rajasthan desert heat. In 1970 Jain Vishva Bharati (JVB), the umbrella organization, was established on a sprawling campus of 455,000 sq. ft., in Ladnun, Rajasthan (Tulsi’s birthplace) with land donated by a wealthy devotee (Vallely 2002:24). The campus houses several institutions and residences. The most important institution housed on the campus is the Jain Vishva Bharati Institute (JVBI), which gained the status of a “deemed university” in 1991. As you enter the large main gate of the expansive campus, to the right are smaller, older residential cottages occupied by the families of staff members both of the university and the parent organization. Beyond these is a brand new complex of apartment buildings called ‘Calcutta House’ built to accommodate the soaring numbers of wealthy pilgrims arriving from the various cities of India. Just past this is the bhojan śālā (‘house of meals’ or a cafeteria) where meals are served to the public for a nominal charge of Rs. 25 per meal. To the left of the main gate is ‘Punjab House’, a multi-unit guesthouse built in an earlier period. As you continue walking through the main entrance past Punjab House on the left is ‘Gautam Gyanshala’, the official residence
of the *samaṇīs*. Across from Gautam Gyanshala, on the main promenade, is the Ayurvedic clinic. To the north of Gautam Gyanshala, separated by a vast expanse of sand, is the *munis’* (monks) residence and adjacent to it on the right is the vast open structure with a dais where the ācārya, when in residence during the rainy season, preaches his daily sermons. To the left of the monks’ residence in the far corner of the campus is JVBI, the first Jaina University, which offers degree programs in Non-Violence and Aṇuvrata, Jainology, Prakrit and Sanskrit language, Prekṣā Meditation, and Social Work. JVBI also has a small library, a meditation centre, called the Tulsī Needam centre, and a larger house for the vice chancellor and a few smaller houses for professors. There are also some private residences built by lay devotees who live permanently on campus. During my fieldwork visit in 2009, there was a groundbreaking ceremony for a new, larger meditation centre. The *sādhvīs’* (nuns’) residences and the *Parmārthik Shikshan Sanstha* (PSS), established in 1948 as a training centre and residence for *mumukṣu* sisters (young women who aspire to become ascetics), are both outside the JVBI campus.\(^{23}\) During 2009 this sprawling campus was my home for four months. During the 2009 *cāturmāsa* the Terāpanth *rāja saṅgha* was in residence in Ladnun, therefore there were thousands of lay devotees that resided there, and for an ethnographer this was like hitting a gold mine. My day began at 4:30am with a meditation to the competing sounds over loudspeakers of the Muslim chants of *Allah Hu Akbar*, Hindu *bhakti* chants, and last but not least, the melodiuous voice of the young Niraj Muni, singing the *logussa stotra*,\(^{24}\)

\(^{23}\) On my follow up visit in 2011, I noticed that the *mumukṣu* sisters had been moved to the Needam residence inside the JVBI campus, where the *prekṣā* camps took place during my stay in 2009, and where camp residents were housed. The move of the *mumukṣu* sisters from the off campus PSS site was explained away as a safety measure to protect the young women, but one wonders what they were being protected from and if it was not more an issue of central control.

\(^{24}\) The *logussa stotra* is an obeisance to the 24 Tīrthaṅkaras that most Jainas can chant from memory.
and ended at 10pm, after having had an hour of Prakrit lessons daily and scores of interviews and events during the day.

**Conclusion**

This brief history of the Terāpanth will, I trust, contextualize the Terāpanth position on dāna as distinct from the Jaina position on dāna as explicated in the classical texts, as well as the medieval conduct treatises, as discussed in chapter two. Moreover, the importance of the lay organizations becomes evident as key resources in the implementation of the meditation camps, the subject of chapter three. The rest of the chapters seek to further understand the role of the Terāpanth in participating in the economy, ecology and the applied ethics of dāna and dhyāna.
Chapter Two – Dāna: The Perils of Exchange

Introduction

In this chapter I explicate the Terāpanth position on dāna vis-à-vis the Jaina position on dāna, which is not only foundational to an understanding of the Terāpanth, but also contributes to a critical understanding of theories of gift in the South Asian context. It forms the basis for the development of notions of the laukika and lokottara, and how dāna along with dhyāna participate in the economy (explored in chapter four) and what sort of applied ethics can be derived from this sort of position (see chapter five). I will argue that although dāna, the Jaina practice of giving, particularly giving alms to Jaina ascetics, has been seen by some scholars as being close to a truly ‘free-gift’ without any reciprocity – a notion implicit in the Maussian concept of the gift, nevertheless it seems that certain aspects of the Terāpanth position on dāna demonstrate that dāna to anyone other than an ascetic may be perilous for the donor. This position is not only in opposition to other Indian traditions, such as Hinduism, but is also in conflict with all other contemporary Jaina sects, which, I will show, has left the Terāpanth open to criticism – criticism that has led them to alter their position in recent times.

The Sanskrit term dāna is often translated as ‘gift’, which is one meaning of the term. However, dāna connotes much more than that, as I will attempt to show in this chapter. In theories of gift, Mauss’s essay The Gift is a classic starting point. He provides profound insights into the role of actors in the exchange, materiality, and spirit of the gift in establishing reciprocity of exchange in archaic/ “primitive” and pre-capitalist societies. The central notion of Mauss’s work is that gifts create obligations of reciprocity in archaic societies. Mauss’s work has generated a lot of debate and there are many critiques
of his “problem-solution” framework. According to Miyazaki, the most influential
critique comes from Levi-Strauss, who argues that social life is a system of relations, not
characteristic of a system of
total services, apparently free and disinterested but nevertheless constrained and self-
interested. Almost always such services have taken the form of the gift, the present
generously given even when, in the gesture accompanying the transaction, there is
only polite fiction, formalism, and social deceit, and when really there is obligation
and economic self-interest (1990:3).

For Mauss there are no free gifts. In his critique of Mauss, Derrida argues that pure gifts
are not morally obligated. “A gift must not be bound” (1992:137) for if it is, it cannot be
a gift. He continues: “Laws, therefore, transform the gift or rather the offering into
(distributive) justice, which is economic in the strict sense or the symbolic sense; they
transform alms into exchangist, even contractual circulation” (138). I concur with Erica
Bornstein in her analysis of Derrida. She states that for Derrida, “Once the gift contains
the expectation of a return, it remains in the realm of debt and credit and is no longer a
gift” (2012:33). Thus, Derrida denies reciprocity in a gift. Derrida elaborates on the idea
of a “free gift” (1992:14-16; see my analysis below). The Jaina gift is generally seen as a
gift that is truly unilateral, generating no sense of reciprocity or obligation, and is given
to a person of high esteem, namely, the Jaina ascetic (Heim 2004, Laidlaw 1995, 2000).

According to James Laidlaw, the Jaina dāna, specifically the giving of alms to
Śvetāmbara Jaina ascetics, is as close as is attainable to being a truly free gift (2000:617).
Here, he is following Derrida’s idea of a free gift (see below p. 54-55). However, as both
the texts I examine and my own observation in the field demonstrate, the idea of a ‘free
gift’ is not as clear-cut. Although the Jaina dāna seems to be focused on soteriological
concerns, according to scholars like Laidlaw and Heim, as I will demonstrate, such dichotomies are false. Like Mauss’s tribal societies, where gift is tied to economies of some scale, dāna, particularly amongst the Terāpanth as I will demonstrate in chapter four, participates significantly in the economy. Even lokottara dāna, seen on a par with dhyāna in terms of religious merit, defies the logic of the free gift. Here it is in the hankering for salvation that we see hints of reciprocity, which muddies the distinction between Mauss’s ‘gift’ and the Jaina dāna as a ‘free gift’.

However, both Mauss’s treatment of the gift and Laidlaw’s, following Strenski, are problematic because they miss important elements that structure the exchange relations. Strenski argues that the domestication of the Buddhist saṅgha can be seen as a “consequence of ritual giving to the saṅgha – the institutional condition of the saṅgha within a system of generalized exchange” (1983:463). Thus the ritual giving by a specific layperson to a specific Buddhist monk is denied reciprocity and is seen as a gift freely given without reciprocal return, ideologically close to sacrifice (475), because it is a generalized exchange between two parties – the laity and the saṅgha. The saṅgha participates in this generalized exchange by giving tutelage and ritual services. Even though this dāna to the saṅgha “is the chief occasion for merit-making” (465), yet, it is because Buddhist orthodoxy discourages the greed of seeking for merit-making that the dāna has the spirit of sacrifice rather than restricted exchange (475). In this argument the laity earns merit not as a reciprocal gift from the saṅgha, but as part of the workings of karma. Strenski’s concern is not so much with whether the gift is free or not (although he

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makes a case for the non-reciprocated gift as part of a generalized exchange), but rather with ‘social solidarity’ and how the saṅgha develops social ties with the laity in “a society moving in spiralling circles of generosity and sympathetic joy” (476).

Laidlaw argues:

The same applies to the Jaina case, where what the laity gives to the renouncers can be counterposed to the teaching and example given by the latter. The imaginative abstraction which enables one to see things this way, from the time of lived experience to the long run of what Lévi-Strauss calls structural or ‘reversible’ time, is one that Jains themselves also make. If the participants are imagined not as particular lay families and particular renouncers, but as the abstract orders of laity and renouncers, then ‘Jain society’ consists of these entities and the relation between them that is produced and sustained by a patterned exchange of gifts (2000:625-26).

Here Laidlaw is predicating his argument on a system of exchange that is made up of an unreciprocated gift made in real time between what Mauss (1985) calls personnages rather than between two individuals – the giver and the receiver. I will elucidate this further in my discussion below on ritualized exchange amongst the Jains. Although I would agree with Laidlaw that the practice of bahrānā, the ritual of dāna to a Jaina ascetic, as I have outlined below, does ideologically fall into such categorization, nevertheless rupture occurs as the saṅgha becomes laicized.

I am interested in pursuing a line of thinking put forth by Michael Carrithers (1979, 1984) in his response to Strenski’s argument above with regards to the domestication of the Buddhist saṅgha and the impetus for reform. Carrithers argues that while Strenski has a faithful translation of an aspect of Buddhist culture, the exchange between laity and monks, nevertheless he fails to see another aspect of Buddhist orthodoxy that is against the domestication of the saṅgha (1984:321).26 According to

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26 By domestication of the saṅgha, Carrithers means the process of “familiarization” between the ascetics and the laity, which sometimes blurs the boundaries between the two.
Carrithers, the domestication of the *saṅgha* is a natural process, because the life demanded by a reform *saṅgha* is so near humanly impossible that the *saṅgha* ultimately gravitates towards domestication (322). Although Laidlaw acknowledges that such schisms and reforms have been part of Jaina history, nevertheless “the itinerancy of Jain renouncers has meant that the Jain case has more consistently resembled Strenski’s model” (2000:632, n. 6). However, as I endeavour to show in this dissertation, the founding of the Terāpanth as a ‘reform movement’ is very much in keeping with Carrithers’s model. Carrithers demonstrates the transformation of the practice of gift exchange from Mauss’s ‘archaic’ societies to the Buddhist *saṅgha*. In ‘preliterate’ societies the gift exchange is always amongst equals (otherwise it would lead to hierarchy), with bonds of friendship amongst known people, and the gift is commensurable. The Buddhist gift exchange, as his ethnography bears out, also occurs between known people, although the Buddhist discourse on *dāna* makes no mention of this (322). Ideologically it is between *personnages*, but in reality it is an exchange between a particular layperson and a particular monk who is known to him or at least is from his village. Whereas Laidlaw’s research amongst the Khartar gaccha community in Jaipur may bear out a different result because the Khartar gaccha community of ascetics is large with no single ācārya leading them and their life is itinerant, the Terāpanth situation is closer to the Buddhist *saṅgha* of Carrithers’s study.

Bhikṣu, the founder of the Terāpanth, as I have already stated in the introduction, railed against the Sthānakvāsi ascetic order of his day for their laxity in behaviour, accusing them of being too domesticated. He split from the order to form a more stringent ‘reform movement’ in which there would be centralized control managed by a single
ācārya. The Terāpanth has followed this model for its entire history, but like Carrithers’s Buddhist saṅgha, my ethnography shows a pattern of domestication in the order. Part of the reason for this domestication is precisely because of the very stringent rules that Bhikṣu established, which are too idealistic and difficult to follow. The other plausible explanation is that the Terāpanth is a relatively small, tightly knit community. Kinship relationships are common between the ascetic order and the lay community. Moreover, the order has many well-established institutions, particularly in Ladnun where the rāja saṅgha (the group of ascetics that travel and stay with the ācārya) often spend their cāturṃāsa (the four months of the rainy season retreat). These conditions lead to close ties with the lay community where ascetics and lay people are well known to each other, but the rules of the baharānā ritual dictate anonymity between the parties in the ritual exchange. While the Jainas certainly have not given much thought of dāna in terms of such anthropological models of giving, nevertheless, incorporating the Jaina dāna into such a framework serves as a useful heuristic device. Though the Jainas have not thought about dāna in these terms, as my discussion below on dāna in the Śrāvakācāras (the medieval lay conduct treatises) show, they have systematically thought about giving.

The Terāpanth world-view separates all things laukika from all things lokottara, and their position on dāna is also divided in this manner. From the laukika point of view, their stance on dāna can be read with Mauss, and from the lokottara point of view, their stance on dāna can be read against Mauss. This is significant because, for Mauss, the gift is transactional, and according to the Terāpanthīs, laukika dāna is also transactional – social give and take (len den), whereas lokottara dāna is ādhyātmika (that which relates to the Self or soul), at least in theory, and hence equated to dhyāna (meditation). Mauss’s
exchange theory is based on the fact that gifts contain some part of the spiritual essence, the hau, of the donor (1990:10-13). The Terāpanth, as I will argue below, see laukika dāna not only as a social give and take, but also as the cause of incurring pāpa or demerit and taking on the receiver’s pāpa for actions the receiver may commit in the future as a result of the gift. Furthermore, I will begin to explore the implications of what a soteriological stance on dāna may mean in terms of ethical and moral implications – a question I will more fully develop in chapter five. What impact, if any, does the separation of laukika and lokottara in the Terāpanth have on charity and social justice? I will begin with a discussion of dāna in the Śrāvakācāras as a whole to show the Jaina position in so far as it may offer a comparison to the Terāpanth position. I will then explicate the ritual of dāna, specifically the ritual of baharānā (the codified name given to the ritual of almsgiving to the Jaina ascetic), to show that the ritual is an idealized role-play between personnages (Mauss 1985). Finally, I will explore the Terāpanth stance on dāna, beginning with its founder Bhikṣu, and the evolution of this position over the last fifty years due to mounting criticism from other Jaina sects.

**Dāna in the Jaina Śrāvakācāras**

There is no dispute amongst the various Jaina sects on dāna in the narrow sense as understood by the dāna vrata or as the atīthi saṃvibhāga vrata. The term atīthi means ‘without a fixed day’ or an ‘unexpected guest;’ saṃvibhāga means ‘sharing with others;’ vrata means ‘religious vow.’ For the Jainas this vow, which literally means ‘sharing with a guest,’ in its foremost sense, is giving alms to Jaina ascetics. In his commentary on Tattvārtha Sūtra 7.33-34, which gives us the definition of dāna as “for the sake of rendering benefit to renounce a thing belonging to oneself,” Paṇḍita Sukhlālji states: “the
duty of donation is the very root of all the five virtues of life” (1974:296). He goes on to say that from the ultimate point of view (lokottara) dāna forms the basis for the enhancement of all other virtues, and from the practical point of view (laukika) “it is the basis for the balance obtaining in human arrangements” (296). R. Williams, who identifies the dāna vrata as being “the most important single element in the practice of the religion for, without almsgiving by the laity, there could be no ascetics and therefore no transmission of the sacred doctrine,” also underscores this point (1963:149). As Williams has shown, the Jaina Śrāvakācāras have laid out at least five factors concerning dāna, which are generally accepted by both Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras. The five factors to be considered are: 1) the recipient, 2) the giver, 3) the thing given, 4) the manner of giving, and 5) the result of giving (150).²⁷

Let us begin with the first of these – the recipient. There is a hierarchy in the recipients or pātras (vessel), who are divided into five types, such as: uttama pātra (esteemed vessel – the Jaina ascetic), madhyama pātra (medium vessel – a pious Jaina layperson who is mounting the pratimā ladder), jaghanya pātra (lowest vessel – a non-practising layperson who has the right (Jaina) belief, ku-pātra (bad vessel – a poor recipient who leads a righteous life but without right belief – a non-Jaina), and a-pātra (non vessel – a person who is devoid of all good qualities – eats meat, drinks liquor, etc.) (Williams 1963:151-152). In this hierarchy of recipients, the most esteemed recipient is the Jaina ascetic. Hemacandra, the medieval Jaina scholar-monk, gives details on the qualities of the pātra (1980:235, v3.87).²⁸ An uttama pātra, according to Hemacandra, is:

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²⁸ 3.87 (the antara-śloka). Unless otherwise stated, all translations from the Gujarati to English of this text are mine.
One who conforms to the three jewels of right knowledge, right belief, and right conduct, who practices the five samitis [five codes of conduct], the three guptis [restraints of body, mind, and speech], and the five mahāvrataś [the five basic vows that all Jains are bound to practice to some extent and for the ascetics they are absolutes] … one who maintains equanimity while enduring honour or insult, gain or loss, happiness or sadness, praise or censure, joy or sorrow … one who is only aspiring to attain mokṣa (Hemacandra 1980:235, Williams 1963:151-152, Heim 2004:65).

This description of the uttama pātra is clearly that of a Jaina acetic who is fully restrained in the sense that s/he follows all the ascetic vows, in particular the vow of ahimsā, non-violence, and aparigraha, non-possession. Hemacandra defines a madhyama pātra to be a layperson who has the right insight, who follows the ladder of advanced twelve vows (pratimā) of a layperson and aspires to become an ascetic, whereas the jaghanya pātra is a layperson who is unsuccessful in following the path of moral conduct, but still has the desire to go on a pilgrimage (235). Furthermore, Hemacandra gives details on how to recognize a ku-pātra and an a-pātra (235-36). The donor should have discrimination and discernment to recognize a deserving recipient. Other medieval authors are in agreement on the hierarchy of recipients as outlined above with some variances (Williams 1963:151-52). Clearly from the above hierarchy it is evident that the highest and most esteemed recipient of dāna is a Jaina ascetic.29 This holds true even today, and amongst the Terāpanth, giving to an ascetic (samyamī) is the only valid form of dāna.

As I have already stated above, ideologically the relationship between the donor and the recipient is not one of reciprocity as Mauss has suggested, nor is it one in which the recipient is obligated to the donor. Although the notion of gratitude is not an unknown concept in South Asian theories of the gift, it is not a concept associated with theories of dāna. According to Maria Heim, “It is the donor who is to regard herself as fortunate to

29 Heim (2004: 64-67) shows that this hierarchy holds true for all the three main Indic religions – Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism.
have an opportunity to give to the recipient. […] The object of the esteem is not expected to be grateful for it or to acknowledge the esteem by an expression of thanks” (2004:68). If there is any hint of reciprocity, as ethnographies bear out, it is in the ascetic conferring merit upon the donor in the benediction “dharmalābha” (may you benefit with punya – merit) in the face-to-face encounter of baharānā (Hindi) or vahorāva (Gujarati), the ritual of almsgiving to which I will come back (Laidlaw 2000:619, and my own observation in the field).

So far we have been talking about dāna to an esteemed recipient – the Jaina ascetic, but what about dāna to the needy? Here I use the term dāna not as a gift to an esteemed being, but as charity to the needy, in the altruistic sense. The Śrāvakācāras do not treat this matter in any systematic way. While giving to the needy is discussed and permitted, it is not necessarily considered auspicious or merit producing. However, the Tattvārthasūtra (TS) does say that, “compassion (anukampā) through charity (dāna) for all living beings, especially those observing religious vows … cause the inflow of pleasure karma” (TS 6.13, 1994:156-157). In his comments on this verse, Nathmal Tatia states that in the Bhagavatī Sūtra30 7.114, the inflow of pleasure producing karma is attributed solely to compassion for living things by desisting from inflicting pain, but in this verse the TS expands this description of compassion to include acts of charity (Tatia 1994:157). Abhayadevasūri (eleventh century) commenting on Bhagavatī Sūtra 8.8.412 states that a compassionate person is “one who supports with food, water, and so forth those who have renounced the household life and are practicing asceticism, those who

30 The Bhagavaśī Śūtra is the honorific name of the fifth Aṅga text – that is it is part of the twelve canonical texts of Śvetāmbara Jaina canon. It is called the BhagavatīVyākhāprajñāpatī in Sanskrit or the Bhagaśī Vīhāpanṇatī in Prakrit. For a critical discussion of the Jaina canon see Folkert 1993:41-95, Jaini 2000: 23-36, Emmrich 2005:571-587, and Winternitz 1981:423-490.
have recently renounced, and those who are not capable of renouncing on account of illness or disease” (cited by Wiley 2006:442). It is clear from this comment that although ascetics are privileged when it comes to anukampā, people with illness and disease are included on grounds of compassion. In commenting on the verse in the Bhagavatī Sūtra 7.114, Ācārya Mahāprajña states that in Sūtra 7.114 compassion is described “categorically as ‘not to inflict pain’; it [sic] however, has not prescribed it as ‘to conferring any pleasure.’ The compassion as conferring pleasure may be suitable to the popular social life, but is not suitable to the dharma, i.e., spiritual discipline of self-restraint” (2009:571). Ācārya Mahāprajña downplays the inclusion of dāna out of compassion to the needy in the TS by noting that the text of the Bhagavatī is ancient, whereas the TS is a later development. I will develop this point further when we look at the Terāpanth stance on dāna later in the chapter (see p. 56-68), but want to just highlight that in this commentary by Mahāprajña we see the distinction made of things laukika and things lokottara (suitable to the dharma) that is crucial for understanding the Terāpanth position on all matters.

However, the TS is not the only place where dāna and anukampā are closely associated. Amongst the Śrāvakācāras, Hemacandra’s unique contribution is the schematic presentation of dāna in the form of the seven fields (saptakṣetra) and sowing wealth in them (YŚ 3.119-120, p. 265-272). Thus a mahāśrāvaka (exceptional layperson who observes the twelve vows) is one who with devotion (bhakti) not only

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31 Wiley’s discussion on compassion sheds light on the fact that compassion (anukampā, karuṇā, dayā) is a characteristic quality of samyaktva (proper view of reality).
32 The antecedent to the pronoun ‘it’ in the original text is not clear here, but ‘it’ is referring to the text not to compassion, as it appears to be.
33 Hemacandra uses the metaphor of sowing in the field because just as when one sows in a fertile field one reaps the fruits exponentially, so too it is with dāna. See also Williams 165 and Heim 77.
strews wealth upon the seven fields including Jaina images (installation and pūjā of the jina images), temples (repairing old ones and building new ones), scriptures (copying and translating of āgamas), male ascetics, female ascetics, male laypersons, female laypersons, but also with compassion (dayā) strews his wealth upon the oppressed (atidīneṣu) (267). In his commentary on the verse, Hemacandra states: “a mahāśrāvaka is one who not only strews wealth on the seven fields out of devotion (bhakti), but also strews wealth on the poor, the blind, the deaf, the diseased, out of compassion” (271). He uses several different terms for compassion interchangeably – anukampā, dayābuddhi, karuṇā and atikaruṇā.34 Furthermore, when it comes to giving to the oppressed one should do so without consideration of (apekṣā) pātrāpatra.35 Even the tīrthaṅkaras, at the time of their initiation, gave with karuṇā, and without consideration or division of pātrāpatra to one and all (271).

Several issues are at play in this verse and the commentary. First of all an exceptional layperson is she who gives both from devotion and from compassion. Dāna here is not restricted to the esteemed beings, but rather dāna out of compassion and charity is a necessary quality cultivated to become a mahāśrāvīkā. The passage also mentions varṣī dāna, the ritual of giving that the tīrthaṅkaras perform for a year to give away their material possessions to their subjects.36 This passage above seems to resolve

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34 Although Hemacandra uses these terms interchangeably, nevertheless it is important to know that the semantic connotations of the words vary slightly. Anukampā connotes ‘to sympathize’ or ‘have compassion.’ Dayābuddhi is a compound word – dayā connotes ‘sympathy,’ ‘compassion,’ ‘pity for,’ whereas buddhi connotes ‘power of discernment.’ The compound connotes ‘the discernment to have pity for someone.’ Karuṇā means ‘pity’ or ‘compassion’ and generally connotes ‘pity,’ and atikaruṇā means ‘exceedingly compassionate’ – the prefix ati means ‘exceeding,’ ‘over the top,’ etc.

35 Here Hemacandra means that there should be no consideration given to whether the recipient is a good recipient or a bad recipient as outlined in the hierarchy of recipients above.

36 The Tīrthaṅkaras (Ford crossers) traditionally came from the ksatriya castes and were usually kings. The Kalpa Sūtra gives details of the renunciation of their material possessions. For a brief description see Laidlaw 1995:42. This practice of giving varṣī dāna has continued in the Jaina tradition to this day, and
some of the tension expressed in the Śrāvakācāras between giving to the ascetic and the discomfort expressed in giving to a bad recipient or non-recipient as is evidenced in a previous passage cited from Hemacandra. Elsewhere Hemacandra has said that to give the whole earth to an a-pātra (non-vessel) and a ku-pātra (bad recipient) is fruitless, but even the giving of food to a pātra (esteemed recipient) is very fruitful. Perhaps ordinary laypeople do not have the discrimination or discernment necessary to be free from attachment. Only a tīrthaṅkara or a mahāśravaka or mahāśrāvikā can have such powers of discernment. This point will be crucial when we look at the Terāpanth stance on dāna and anukampā.

We have seen from the above discussion of an exceptional layperson, that not only is there a hierarchy in the recipients, but there is also a hierarchy in the quality of the donor (dātr). The Jainas have varying lists for the qualities (dātrguṇas) that should be manifested by a donor. The Digambaras have a standard list of seven: śraddhā (faith, trust, respect, reverence), bhakti (devotion), tuṣṭi (contentment or joy in giving), sattva (zeal), vijñāna (discrimination), lobha-parityāga (disinterestedness), kṣamā (forbearance) (Williams 1963:153, Bhargava 1968:137). Somadeva offers another classification of dāna: sāttvika (pure) given by a donor who possesses the seven dātrguṇas, rājasika (passionate) alms offered by a donor for self-aggrandizement, and tāmasika (dark, base) alms offered through the agency of a servant without any respect (Williams 1963:152).

within the Śvetāmbara mūrtipūjakā community the wealthier you are the bigger the display of renunciation of wealth. Laidlaw cites the very well known case of a dīkṣā ceremony held in Ahmedabad in June 1991 of Mr. Atul Kumar Shah, a twenty-nine-year-old bachelor and diamond merchant, who “rode in a chariot in a procession of seven elephants, fifty horses, forty camels, and hundreds of dancers and acrobats, and threw handfuls of silver coins, diamonds, and pearls into the crowd”(1995:343). However, in the dīkṣā ceremonies that I observed within the Terāpanth, varṣi dāna is not a conspicuous display of wealth or giving to the needy. The only gifts that I observed were packages of clothing, etc., for the ascetics, gifts that were prominently visible in the assembly hall during the ceremony. This would be in keeping with the Terāpanth stance on dāna as laukika giving to asamyamī.

37 YŚ 3.89 as cited above. Also see Heim 2004: 77-8 and Williams 165-66.
Umāsvati in his commentary on TS verse 7.34 states that “the disposition of the giver relates to his freedom from envy (anasūyā), feeling of pleasure and joy, sense of honour, good intention, freedom from expectation, deceit and eager desires” (Tatia 1994:183). It is equally important that the giver has manah (mind), vacana (speech), kāya śuddhi (bodily purity), and that the food given is pure (Williams 1963:160). Just as the recipient of dāna is to be an esteemed being, so too the donor must be filled with śraddhā and bhakti or the alms given will be ineffective. The term śraddhā, which I am not translating, connotes a variety of meanings. For a donor to give with śraddhā is more than giving with ‘faith’ as Williams (153) translates it or with ‘esteem’ as Heim (44) translates it. Giving with śraddhā means not only having faith in one’s ability as a donor and in the fruits attained by giving alms, but also having faith in and devotion to the ascetic, and having a high esteem and regard for the recipient. It also means that there must be faith in the quality of the thing given.

So what is the thing given? It is generally accepted that dāna or the material thing given is of four types: abhaya (safety and protection to all living creatures), āhāra (giving of food particularly to Jaina ascetics), auṣadhā (giving of medicine particularly to Jaina ascetics), and jñāna (impacting of knowledge particularly by the ascetics to the laity) (Williams 1963:154). The first of the four types of dāna, namely abhayadāna, stems from ahimsā or non-violence, the first vow that all Jainas are bound by to a greater or lesser degree. While āhāradāna and auṣadhadāna primarily involve the laity giving in a prescribed ritual alms of food (see below on the ritual), shelter, medicine, and amongst the Śvetāmbara, robes to the ascetics, abhayadāna and jñānadāna are something that even the ascetic can give, “not because, as with other types of gift-giving, there is some
sort of reciprocal obligation, but because his every action is permeated by his attitude of non-violence. Teaching about the doctrine […] is a form of giving while, above all, the ascetic gives the highest of all forms of dāna, safety and protection to all living creatures” (Dundas 2002:176). Although all Jaina ascetics practise abhayadāna and jñānadāna, nevertheless amongst the Terāpanth the latter is particularly developed not only by individual ascetics and by the leadership, but is also institutionally entrenched through the establishment of the Jain Vishva Bharati University, which was granted the status of a ‘deemed’ university in 1991 by the University Grant Commission of India.

Finally, the result of giving is equally important. In the Śravakācāras, according to Williams, “the insistence on the results of dāna is proportionate to its eminence among religious duties. Like other meritorious acts it can contribute to the extinction of karma or to the amassing of favourable karma or may find requital in the present life” (Williams 1963:161). As I have stated above, although dāna in Jainism does not have the same sense of reciprocity that Mauss speaks about in gift exchange, nevertheless as Williams rightly states, there is ‘requital’ in this or future lives in the form of rewards in heaven or on earth. It is in this sense that dāna to ascetics is considered dharmadāna, and is the cause of the extinction of karma. This notion of dharmadāna or giving to the saṃyamī (one who is restrained) is so entrenched in the Terāpanth, that all other forms of dāna are considered laukika, and hence non-merit producing. In fact, they go so far as to say that giving to an asamyamī (one who is non-restrained) is pāpa (demeritorious).38 This last point is a major source of controversy between the Terāpanth and all other Jaina sects.

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The Dānavidhi of Baharānā (Hindi) or Vahorāvā (Gujarati) – the Ritual of Almsgiving to Ascetics

The ritual act of dāna, the actual face-to-face encounter, is a transformative experience both for the donor and the recipient. The external ritual creates internal bhāva (feelings) that are morally purifying and in this sense dāna is akin to dhyāna, a topic I shall develop further in chapter three. According to the Dānādiprakaraṇa of Sūrācārya (11th century), it is by practising dāna that one develops virtues:

Through [practising] dāna there would be firmness in the dharma for anyone who is unsteady, a great increase in tender love for the virtuous, high praise for the [Jain] teaching, and in this way purification of the views and conduct of the donors. The donor would obtain excellent generosity, as well as meritorious humility, completely pure wisdom, disgust for evil, and the love of people, which is said to be the principal mark of the dharma of the saints. Through dāna, there is the promotion of the Jain path, a transformation with regard to helping others, the development of a series of stainless qualities such as knowledge, an understanding of [the value of the] loss of one’s possessions such as wealth, and the accomplishment of the purification of the Self (cited by Heim 2004:94-95).

The passage does not distinguish between giving to ascetics and giving to other people for the “love of people.” Commenting on the passage, Heim aptly puts it: “The instrumentality of the act of dāna is what leads to the refinement of moral qualities and sensibilities. Here, one becomes generous by practicing dāna, rather than practicing dāna because one is generous” (95).

The ritual of dāna in the Śrāvakācāras is highly prescriptive. Citing the Āvaśyaka Cūrṇī, Hemacandra gives details of how a layperson who is observing the poṣadhopavāsa (fasting) should break his fast (pāraṇā). He states:

Appropriately adorned, when it is time for his meal, the śrāvaka should go to the upāśraya (dwelling of the monks) and invite the monks to accept alms at his house. […] The monks have to deliberate on the invitation so as to not become an obstacle in the breaking of the fast. If the monks accept the invitation then they will accompany
him to his home]. A group of monks should go with the śrāvaka. He shouldn’t be sent alone. On the road the śrāvaka should walk ahead leading the monks to his house and invite them to sit. If they sit it is good, and if they do not then the śrāvaka should maintain propriety of conduct (vinaya ćcāra). Thereafter he either offers food and drink himself to the monks or if others offer it then he should hold the pots in his hands and remain standing while the Guru Mahārāja is accepting the alms (vahore). In order to avert any transgression that would result in any binding karma, the sādhu too does not accept all the food from the pot, ensuring to leave some behind [for the śrāvaka]. Thereafter, the śrāvaka pays obeisance and walks back with them for several steps, and then eats his meal. If there are no monks in his village, then at the time of the meal, he should look out the door and think with pure intention, ‘if only there were monks, then I would find the way to salvation.’ This is the prescription (vidhi) for the breaking of the poṣadhopavāsa. In any other time he should eat after offering (vahorāvine) to the monks, or even offer after having had his meal (Hemacandra self-commentary YŚ v3.87 p. 234).39

This description of the dāna vidhi underscores the absolutely essential nature of the ritual of vahorāvā. For a fasting layperson it would be an aticāra (transgression) to break the fast without offering alms to the ascetic. Feeding an ascetic earns the highest merit, a means (upāya) for mokṣa (liberation). However, in the passage above it appears that the rules of the ritual are transgressed. In my discussion on the atithi samvibhāga vrata, I show that the ritual is about feeding an unannounced guest. The ascetic arrives unannounced at random homes for alms. There is no invitation from the householder, for this would in essence be a transgression for the ascetic, which would then not accrue merit for the layperson. Hence, we see that the monks have to ‘deliberate on the invitation.’ The invitation and the deliberation on it seems to be a way of working out the tension between the layperson’s need to find an ascetic to break his/her fast and the ascetic’s vow of not seeking alms from specific laypersons. This is reminiscent of the

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39 Heim also translates part of this passage (90-91), but there are some discrepancies between my translation of the Gujarati commentary and her translation. For example: “A group of monks – they should not go alone – should go with the layman with the monks in front and the layman following down the road.” My text clearly states: “the layman should walk in front of the monk.” Seeing that the layperson is leading the monks to his house, I accept the accuracy of my translation. Williams too states that the layman is behind the monks directing them to his house (1963:158-159).
situation with the domestication of the Buddhist saṅgha, highlighted by Carrithers. The ideology of the ritual as “generalized exchange” is quite different from the reality. The passage also clearly demonstrates that if there are no monks to feed there would be no reciprocal merit. The reciprocity is not the same social give-and-take that Mauss talks about, yet there is a yearning by the layperson for ascetics through whom he may earn salvation through the workings of karma. Dāna is not the only means to attain punya, but it is a relatively effortless way of earning merit, as opposed to earning merit through severe austerities or meditation, and hence the baharānā ritual is a well-established and popular institution amongst the Jainas.

It should be noted that nowhere in the passage cited above is the ritual called ‘bhikṣā’, the act of begging. The Jainas do not equate dāna to the sādhus as an act of charity given to beings of less esteem. Hence the term baharānā or vahorāvā is a codified term used only in the context of this very specific Jaina ritual of the face-to-face encounter. This fact is borne out by contemporary ethnographies, my own observation growing up as a Jain, and my fieldwork in Ladnun, Rajasthan amongst the Terāpanthīs. The technical term for the food gathering rounds by the ascetics – sādhus and sādhvīs – is called gocarī, which literally means ‘grazing like a cow.’⁴⁰ Thus, as the passage from Hemacandra above shows, the ascetics do not take food from only one household (they leave something for the householder), but rather, like a cow grazing, go from house to house taking only a little of what is acceptable food for them. The imagery of bees is also a popular one used in the context of the alms round:

Like bees from flowers
Shall we derive subsistence from alms

Out of what is ready-made
Without burden to anyone.41

This is an apt description of the alms round from the Jaina ascetic’s point of view. The idea is that they take only enough from what is already cooked so that there is no sacrifice on the part of the householders and neither would they have to re-cook for themselves. Cooking inherently involves violence and if the ascetic were the cause of this violence then she would share with the householder the bad karma arising out of the action.42 Since the householders, on their part, cannot specifically cook for the ascetics, they are supposed to sacrifice (tyāga) a portion of their meal for the unexpected visitor (atithi). However, in the passage above from Hemacandra, one could surmise that the fasting layperson had cooked extra to accommodate the ascetics since she was expecting the ascetics to come home with her once the invitation was extended.

Also, as I observed during my fieldwork in Ladnun, the lay people do tend to make special food that they think the ascetics might like. In the early part of my stay, while I was waiting for my own kitchen to become functional, I was graciously invited by a group of four families from Surat, who had a joint kitchen, to share my meals with them. These families spent a couple of months each year during the catūrmāsa (the rainy season during which Jaina ascetics do not travel) wherever the Terāpanth rāja saṅgha (the group of ascetics that follow the leadership) was stationed. For these families the couple of months spent each year were a very special time devoted to a holy pilgrimage. Aside from the permanent homes on the Jain Vishva Bharati campus and the many mansions that are opened only during the family visits from Calcutta or other Indian cities, there are many such families that live in temporary shelters built specifically for

42 For a detailed discussion of the “gastro politics” of the bahrānā ritual see Laidlaw 1995:305-314.
pilgrims. This occurs in whatever town in Rajasthan that the Ācārya is spending the rainy season. Many Terāpanth families also have ancestral homes in the various towns and villages of Rajasthan, many of which have gone through significant renovations to update and provide modern conveniences for the families when they are spending their rainy months in holy pilgrimage with their guru. This is one way that domestication occurs within the Terāpanth, very much like the Buddhist saṅgha in both Caritthers’s and Strenski’s study (see above). In 2009 the rāja saṅgha spent the rainy season in Ladnun so I had the opportunity to observe the close relationships. Sometimes when I arrived a little early for my meals, I noticed that there was a huge table set up with all kinds of dishes already cooked and away from the fire (it would be a sin for Jaina ascetics to accept anything if it is still being cooked as the killing of beings in the fire is a form of violence). On occasion I was there in time for the ascetics on their baharānā rounds and I was given the special honour of offering alms to them. The whole negotiation between the donor and the recipient is quite formal and interesting. The donor presses the ascetic to have more, whereas the ascetic is restrained, taking very little or sometimes nothing at all if his/her pātra (vessel) is already full. Although this behaviour on the part of the ascetic may seem the same as the behaviour of a normal guest, nevertheless the two are not the same. The ascetic’s motivation, at least in theory, comes from restrained behaviour; for him/her food is a necessary evil to keep the body alive as a vessel holding the ātman. It is not for bhoga or enjoyment. On the other hand the lay visitor’s behaviour is generally motivated by social manners – not appearing to be greedy. The ritualized exchange, ideally, is supposed to delineate the laukīka from the lokottara. Both the laity and the ascetics are moving towards a continuum of lokottara pursuing an activity that is
conducive to *dharma*, the laity, by performing the ritual in the prescribed manner by being generous, would gain merit, and the ascetics, by exercising restraint, maintain their vows of *ahimsā* and *aparigraha* (non-possession). As Anne Vallely states, “in the absence of a framework of spiritual haggling between the generous householder and restrained ascetic, the interaction appears as lay material support of the ascetics ‘in return’ for spiritual guidance and an opportunity to earn *punya*” (2002:52), an exchange denied by the ascetic.

In a retelling of an anecdote, Vallely, in her ethnography on the Terāpanth, highlights the point that cooking specially for the ascetics is a *pāpa*. The elderly and gentle Muni Dulharajji (who in 2009, when I was there, had suffered a stroke and lost his speech and memory, but to the relief of all miraculously recovered without medical intervention) told Vallely that once when a group of monks was traveling with the Guru Dev (Tulsī) and Acharyasri (Mahāprajña) in Gujarat several years ago, it appeared that the villagers had prearranged for their stay. According to the Muni, although villages are notified in advance of the arrival of ascetics, in this particular case “things appeared to be overly orchestrated” (2002:44-45 italics in the original). The ascetics went out for their alms rounds and came back shortly with their *pātras* full. The Ācārya suspected that the householders had prepared the elaborate meals for the ascetics, and so before the monks could eat, called a hastily organized meeting with the villagers. When questioned, one villager admitted to having prepared the meal especially for the monks. The villagers were admonished that because of their action the monks would have to go without food. So instead of eating their meal the monks had to dispose the food in a sand pit.\(^{43}\)

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\(^{43}\) As all Jains are aware and as Vallely explains in her footnote #4, the ascetics could never return the food, as it is never theirs to give – since they possess nothing. Giving it to an *asāmyamī* would accrue *pāpa*, as
story was clearly meant to impress Vallely, but according to Vallely, the Muni was equally impressed. James Laidlaw also underscores this point. Moreover, Laidlaw was often told the story of a renouncer having to reject the food offered in the gocarī round if a beggar should call upon the household at the same time as the renouncer. She must not accept the food that the beggar needs for she can fast (being an ascetic) but the beggar would not be able to starve. However, she cannot give the food to the beggar either, since she is not supposed to possess anything and cannot intervene in worldly affairs. She can preach to the beggar that karma is the cause of his suffering. Therefore the food must be thrown away and she must fast (1995:308). Thus, for the Jainas not only is the materiality of the food important, i.e., the food must be cooked (acitta or non-sentient vs. sacitta or sentient) and not specifically for the ascetic, but rather as a sacrifice, but also the modality of the food given is crucial or the dāna goes bad as in the example by Laidlaw, where the beggars arrival makes the food unacceptable. However, Laidlaw states that he had never seen this situation arise, and, in all my years growing up as a Jaina, I have never seen this situation either. Perhaps in contemporary times even beggars are aware of the rigours of a Jaina ascetic and refrain from coming during a gocarī round. Nevertheless, despite such occasional instances of vigilance, as Vallely’s study and my own observation show, such elaborate preparations are routine and hardly disguised. As long as the monks are not told and they do not question it, the householders assume that the pāpa connected with preparing special food is outweighed by the punya accumulated through the dāna (2002:45).

would leaving food outside for animals to eat because it would attract all kinds of insects, which would mean more violence if the insects were eaten (266).
Although in most instances, especially within the Terāpanthīs, the ascetics may know the householders; in the baharānā ritual they assume the ideal roles (*personnages*) of the householder and the ascetic as an *ātithi*. Mauss traces the genealogy of the modern self from the finite series of social roles (*personnages*), which people played in ritual dance of early society (Mauss:1985). Mauss begins by conceding that in all societies everywhere an individual had an awareness of his self, *moi* “not only of his body, but also at the same time of his individuality, both spiritual and physical” (3). Drawing on Michael Carrithers’s response to Mauss’s essay (1985), James Laidlaw discusses Jain cosmology in terms of both a ‘*moi* oriented’ and a ‘*personne* oriented’ moral system. He states “A *moi* theory is one which conceives the individuality of the human being in a cosmic (physical and/or spiritual) as opposed to a social context, and therefore a conception of the individual as a spiritual and moral agent, rather than as the subject of a political or social order” (1995:16). Laidlaw argues that Jainism is not only a *moi* oriented moral system, but is comprehensible only if it is also understood in terms of a *personne* oriented moral system (17), of which the baharānā ritual serves as a prime illustration. According to Laidlaw, it is precisely in the enactment of roles that we are enabled to resolve the paradox of the ‘free gift’, which is “characterized by the fact that it does not create personal connections and obligations between the parties,” (2000:617) an understanding of the gift, which is implicit in Mauss (1990). As I have pointed out above, the alms given to Jaina ascetics are never referred to as *bhikṣā*. Laidlaw states: “householders make a gift of food, and renouncers receive and consume it, but both linguistically, and in terms of how it is treated, everything is done to undermine the idea that ‘there is something’ that is given by the donor and received by the recipient”
The food that the ascetics receive and consume is never called *khānā* (Hindi for ‘food’), but instead is called *gocarī* after the manner in which it is collected. The giving is not called *dānā*, the Hindi verb for ‘giving’, but is always called *baharānā* or *vahorāvā*. Moreover, when the ascetics accept the food, it is not distinguished as each individual donor’s food. The food is all mixed up in the alms bowl and even further mixed when they take it back to the *upāśraya* and the leader divides it amongst all. In this way the recipient does not recognize the specific gift. The ascetic does not show any gratitude, which would create a sense of obligation. In this manner the Jaina ritual of *baharānā* overcomes the paradox inherent in the gift and very closely meets the criteria of a ‘free gift’ (Laidlaw 2000:622-623, 1995:316-317).

The ritualized practice of almsgiving is constructed and understood differently by the participants. As Laidlaw has suggested, to the householders the ‘gastro-politics’ is an opportunity to forge relationships with particular renouncers; whereas for renouncers it represents a rather potent danger. He states:

For renouncers, grazing is an ideal, which condenses much of their world-renouncing project; whereas for householders it represents a set of obstacles to their making a generous gift. All this is reflected in the fact that the two sides refer to the encounter in different ways: to renouncers it is *gocarī*; to householders, *baharana*. More importantly, the different ways participants learn to conduct themselves during the encounter enact the contrasting rather than the shared understandings (1995:317-318).

The ascetics overcome the danger of forging relationships, of not creating bonds of attachment through the process of *gocarī*. Laidlaw thinks that the way the two sides

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44 Drawing on Derrida’s illuminating analysis of the paradoxical nature of the ‘free gift’ and what are the conditions implicit in a free gift, Laidlaw elucidates how the Jaina gift comes as close to a free gift as possible (2000:621–624). According to Derrida there are four conditions implicit in the idea of a free gift: 1) there can be no reciprocity or it becomes an economic transaction (an idea implicit in Mauss’s gift); 2) in order to prevent this the gift must not be recognized as a gift by the recipient or it would lead to an obligation; 3) the donor must not recognize it as a gift since to do so would be to praise and gratify oneself; 4) and because of the above three conditions the thing given cannot exist as a gift because if it is then it becomes an objectified separate thing amongst identifiable things. Derrida concludes that a free gift is impossible.
behave “seems fiercely competitive”, which suggests, “accepting food creates status inferiority” (1995:318). The householders claim that they are in fact paying tribute, which Laidlaw does not think to be the whole truth, although “no interpretation which denied the claim could [...] be valid” (318). Laidlaw’s ambivalence stems from the fact that almsgiving in the South Asian context is generally seen as demeaning, and at times perilous, unless it is to a worthy recipient – a point I will develop further in the next section (Parry 1986:460, 1989:69, Raheja 1988). Moreover, the fiercely competitive giving arises more from the householders’ innate respect and esteem for the atithi, in some respect part of the South Asian hospitality, but in the case of the renouncers because the ideal of renunciation is held in the highest esteem. Lay people do not necessarily compete with each other, although on occasion this may also be occurring, but they may be competing with a past performance of their own. Even though they are not to make anything special for the ascetics, they have a desire to please a person of high esteem. I observed this during my research in Ahmedabad. On one occasion when I was going to visit some Śvetāmbara mūrtipujaka ascetics in Koba, Gujarat, the Jaina friend, who was taking me there, prepared this very labour-intensive snack (pāṇī pūrī) to take for the ascetics. When I asked her why she was doing this since Jaina ascetics are not allowed to accept food prepared for them, she responded by saying that even ascetics are human and may sometimes want to have something tasty. My friend’s intentions were well-meaning. She was just showing the same kind of hospitality she would show for a guest in her own home.

Dāna in the Terāpanth
Before I delve into the subject of dāna in the Terāpanth, it would be useful to recapitulate the history of the birth of the Terāpanth from the introductory chapter in order to contextualize their position on dāna. Historically, the schisms in the Jaina community have been over the contestation of the ‘authentic’ ascetic path. In the fifteenth century the schism over correct ascetic practice in the Śvetāmbara Mūrtipūjaka (temple worshiping) community led to the birth of a non-idolatrous sect, the Lonkagaccha, from which emerged the Sthānakavāsi (hall dwellers) sect. The Terāpanthīs are a splinter group from the Sthānakavāsis. They were formed in 1760, under the leadership of Ācārya Bhikṣu. His guru Raghunāthji initiated him in the Sthānakavāsi order in 1751. For eight years Bhikṣu stayed with his guru, but he became critical of what he considered to be the ‘worldliness’ of his contemporary ascetics. According to Mahāprajña, the laxity amongst Sthānakavāsi ascetics that Bhikṣu writes about in his time was not very different when compared with the laxity that Haribhadrasūri railed against in describing the caityavāsī sādhus of his day (eighth century) (1992:6).

Bhikṣu leveled some thirteen charges against his contemporaries, the chief of which were: dwelling in sthānaks specifically made for them; blaming or criticizing (nindā) others; compelling lay people to take initiation exclusively from them; buying disciples; lacking diligence in the inspection and cleaning (pratilekhan) of their books on a regular basis; hoarding more clothing and taking tastier food than is morally proper (maryādā); going for gocarī to public feasts.

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45 For a more detailed discussion on the historical background of the Lonkagaccha and the birth of the Sthānakvāsi sect see my introductory chapter. Also see Flügel “The Ritual Circle of the Terāpanth Śvetāmbara Jains.” *BEI* 13-14, 1995-96:121-123.

46 All translations of this text from the Hindi into English are my own.
(jīmanvār); hankering to take on disciples – more interested in running a sampradāy (religious sect) then being sādhus (1992:5-8).  

Dāna in its narrow sense, as the atithi saṃvibhāga vrata is, as I have already stated, undisputed. It is when we come to dāna in the broad sense as liberality that it becomes problematic for the Terāpanth. Dāna in its broadest sense stems from the fundamental vow for all Jainas – lay and ascetic – the vow of ahimsā, which can be interpreted both negatively and positively. When seen from the positive point of view ahimsā can be reformulated as dayā, or active compassion for all living beings (Williams 1963:xix). According to some non-Terāpanth Jainas I interviewed, dāna comes from dayā, in the sense that giving is an act of compassion for all beings. The Terāpanthīs, beginning with their founder Ācārya Bhikṣu, respond to their critics by reinterpreting the scant canonical references to dāna. Writing in Nava Padārtha, Bhikṣu states that according to the precepts of the Jina Bhagavāna there is a collective of nine utterances (bola) of puṇya (merit); the wise should know that these precepts are niravadya (uncensurable); and that the bondage of puṇya can only occur through these (1967:193, ḍhāla 2 v. 39).  

Bhikṣu sets up his argument against his opponents in the following verses:

Many say that the Jina Bhagavāna has spoken these nine collective precepts without any expectations (or particular reference – without apekṣa). He has not differentiated between sāvadya-niravadya, sacitta-acitta, pātra-apātra. Therefore, Bhagavāna has approved the giving of both sacitta and acitta food, and has also said that puṇya is earned through the giving to both [su]pātras and kupātras. Those who claim this are lying by citing scriptural authority (ḍhāla 2. 40-41). They say that in giving to the ascetics one attains the meritorious bondage of the Tirthaṅkara nāma karma, and giving to other [ordinary people] earns you other types of meritorious bondage (v.42).

48 All translations of this text from the Hindi into English are my own.
They are giving this meaning by citing the authority of the ninth chapter of the *Sthānaṅga Sūtra*, fabricating a meaning where none exists and the innocent people are not aware of this (43). If merit is earned by giving to “others” then not even a single jīva is excluded. But how is it possible to earn merit by giving to a kupātra? This is a matter to be understood with some discernment (viveka pūrvaka) (44).

Having set up his opponents, Bhikṣu develops his arguments against them. He admits that the nine collective utterances on punya in the *Sthānaṅga Sūtra* are ambiguous as are the verses on vandanā (paying obeisance) and vaiyāvytya (giving to the ascetics), but virtuous people understand their core meaning (v.45). In a series of sūtras he builds up several arguments; chief amongst them is the argument that if we took the logic of his opponents then it would mean that the vandanā verses would imply that one would gain punya by bowing to all beings, but this is clearly not so. If one bows to any beings other than the five in the namaskāra mantra one accrues pāpa; then how is it possible to accrue merit by giving food, etc., to these same people (v.54)? He concludes that giving to [su]pātras is a precept of the Jinas and accrues punya, but the Jinas have not specifically instructed to give to others. So how could we say that it can accrue punya (v.56-58)? For Bhikṣu these kinds of actions – actions that nurture the physical needs of asamyamī or unrestrained people – are all sāvadya ācāra (censurable conduct). The conceptual language (paribhāṣā) of samyamī and asamyamī begins with Bhikṣu and remains a standard discourse within the Terāpanth even today. In this manner Bhikṣu justifies his stance on dāna.

Throughout much of Bhikṣu’s writing the language of sāvadya and niravadya (that which is censurable and that which is not) is prominent. This is evident in the *Nava*

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49 The *Sthānaṅga Sūtra* (Prakrit Thānaṅga) is the third Aṅga (canonical) text of the Śvetāmbara canon that is encyclopedic in nature and covers a detailed variety of doctrinal issues in a schematic manner. Jaini 1979:53-54.
Padārtha and also in the Anukampā Chopai, both of which are substantial works. For Bhikṣu an action is either sāvadya or niravadya. In the Chopai he devotes some sixty verses to discuss what he calls “laukika dayā in which the veśadhāri sādhu (a sādhu in appearance only) is lost” (1962:ḍhāla 8, dohā 5).50 I found a number of verses particularly problematic, but one example stands out clearly. He says:

As soon as a fire starts a householder runs to extinguish it even by causing injury to the six types of [elemental] beings. This is laukika sāvadya ācāra. According to the veśadhārī, even this is dharma. They say that the pāpa bondage caused by the violence to the fire, water and other elemental bodies is minimal, and the saving of lives is dharma … These [people’s] expositions are a mixture of pāpa and dharma. They argue that the benefit outweighs the violence caused. The people who are swayed by these veśadhāris run to extinguish the fire (gīti 8 v.56-58).

Bhikṣu’s position would seem extremely unyielding and unpalatable to most, for it leaves little room for compassion, social justice or charity. I tried to get clarification on this passage from a number of Terāpanthī ascetics, who even today stand by it. They justify it by saying that there is no hierarchy among the six classes of beings. Human beings are not any more privileged than other beings including even one-sensed beings, so saving a few human lives at the cost of thousands of lesser beings is not a dhārmic action.51 From the Jaina doctrinal point of view Bhikṣu's position is correct. According to the Jainas, the doctrine of ahimsā applies to all beings equally. Thus, there seems to be a contradiction between the doctrine and what the opponents of the Terāpanth consider as compassionate.

As I have already stated, there is a close connection between dāna and dayā (compassion). For Bhikṣu the language of samyamī (one who is restrained) and asamyamī (one who is not restrained) is very important, as is the language of sāvadya and

50 All translations from the Mārwāri/Hindi text are mine.
According to Bhikṣu, rendering service (sevā) to an unrestrained person encourages unrestrained behaviour, whereas rendering service to a restrained person encourages restraint. From this viewpoint, Bhikṣu elucidates, it is clear that service is neither favourable nor averse to spiritual development (Yuvācārya Mahāprajñā 1992:114). For those living in the social world it is not forbidden to render service to society, even though they may be within the limits of unrestraint. For the social being it is useful to have some cessation of (nivṛtti) unrestrained activity even if it is within limits. But for the spiritual being release from (nivṛtti) unrestrained activity is the supreme Dharma and it is limitless in form. The language of pravṛtti (active life) and nivṛtti (repose from active life) does not have the same form or the same importance for everyone (1992:114). Within the Terāpanth the term dayā represents two perceptions (bhāvanā). One perception is social (sāmājik) and the other is spiritual (dhārmic). When a person with means is moved by the misery of a person who has no means, then this is supreme sympathy towards the poor. The manifestation of this bhāvanā or emotion is through dayā. According to Bhikṣu:

When an individual is moved by the misery of people with means or no means it is the result of one ātman or soul experiencing love towards all souls. This bhāvanā is also manifested through dayā. Thus it can be said that the term dayā represents two bhāvanās. Once one is moved by sympathy there are two options – not inflict pain or prevent pain. There is no dispute with regards to not inflicting pain. However, with regards to preventing pain several questions arise. Therefore, Ācārya Bhiksu states that the dharma of dayā is true, but liberation is only possible for those who understand and apply it. Several questions arise with regards to preventing pain. Why should one prevent the infliction of pain? How should it be done? For whom should it be done? There are two responses to these questions – one from the social point of view and the other from the spiritual point of view. From the social point of view one stops the infliction of pain to make individuals happy, by whatever means necessary, and for the benefit of human beings, and where there is no hindrance in the happiness of humans then

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52 The term bhāvanā connotes many different meanings such as perception, imagination, emotions, desire etc., and is context-sensitive. Hence I will provide the closest English translation.
perhaps it may be done for other beings. From the spiritual point of view one should stop the infliction of pain in order to purify the soul, through pure means and for all beings (Yuvācārya Mahāprajña, 1992:115 citing Anukampā Chopai 8.1 and 1.4).

From the above quotation the Nava Padārtha, and from the Anukampā Chopai, it is clear that from the very beginning the Terāpanth separates all things laukika from lokottara. Actions that are generated out of compassion for worldly beings are considered limited in scope, and generate no merit, whereas actions that are generated out of deep compassion and love for all living beings are considered lokottara or conducive to dharma. The latter offers a path to liberation, whereas the former leaves one in the eternal cycle of birth and death or saṃsāra. This notion of deep compassion and love resonates with what Stephen Scharper avers, in the Christian tradition, as respect and love. Scharper states that when our respect for creation turns into a deep love for creation then we have a more profound basis for an environmental ethic (Scharper 2010, 2013). I will develop this point further in chapter five, where I examine the applied ethics of the Terāpanth doctrine. Within the Terāpanth what separates the laukika from the lokottara?

Where saṃyama and asamyama are not the primary consideration, and when the act is motivated by kindness even when the person is an asamyamī, then the act is considered laukika. The Terāpanthīs believe that true compassion comes from saving a person's soul. Therefore, it is not as important to save a life by preventing harm done to it, as it is the conversion of the heart of a killer. What does this mean? For the Terāpanth this means that when, for example, a butcher is going to butcher an animal, it is better to convert the butcher's heart by exhorting him to not kill the animal. If one succeeds at this, then the result is the life of the animal is saved. However this is not the primary goal; it is a by-product. The primary goal is to save the butcher's soul from being bound by bad karma.
In the previous example of saving human lives from burning at the cost of elemental beings, such as water, the same principle applies. The Terāpanth do not believe in anthropocentric preferential treatment for humans over other lives. Their interpretation of *ahimsā*, according to their critics, is a narrow one. They believe in the principle do not kill, but as we have seen in the above examples, do not actively interfere in saving a life.

This kind of stance has left the Terāpanthīs open to criticism. Earlier I said that *ahimsā* could be interpreted both positively and negatively. According to some critics, the Terāpanthīs interpret *ahimsā* negatively. Of the many interviews I conducted, I choose my interviews with Punḍit Rupendrakumar Pagāria, a renowned Jaina scholar at the L. D. Indology Institute, to highlight this point, because he is not only a scholar, but also a practicing Sthānakvāsi Jaina, who spent five years in close proximity to the Terāpanth community in Calcutta. According to Punḍit Pagāria, he has no quarrel with the Terāpanth, who interpret *ahimsā* as: ‘do not commit violence.’ However, according to Punḍit Pagāria, *ahimsā* is more than that. *Ahimsā* is also *dayā* or compassion. It is about providing protection to all vulnerable beings – the poor, the disenfranchised, and those who seek shelter with you. This, according to him, is true *abhayadāna*. The example that most succinctly illustrates both the negative and positive sides is from the hagiographies of the Tīrthāṅkarās, the story of the sixteenth thīrthankara, Shantinath Bhagavān, in his previous life as the compassionate King Megharatha, who was prepared to give his own life to save the life of a pigeon from a hunter and a falcon. Punḍit Pagāria narrates the story as such:

In his previous life, as King Megharatha, Shantinath Bhagavan was so compassionate that the *devas* (gods) praised him, and said that there is no one as

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53 Field interview conducted with Punḍit Rupendrakumar Pagāria on Dec. 23, 2009 at the L. D. Indology Institute, Ahmedabad, Gujarat.
compassionate as King Megharatha in this world. So the devas, in order to test the
king, take the form of a falcon, a pigeon, and a hunter and come to King
Megharatha. Now the pigeon upon seeing the falcon and the hunter is frightened
for his life. When the king sees the frightened pigeon, he says to the falcon and
the hunter, ‘please don’t kill the poor bird. In its place I will give you whatever
you desire – delicious food, wealth or even my kingdom, but don’t kill this bird
because it has come under my protection.’ Now the falcon says that ‘my food
consists of meat. I don’t eat vegetables and grains.’ The hunter says that ‘the
falcon eats meat and the pigeon is his food so let him have his food. Why do you
need to interfere in this process?’ The king responds: ‘No I won’t feed you by
killing other animals because that is pāpa. It is better if I just feed you with meat
from my own body. I am prepared to die to protect this bird.’ The falcon agrees
on the condition that the king puts the pigeon on one side of the scale and his own
meat on the other and gives meat of equal weight as the pigeon. The king agrees
to the condition. As the king cuts his flesh the deva increases his weight as a
pigeon so that ultimately the king has to agree to give his life to meet the weight.
Truly impressed by the king’s compassion, the deva manifests himself and praises
the king. He says that the king is so compassionate that he is prepared to give his
life for the bird. His compassion is so righteous. This description is in many Jaina
hagiographies – Hemacandra’s Trīṣaṭiśalākā puruṣa, Chappanṣalakpuruṣa-
cārītra, as well as in the Mahābhārata – the story of King Śantānu. It also appears
in Buddhist Jātakas where Buddha, in his previous life, sacrificed his life for a
pigeon. This means that in Jain, Hindu, and Buddhist scriptures it is said that even
by sacrificing one’s own life you need to protect others and this earns you merit,
but instead of this the Terāpanthīs call this kind of action pāpa (ibid).

There are several things going on in this narration. First of all, the king tries to
convert the hearts of the falcon and the hunter by proffering other food. When that fails
he is prepared to die to protect the life of the bird. By doing this he shows compassion for
one who is in distress. As I have shown in the medieval Śrāvakācāras, Hemacandra
actively advocates this as anukampā, karuṇā as does Punḍit Pagāria. These narratives
serve as exemplars for the laity. The fact that this story appears in medieval
hagiographies clearly demonstrates that for medieval Jaina ācāryas this type of
compassion is merit-producing and the behaviour should be encouraged amongst the
laity. Moreover, Punḍit Pagāria bolsters his argument by stating that these types of stories
not only appear in Jaina hagiographies, but also appear in the Buddhist Jātakas, as well
as in Hindu scriptures and in epics like the Mahābhārata. The point of the story, according to Pundit Pagaria, is that compassion is an innate quality of the soul. It shows courage and moral strength, both of which are necessary qualities for spiritual development. Compassion and self-sacrifice form the foundation for meditation.

**Dāna, Puṇya, and Pāpa in the Terāpanth**

According to the Terāpanth precepts, there is no question here that the pigeon in the above example is an asamymā and therefore the action is sāvadya. For the Terāpanth any almsgiving to an unrestrained person is equated with the nurturing of this person who will go on to commit acts of violence. In this sense the alms become poisonous, for the person giving accrues the sins of the unrestrained person's acts. In the Terāpanth, the ideological opposition rests not with auspiciousness and inauspiciousness (Raheja 1988), nor with purity and impurity (Parry 1986, 1989), but with samyama (restraint) and asamyama (non-restraint) and nirvadya (uncensurable) and sāvadya (censurable) (Heim 2004:59). Does this in any sense mean that the recipient’s sins adhere to the donor? Mauss’ sources provide him with ample examples, which illustrate that the gift embodies the person (1990:10-13). As Gloria Raheja (1988) and Jonathan Parry (1986,1989) show, the gift, specifically, dāna, “is held [not only] to embody the sins of the donor” (Parry 1986:459), but is also something of a “bio-moral substance” (Parry 1989:133) from the donor. They document the contemporary significance of this in their ethnographies. The Terāpanth notion of the poisonous alms is the opposite of the poisonous alms that Raheja and Parry speak about in their ethnographies of the North Indian village of Pahansu, and of the Brahman priests in Benares, respectively. According to Raheja, it is not the hierarchical structure of inter-caste relationships, but
the “ritual centrality” of the high caste Gujars, giving dāna to Brahmins and kamīns (other labourers such as barbers, and sweepers) alike, who serve a similar function “that provides the conceptual focus of jajmāni relationships as they exist today in Pahansu” (1988:28). Raheja’s argument is that the significance of dāna, and much of the giving and receiving between inter-caste relationships, hinges on the transference of inauspiciousness from the donor to the recipient (1988:31). She summarizes:

inauspiciousness and pāp, ‘evil,’ are thought to be generated not only in death but in most life processes. Birth, marriage, death, harvests, the building of a house, and very many occasions during the calendrical cycles of the week, the lunar month, and the year are thought to generate inauspiciousness (but not necessarily “impurity”) that must be removed and given away in dāna if well-being and auspiciousness are to be achieved and maintained (1988:36).

As Raheja points out, both her subjects in Pahansu and Parry’s funeral priests in Benares show ambivalence towards accepting dāna. In receiving dāna Parry’s Benares Brahmins accept “sin” and they “liken themselves to a sewer through which the moral filth of their patrons is passed” (1986:460). Although Parry acknowledges the ideology of dāna as a pure gift, in the Hindu context, given without any desire for reciprocity or merit, for even a desire for the most trivial reciprocation can detract from the merit, nevertheless, according to his interlocutors, the Mahābrahmans (funeral priests), “there is no such thing as good dāna… It is all vile (nikrist); whoever takes it burns his hand” (1989:67). For the Mahābrahmans the dāna “embodies evil, and represents peril… As a result, they see themselves as endlessly accumulating sin. The sewer becomes a cess-pit” (68). As Parry states, the consequences of the inability to digest the pāpa from the dāna received are that “the priest contracts leprosy and rots … The priest’s intellect is enfeebled, his body gets blacker and blacker, and his countenance loses its ‘lustre’ with every gift received” (1989:68, 1986:460). The problem of digesting the pāpa has to do
with the suitability of the priest as a vessel (pātra, supātra), one who is completely detached from worldly concerns and has taken the vow of an ascetic. In the case of the Benares funeral priests their desire to profit from others’ misery makes them unsuitable vessels.

As I have shown in the baharānā ritual above, in the Jaina case this does not seem to be a problem. The Jaina ascetics are supātras; they have taken the vow of aparigraha or non-possession. This not only makes them suitable vessels, but it also means that the laity that donate the alms accrue punya or merit because giving dāna to ascetics is a means to burn off karma or nirjarā. There are no poisonous alms in the case of the alms given to the Jaina ascetic. However, within the Terāpanth, dāna given to an unrestrained person becomes poisonous for the donor because, according to the Terāpanth, nurturing an unrestrained person in any way gives the person energy to commit more acts of violence. Any violence that such a person commits comes back to the donor. Jonathan Parry also claims this with regard to the Benares Brahmans. He states that the dangers of dāna are not entirely upon the recipient. Dāna must be given to priests of “impeachable character”, for in theory, “the donor becomes responsible for the sins committed with the money he gives even though he cannot possibly know of the recipient’s evil intentions or proclivities” (1989:69). This is because, as Heim puts it, “dāna to brahmans is not a matter of esteeming superiors, but of disdaining dependents” (2004:59). In the same way the Terāpanth see the act of giving to a needy person as one of dependency. Amongst the Jaina sects the Terāpanth seem to be alone with regard to their position on poisonous alms. Padmanabh Jaini gives an appropriate example. He states:

Bhikhanji’s theory was that saving the life of a dog makes one responsible for the violence committed by that dog in the future, and thus should be avoided. He also
claimed that ‘helpful’ behavior almost always involve some interest in the result, hence brought an increase in karmic attachments. Bhikhanji here exploits the doctrinal split inherent in any community that preaches the ideals of total renunciation and mokṣa on the one hand, and the value of compassionate and charitable behaviour (leading to heaven) on the other. Pushed to a purely logical extreme the canonical teachings might well be sought to justify the Terāpanthī interpretation. Even so, such interpretation violates the spirit of anekāntavāda, and has been considered a form of ekānta by most Jainas. Since its inception, therefore, the Terāpanth sect has lived in virtual isolation from the larger Jaina community (1998:314 fn.63).

Today's Terāpanth is trying to change this image. Many of the ascetics I interviewed were uncomfortable expressing their position on dāna in such terms. If I asked them about dāna to an asamyamī – one who has not renounced the world – they usually responded by saying that it is one’s kartavya (social duty) to help the less fortunate. It is only when I pushed the question further, whether such actions are pāpa or puṇya that I got some ascetics to admit that doctrinally such actions would be considered pāpa. However, they justified this position stating that the worldly living of the laity involves committing pāpa in some form on a daily basis so why would not one incur pāpa for what is one’s social duty?

The Doctrine of Visarjana

Dāna, as I have outlined above in Bhikṣu’s worldview, is seen as a purely social activity, which does not earn any puṇya (merit). However, having come under serious criticism, this stance has been changed in the last fifty years by Ācārya Tulsī, the ninth preceptor, with the introduction of the doctrine of visarjana (parting of possession with complete abandonment) in 1970.54 It is through visarjana that the Terāpanth link the

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54 In July 2008, on a preliminary field trip in Jaipur, I asked Samaṇī Chārītra Pragyāji to explain the Terāpanthī stance on dāna and she explained it in similar terms, saying that the Terāpanthīs are not stopping people from giving as social work, but people should not expect any merit in return. If dāna is done with visarjana and from genuine compassion then that is lokkottara or true dāna.
positive side of *ahimsā*. Earlier, in connection with *dayā* or compassion, I discussed the Terāpanth belief in the conversion of hearts. The gentle Muni Dulharājaji explained to me that the goal of Ācārya Mahāprajñājī’s *ahimsā yātrā* is the conversion of hearts. Since the Godhrā riots in Gujarat in 2001, Ācārya Mahāprajñājī has been on a pilgrimage of non-violence across the length and breadth of India. He was moved by compassion to help heal the wounds between the Hindus and Muslims, caused by the violent riots that resulted in human carnage that shocked the world. According to Samaṇī Chāritra Pragyāji, Ācārya Mahāprajñājī spent that *cāturmasa* in Ahmedabad, the capital of Gujarat and talked to people from all walks of life to find out the root cause of violence, out of which emerged a book in Hindi called *Hiṃsā ke kāraṇo kā khoj* (*The Search for the Causes of Violence*). The root causes, he found, are poverty and unemployment.

According to the Samaṇī, Ācārya Mahāprajñājī felt that there was a need for the economics of non-violence, which involved bridging the gap between the rich and the poor. This is a form of social justice. He felt that there should be a code of conduct for the rich on how to spend their money. One way of doing this was to donate one percent of their income to charity. However, voluntary restraint is personal, not social or structural.

However, the *bhāva* (intent or emotion) with which the charity is done is an important part of whether the charity is a social function or a spiritual function, in other words, whether the act is out of deep compassion or not. The Samaṇī explained two particular concepts to distinguish the two forms of giving. She said that when charity is undertaken from the *laukika* point of view then it is a social act that does not accumulate *punya* or merit, but when it is done from a *lokottara* point of view or from deep
compassion then it automatically accumulates *punya*. In order to elaborate on this she distinguished between two words: *visarjana* and *dāna*. The former connotes renunciation while the latter connotes simple giving (field interview July 2008).

*Visarjana* is a crucial doctrine for the Terāpanth, so much so that in July 1999 they organized a three-day seminar for the Terāpanth national youth organization for training in the *visarjana* doctrine. The training document outlines three major concerns for the development and awareness of *visarjana*. They are: 1) the awakening of consciousness towards the principles of nature and self-control; 2) the awakening of health consciousness; and 3) letting go of the ego (*aham kā visarjana*). There is a direct correlation between consumption (*upabhoga*) and abandonment of possession (*visarjana*). In reality, *visarjana* is a reaction to consumption, a reaction that keeps humanity eternally or constantly alert to consumption. So far as nature is concerned, *upabhoga* and *visarjana* complete the environmental cycle. Animals breathe oxygen (consumption) and exhale carbon dioxide (*visarjana*). Plants do the reverse. Only humans transgress the boundaries of nature (5). One can say in an innate way in *visarjana* training that one is allowed to have free access to life’s necessities, but one must have discernment towards objects of leisure, and one should not aspire (*anākāṅkṣā*) towards sensual pleasure. In order to attain this goal in *visarjana* training, *anupreksā* (contemplation) should be practised in a series of meditation (2009:4). Just as environmental and health consciousness are important in the inculcation of the *visarjana* doctrine, so too from the perspective of mental health, the letting go of the ego is an

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55 *Kāryaśālā Visarjana kā Praśikṣaṇa (Action plan for Visarjana Training)*. Prepared by: Gautam Kothari under the guidance of Ācārya Mahāprajñā and Yuvācārya Mahāśramaṇa. (This is a document I received from Muni Mahendrakumar on the subject of *Visarjana* on Nov. 16, 2009). All translations of this document from the Hindi to English are mine.
extremely important point. Without this the training remains incomplete. So what is the main support that develops and nurtures the ego? If one thinks about the development of the individual ego, its principal point is established within the boundary of self-respect. An individual is unable to, in his/her contemplation, analyze the limits of his/her self-respect. Is she transgressing the boundaries of self-respect? Her self-esteem and ego are conditional upon her mental and spiritual development (2009:7). The nurturing of the ego is dependent upon the individual’s material, social, and intellectual state. Based on this, there is a duality in his/her conduct. On the one side is one’s own self-interest and on the other concern for others. When there is balance between these two then conduct is within the limits of self-esteem. However, where self-interest is predominant, it is certain that the ego is being nurtured (2009:8). Awakening the discernment of an individual is important in ahaṃ visarjana training (2009:8). The task of inculcating the values of visarjana cannot take place unless and until humankind’s sensitivity (samvedānaśīlatā) is awakened. One is slowly losing his/her sensitivity due to selfishness and the constant tension of chasing after material wealth. This insensitivity impairs his/her visarjana consciousness. Only when our caring and sensitivity go beyond our family and relatives and our connectedness extends to the entire world, when we are able to disconnect from our selfish viewpoint, only then can visarjana develop and flourish (2009:9). Visarjana can take place in several forms. One can give one’s time and energy to self-study and social causes. One can also donate one’s wealth. When thinking of visarjana of wealth (artha), it is crucial to discern between what is necessary expense to lead a purified life, what is considered a life of material comfort, and what is a life of luxury. Without proper discernment, visarjana is not possible (10-11).
Performing dāna for māna (self conceit or pride) is what the Terāpanthīs call laukika dāna and have distinguished it from visarjana or lokottara dāna. In this sense laukika dāna is similar to Mauss’s reciprocity. It is social give and take. According to the Terāpanth, a Jaina ascetic is neither supposed to encourage nor discourage their laity from giving. They are supposed to remain silent on the matter. When I pressed Muni Mahendra as to how they encouraged what seemed to be a fairly wealthy lay community to give, he responded by saying that they inspire and encourage the laity to have self-restraint by being exemplars of self-restraint themselves. However, the wealth of the Jaina community belies self-restraint. I will develop this point further in chapter four where I look at the relationship between dāna and dhyāna and the economic implications.

Jitubhai Shah, the director of the L. D. Indology Institute in Ahmedabad, underscored the need for reform within the Terāpanth during a field interview with me in December 2009. Jitubhai stated that he personally heard Ācārya Tulsī propound, some twenty years ago during his cāturmāsa in Ahmedabad, that the Terāpanthīs have to modify their stance on dāna and dayā. Tulsī in a sermon said that there is no pāpa in saving animal lives. It is true that Tulsī was instrumental in bringing about many social reforms, key amongst them were the lifting of purdāh for women in the Terāpanth, and the alleviation of widow suffering. Prior to Tulsī’s reforms, widows, in this predominantly Rajasthani Mārwārī community, endured sitting for twelve years in a corner of a room dressed in black or red. One could say that this is one form of

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56 Field interview conducted on Dec. 20, 2009 with Jitubhai Shah, director of the L. D. Indology Institute, Ahmedabad, Gujarat.
57 Field interview with Samaṇī Mallipragyā Nov. 23, 2009, which was corroborated by many elderly laywomen I interviewed. They either personally experienced this or witnessed a family member suffer this kind of treatment.
abhayadāna. However, of the four dānas outlined earlier – abhaya, āhāra, auṣadha, and jñāna – the Terāpanthī focus is clearly on jñānadāna.

Conclusion

I began this chapter with Mauss’s notion of the gift, which is social transaction that garners obligation and reciprocity, as well as economic self-interest. As we have seen, the Jaina dāna, particularly to the ascetics defined as lokottara dāna, comes as close to a free gift as possible. Although we see some hankering for a reward, this does not involve any reciprocity from the ascetic who is neither obligated to receive the gift, nor to return it. The fruits or the rewards of dāna to an ascetic are the workings of the karma doctrine. Any desire on the part of the laity to donate to ascetics is a desire generated from respect for esteemed beings. Dāna in the Jaina Śrāvakācāras, as I have attempted to demonstrate, is primarily about giving to a Jaina ascetic, as the atithi saṁvibhāga vrata. However, as I have shown following Carrithers, when the ideology is so near humanly impossible to adhere to, then domestication of the saṅgha occurs and the reality falls far short from the ideology. Although the Tattvārtha Sūtra and Hemacandra both show that the duty of dāna to the ascetics is a virtue of life, nevertheless both approve of giving to the needy out of compassion and altruism, though it is not a primary concern for most of the Śrāvakācāras. These texts do not speak of laukika dāna in terms of pāpa. Thus the separation of laukika and lokottara by the Terāpanth, as far as dāna is concerned, is taken to its logical conclusion and grounded with the authority of the āgamic (canonical) sources. It is one interpretation of the sources. However, as scholars (Emmrich 2005:571-587, Folkert 1993: chapters 4-5, Winternitz 1981:423-595) have pointed out, the compilation of the canon was rather late, and some of the texts were not actually written,
but redacted from tiny snippets of text. These redactors had the projection of an ascetic community in mind, just as the Terāpanthīs have one of an asceticized layfolk.\textsuperscript{58} We do not know how these texts were actually read and for whom they were meant. Of course what comes with the appropriation of the canon by the Terāpanthīs is the confirmation, perpetuation, and reinvention that there is such a thing as a canon and that what the Terāpanth are doing is original, undefiled and undiluted and hence reformist.\textsuperscript{59} While the hermeneutics of the Canon may serve the Terāpanth in justifying their position, both their interpretation of the sources and their justification of the position have given their opponents some fodder for criticism. Under the weight of such criticism, the Terāpanth have focused their resources on dāna through education and through the doctrine of visarjana to social works of their choosing. The doctrine of visarjana not only opens up space for the Terāpanth to tackle contemporary issues of environmental degradation and social justice through equanimity in society, but it also becomes a source of revenue to fund the various “charitable” activities of the Terāpanth.

\textsuperscript{58} I am grateful to Christoph Emmrich for a rigorous discussion on the issue of the appropriation of the canon by the Terāpanth.

\textsuperscript{59} See my discussion in chapter three on the Terāpanth as a reform movement.
Chapter Three – Prekṣādhyāna in Jaina Yoga: An Archetypal Ritual for the Proper Ordering of the Soul

Introduction

In this chapter I will examine the practice of dhyāna (meditation) as a ritual within Jaina yoga through a case study of prekṣādhyāna, a late 20th century innovation of the Terāpanthīs. According to the Terāpanthīs, dhyāna in general, and prekṣādhyāna in particular, seek the purification of the soul and are considered lokottara activities. I will argue that for the Terāpanth, meditation, in particular prekṣā meditation, is not only a bodily technique that leads to communication with the divine, as Mauss (1973) has suggested in general terms, but it is also a ritual gesture, a “discipline of the body that is aimed at the proper ordering of the soul” (Asad 1993:139). I will also argue that the founding of prekṣā in 1975 was not a mere coincidence. It was, rather, a movement influenced by and capitalizing upon the popularity of other yoga movements of the time, such as the Buddhist vipassana meditation movement. Like other yoga reform movements before them, the Terāpanth claim to have revived their meditation, prekṣā from an Ur or pristine past by finding canonical sources to support their claim. However, unlike other contemporary yoga groups, the Terāpanthīs do not accentuate the body; they remain committed to the body, mind, spirit connection in which the body is an instrument for a higher goal. A full exploration of these differences would provide a rich study, but it is beyond the scope of this chapter. Furthermore, I argue that, by going back to Mahāvīra and forward to contemporary science articulating the neurological dynamism and medical benefits, the Terāpanthīs have a structure that is regulated and shaped by authoritative discourses in order not only to “secure meaning” for the ritual (Asad 1993:155), but also to promote it to a worldwide audience.
Why is it significant to study Jaina yoga and *prekṣādhyāna*? I will argue that for the Terāpanth Śvetāmbara Jaina community, yoga and, in particular, *prekṣādhyāna*, are the driving forces behind the movement. They are the strongest dynamics that have allowed the Terāpanth movement to not only become a pan-Indian phenomenon, but to also become a transnational movement with presence in the U.K., Europe, and the U.S. *Prekṣādhyāna* along with *ānuvrata* and *jīvan vijñāna* allow the Terāpanthīs to enter into the global discussion on universal concerns of ecology, economy and social justice. In order to be able to answer the above question it is important to determine what constitutes Jaina yoga. While past scholarship relating to Jaina yoga, both traditional and Western, has focused on the textual tradition, my objective in this study will be to augment the textual study with a critical examination of the lived tradition, for it is only through examining both that a fuller picture will emerge. Such a study will contribute to the ongoing debate as to whether there has been a continuous Jaina yoga tradition, as the Jainas themselves claim, or if there have been periodic ruptures and revivals.

I will begin by contextualizing the ritual practice of meditation through what Talal Asad has identified as the two ways of looking at ritual, as both a “virtue-making” activity that stipulates regimes of behaviour, such as patience, etc., and as symbolic. I will do this by looking at the ritual as a performative through fieldwork data, and by examining the prescriptive manuals. I will then discuss the Terāpanth as a reform movement and the authoritative discourses they use to “secure meaning” for *prekṣādhyāna* as a ritual.
**Prekṣādhyāna: A Performative Ritual**

It is late afternoon on October 10, 2010 and I am in the offices of the Tulsī Adhyātman Needam residence and the center for meditation in Ladnun, Rajasthan where I have been for the past two weeks. I notice a flurry of activity and discover that it is registration for a prekṣā meditation camp starting the next day, a meditation camp in Hindi of which I was not aware. I had arrived to spend the next four months doing research amongst the Terāpanth Rāja Saṅgha (the group of ascetics traveling with the Ācārya), and was aware of and planned to attend the international camp in November 2009. So this camp in Hindi is a bonus in terms of research. For the next week I am totally immersed in the meditation camp as a participant observer. There are about fifty participants who are roughly divided evenly between the sexes. A majority of the participants are Terāpanthīs, and those who are not Terāpanthīs are, at least, Jains. There are a handful of participants who are Hindus from a variety of sects. Some have attended previous camps, while others are first-timers. With the exception of the family of four Indo-Americans and myself the rest are from all over India and come from fairly well-to-do backgrounds. There are a few young couples who have decided to participate in the camp together. There is a team of a mother-in-law and daughter-in-law who make an intriguing pair and are germane as subjects for my research. The mother-in-law lives abroad and is a Terāpanthī both by birth and marriage. The daughter-in-law, on the other hand, is a Bengali Hindu who seems to have come to the camp to please her husband and her in-laws and as the camp progresses seems to be under significant stress owning to particular pressures from the mother-in-law.
The camp begins with an orientation package, which includes a welcome letter, a *prekṣā* meditation experience survey form and a detailed daily itinerary. Our camp begins the first evening with *gamanayoga* (a walking meditation) to the *pañdāla* (a semi-enclosed outside space with a roof and a huge stage that is used as a dais from which the Ācārya gives his daily sermon) for *gurū vandanā* (obeisance to the guru). The Ācārya gives us a short speech and recites a *maṅgala bhāvanā* (auspicious blessing) following which we make our way back to the meditation center for an evening meditation session.

The next day, October 11, 2009, the camp officially begins, and ends on the 18th. The camp has a full daily schedule of structured regimes of behaviour designed to inculcate the discipline necessary for the “proper ordering of the soul”.

Every aspect of the participant’s life is scheduled for the next eight days from 4:30 in the morning to nine o’clock at night. By coming to the meditation camp, each participant has taken a particular stance that separates the everyday actions from the ritual actions. Caroline Humphrey and James Laidlaw underscore this point in their work on ritual. According to them, actions may be said to be ritualized when the actor has made a ‘ritual commitment’, “a particular stance with respect to his or her own action” (Humphrey and Laidlaw 1994: 88). Thus, when one sits in meditation it is the intentionality, the commitment to meditate, that makes the cross-legged position of sitting in meditation different from everyday sitting. In the case of the *prekṣā* meditation camp, the actor has taken a particular position from the time she decides to attend the camp. She reaffirms this on a daily basis throughout the camp as she wakes up each morning to get ready for the meditation. When she enters the meditation hall she reiterates this commitment.
Everything about the meditation hall – the physical space, the posters on the wall and even the cushions on the floor – make it conducive for her to take this stance. As she enters the dimly lit hall her mind is already oriented towards a meditative state. The front of the room, where the muni will shortly arrive to lead us into Prekṣā meditation, has several large square blue wooden boxes with the front facing the audience, painted with circles in several different colours that represent the colours used in leśyā dhyāna (a type of meditation focusing on visualizing specific colours on specific caitanya kendras or meridian points). The hall is large, with framed posters related to prekṣā meditation all around on the walls. There are at least 15 posters on the wall, of which a few are worth a closer mention. There is a poster titled ‘Preksha Meditation’, which depicts an iconographic image of a figure in meditation, representing the Tīrthaṅkara in the dhyāna mudrā (a figure in the sitting lotus position with the hands resting on the feet with the right hand on top). There are concentric circles from dark to light, representing auras on this figure. There is another poster titled ‘Kāyotsarga’ that shows two very vivid pictures of a man with tension (tanāv yukta) with a snake wrapped around his waist about to bite him, and a man without tension in a meditative posture (tanāv mukta) with the caption underneath stating, “my body from the toes to the top of the head is completely free from tension.” Another poster depicts a pyramid with the twelve limbs of prekṣā Meditation beginning with kāyotsarga (complete relaxation or separation of attachment to the body) and ending with ekāgratā (single-minded concentration). Within the same poster to the

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60 My sources for what follows, unless stated otherwise, are my own observations as a participant/observer in the camp and also field notes for sessions that were either lectures, discussion groups, or question and answer sessions.

61 This image of the man with a snake wrapped around him bears a very close resemblance to, if not a spitting image of, the representation of Laocoon and His Sons in Greek mythology. The sculptural grouping of Laocoon and His Sons depicts an event in Virgil’s Aeneid (Book 2). I am indebted to Christoph Emmrich for bringing this to my attention. I am not sure if the Terāpanth were aware of this imagery or came up with the imagery on their own.
side of the pyramid are two figures, one on top of the other. The one on top is the
prominent Jaina pratīka, a symbol of the Jaina faith officially adopted ecumenically by
all Jaina sects during the 2500th anniversary of Mahāvīra’s nīrāṇa (1975). The palm of
the hand bears the word ahiṃsā; the svastika topped by the three dots and the crescent
represent the four destinies (gati) – gods (devas), humans (manuṣya), hell beings
(nārakī), and animals and plants (tiryaṅca) – the threefold path, and the abode of the
liberated souls, respectively; the slogan below the figure of loka-ākāśa (the inhabited
universe) calls for the mutual assistance of all living beings (parasparopagraho jīvānām).
Underneath this symbol is a wheel with several circles within it. The middle circle
represents the seven necessary steps in meditation – yogic physical exercise, prāṇāyāma
(breathing exercises), kāyotsarga, prekṣādhyāna, japa yoga (chanting of mantras),
discourses, and yogic āsanas (postures). The two innermost circles depict social health
and individual health. These two images of the Jaina faith and the wheel of Prekṣā
meditation are in many of the posters, which indicate that for the Terāpanth these are
important.

The symbol of Jaina faith in the figure of loka-ākāśa corresponds to the Jaina
universe and is significant in helping us understand how meditation can play a role in the
liberation of the soul. According to Jaina theories of karma, human life is the only life
one can attain liberation from, and birth in a Jaina household is not to be frittered away.
Jaina cosmography sees the universe in the shape of a cosmic man. At the apex is a
crescent shaped space called siddhaloka where all liberated souls reside as individual
jīvas. In the dualist ontology of Jainism the soul never loses its identity as an individual
jīva, unlike certain Hindu traditions like Advaita Vedānta. Below siddhaloka are the
seven heavens (ūrdha-loka) where the gods reside, in the middle or terrestrial world (madhya-loka) is where humans (manusya), animals and plants (tiryaṇca) reside, and below this is the lower world (adho-loka) of the seven hells the abode of infernal beings (nārakī).62 Beings move up or down in this universe, depending on their action (karma) - good karma leading to a life as a human being or a god perhaps in one of the seven heavens, and bad karma leading to the animal kingdom or one of the seven hells. The path to liberation involves mental practices of meditation, physical practices of self-denial and austerities, and avoidance of harm to all living beings. Jainism believes that these practices are necessary for the individual to be rid of the effects of karma – accumulated over many lifetimes – and to minimize the accumulation of new karma.

According to Padmanabh Jaini, these actions proceed from the soul’s passions for nourishment (āhāra), reproduction (maithuna), and the accumulation of worldly goods (parigraha) for the attainment of power over others (Jaini 2002:142). In order to get rid of the karmas two things need to happen – stop the influx of new karmas (samvara), and shed existing karmas (nirjarā). Ultimately, the goal is to not create any actions, good or bad, so one can get out of the cycle of samsāra or transmigration. A good way to get out of this cycle is by following the five vows, the mahāvrata, which are absolute for the Jaina ascetics, and are less absolute for the laity, because living in this world inherently involves violence. However, meditation, according to the Terāpanthīs, is an activity par excellence for the shedding of karmas or nirjarā. The Prekṣā wheel underscores this point by showing that not only does prekṣā lead to the physical health of an individual, but also to his/her mental and spiritual health, and healthy individuals lead to a healthy society,

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62 For a more detailed explication of the cosmography and the mechanism of bondage see Jaini 1979:107-130 and the Tattvārtha Sūtra chapter 3 in particular 3.9-3.16.
which is important when we look at the applied ethics of dāna and dhyāna, a point I develop in chapter five.

While the importance of the visuals on the wall in the meditation hall is clear, both from the broader Jaina perspective and from the Terāpanth perspective, nevertheless, when I asked the camp attendees about the importance of these visuals I got mixed responses. For the four Indo-Americans in the Hindi camp these visuals are so important that they have had the official Terāpanth photographer make a DVD of all the posters, which are then distributed to the camp attendees for a fee of Rs.50, and most of the camp attendees buy the DVD. However, for some participants these visuals seem to have very little long-term impact. In follow-up interviews in 2011, some could barely remember these posters. Also in 2011, in a follow-up interview with Jitmalji, the lay upāsaka who runs the meditation classes during the year, I asked about the posters, which seem to have disappeared from the walls. Jitmalji’s response is that he follows instructions from the Terāpanth leadership. Other senior ascetics, too, seem to have a short memory about the posters. However, when I asked Samaṇī Chāritraprajñaji, the current vice-chancellor of the Jain Vishva Bharati University who taught a Prekṣā meditation course for four years at the Florida International University in Miami, she had a very positive perspective on the visuals. I believe, and the Samaṇī confirms this, that the crucial point here is not whether the participants remember the posters at a later date or not; the point is that the posters are part of the aids that help put the participants into the meditative zone in a particularly Jaina way with thoughts of shedding one’s karma by just being there in that moment. It is part of the ambience that makes it conducive for the participant to make a ‘ritual commitment’.
Just as the physical space is conducive for the camp participant to make a ‘ritual commitment’, so, too, is the physical body an instrument in this commitment. The camp participants are divided into two groups, men sitting on the far left and women on the right closer to the entrance. They are seated in rows about five across, one behind the other on cotton mats with pillows to sit on. There is a wide gap in the center between the men and women. There are two rows of plastic chairs at the back of the room for people who cannot sit in a cross-legged position. This is important, for the body needs to be in a relaxed mode for the next hour during the meditation. The body here is the instrument for the development of the soul. Talal Asad, following Mauss’s famous essay, “Techniques of the Body”, states that in the case of medieval Christian monastics “discourse and gesture are viewed as part of the social process of learning to develop aptitudes, not as orderly symbols that stand in an objective world in contrast to contingent feelings and experiences that inhabit a separate subjective one” (Asad 1993:77). I will employ Mauss’s concept of the ‘habitus’ and Asad’s analysis of Mauss’s concept to show that within the Terāpanth, the discourse and gesture related to prekṣā meditation are part of the social process of learning to develop aptitudes.

In his essay, Mauss asserts, “The body is man’s first and most natural instrument. Or more accurately, not to speak of instruments, man’s first and most natural technical object at the same time technical means, is his body” (Mauss 1973:75). Mauss sought to focus his attention on human behavior as learned capabilities and how these are connected to authoritative standards and regular practice:

Hence I have had this notion of the social nature of the ‘habitus’ for many years. Please note that I use that word … *habitus*. The word translates infinitely better than ‘habitude’ (habits or custom), the ‘exis’, the ‘acquired ability’ and ‘faculty’
of Aristotle (who was a psychologist). [...] These habits do not just vary with individuals and their imitations, they vary, especially between societies, educations, proprieties and fashions, prestiges. In them we should feed the techniques and work of collective and individual practical reason rather than, in the ordinary way, merely the soul and its repetitive faculties (1973:73).

The concept of *habitus*, according to Asad, “invites us to analyze the body as an assemblage of embodied aptitudes, not as a medium of symbolic meanings” (Asad 1993:75). James Laidlaw (1995:151-159) develops this point in the context of Jainism and the ascetic imperative – practices of fasting, strict dietary regimes and the like. Although meditation is part of this ascetic imperative, still not much is discussed in contemporary ethnographies on this issue. It is this notion that I wish to explore in the context of *prekṣā* meditation. Mauss himself is aware of this with regards to yogic practices within India. Following Marcel Granet’s study of techniques of the body and breathing in particular, within Taoism, Mauss asserts:

I have studied the Sanscrit texts of yoga enough to know that the same things occur in India. I believe precisely that at the bottom of all mystical states, there are techniques of the body, which we have not studied, but which were perfectly studied by China and India even in very remote periods. This socio-psycho-biological study should be made. I think that there are necessarily biological means of entering into ‘communication with God’. Although in the end breath technique, etc., is only the basic aspect in India and China, I believe this technique is much more widespread (1973:86-87).

Thus, as Asad states, the inability to communicate with God becomes “a function of untaught bodies” (1993:77).

But what does this mean in a religion where communication is not with a monotheistic God? While the Jainas are not theists (they do not believe in a creator god) in the same sense as the medieval Christian monastics that Asad talks about, nevertheless
communion with the *Jinas* (beings who have achieved complete victory over attachments and aversions)\(^{63}\) is an important aspect within Jainism. Paul Dundas writes:

> While Jainism is, as we have seen, atheist in the limited sense of rejection of both the existence of a creator god, and the possibility of the intervention of such a being in human affairs, it nonetheless must be regarded as a theist religion in the more profound sense that it accepts the existence of a divine principle, the *paramātman*, often in fact referred to as ‘God’ (e.g. *ParPr* 114-116), existing in potential state within all beings (Dundas 2002:110-111).

This is also echoed by Kendall Folkert (1993:24), who speaks of a temple cult developing around the figure of the Jina. However, worship of the *Jinas* is not a two-way communication as Dundas points out even amongst the temple worshipping Jainas. For them worship is more about the creation of *bhāva* and about the emulation of the *Jinas* who are exemplars. So what does this mean for the “taught bodies” in *prekṣā* meditation?

Amongst the Terāpanthīs, where idol worshiping is not permitted, *bhāv pūjā* (mental obeisance) and Guru *pūjā* are an important aspect of worship. In her detailed study of the Terāpanthīs, Anne Vallely suggests that devotion to and connection with divinity are an important part of Jaina ascetic life that are “sometimes masqueraded as something else, more along the lines of self-realization. […] Such practices] are not treated (in the public ideology) as efforts to connect with something greater than the self, but rather as utilitarian tools of spiritual self-help” (2002:180). While I would concede that amongst the Terāpanth devotion to the Ācārya and senior ascetics might fit into Vallely’s characterization of devotion “masqueraded” as “utilitarian tools of spiritual self-help.” I would also argue that *prekṣā* meditation is less about masquerading and more about actually being a utilitarian tool of spiritual self-help.

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\(^{63}\) For a detailed discussion on the Jina see Babb 1996 and Laidlaw 1995.
Moreover, preksā meditation, as a virtue-making ritual, is comprised of twelve limbs, as depicted in the poster hanging on the wall in the meditation hall. The Muni guides us at every step of the one-hour meditation. There are three full sessions of meditation per day that include all the twelve limbs, and throughout the day there are longer sessions of individual limbs, such as a long session of kāyotsarga before lunch and a long session of anupreksā later in the afternoon. Some days the young and rather shy Jay Muni leads the morning meditation and other days it is Kishan Muni, the more gregarious and senior ascetic. The instructions are precise. We, my camp cohorts and I, begin by gently closing our eyes (not shut tight). We repeat three times ‘I am practicing Preksā meditation for the purity of my consciousness (citta)’ followed by three Mahāprāṇa dhvani, a breath technique that entails, inhaling through the nose and creating a sound like a buzzing bumble bee while exhaling. This is followed by kāyotsarga (a guided relaxation from the toes to the head). The next limb is called antaryātrā (internal trip), which involves taking a deep breath in, and drawing the prāṇa (energy) to the base of the spine to the śakti kendra (energy centre) and exhaling, drawing the prāṇa to the top of the head to the jñāna kendra (knowledge centre). In this way one continues to be led into contemplating on the breath (śvāsa preksā), on the body (śarīra preksā), on meridian points (caitanya kendras) with colour (leśyā dhyāna), on the impermanence of all things (anitya anupreksā) and so on. At each stage one is gently asked to auto suggest. For example, when practising the ritual of leśyā dhyāna on the jyoti kendra (the centre for illumination at the top of the forehead in the middle) while contemplating on the whiteness of a full radiant moon, one feels one’s passions, such as anger, greed, delusion, attachment and aversion subsiding. The meditation ends with three long breaths and the
śaraṇa sūtra, paying obeisance to the five superior beings – the arhats, the siddhas (liberated souls), the sādhus (ascetics), the ācāryas, and the upādhyayas (teachers) and the śraddhā sūtra, vande saccam or bowing to the truth.

According to the Terāpanthīs, daily practice of the prekṣā meditation ritual along with the cultivation of five observances of 1) bhāvakriyā (single-mindedly living in the present moment), 2) pratikriyā virati (cessation of reactionary behaviour), 3) maitrī (universal friendship), 4) mitāhāra (moderation in food), 5) mitabhāṣa (speaking measuredly) creates vibrations (kampan) that allow for the shedding of karma (nirjarā).

So far I have narrated my observances and experiences in the Prekṣā Hindi camp, which has the atmosphere of a local camp although the participants have come from all over India. Granted, the food in the Needam residence kitchen during the camp has improved over the food served during normal times in terms of quality and variety; however, camp attendees still eat their meals in the traditional Indian style, cross-legged on the floor, though there are two small, ramshackle wooden tables with a couple of plastic chairs, for those who cannot or will not sit on the floor. Meals consist of simple, nourishing, vegetarian food cooked with the strict Jaina dietary codes. Camp participants share their meals with other visitors who are living in the residence and who eat their meals in the residence and eat out of stainless steel traditional thālis, which they wash themselves after each meal. Moreover, there are no other noticeable differences in

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64 The Jaina follow a strict code of dietary restrictions based on the most stringent rules applicable in terms of ahimsā. This means a vegetarian diet, which generally does not include even root vegetables like onions, garlic, potatoes, etc., as digging would involve more harm than necessary to earthworms and insects in the ground. Amongst the Terāpanth this rule of not eating root vegetables is not observed rigorously. The explanation I got from the Ācārya was that there is no prohibition against this in the Dasvaikālika Sūtra (the canonical text largely outlining rules and regulations for ascetics). He said rather defensively: “Dasvaikālika Sūtra me iskā niśedha nahi hai” (There is no prohibition of this in the Dasvaikālika Sūtra) (field interview Oct. 2009).
the appearance of either the residence or the rest of the Jain Vishwa Bharati campus. In fact, except for the participants who reside in the upscale Sāgar, a much smaller and by Ladnun standards, fairly luxurious residence, the camp participants complain about the lack of cleanliness and basic hygiene in the Needam residence.

While I only accidentally find out about the Hindi camp the day before the camp starts during guest registration, in contrast, the approaching date of the International camp which begins on November 4th, 2009, is announced with a great deal of flourish. All over the campus, I see banners and posters announcing the forthcoming camp and welcoming its attendees. At the Needam residence there is a great deal of activity with contractors running in and out. The rooms get individual water heaters for the bathroom, a point that registers with me, as the hot summer days are waning and the coolness of the Rajasthan winter approaches. I learn that the rooms were upgraded from my two Russian friends who had arrived two weeks prior to the international camp and are residing in the Needam residence. When they arrived they had no hot water until just prior to the beginning of the Camp. These two “Russian” women (they are actually Ukrainian, but no distinction is made by the Terāpanth between Russian and Ukrainian) and a young Japanese woman and I become close friends as they learn to practice and teach yoga āsanas (postures) from the young Samaṇī, Āgamaprajñāji, every morning. I tag along for the morning yoga sessions and sometimes if the Samaṇī is too busy she entrusts me to lead the sessions, since I am a practicing yoga teacher.
A few days before the camp begins, the young, mostly male volunteers start arriving for the Camp. These young men are trained upāsakas\textsuperscript{65} who are kept very busy over the next week – from performing administrative tasks, to teaching morning yoga classes, to being tour guides for the international camp attendees. Besides the volunteers, there are the two translators for the Russian and Japanese groups, respectively. As the international crowd starts arriving they are greeted with garlands placed around their necks. This reception is quite different from the reception given to the Hindi camp attendees. The guests are divided into three groups by language – Russian, Japanese, and English. The Russian group, the largest of the three groups at 50 members coming from four different countries, mainly from the Ukraine, Russia, Uzbekistan, and Kazakhstan, is housed in the Needam residence; the Japanese group, the smallest group at 15 members, is housed in the slightly more upscale Shubham residence, and the English group, which is comprised primarily of about 25 ex-pat Indians with a few rich locals, is housed in the upscale Sāgar residence. With the exception of meals and the morning yoga āsana classes, which are segregated by the sexes, these groups are trained separately in their respective languages through translators. After the first day, the English group decides that they want their instructions in Hindi, since all of them are Indian by birth. However, the three groups collectively form a lineup, each morning and evening, in front of the Needam residence to go for gaman meditation (walking meditation), and guru darśana.

It is the first morning of the camp and the international crowd, in their white Prekṣā uniforms, gathers in front of the Needam residence for a photo opportunity with

\textsuperscript{65} The term upāsaka means a lay follower or worshipper, but within the Terāpanth these lay followers are highly trained individuals who sometimes act as preachers during the paryusana festival in small villages where there may be no Terāpanth ascetics to give daily sermons. These Upāsakas dedicate their time and energy to whatever is required of them by the Terāpanth leadership.
the local press and then they walk to the Ācārya’s residence, with the press in tow, to receive his blessings. The photograph taken at this event of the crowd, with their hands joined together in obeisance to the Ācārya, and a story announcing the eighth international camp makes front-page news in the local paper.66 Aside from this, there are other differences between the Hindi camp and the international camp. The daily food is served in the upscale Shubham restaurant where the food, though vegetarian, is richer and more suited to the Western palate. The international participants are given the option of going on a day-long guided tour of some of the local sites, such as local Jaina temples, a charity institution run by the Terāpanth and other notable Terāpanth sites. Another day there are bullock cart rides around the campus, giving the campus a circus-like atmosphere. For all of these extras, the price of the international camp at Rs.14000 (about $330) is double that of the Hindi camp. One can conclude from all of the above that the marketing for the international camp is on a whole different scale than that of the Hindi camp. The fact that the Russian language group, as I stated above, is the largest group is not an accident. The Ukraine and Russia are particular target markets for the Prekṣā camps. My two Ukrainian friends, in 2009, hosted to a team of two trained prekṣā meditation specialists – a Samaṇ (male middle order ascetic of which there are only four in total during my time in Ladnun in 2009) and a young lay follower, with whom they toured all over the Ukraine conducting prekṣā meditation camps in existing yoga studios. My friends told me this was grueling work for them, not only housing the two young

66 Cūrā Patrikā, a publication of Rajasthan Patrikā. Fri, November 6, 2009. The story is written in Hindi, the headline reads (translation mine) “International Prekṣādhyāna commences: ‘Adopt the Prekṣā sūtra (aphorism) for a lifetime’ – Mahāśramaṇa” citing Yuvācārya (ācārya designate in waiting) Mahāśramaṇa. The article goes on to say that at the commencement ceremony in the presence of His Holiness, Ācārya Mahāprajñā, the Yuvācārya impressed upon the camp attendees the necessity to observe at all times the five important vows of bhāva kriyā, pratikriyā virati, maitri, mitāhāra, and mitabhāṣāna. For a detailed explanation of these vows, see above.
men, but also preparing suitable Jaina meals for them. Thus, prekṣā has opened up doors for the Terāpanth not only to teach meditation techniques, but also to proselytize Jainism for the first time in its history.

While the guided meditation is more about “how-to” than a “why-for,” the meaning making occurs during the lectures and the question and answer sessions, held each day during the camp. For example, in a lecture session called ‘Body Science’ one is taught about the living cells in the body that are susceptible to suggestion. The self-styled lay ‘expert’ teaching this component states that in kāyotsarga one needs to do three things, internal travel (antarayātra), suggest (sujhāva), and experience (anubhava). Observe the breath, for if the breath is controlled then the mind will quiet down, and this will lead to the purity of one's consciousness and also increase the ‘lungs’ working capacity, making it disease-free. What is the relationship with meditation? According to him, breath is a tool used in meditation to calm the mind; it shortens the wandering.67 On another day Muni Kumārśramaṇa, the young muni in charge of prekṣā camps, explains the scientific nature of prekṣā. He states, “Today’s life is very stressful; we are always in the fear and flight syndrome causing an overactive adrenalin. […] Prekṣā balances the sympathetic and parasympathetic systems” (Oct. 13, 2009). He goes on to explain how when we meditate on the jyotikendra through leśyādhyāna, we can control our anger. The scientific reason, according to the muni, is that it controls the pineal, pituitary and adrenal glands. (I will come back to the appropriation of science in the next section). During my research both in Delhi (at the Adhyātman Sādhana Kendra, a Terāpanth Satellite Centre)

and in Ladnun several of the young interviewees, mostly male, reiterated the notion that \textit{prekṣā} helps in anger management.

Raj and Kiran,\textsuperscript{68} the two young men I interview on the third day of my stay in Delhi, are charming and very amiable. Neither are Terāpanthī, nor Jaina for that matter. They are both in training to become \textit{prekṣā} teachers. In my interview with Raj, he reveals that he was a very angry young man who used to break dishes when he got angry. His family members were at the end of their rope, but when he started \textit{prekṣā} meditation there was a transformation in him, which was gradual, but a huge improvement over his former self. His family members could not believe the new person he had become. Today, he tells me, there is nothing that fazes him and he seems the picture of perfect calmness. He attributes the calmness, this change in demeanor, all to \textit{prekṣā} and is such a believer in the power of the meditation that he has decided to become a teacher and help others.

Kiran also tells me a similar story, but his transformation does not seem to be dramatic. For a young man, he seems quite bitter about his experiences at the Jain Vishva Bharati Institute, where he did an M.A. in ‘Prekṣā meditation and the Science of Living’. His bitterness seems to stem from the fact that he has not been able to secure a job as a \textit{prekṣā} meditation teacher, which he feels entitled to, and tells me that he was led to believe that \textit{prekṣā} would open up doors for him.\textsuperscript{69} However, by and large, the people I

\textsuperscript{68} These are not their real names. I have used pseudonyms to protect the identity of my subjects, but in this particular case, their stories are representative of the type of young men who shared similar stories.

\textsuperscript{69} I ran into this young man (literally) on a follow up visit to Ladnun in February 2011. He was there for a three-day qualifying examination for Prekṣā teachers. The exam seems to be a recent introduction and is used to weed out mediocrity in the ranks of lay teachers that are both Terāpanth and non-Terāpanth. Muni Kumārśramanā (the Muni in charge of Prekṣā dissemination in the camps) expressed this to a lay devotee in my presence on February 21, 2011.
interview are positive about their experiences with prekṣā meditation. Most offer stories
of transformation, and often when I interview couples or families their spouses or family
members will vouch for their transformation. This leads me to conclude that while prekṣā
may or may not get one closer to salvation, it does serve as a virtue-making tool, in the
same manner as the disciplinary practices employed by the medieval Christian monastics
were tools for the “proper ordering of the soul” in Talal Asad’s writing.

Prescriptive Manuals: Prekṣādhyāna Theory and Practice

While the daily regimes of behaviour within the group setting of the camp serve
to inculcate patterns for bodily techniques to transform the soul, still the Terapanthīs
recognize that this may be a difficult pattern to observe left to one's own devices at home
in the daily grind of contemporary living. Thus, they leave nothing to chance. Each camp
attendee receives a Prekṣādhyāna: Theory and Practice text. These texts are prescriptive
manuals that play a supportive role to the foundations laid in the meditation camp.

Although the theory in these texts is carefully culled from ancient sources, nevertheless
the texts themselves are contemporary, utilizing current scientific discourse to lend
weight to the scriptural sources, and authenticate prekṣā meditation as a contemporary
form of Jaina meditation. The text provided in the Hindi camp is considerably different
from the text provided in the international camp. The English manual, Prekṣādhyāna:
Theory and Practice, at 128 pages is almost twice as long as the Hindi manual,

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70 There is a direct translation of this work in Hindi called Prekṣādhyāna Siddhānta aur Paddhi. I found it
interesting that the original English work is actually a selected compilation of Ācārya Mahāprajñā’s
writings on Preksā scattered in various works. There was obviously a perceived need for a concise English
manual and that the Hindi version was an afterthought. However, the detailed manual in Hindi is not the
manual given in the Hindi camp. I am not sure of the reasons for this variance. Is it because it might be
easier for the Indians to learn the devotional songs, and experience the bhāva (feelings) generated through
such devotion or is there a mundane economic reason? Andrea Jain in her recently completed Ph.D thesis
Health, Well-Being, and the Ascetic Ideal: Modern Yoga in the Jain Terapanth (Rice University, April
Prekṣādhyāna Prayoga Paddhati (Treatise for the Practice of Prekṣādhyāna Rite), and devotes less space to actual meditation techniques than the philosophical and scientific basis of prekṣādhyāna and its benefits. In contrast, the Hindi text devotes 20 pages to an appendix consisting primarily of inspirational prekṣā songs (gīta), rules of conduct (ācāra saṃhitā), and of further reading lists. This scripted text stays close to the techniques taught in the meditation camps without going into philosophical or scientific explications. A closer examination of the two texts may shed some light on the variance between the texts. In what follows I will begin by analyzing the Hindi manual, and in particular the songs, followed by the English manual.

The Hindi work Prekṣādhyāna Prayoga Paddhati opens with the following prastuti (eulogism):

Dhyāna is not done; it happens. It is believed that there is no technique (paddhati)\(^71\) for dhyāna. Dhyāna is not innate. Not everyone is able to enter into dhyāna without knowing the technique. […] The technique is useful at the commencement of the practice of dhyāna. Through development the technique may not be required, but whenever it is needed, it should not be considered unessential. Keeping this viewpoint in mind, the technique of Prekṣādhyāna is produced as a collection in this short book. This will be useful for teachers of ‘the Science of living’ and ‘prekṣādhyāna’ (Ācārya Mahāprajña 2007 edition).

This prastuti debunks the myth that meditation is an innate state that just happens.

According to the Terāpanth, it is learned behaviour and this handbook is just the tool to help with such a practice. Besides the prastuti, three sections in the Hindi manual distinctly stand out. The first section consists of a list of prekṣā aphorisms in Prākrit with

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\(^{71}\) The term paddhati has multiple meanings; one meaning, which I have employed above in the title of the work, is ‘treatise’ or ‘manual’. Another is ‘technique’, which is the meaning I have taken here. However, it could also mean ‘manual’ here to refer self-reflexively to the publication at hand. Both translations would be correct, but I think technique fits better here.
Hindi translations, beginning with the aim Sūtra (dhyeya sūtra), which translates as “Through the Self See the Self.” There are three additional Sūtras – the wisdom Sūtra (vivekasūtra), the refuge Sūtra (śaraṇasūtra), and the faith Sūtra (śraddhā sūtra). Each of these sūtras is in Prakrit, culled from Āgamic sources, with Hindi translations. The second section consists of the initiatory vows (upasampadā) for prekṣā and the resolve (śaṃkalpa) sūtras for the initiation. The term upasampadā literally means ‘the act of entering into the order of monks’ so it is interesting that the camp attendees take this temporary vow. The vows are: 1) “I dedicate myself to the practice (sādhanā) of prekṣādhyāna”; 2) “I initiate myself into the path of Spiritual Practice” (adhyātman sādhanā kā mārg; 3) “I initiate myself into the practice of Internal Perception” (antardarśana); 4) “I initiate myself into the practice of Spiritual Experience” (ādhyātmika anubhava) (2007:2, Also see English Manual 2008:3).

This does raise the question of why upasampadā? Does one have to be an ascetic to practise prekṣādhyāna? In her unpublished dissertation, Andrea Jain, invoking

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73 The term upasampadā, as I have translated here, generally refers to Buddhist monastic ordination. The ordination terminology that the Śvetāmbaras usually use today is dīkṣā, either choṭi (small) or bādi (big). The use of this term in the Jaina context is unusual on the part of the Terāpnatha. The Jaina Pāribhāṣika Sabdakośa (Dictionary of Technical Terms of Jainism English Version), 2009:84, ascribes the term upasampadā ālocanā meaning “the ālocanā (confession) to be made by an ascetic (Muni) while presenting himself for upasampadā (ordination)” (NiBhā 6310 Cū). The text Niśītha Bhāṣya Cūṇi is a commentary ascribed to Jinādā Gaṇi Mahattara (later half of the 7th century) of one of the four Cheda Sūtras, as cited in the Encyclopedia of Jainism, vol. 1, ed. Narendra Singh. New Delhi: Anmol Publications Pvt. Ltd., 2001:4554-55. The Cheda Sūtras are a collective of works that could be, according to Jaini (1979:62), “book of discipline”, which he likens to the Vinaya Piṭaka the conduct book of the Buddhists. Jaini states “Cheda is a technical term in Jaina ecclesiastical law; it refers to a reduction in a monk’s seniority, accompanied by appropriate expiation (usually fasting) for offences committed” (62). The fact that the Terāpnatha use the term that dates back to at least the 7th century instead of the more commonly used term dīkṣā is in keeping with their need to anchor themselves to the authority of the canon.
Elizabeth de Michaelis’s (2004:187-189) “types” of modern yoga,\textsuperscript{74} argues that it is difficult to pigeonhole prekṣā into any one of de Michaelis’s “type” because it straddles all of them and is context specific (Jain 2010:36-39). Jain’s argument predicates on Mahāprajña’s location of prekṣā in “a unique but important space that tells us much about the adaptive strategies of religious systems in the context of globalization and transnationalism” (39). I would concur with Jain that it is through “adaptive strategies” that Mahāprajña and his disciples, in particular the Samaṇīs, have been able to position a ‘Modern Denominational’ and ‘Meditational’ yoga in the global and transnational burgeoning market of yoga for ‘health and well-being’ that appeals to a primarily English speaking audience. However, it is the denominational and meditational aspects that I want to delve into. In Jain’s typology it is in the traditional setting of Ladnun, Rajasthan that prekṣā can be seen in the monastic context, where it functions as part of an ascetic practice of the individual who wishes to progress along the mokṣa mārga (path to liberation). It is in this setting that upasampadā makes sense. For the ascetics in the Terāpanth, who have already taken the vows, it is part of their practice to move along the path to liberation, but for the uninitiated lay person who attends the meditation camp, formally pledging the vows, even on a temporary basis, solidifies the practice, at least in theory. However, I have to say that the lines between yoga for health and well-being and yoga for liberation are blurred, both in the global setting and in the Ladnun setting. Many

\textsuperscript{74} de Michaelis (2004) splits modern yoga into two types: Modern Postural Yoga, and Modern Meditational Yoga. These schools, according to de Michaelis, do not show any religious or philosophical concerns, but rather leave it to individual experience. In de Michaelis’s typology Iyengar yoga (named after it’s founder BKS Iyengar) is typical of Modern Postural Yoga, whereas Trascendental Meditation (founded by Maharishi Mahesh Yogi) is typical of Modern Meditational Yoga. There is a third type of yoga that de Michaelis identifies, “Modern Denominational Yoga,” that expresses a concern for religious and philosophical doctrine. This type of yoga is often characterized by the following characteristics: an allegiance to a guru; strict organizational structure; more demands on members; not primarily concerned with yoga; and exclusivist attitudes towards other religious systems. A typical example of such a type is the International Society of Krishna Consciousness.
who come to the prekṣā camps in Ladvun are looking at it as a panacea for health and well-being, in particular amongst attendees in the International camp, whereas many in the global yoga marketplace are, I conjecture, also looking to go beyond the physical benefits of meditation.

Thus in the prescriptive setting of the camp, in particular the Hindi camp, these four vows followed by the resolve (saṃkalpa) sūtras, which I have already mentioned above as the five observances, are the basis for the practice of meditation, and they supposedly help create vibrations (kampan) that allow for the shedding of karma. The five resolves are worth looking at in some detail. The first resolve is bhāva kriyā by which the Terāpanthīs mean to keep the mind engaged in all actions. Specifically, they give three meanings for this type of actions: to live in the present moment, to perform actions with awareness, and to always remain vigilant. The next resolve, pratikriyā virati, literally means refraining from reactionary behavior. The manual goes on to explain that all our daily actions are a result of our reactions. In spiritual practice one should remain free from reactionary behavior. The sādhaka (practitioner) should act, not react. The third resolve, maitrībhāva, is about awakening and cultivating the bhāva of friendliness towards all at all times. The fourth resolve of mitāhāra or moderate eating is important because its power is felt not only on the body, but also its effect is felt on dhyāna and even on one’s consciousness. It saves one from carelessness (pramāda) and laziness (ālasya). The final resolve of mitabhāṣaṇa is about moderation in speech. The manual goes on to elaborate that one should save oneself from unnecessary speech; to practice the observance of silence for most of the time; to speak only when it is necessary to speak; to converse in a soft voice. The observance of these five resolve sūtras must be
diligently maintained during the duration of the camp (2007:2-3). Essentially, the manual elaborates on the discourse given by the *Muni* during the question and answer sections of the Hindi camp. The manual, which is read by the attendees during the camp, serves as a reinforcement of what they are told to observe throughout the camp. In this way, it solidifies the learning.

I now come to the final section of this manual, which is an appendix primarily consisting of songs (*gīta*) and a few suggested *prekṣā* practice sessions. These songs are supposed to create *bhāva* in the same manner as *bhakti* or devotional songs do in other traditions, although the emotions expressed are not towards a deity, but rather towards the Self. The songs, such as the *Prekṣādhyāna* song below translated in full, show how the Terāpanth utilizes the nexus of science, the biological, and the spiritual.

Through *prekṣā* meditation, occurs the Self-realization
Through this approach may occur dream realization. (Chorus)

Pereceiving Self through Self, intuition is this itself
Truth, being established in one’s inner self.
Through waning may *samskāras* undergo destruction. (Repeat Chorus)

Mental equanimity, awakening and psychic bliss
Comes near, and goes away physical, mental and emotional illness.
Through Self-discovery spreads tenderness. (Repeat Chorus)

Changes occur in biochemical and glandular hormone
Changes too occur in behavior, as well as emotion.
Through breath regulation one’s own world undergoes transformation. (Chorus)

In this world of difficulties, the problem is one of anger
And enslavement to one’s habits is pervasive in one’s every fibre.
Through this glorious achievement [meditation] occurs polite behaviour. (Chorus)

Through contemplation, colour meditation, and repose
Through perception of breathing, Heaven is on the globe.
Through omniscience may the heart be free from *ahimsā.*
Through Tulsī *dhyāna* may the heart be free from *ahimsā.* (Chorus) (2007:56).
The instruction at the end of the song indicates that the song must be sung in the melody of a popular Hindi film song, which the Indian audience would be quite familiar with. It is clear from the above that the song expresses everything a practitioner may expect to undergo in terms of transformation through the practice of prekṣā meditation. The transformation is supposed to be at every level of the Self – the spiritual, mental, and physical right down to chemical and hormonal changes. Here we see that both scripture and science are used as authoritative discourse, a point I will elaborate upon in the next section. One last thing about this manual is the direct English translation of this work. The English translation (a very slim pamphlet) is significantly missing the first two sections, as well as the appendix. Buried in the text of the English translation is the ‘Aim Sūtra’, and at the end of a particular meditation technique section are the aphorisms for ‘wisdom’, ‘taking refuge’, and ‘faith’. The initiation vow and the five resolves are not translated and neither are the songs. What is curious about the English translation is that at the end of the translation is a section on ‘Practice of Prekṣādhyāna for Freedom from Drug Addiction’, which does not exist in the original Hindi. It would seem from this that drug addiction is perceived to be a problem in the West, or at least a problem within English-speaking audiences.

I now come to the English manual, which as I said earlier, lacks the appendix of songs that are in the Hindi manual. When I ask Muni Mahendra, the senior scholar and translator of much of these works, why the songs are missing he dismisses the question by saying, “It is only an appendix”. Nevertheless, the English manual has substantial space devoted to the philosophical basis, the scientific basis, and the benefits of prekṣādhyāna, which are totally missing in the Hindi manual. When I ask the Muni about
this difference in the two manuals he points out that there is a Hindi translation of the English manual and all camp attendees are expected to know the philosophical and scientific basis of *prekṣādhyāna*. When I press the point as to why the Hindi translation is not the manual handed out in the Hindi camp, he just shrugs and dismisses my suggestion that perhaps there is an economic reason, since the less substantial Hindi manual is cheaper. I speculate that the Muni did not know the answer nor did he seem to care.

The English manual *Prekṣādhyāna: Theory and Practice* has six substantial chapters covering a range of topics from basic principles, philosophical basis, scientific basis, *raison d’etre*, technique, and benefits of *prekṣādhyāna*. The chapters are further divided into six sections following the six major constituents of *prekṣādhyāna*: relaxation (*kāyotsarga*), perception of breath (*dīrgha śvāsa*), perception of body (*śarīra*), perception of “psychic” centres (*caitanya kendra*),

75 perception of “psychic” colours (*leśyā*), and contemplation (*anupreksā*) and auto-suggestion (*bhāvanā*).76 In what follows I will closely examine four of these six major constituents, three of which – *kāyotsarga*, *leśyā*, and *anupreksā* – trace an origin to canonical sources, which Mahāprajña is rereading and reshaping the tradition to fit with contemporary notions of relaxation and contemplation. Although all the components are important in the practice of *prekṣādhyāna*, I focus on the four that occupy a prominence in the practice during the camps, either by having specific sessions devoted to them, for example an hour’s session each on *kāyotsarga* and

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75 The word *caitanya* means ‘consciousness’ and *kendra* means ‘centre’ so the term *caitanya kendra* would literally mean ‘centres of consciousness’. However, the Terāpanthīs translate this term as psychic centre and the term is used frequently in their parlance so I stick to their translation. Scientific terms frequently undergird their rhetoric. *Caitanya kendas* are the equivalent of *cakras* within the Hatha yoga tradition, except there are thirteen of the former and seven of the latter.

76 The term *bhāvanā* is a causative, etymologically derived from the Sanskrit root *bhū* meaning ‘becoming’ or ‘being’. Hence *bhāvanā* means ‘causing to be’ or ‘effecting’. Its translation here as auto-suggestion by Muni Mahendra and Jethalal Zaveri may refer to the act of suggesting the body to either relax in *kāyotsarga* or causing the mind to imagine certain states in contemplation.
anupreksā, or because there is a particularly scientific rationale given for the practice, for example meditation on caitanya kendra and leśyā.

Kāyotsarga, as I have already stated, is the conditioning of the body, in which complete abandonment of voluntary movements of the body as well as abandonment of possessiveness is undertaken. For all Jaina ascetics it is the fifth of the six āvaśyaka (necessary) duties undertaken daily, in particular, in the pratikramaṇa ritual (the ritual of repentance performed daily by ascetics and also by pious laypeople). The practice of kāyotsarga can be traced back to the āgamas,77 where we find references, for example, in the Sūtrakṛtāṅga (SkS)78 and the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra (UtS).79 There are many references in the monks’ daily routines, for example:

A monk should perform postures (kāyotsarga) alone on his seat, and alone on his couch he should meditate; excelling in the performance of austerities, guarded in words, and restrained in thoughts (SkS 2.12).

He who is well protected by the five sanīvaras and is not attached to this life, who abandons his body (this is kāyotsarga, the posture of a man standing with all his limbs immovable, by which he fortifies himself against sins), who is pure and does not care for his body, wins the great victory, the best of offerings (UtS xii.42).

He should go through kāyotsarga without allowing himself to be affected by pains (UtS xxvi.39 Also see Sūtras xxvi.41-43, 47, 51, 51 Jacobi vol. II, 1884:147-149).

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77 The Jaina āgamas ‘canon’ really refers to the Śvetāmbara canon. The Digambaras believe that the twelve Aṅga (core texts) and the Āṅgabāhya (outside of the Aṅga texts) were lost, whereas the Mūrtipujaka (temple worshipping) Śvetāmbara’s claim a core of 45 texts and the Sthānākavāsi (hall dwellers) claim a core of 33 texts. For details on the Jaina canon see Padmanbh S. Jaini, The Jaina Path of Purification 1979: 47-87. For an excellent discussion on the formation of the ‘canon’ see Kendall Folkert, Scripture and Community ed. John Cort, 1993, part 1, chapter 4 and 5, Christoph Emmrich, “When Two Strong Men Stand Face to Face. The Indologist, the Pandit and the Re-Making of the Jaina Scholarly Tradition,” in Boundaries, Dynamics and Construction of Traditions in South Asia. Federico Squarcini (Ed.). (Kykéion Studies and Texts. Sciences of Religions, 1.3) Firenze: Firenze University Press & Munshiram Manoharlal, 2005:571-587. Also see Maurice Winternitz, A History of Indian Literature (Jaina section), 1981, 423-595.

78 The Sūtrakṛtāṅga or Sūyagadaṅga (Prakrit) is the second of the aṅga, which is translated by Hermann Jacobi, Jaina Sūtras, Vol. II, 1884. It consists mainly criticism of heretical doctrines and is also a conduct book for monks.

79 Uttarādhyayana Sūtra or Uttarajñhayana (Prakrit) is the first of the Mūla Sūtras, the texts in the Āṅgabāhya, also translated by Jacobi, Jaina Sūtras, Vol. II, 1884. It is the most well-known anthology consisting of poems, aphorisms and parables. The Jaina traidition claims it be the last sermon of Mahāvīra.
What we glean from these ancient texts is that kāyotsarga seems to be “practised” several times a day by the monks. Detachment from the body is crucial in the performance of austerities, meditation, and getting over physical pain. While Mahāprajña has grounded the practice in scriptural sources, nevertheless the language used in the English language manual is contemporary, concerned with reducing the effects or curing the maladies of modern living – stress, hypertension, high blood-pressure, heart attacks. Physically it is a “direct antidote to psychosomatic maladies resulting from tension. Spiritually, in this process, the lifeless body is cast off, while consciousness soars upwards freed from and outside its material shell” (2008:5). There is no denying that kāyotsarga is the first step in prekṣādhyāna, whose ultimate goal is liberation.

However, one cannot escape the language of science employed in the manual to lend authority to it (see my discussion below). The manual goes into some depth on the physical responses to stress, which involves the hypothalamus (the part of the brain that controls all functions of the body), the pituitary gland, the adrenal gland, “and the sympathetic component of the autonomic nervous system which is responsible to ultimately prepare the body for ‘fight’ or ‘flight’” (34-35). When the equilibrium of the sympathetic and the parasympathetic breaks down we have acute stress and illness. Acknowledging the deleterious effects of modern living, Mahāprajña offers kāyotsarga as the body’s innate mechanism not only to reverse such effects, but also suggests that with daily practise of kāyotsarga for 30-45 minutes one can prevent the effect of such harmful stress (36).

The rhetoric of science seems to be most predominant in Mahāprajña’s elucidation of the perception of caintanya kendras (psychic centers) and on the
perception of leśyā (psychic colours). It is here that we get a full-blown discussion of the endocrine glands as regulators of hormonal secretion. Mahāprajña suggests that there are correspondences between prekṣā and physiology - between the subtle body and the physical body. However, this claim is always qualified in the sense that science can only measure physical processes, whereas prekṣā is believed to be able to manipulate both the physical and the subtle body, as well it is a path for Self realization. There is a somaticization of the subtle spiritual self, which is said to “exercise its authority and control the grosser elements of the physical body” (10). The endocrine system is the seat of all habit formation, and is responsible for all our emotive states (47). The association between the endocrine system and the caitanya kendras are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Endocrine Glands</th>
<th>Caitanya kendras (Psychic Centres)</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pineal</td>
<td>Jyoti-kendra (Centre of Enlightenment)</td>
<td>Centre of forehead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pituitary</td>
<td>Darśana-kendra (Centre of Intuition)</td>
<td>Middle of eyebrows</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thyroids</td>
<td>Viśuddhi-kendra (Centre of Purity)</td>
<td>Adam’s apple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thymus</td>
<td>Ānanda-kendra (Centre of Bliss)</td>
<td>Heart area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adrenals</td>
<td>Taijasa-kendra (Centre of Bio-Electricity)</td>
<td>Navel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gonads</td>
<td>Svāsthya-kendra (Centre of General Health)</td>
<td>Lower abdomen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gonads (86-87)</td>
<td>Śakti-kendra (Centre of Energy)</td>
<td>Base of spinal cord</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The manual suggests meditating on each of the caitanya kendras for 2 to 3 minutes starting from the bottom up. The movement is always upwards and there is more emphasis placed on the higher centers. This is consistent with the instructions in the camps, so much so that if one does not have enough time to complete meditation upon all thirteen centers then one can focus on the seven stated above or even on the top four of the above list. Meditating upon the caitanya kendras facilitates the transmutation of the passions, such as sexual instincts, anger, greed, delusion, pride and other psychological

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80 As I have already stated, there are thirteen caitanya kendras, but I focus only on the key ones that are generally meditated upon in the camps.
distortions by transcending the conscious mind and reaching the subconscious mind (66, 87).

Furthermore, meditation upon the psychic centers helps develop a reasoning mind and a discerning consciousness (viveka-cetanā). How is this possible? According to Mahāprajña, the endocrine system is interrelated by chemical processes to the brain and the nervous system. Our thoughts affect the endocrine system, which releases hormonal secretions that affect the brain. Primal urges – sex, anger, etc., have negative impacts on brain patterns and thus cause stress. Regular meditation on the psychic centers changes these patterns bringing equilibrium (64). This belief is core to the practice of preksā, as can be observed from this stanza in the preksā song that I translated above, which is worth repeating:

Changes occur in biochemical and glandular hormone
Changes too occur in behavior, as well as emotion.
Through breath regulation one’s own world undergoes transformation.

There is a causal relationship between the perception of the psychic centers and the biochemical activity in the endocrine and nervous system, together known as the neuroendocrine system. I will analyze the appropriation of Science in the next section to show that the Terāpanthīs participate in a trend in Modern yoga in which there is an emphasis on health and fitness.

However, despite the rhetoric on science and the neuro-endocrine system there seems to be a real tension between the dual ontology of Jainism, which the Terāpanth is anchored in, and the focus on matter alone in the scientific world, which is never resolved. Mahāprajña asserts that the contribution of modern physics, while substantial
with regards to the many discoveries about matter, is limited and does not extend to the conscious reality of the soul. He states:

The spiritual experience could never enter the range of their [scientists’] investigation and become the object of their quest. That is why science has not, so far, positively accepted the separate existence of soul. Due to this non-acceptance, the purpose of meditational practice appears to have been restricted to relaxation, easing of tensions, etc. The popular belief is that meditational practice results in physical benefits, such as maintenance of robust physical health, and treatment (and prevention) of serious mental illnesses without drugs, though valuable contributions are not the only or even the chief objective of meditational practice. It's aim-in-chief is realization and awareness of one's spiritual self – the real SELF (67).

It would seem from the above that even though the Terāpanth participate in the scientific discourse still, they constantly reinforce that the real goal of preksā is the realization of the Self. Keeping this goal in mind, it is crucial, then to develop insight, and meditation upon caitanya kendras and leśyās are an important part in this development. For Mahāprajña truth is synonymous with insight, right faith, and right attitude and meditational practice allows one to develop this so that one can be aware of one's spiritual self, and discern between the real self and the real seer. This self-realization can only occur through direct experience. Thus, while Scriptures are important, the language can only convey the description of the experience, not the experience itself (67-68). This truth can only be realized through the practice of meditation.

While caitanya kendras have their equivalence in Hatha yoga’s chakras (see note above), the concept of leśyā, translated as psychic colours by the Terāpanth, is specifically Jaina and grounded in the canonical scriptures. Leśyās, as expressed by Hermann Jacobi in his translation of the Uts, are different conditions produced in the soul by the influence of karma. They are not dependent on the nature of the soul, but on the karma, which accompanies the soul and are a reflection of the karma on the soul. “The
alteration produced on the soul, just as on a crystal by the presence of black things, etc.,
is denoted by the word leśyā” (UtS lecture xxxiv, n. 2 1884:196). There are six leśyās –
black, blue, grey, red, yellow, and white – of which the first three are considered to be
associated with bad karmas performed by wicked, greedy, and dishonest people.81 Of the
last three, red is associated with a man who is humble, steadfast and free from deceit;
yellow is associated with a man who controls himself from anger, pride, and deceit; and
white is associated with a man who meditates on the dharma, practices the five samitis
(rules of conduct), and the three guptis (restraints).82 An ascetic “guarding his speech and
possessed of carefulness, acquiring (pure) leśyā, he should wander about.”83 Thus, in
classical Jainism, leśyā indicates the soul’s degree of purity and is connected to the soul’s
progression up the spiritual ladder, the fourteen guṇasthāna.84

Mahāprajña has taken this classical concept and made it an integral part of
prekṣādhyāna. The transmutation of leśyā into tājasa leśyā is the first step in spiritual
progress, which also is a catalyst for behavioural and attitudinal changes. Mahāprajña
describes it as follows:

Devout austerities, practice of yoga and meditation aim at internal chemical
transformation. Missing a meal, fasting, body postures, controlled breathing and other
yogic exercises change the body chemistry. Confession and penance, humbleness,
scriptural studies, etc., are internal austerities. Cleansing stream of expiation wash
and purify the internal distortions. Humbleness counteracts the evil effects of
arrogance and hardiness. All these changes are produced by chemical transmutation

81 TS 3.3–4 also states that there are two type of colouring – physical – from birth to death, and psychic
colouring, which is the transformation of the soul which changes due to its current passions and activities.
It is the colour index of the soul and is revealed in its aura (leśyā). Of the six leśyās, the first three as I have
already stated are inauspicious – black, blue, and grey. Infernal beings always feature inauspicious leśyās
dependent on the region of hell they inhabit; the top layer beings are pure grey, while beings on the bottom
layer of hell are blackish.
82 Lecture xxxiv. These texts are written for monks by monks and are primarily conduct books.
83 SkS, Book 1, 10.15.
84 For a detailed discussion on leśyā in classical Jainism see Kristi Wiley, “Colours of the Soul: By-
Products of Activity or Passions?” in Philosophy East and West. Vol. 50, No. 3. The Philosophy of Jainism,
within the body. Practice of meditation, however, is the most powerful of all, which produces internal chemical transmutation. Perception of psychic centers (caitanya-kendras-Prekṣā) and perception of psychic color (leśyā dhyāna) produce astonishing results. The change is more profound and radical, because there is a fundamental change in inner structure of emotions. Perception of psychic colours on psychic centres produces forces and radiations, which are diametrically opposite to those produced by karma (2008:70).

It is clear from the above passage that meditation on psychic colours and psychic centers are privileged over any other type of austerities to negate the effects of karma on the soul. Hence, for the Terāpanth, the doctrine of leśyā is not only a tool to regain and maintain physical, mental, and emotional health, but it is also a means *par excellence* for spiritual achievement. By activating the higher *caitanya kendras* through *leśyā dhyāna* one can control the impulses of the brain and experience bliss (spiritual) or suppress pain (medicinal) without using drugs or narcotics, which are the root cause of social antipathy (112-115). Meditation is the antidote to social antipathy. Thus, “drug addicts and antisocials” could be treated through psychotherapy based on the practice of *prekṣādhyāna*. In this way social health is linked to mental and emotional health (115). Accordingly, even though the concept of *leśyā* is classical the Terāpanth have a modern take on it, using science to lend it more credence to a contemporary audience.

Like *leśyā* the practice of *anupreksā* (reflection, contemplation) is also taken from classical Jaina sources and reinterpreted by the Terāpanth. The *TS*, which devotes an entire chapter on the stoppage of the influx of karma and on the shedding of karma, lists the three *guptis*, the five *samitis* (both outlined above), and austerities as a path to shed karma, but it also lists the twelve *anupreksās* as a means of shedding karma. Accordingly:
Reflection is meditating on transitoriness, helplessness, transmigration, loneliness, distinctness, impurity, influx, stoppage, disassociation, the universe, rarity, of enlightenment and the truth proclaimed by religion (TS ix.7).

In his commentary on this verse, Pujyapāda elaborates on each of the twelve anupreksās. Reflection on transitoriness is a very important one of the twelve reflections in the practice of prekṣādhyāna so it is worth citing Pujiyapāda’s commentary on it as a comparative to the Terāpanth rendering of the same. Here is Pujiyapāda on transitoriness:

The body as well as the objects of pleasure of the senses are transient like bubbles. In the endless cycle of worldly existence, union, and separation in the womb, etc., alternative in quick succession. However, the self under delusion considers the persons and objects associated with him as permanent. But there is nothing in the world that is permanent except the natural characteristics of knowledge and perception of the self. This is contemplation on the transitory nature of things. He who contemplates thus is free from intense attachment to persons and things, and hence he does not feel distress when he loses them or separates from them as in the case of the garlands used and cast off (1992:v.ix.7 p. 245).

On the other hand, the raison d’être of contemplation (anupreksā) in the system of prekṣādhyāna, as stated by Mahāprajña in the English manual, is “to abolish the myths, legends and superstitious beliefs and to realise and accept what is really true. […] It is the process of realising the truth and adhering to it” (2008:72). Moreover, it is “fluid state of the consciousness. […] When the fluid solidifies i.e., concentrates on a single point, it becomes dhyāna” (72). The practitioner should know the truth of the dual realities of life, namely the empirical reality of social life with its concomitant attachments to his/her own family, friends, etc., and the transcendental reality (74). The manual outlines two categories of contemplation: category I is the contemplation of transitoriness, and category II is divided into three types of contemplation i.e., contemplation of

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85 Reality English Translation of Sri Pujyapāda’s Sarvārthasiddhi. Trans S. A. Jain. Madras: Jwalamalini Trust, 1992 (1958) is the oldest extant Digambara commentary on the TS, the only text recognized by all Jaina sects. Pujyapāda is the popular name of the 6th century grammarian Devanandi, who wrote an extensive and authoritative commentary on this authoritative text.
fearlessness, of forbearance, and of modesty. Category I is the contemplation on the eternal truth, while category II is more about attitudinal changes accomplished through the process of auto-suggestion (*bhāvana*) during meditation (91).

In what follows I outline the detailed instructions given in the manual to the practitioner. After assuming the sitting posture of meditation, the proper *mudrā*, and after having performed *kāyotsarga* and *antaryātra* (the first two steps in *prekṣā* meditation), the practitioner is ready to begin the contemplation of transitoriness.

Contemplate the transient (soon-to-end), association of yourself with the premises (or room) in which you are now performing this exercise – reflect on the basic principle that "what is transient is not permanent." First contemplate and then actually experience the ultimate separateness between yourself and the premises (93).

In this manner the practitioner is asked to repeat the above replacing the room in the above instructions with contemplating and experiencing successively the association between his/herself and the following: the cushion or chair he/she is sitting on, the clothes she's wearing, her body, her somatic and psychosomatic diseases, her mental problems, or urges impulses, emotions and passions, her negative attitudes and habits, her subtle most body (*Karma Śarīra*) (93-94). She then reverses the sequence and repeats the following phrases three times:

- Body is transitory
- Sickness is transitory
- Mental problems are transitory
- Emotions and passions are transitory (94).

Similarly other such contemplations can be performed on solitariness, on the nature of the universe, on fearlessness, on forbearance, etc. Although Mahâprajñâ’s language in the English manual is contemporary and often scientific, nevertheless the spirit of contemplation and experience is close to the classical Jaina concepts as expressed by
Pujyapāda above. I want to discuss the scientific rhetoric in this manual, as part of the Terāpanth authoritative discourses. But before I do that I want to give a brief history of the Terāpanth as a reform movement and how they use both scriptural and scientific discourses to achieve this reform.

The Terāpanth Reform and Authoritative Discourses

The Terāpanth is considered to be a reform movement. This notion of reform is perpetuated both by the tradition itself and is further aided by some Western scholars who use the term rather uncritically in separating the fifteenth and seventeenth century aniconic movements of Sthānakvāsi (hall dwellers) and Terāpanthī, for example, as reformed, whereas the Mūrtipūjaka (temple worshipping) Śvetāmbara and Digambara movements as unreformed.86 The term ‘reform’, according to John Cort (2000:170), is not value neutral as some scholars use it, but rather prescriptive, and highly contentious. When traditions introduce change, they rarely call it new. Rather they hail the changes as a return to a pristine and original state. This idea of reform is particularly true of the Terāpanthīs, who, according to Flügel, do not have a paṭṭāvalī (a genre of text) tracing their lineage to the Sthānakvāsis, since Bhikṣu (the founder of the Terāpanth) split from the Sthānakvāsī Ācārya Raghunāṭhji.87 By deliberately not tracing such a lineage, the Terāpanth, in effect, are claiming a direct lineage to Mahāvīra (the historical founder of

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86 Cort (2000:170) points out that this uncritical use by scholars like Banks (1992, 30-32), and others cited by Cort (170 n. 8) is a critique based on pre-understandings of Protestant critique of image worshipping cults. Thus the image-worshipping Śvetāmbara and Digambara sects are considered unreformed. I am with Cort that a more critically appropriate approach is one taken by Humphrey and Laidlaw (1994:47). As Humphrey and Laidlaw state there is no unreformed sect today in Jainism. All of them claim to have returned to an earlier form of Jainism. In his article, Cort traces the reform in the Śvetāmbara Mūrtipūjaka Jain community in the early twentieth century.

87 Flügel (2003) Dundas (2002) also states that although the Terāpanthīs share certain aspects of the Sthānakvāsī teachings, such as the permanent wearing of a muhpattī (mouth covering) for ascetics and the rejection of image worshipping, they do not trace their lineage to the Sthānakvāsī. “Raghunāṭhji is viewed as Bhikṣu’s teacher only in the most provisional sense … the only true authority was vested in the scriptures, the expression of eternal truth, and Mahāvīra and his disciples” (256).
the tradition). Moreover, the Terāpanthīs claim that prekṣādhyāna originated with Mahāvīra, and draw their inspiration from Mahāvīra’s meditation as described in the Ācāraṅga Sūtra.

Given the paucity of references to meditation in the early history of Jaina yoga, it is noteworthy that the Terāpanthīs by-passed medieval Jaina yoga influences, such as that of Haribhadra and Hemacandra, two leading figures in medieval Jaina yoga. Johannes Bronkhorst (1993), Paul Dundas (2002:166-167), and Padmanabh Jaini (1979:252) all agree on the lack of material in early Jaina sources, although their explanations for this are different. I conjecture that this lack of material reference encourages a re-reading of the past and gives the Terāpanthīs the freedom to re-read the āgamic sources to return to the ‘fundamentals’ of a pristine past. But what is this pristine past? Scholars have varying opinions on what constitutes meditation during this period. There are two schools of thought – that coming from within the tradition, and that coming from Western scholarship. Indian scholarship argues that in early Jainism meditational practices were well-developed; and right faith, right knowledge, and right conduct ultimately led to liberation, whereas Western scholarship sees the focus less on meditation and more on cessation of activity. In prekṣādhyāna, anuvrata, and jīvan vijñāna, the Terāpanthīs are seemingly saying that the ‘revival’ of ancient meditation practices along with right conduct and the ‘art of right living’ brings the practitioner closer to the goal of liberation.

Bronkhorst and Dundas are of the opinion that there was less emphasis on meditation in the early sources, and that the teachings were more concerned with the

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88 This is the first work in the Śvetāmbara canon and the ninth chapter of this work, which many scholars believe to be a later interpolation, describes Mahāvīra’s meditation. See Sacred Books of the East - Jaina Sūtras Part 1. Hermann Jacobi (trans.) Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1884. Also see Mahāprajñā’s translation and commentary Acharaṅga Bhāsyaṃ Ladnun, Rajasthan: Jain Vishva Bharati, 2001.
cessation of mental and physical activity rather than their transformation (Bronkhorst 1993:36, Dundas 2002:166). According to Dundas, it is only in the early medieval period that it became necessary for the Jains to have a more theoretical development (2002:166-167). Like the medieval Ācāryas Haribhadra and Hemacandra, who, with the popularity of Tantric yoga during their times, felt the need to produce elaborate treatises on Jaina yoga, the Terāpanthīs felt a similar need in the contemporary social milieu. I intend to show that given the contemporary popularity of yoga in general and of Buddhist vipassana meditation in particular, the Terāpanthīs felt it necessary to have a more theoretical development of Jaina meditation, which they claim has always been in Jainism, but lost over time. Although Jaini concurs with Bronkhorst and Dundas, he states that the traditional emphasis on austerities was more within reach of the majority of aspirants, whereas the trance-like states were achievable by only the few. Moreover, the very nature of meditation did not lend itself to written exposition, esoteric teaching being best conveyed in person from teacher to disciple (1979:252). Both these views are important with respect to the Terāpanth reinterpretation of ‘original’ doctrines because their reinterpretation is more about transformation. Moreover, if the ancients thought that esoteric teaching was best conveyed from teacher to disciple, as Jaini argues, then the mass-audience prekṣādhyāna camps are an antithesis to secret, esoteric knowledge. Despite the paucity of material, it is important to see that Nathmal Tatia, who comes from within the tradition, is able to cull from the early āgamic sources, such as the Āyāro, Bhagavati, and Uttarādhyayana Sūtras, a picture of meditation from various angles;

broadly speaking he divides the physical and the mental development for such a practice (1986:xvii). Tatia’s description of physical postures from these sources, such as āyotsarga, which leads to equanimity of the mind for a meditator, is important. It shows, as I have already argued above, that the Terāpanthīs have carefully chosen to cull a pristine past. Āyotsarga, as I have shown above, is an important process within the practice of prekṣādhyāna, in which complete abandonment of the body is a precursor to meditation.

Kirti Doshi’s short piece (Jinamanjari, April 2008) is primarily a descriptive document, but it is significant to note Doshi’s conclusions about the benefits of prekṣā, which are in keeping with the tradition itself. Doshi concludes that prekṣā meditation brings physical, mental, emotional and spiritual benefits to the committed practitioner. The language he uses to describe the benefits of prekṣā meditation is quite scientific such as revitalization of body cells, efficient respiration, improved blood circulation, and strong immune system. He suggests that in health matters such as neuro-endocrine system and psychological distortions, meditation can be supplemented as a means of treatment. He acknowledges the spiritual benefits, but again the language is contemporary. This is not Doshi’s spin on it. The Terāpanth markets prekṣā meditation in precisely these terms, and in this the Terāpanth is somewhat similar to other contemporary yoga movements. However, the Terāpanth’s yoga and meditation is very much grounded in the ancient Jain practices to which they have given a contemporary relevance. In this they have re-invented themselves and Jainism in the process.

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90 It is possible that Nathmal Tatia who, for a while, was a director of the Jain Vishva Bharati Institute (the deemed university founded by the Terāpanth) may have had his own biases, as a scholar who was also a practicing Jain, which may have informed his reading of these passages. I am not saying that this diminishes his scholarship in any way, but as scholars we sometimes bring our biases and one needs to just be aware of it.
Finally, I come to the scientific discourse that the Terāpanthīs use both in the meditation camps and in the prescriptive manuals. Moreover, science is not limited to discourse. The Terāpanth have actively sought to encourage scientific experiments on the physiological and neurological effects of preksādhyāna. Here the Terāpanthīs are not alone. In his study, *Yoga in Modern India: The Body between Science and Philosophy*, Joseph Alter underscores the point that modern ideas about health and science have played a strong role in the formation of modern yoga. According to Alter, “yoga was modernized, medicalized, and transformed into a system of physical culture” (2004:10). Although Alter’s study focuses on the appropriation of science by Hindu yogis in India, particularly Kuvalyananda and K. N. Udupa, nevertheless his findings speak to the scientific discourse I have outlined above, in particular the discourse on the endocrine system and caitanya kendras as expressed by Mahāprajña. In this discourse we saw that the discourse on science conflates with the discourse on transcendent truth. Alter succinctly expresses this point:

> Whether intentionally or not, the scientific procedure of anatomical reference and physiological function – as well the more straightforward use of knowledge based on language to describe an indescribable experience – leads to a rather “gross” characterization of that which is, in the end, most subtle (50).

Elsewhere Alter elaborates on this:

> In looking ever more deeply into the body, a discourse of science has fused and confused the embodied knowledge of transcendence, and the practice based on that knowledge, with the transcendence of knowledge. In essence this is a mistake that has allowed Yoga to have its cake and eat it too: to claim that Ultimate Truth can only be experienced and never understood, while all the while seeking to

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91 During my research stay in Delhi at the Adhyātman Sādhanā Kendra I met a cardiologist who was conducting a study on the effects of Prekṣā on cardiac patients. There were also at least two Ph.D. dissertations out of the Jain Vishva Bharati Institute on the physiological effects of Prekṣā. All of these were actively sought by the Terāpanth leadership to claim that, “Prekṣā works” not only on the spiritual level, but also on the physical and neurological levels.
explain, so as to understand, the nature of Truth, and to locate Truth in the body (36).

It is through the appropriation of scientific discourse that the Terāpanth closely participates in the modern yoga marketplace. According to Andrea Jain, the newly created Samañī order (1980) allows the Terāpanth to disseminate prekṣā as a contemporary form of yoga in the European and North American marketplace (2010:152-188).

Furthermore, there are similarities between the scientific experiments with prekṣā, which are actively encouraged by the Terāpanth leadership, and those done with Buddhist meditation. In his work *Buddhism & Science*, Donald Lopez asserts that, “over the past 25 years, the effects of Buddhist meditation have begun to be measured by neurologists, adding a new dimension to the Buddhism and Science discourse” (2008:207). According to Lopez, these studies have sought to measure the physiological and neurological effects of Buddhist meditation. The claim made here is that “Buddhist meditation works”, but as Lopez asserts, in order to understand the laboratory results of such claims, one must first identify what is Buddhist about this meditation, describe what the term meditation encompasses in this case, and explain what works means, especially in the context of the exalted goals that have traditionally been ascribed to Buddhist practice. Although these goals are numerous and variously articulated across the tradition, it can be said that their ultimate aim is not self-help but traditional reorientation toward the world – and in many articulations, a liberation from it – either for oneself or for all beings (207, italics in the original).

What Lopez is saying about Buddhist meditation can be easily applied to the Terāpanth claim of prekṣādhyāna as a particularly Jaina meditation. What makes prekṣādhyāna different from Buddhist vipassana meditation, or for that matter other forms of meditation in Hinduism, Buddhism, or even Christian traditions of meditation? Since vipassana and prekṣā both mean ‘to see’, the Terāpanth, as I have shown above, have
carefully culled *prekṣā* meditation from authoritative canonical sources and have gone as far as putting together a whole text that refer to the sources of *prekṣā* within the Jaina Canon. While the canonical sources lend authority and give meaning to the ritual for the people within the tradition, nevertheless since, as Lopez has argued, Science is the new authoritative discourse, the scientific discourse and experiments that the Terāpanth employ lend a more secular authority, which allows them to promote *prekṣā* to a worldwide audience as evident from the International camps.

**Conclusion**

In conclusion, I have attempted to show in this chapter how *prekṣādhyāna* as a performative ritual is conducive for the “proper ordering of the soul”. I have argued that it is a ritualized action because the ‘actor’ takes a particular stance to her action, making it a “ritual commitment”, and how not only the physical space contributes towards this commitment, but also how the body is an instrument that assists in this commitment. I have also endeavoured to demonstrate how Scripture and Science are utilized as authoritative discourses not only grounding the practice of *prekṣādhyāna* to a hoary past, but also bringing it forward, allowing the Terāpanthā to participate not only in the economy of the modern yoga boom (the subject of chapter four), but also to participate, through applied ethics, in the environmental and social justice arena (the subject of chapter five). However, despite the Terāpanthī attempt to keep *prekṣādhyāna* anchored to Jaina theology, still the opening up to Science and other contemporary influences raises the question of how this leaves the possibility of an erosion of Jaina theology within the Terāpanth, which I shall discuss in the concluding chapter.

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Chapter Four – Dāna and Dhyāna: The Laukika and Lokottara and Their Economic Implications

Introduction

Although some have defined lokottara as “pre-eminent in the world,”

nevertheless, I turn to John Holt’s understanding of laukika and lokottara to show how his definition not only helps us understand and analyze the Terāpanth reinterpretation of dāna as visarjana, but also helps us analyze the relationship between dāna and dhyāna. Holt states: “Lokottara means … to be consummately, unconditionally, absolutely present but ‘unattached’ in this world. Laukika means to be attached to this world, tied to the desires of this world … to be conditionally given over to the interests of this world” (1991:22). In this chapter I will argue that dāna and dhyāna are both laukika and lokottara. The Terāpanth understand laukika and lokottara in a contrastive manner as activities that are this worldly and activities that are leading to dharma, respectively. Critics of the Terāpanth argue that there is no canonical support for their separation of laukika and lokottara, particularly in their stance on dāna. Does this represent any tension between dāna and dhyāna? The Terāpanthīs consider all activities that lead to salvation (ādhyātmika) as lokottara. Thus dhyāna and dāna to a saṃyamī (an ascetic) are considered lokottara and a means for nirjarā or the shedding of karma. On the other hand, dāna to an asaṃyamī (other beings both human and non-human that are not ascetics) is considered pāpa or demeritorious. I will show that this conceptual language (paribhāṣā) of saṃyamī and asaṃyamī is also a source of contention between the Terāpanth and their critics. Furthermore, Ritu Birla’s work on colonial Charitable Trust

laws and the mercantile gifting practice for dharma (Birla 2009), particularly, amongst
the Mārwārī community of Rajasthan, will be a framework for my analysis of how both
types of dāna – laukika and what the Terāpanth call visarjana – as well as prekṣādhyāna
camps in India and classes taught in the Terāpanth centres in Europe and North America
become sources for economic activities. The Terāpanthīs are predominantly Mārwārīs
who came from the Mewār region of Rajasthan and migrated to large business centres
like Calcutta, Delhi, Mumbai, Jaipur and other large cities in India.

I will begin by establishing a relationship between dāna and dhyāna as laukika
and lokottara with Holt’s work as my framework. I will then explore the critique of the
Terāpanth’s doctrinal stance on dāna and how this is the source of tension. Finally, using
Birla’s study of Charitable Trusts I will analyze how the Terāpanth charitable foundation,
Jain Vishva Bharati, the holding company, through its many activities, participates in the
local and national economy of India.

Dāna and Dhyāna: The Laukika and the Lokottara

The Lokottara

Dhyāna, specifically prekṣādhyāna, as I have already argued in the previous
chapter, is a meditative technique, which was an innovation of Ācārya Mahāpraṇja, the
tenth preceptor of the Terāpanth. According to Muni Mahendrakumar, a senior scholar-
monk amongst the Terāpanth, prekṣā meditation is a superior means for nirjarā or
shedding of karma.94 According to the Muni, prekṣā allows us to tap into the deeper
levels of our consciousness, which allows us to transform our external environment. The
Muni explains, we may know, intellectually speaking, what is right and what is evil, but

94 Field interview in Ladnun, Rajasthan, September 26, 2009.
putting it in to practice is often difficult because our inner consciousness is not refined. *Prekṣā* facilitates this kind of transformation so that we are able to “practise what we preach.” Here, Joanna Cook’s study of Buddhist *vipassana* meditation in the Wat Bonamron monastery in Thailand helps shed light on the phenomenon of meditation (2010). Cook’s examination of meditation reveals “meditation as a ‘technology of the self’, a practice through which people intend to effect a change upon themselves that is consonant with religious tenets. The practitioner wills, observes and experiences the changing nature of the mind and the body through a very conscious process of self-fashioning” (Cook 2010, 8). Cook argues that monastics reinterpret their subjective experiences in meditation so that they are consistent with religious principles, which, in her case, are the Buddhist tenets of *annica* (impermanence), *dukkha* (suffering) and *anattā* (non-self) (7-10). However, as recent studies on meditation demonstrate (Cook 2010, Jordt 2007, Jain 2010, Schedneck 2012), meditation is not only the domain of monastics. Through meditation camps, it is also accessible to lay people, both within the traditions and also to international participants. This increased participation of the laity, in Burma (Jordt 2007), Thailand (Cook 2010, Schedneck 2012) India, Europe and North America (Jain 2010) and in my own fieldwork amongst the Terāpanth in Rajasthan, can largely be attributed to increasing standards of literacy and a rising middle class.

Amongst the Terāpanth, practitioners of *prekṣā*, as I have suggested in the previous chapter, fashion themselves and their subjective experiences in meditation in a particularly Jaina way by taking temporary ordination (*upasampadā*) and vowing to follow the *aṇuvratas*, at least for the duration of the camp.
**Sāmāyika: A Ritual par Excellence**

The Terāpanth monastics, like all Jaina ascetics, have taken the five mahāvratas, which imbue their lives, at least in theory, with a sense of living in the world, while being absolutely detached from it. As the senior monk, Kishanmuni, explained, their whole life is sāmāyika. Sāmāyika is a highly regarded ritual in Jainism, which leads to the attainment of equanimity. The term establishes a link to the Jaina canon with reference to a restraint (saṃyama) Mahāvīra undertook when he renounced the world. There it “involved nothing less than the lifetime abandonment of all evil acts” (Jaini 1979:221). However, for ordinary laypeople it indicates a restraint for a short duration, usually forty-eight minutes, and functions as a meditation exercise. Even within the Terāpanth, where prekṣā is a meditation technique par excellence, sāmāyika is considered to be a superior practice. A brief anecdote serves to illustrate this point. Following the Rāja Saṅgha’s vihāra (the ascetics leave the place that they have been living for the duration of the rainy season and begin their peripatetic journey for the year) from Ladnun, I visited the monastics in the next town. After I paid my obeisance to Kishanmuni, the first question he asked me was if I was performing my sāmāyika regularly (at this point the muni had not seen me for about a month). When I responded that I practise prekṣā, which amounts to the same, he made a point of stressing that sāmāyika was superior. When I asked why, he explained that in sāmāyika I have resolved to renounce the world for forty-eight minutes, which is a binding commitment, whereas in prekṣā meditation I can end the meditation anytime to suit my schedule. This explains why amongst the older generation of the Terāpanth sāmāyika still remains the chosen method of meditation, whereas younger, more urban Terāpanthīs are more inclined to follow the practice of prekṣā. The
term *sāmāyika* has two meanings: ‘attaining equanimity’ and as ‘fusion with the true self’. According to Jaini, “both of these definitions render *sāmāyika* equivalent to the progressive detachment of one’s consciousness from all external objects” (Jaini 1979:221).

The Śvetāmbaras have preserved a ritual formula through which a layperson begins *sāmāyika* in the presence of an ascetic, generally in the evening, but in over fifty years of being a Jaina, I have also seen people perform *sāmāyika* on their own, both in the morning and evening. Devout Jainas may perform at least two *sāmāyikas* a day and end the day with a *pratikramaṇa* (a confessional ritual acknowledging all the sins one may have knowingly or unknowingly committed during the day). The performance of these rituals helps a layperson continually affirm her desire to be in the world, but detached from it. Often *sāmāyika* and *pratikramaṇa* are performed in a group in the presence of ascetics, especially, during the annual *paryūśana parva* at the end of which the *samvatsarī pratikramaṇa* is performed. A layperson begins her *sāmāyika* with obeisance to the guru followed by the following resolve (*sāmāyika*-sūtra):

> I undertake, venerable one, the *sāmāyika*, renouncing for as long as I worship the mendicants (that is, remain in your company) all harmful activities, both those which might be done by myself or which I might cause to be done by others. I will not engage in such activities with either mind, speech, or body, nor will I cause others to engage in them (in those ways). I confess, sir, all my blameworthy acts; I accept censure and truly repent for every one of them, and I cast aside my former self (which committed these deeds).95

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95 Padmanabh Jaini, 1979, 222. I have cited Jaini’s translation of the *sāmāyika*-sūtra as cited by R. Williams in *Jaina Yoga*, 1963, 132 from the Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi. Williams’s translation only slightly varies. Williams states that the above resolve is for ordinary laypeople and that the procedure for royalty and affluent people differ. Royalty will arrive with a full retinue of elephants, horses, chariots, foot soldiers and royal insignia. On the way to the sādhu or the temple, ordinary people will pay their obeisance to him as a ruler, but upon arriving in the presence of a sādhu or a temple he will remove his shoes and all royal insignia before he pays his obeisance. After the *sāmāyika* it would not behoove him to go back with the same pomp and ceremony so he would walk back on foot. Even royalty has to become detached from their worldly concerns for the duration of the *sāmāyika*. For a detailed discussion on the *sāmāyika* ritual see Williams, p. 131-39, and Jaini, p. 221-27.
As the above discussion elucidates, sāmāyika is a ritual *par excellence* for a Jaina layperson to attain equanimity even if it is for a short duration. For the duration of the sāmāyika she/he is a monastic detached from the world. Sāmāyika, in Holt’s definition, is clearly a *lokottara* activity. During my fieldwork I observed many Terāpanthīs performing sāmāyika, sitting in the front rows of the audience in the *paṅḍāla* during the Ācārya’s *pravacans* (sermons) in the mornings and evenings.

Like prekṣā meditation and sāmāyika, dāna, too, can be a *lokottara* activity of the highest spiritual benefit. Besides giving to ascetics (a ritual I discuss in chapter two), how do the Terāpanth perceive dāna to be *lokottara*? Connecting dāna to dhyāna, Muni Mahendra says:

> We have to first of all bring about change at a deeper level. That will give us the spiritual sense to practise ideals – what is ideal dāna, visarjana, renunciation, tyāga, pratyākhyaṇa (abstinence from evil acts) – we will know the deeper meaning of all these things and then we can become free from all the allurements of external attainments like fame, etc., for which we do dāna mainly.\(^96\)

*Prekṣādhyāna*, according to the Muni, helps us bring about such transformation. In this sense, for the Terāpanthīs, *lokottara dāna* or *visarjana* and *prekṣā* are at par in terms of salvation for a Jaina layperson. As I have already stated in chapter two, performing dāna for māna (self conceit or pride) is what the Terāpanthīs call *laukika dāna* and have distinguished it from *visarjana* or *lokottara dāna*. When I pressed Muni Mahendra as to how they encouraged what seemed to be a fairly wealthy lay community to give, he responded by saying that they encourage the laity to have self-restraint. How does this turn into giving? The Muni says:

> We inspire them [by inspire the Muni means that through their own example of tyāga or self-restraint they inspire the laity to follow in a moderate way to put

\(^96\)Field interview in Ladnun, Rajasthan, September 28, 2009.
limits on their consumption and give]. That is our job and when we inspire them then ultimately they will think of doing *visarjana*. For example, take Jain Vishva Bharati; this is a society, which we have not built. We have not even encouraged its building, but indirectly when we have asked people that something should be done for education, that we can tell them because education is a spiritual activity, giving knowledge, it is allowed in religion. It has to be done. It is not a worldly activity. When we say that then they will utilize their resources for this purpose and they will manage it. We can’t manage it. We can’t be a party to the management of these activities (ibid.).

In this way, the Terāpanth leadership encourages, in a not so subtle manner, its laity to give to the causes they champion, which happens in this case to be the gift of knowledge.

**Visarjana: Dāna as Lokkotara**

What does the concept of *visarjana* really mean and how have the Terāpanth adapted the term to specifically mean *lokottara dāna*? The term has several meanings such as: evacuating; abandoning, deserting, giving up; giving or bestowing. The Terāpanthīs have defined it as “giving with complete abandonment”, which combines the two meanings. It is through *visarjana* that the Terāpanth have turned what they consider *laukika giving* (social giving or charity) into *lokottara*, without violating Bhikṣu’s stance on *dāna*. I will discuss how their critics in the rest of the Jaina community respond to this relatively new doctrine (introduced by Ācārya Tulsī as part of his reforms) in the next section. Although the concept of *visarjana* is an ancient one, as I explain below, amongst the Terāpanth it seems to have been inspired by Christian and Islamic concepts of piety.

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97 Monier Williams Sankrit-English Dictionary (2008 revision) http://www.sanskrit-lexicon.uni-koeln.de/monier/
According to an internal document that came into my possession, the Terāpanth laud the Christian concept of *tithe* and the Islamic concept of *zakat*, while at the same time they denigrate the concept of *dāna*, particularly amongst the Hindus. It states:

In this world (*samsāra*) the Christian and Muslim religions (*dharma*) have been the prime religions. In them, the possession and ownership of wealth has been deliberately considered (*suvicārita*). It was made to be essential (*anivārya*) for each individual to contribute a portion of his/her wealth for the benefit of society. Neither the giver’s name appears anywhere [such as a donor plaque], nor does s/he have any rights on the possession (*sampatti*). It is for this reason that a tradition was established in which possession of wealth did not create a sense of conceit (*ahaṃkāra*) [in the individual]. There was a sense of community. In the same manner, it is said in the ‘Hindu’ tradition, the country’s largest tradition that the one hand should not know about the other’s giving. However, in reality, even the donation of a single fan seems to have the donor’s family name inscribed on it. Moreover, due to the lack of a central and unitary power, each temple and monastery became small units that have always fought amongst each other. In the present, though endowed with power (*śakti sampanna*), even the Śankarācārya remains an ordinary man with no community established. On the other hand, due to their strong community bond (*saṃghatā*), no government has had the power to arrest a Muslim leader even when they commit a crime in broad daylight (*khuleāma*) (ibid.).

Several things are going on in this passage. First, there seems to be great admiration not only for Christian and Muslim practices of giving, but also for the solidarity within these communities. The ‘Hindu’ community is portrayed as one full of strife in which giving is more about individual conceit rather than the spirit of charity. Moreover, there seems to be a thinly veiled charge against the Muslims for getting away with murder. Here, we get a sense that the Terāpanth is aligning itself with the prevailing and dominant sentiment amongst the Hindu majority in India and against the Muslim minority and its acts of violence in the recent past.

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98 Kanhaiyālā Paṭāvari. “*Visarjana ki avadhāraṇā ke bindu.*” (*Some Points on the Conception of Visarjana*) Dated Feb. 13, 2004. (Document I received from Muni Mahendrakumar on the subject of *Visarjana* on November 16, 2009). All translations of this document from the Hindi to English are mine.
Given the above admiration for social giving and Bhikṣu’s strict doctrine against social giving (*laukika dāna*), Tulsī, ‘the reformer’, had to conjure up an innovative way, in which social giving had to be made not only merit producing, but also appear to live up to supporting contemporary social norms of community welfare. According to Peter Flügel, Tulsī’s introduction of the doctrine of *visarjana* “asks the laity to practice acquisition together with renunciation (*visarjana*) of ownership” (1996:128).99 One way that the Terāpanth have institutionalized *visarjana* is through the installation of *visarjana petīs* (boxes) at various locations of import to the Terāpanth. I am not sure how many of these boxes exist, but I can cite at least one case in point. I witnessed one such box at the Tulsī Shaktipeetha shrine in Gaṅgashahar, Bikaner, also known as ‘the memorial of morality’. The proceeds of these donation boxes are divided between local Terāpanth charities and the national Terāpanth foundation.100 However, according to the *visarjana* doctrine cited above, it is clear that as of the year 2003, the *visarjana* campaign was not garnering as many donations as the Terāpanth leadership had hoped for, and so there was a plan developed in the hopes of making it more successful. Two points are worth mentioning from this plan. According to the plan, local authorities were paid commissions for collections and the plan suggests that there should be no longer any sharing of commissions with local authorities. Secondly, the plan suggests actively persuading the laity to donate one rupee per family member, with an average of four rupees donated per family per day for 365 days, which would be instituted through the help of the Terāpanth Mahilā Maṇḍal (Paṭāvari 2004). While donation boxes are common

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99 In July 2008, on a preliminary field trip in Jaipur, I asked one of the Samaṇis to explain the Terāpanthī stance on *dāna* and she explained it in similar terms, saying that the Terāpanthīs are not stopping people from giving as social work, but people should not expect any merit in return. If *dāna* is done with *visarjana* and from genuine compassion then that is *lokkottara* or true *dāna*.

100 Field interview with Samaṇī Mallipragyaji in Ladnun, on November 25, 2009.
in Jaina temples, such a concerted effort of a “suggested” donation scheme is not a common phenomenon amongst other Jainas.

Moreover, the document specifies where the money will be channeled and for what purpose will it be utilized. It outlines six points:

- While it is absolutely necessary for people to be able to trust, to see transparency, and be able to critique the Foundation, it is also critical to not unnecessarily admonish the Foundation. People should have respect for it.
- Because the organization, where the money is being funneled, ‘The Jai Tulsī Foundation’, belongs to a few trustees, it cannot become a popular choice. It can be used in the beginning, but ultimately only the Terāpanth Mahāsabhā (general assembly), the organization controlled by the Terāpanth layman, can be the controlling body. The Mahāsabhā has become quite a respected body. Thus it will have to be nominated as the popularly chosen regulatory body.
- If the Mahāsabhā becomes the regulatory body, then it will be possible to support all other organizations [within the Terāpanth].
- 60-70 percent of the visarjana funds should be used for the local organizations’ daily requirements, as well as for special projects, and 30-40 percent of the funds should go to the central coffers and become a support for the needs of all centres.
- Visarjana should become the support for all the material needs of the central and local organizations. The sooner donations can be collected, the more successful the visarjana plan will be.
- While it is absolutely necessary for people to be able to trust, to see transparency, and be able to critique the Foundation, it is also critical to not unnecessarily admonish the Foundation. People should have respect for it (Paṭāvari 2004).

Point six is a reiteration of the first point, which one could say is a misprint, but I do not believe it to be a misprint as the Terāpanth, in my experience, rarely make such mistakes. In my opinion, it underscores the Mahāsabhā’s need for approval, trust and respect from the rest of the community. The unpopularity of the ‘Jai Tulsī Foundation’ has a contentious history, which I will come back to. Although there is a desire for transparency the parent body is not open to “unnecessary criticism”. It is not quite clear how much of the funds raised go towards administration of the local and central body, and how much of it goes to social projects. Nevertheless, “there is a strong desire to have
the visarjana project succeed and whose success depends on the blessing of the
Gurudeva, and a lay leader who is highly motivated, with strong convictions who, with
the help of the central body and a strong team, will take responsibility” (ibid.).

The boundaries between the laukika and lokottara blur in the real-life application
of visarjana. The Terāpanthīs consider laukika giving to be non-merit producing, so if it
is non-merit producing (not punya) then one could logically assume it is the opposite of
that or pāpa. When I ask Muni Mahendra if feeding the poor is considered sin (pāpa), he
avers that sin is a relative term and proceeds to elaborate with an example. If a person
steals $10,000 and donates a $1000 is it dāna? I would think this is stealing, but in the
Muni’s version of the story it is about giving back to society even though the amount
returned is far less than the original theft. In a rather lengthy interview the Muni tries to
explain to me the difference between visarjana and social giving. In the above example,
stealing money has already accrued bad karma for the thief, but if he donates even a
partial amount without any care as to where it is going then he has created good karma in
the present. The Muni states:

All social activity is karma binding. That is why spiritual activity or sādhanā is
keeping you free from worldly activity. […] Even when I say visarjana, any
wealth that I may have earned through illegal means from the social standpoint, is
also illegal from the spiritual standpoint, because it is bound to have caused harm
to some living being even if it is legal socially. So you can’t earn money without
incurring some sin, but if I give up the possession, it is called visarjana (field

Thus, regardless of what means by which I have earned the money, if I do visarjana then
I will earn punya. The Muni elucidates further:

Yes, by visarjana it may not compensate. It is not that it will wash my sins off,
but whatever I have accrued in sins will remain in the past. But in the present the
good thing, at least, is that I am renouncing. So now if I make some systematic
utilization – I could throw it in the jungle and have nothing to do with it – but I
owe something to society, so I should give it back to society, but without any ownership. If again I have given my name or [I am to be] be honoured as a donor, then it means that I have not given it up (ibid.).

It is clear from the above discussion that, while earning through right means is important, the means of earning seems to be less important so long as one is prepared to “throw it into the jungle” so to speak. In a country like India, where many business people evade taxes or earn money in the black market, a point I raise with the ascetics and the laypeople, the issue seems less important so long as one is willing to donate it. I will take up this issue in more depth in chapter five when I examine the applied ethics of dāna.

The Terāpanth and Their Critics

The Terāpanth’s separation of the laukika and lokottara elicit responses from two camps – one from the splinter group from within the Terāpanth that did not like Tulsī’s reform, which, they thought, blurred the lines between laukika and lokottara, and the other from those outside the Terāpanth, but within the Jaina community, that think the boundaries are artificially created. Critics from within the Terāpanth say that visarjana, or giving for the purity of one’s soul, was invented by Tulsī to fund his many construction projects, and that by turning laukika giving into merit-producing, he gave opportunities for the wealthy to turn their money into meritproducing gifts to the Terāpanth trusts (Flügel, 1995-96:128-29). The ideological separation of laukika and lokottara, instead of separating the world-renouncing ascetics from the laypeople, has paradoxically not only led to an even greater interdependence between the two communities, but also has prompted a schism within the ranks. As I have already

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101 In this section, unless otherwise stated, I draw on Flügel’s and Vallely’s research on the schism. By the time I was doing my fieldwork, the schism was old news and no one was really talking about it, and when I
stated, Tulsi’s reforms included the Āṇuvrata movement, prekṣādhyāna, and jīvan vijñāna along with a new language for giving – visarjana. These were not well received either by many amongst the Terāpanthī lay community nor among some ascetics. Satish Kumar, a disrobed Terāpanth ascetic, writes in an autobiographical account of his life:

During the eight years I had been a monk I was always with my guru (Tulasi). He treated me as his son and I treated him as my father. People thought that I was being groomed as his successor. But I was beginning to feel overpowered by him. His answers no longer satisfied me. Ever since his decision to modernize the order, I felt he was travelling in two boats at the same time – denouncing the world and also seeking its recognition.102

Such dissent within the community eventually led to the most recent schism within the Jaina community stemming from the Terāpanth to the ‘Nav Terāpanth’ (New Terāpanth).

The splinter group, Nav Terāpanth, founded in 1981 by Muni Candanmal shortly after Tulsi’s formation of the saman/samanī order, accused Tulsi of getting too involved in secular matters and in the administration of charitable trusts. In publications with provocative titles like Ācārya Śri Tulsi kā bhejā gayā Muni Śri Candanmalji kā mukti patra (Ācārya Śri Tulsi Has Lost His Mind Muni Śri Candanmalji’s resignation letter) and Kyā āp jānanā cahenge? (Would You Like to Know?), the “renegade” munis charged Tulsi with conduct not becoming for an Ācārya, and resigned the order to form a new order, whereas others like Satish Kumar, above, left monkhood altogether (cited in did try to raise the subject with the ascetics, I generally felt that they did not want me to dredge up the past. I felt that I would have had more doors closed then opened, and it was not wise for me to pursue the matter. 102 Satish Kumar. Path without Destination: An Autobiography. New York: Eagle Brook, 1999, 25 (first published in Great Britain in 1992 by Green Books as No Destination). Kumar took initiation in the Terāpanth Order at the tender age of 9 and disrobed at the age of 18. His autobiography, although characterized by personal biases, nevertheless sheds some light on the ascetic life within the order, an otherwise inaccessible area for lay people. For instance, in his struggle (along with two other monks who disrobed with him) to leave the ascetic order he tells the story of the ordeal (p. 27-39). They become social outcasts within the lay community (even dead to their own family having brought shame and disgrace to them). Kumar calls his disrobing “an escape from monkhood” (114). Child ordination is not a subject I want to take up here, but it is a controversial practice that still continues within the Jaina community. There were at least five young munis (under 12) within the Terāpanth order when I was doing my fieldwork.
Flügel, 1995-96:129 n. 25). The controversy was not only followed by the Terāpanthī community and the local Rajasthani Press, but also had a wider implication for the Jaina community and was covered by at least one important national newsmagazine – India Today. In an interview with the magazine, Muni Candanmal, speaking on behalf of the Nav Terāpanth, states: “We have resolved not to let politics and business enter our precincts. We don’t want a dictator around us so we have decided not to have an acharya-for-life.”103 The dispute within the community seems to have stemmed from Tulsī’s founding of the Anuvrata movement and his fund raising efforts. Charges were made against Tulsī of getting his hands dirty by embroiling himself in the politics of the ‘trust funds’ and favouring business people who supported his many projects. Kenneth Oldfield, who was conducting fieldwork in Rajasthan in 1982 and followed the dispute closely, substantiates press reports. I quote Oldfield at length in order to elucidate the larger problem within the Terāpanth with regards to Tulsī’s changes:

According to press reports, the schism had been simmering for about five years, but only became public knowledge in October 1981 when a number of monks and nuns submitted their ‘muh-patras’ (letter of resignation). Matters reached a head when Tulasi nominated his ‘yubacharya’ (his successor) at a public function in 1977. Apparently in 1972 Tulasi had agreed that he would nominate Muni Rupchand as his yubacharya but at a public function for the formal naming in 1977 Tulasi nominated Muni Nathmal, a monk closely involved in Anuvrata and a biographer of Acharya Bhiksu. Muni Rupchand and his supporters have complained of favouritism and claim that the reason for the sudden switch rests in Rupchand’s refusal to pay court to a rich business friend of Tulasi in Calcutta. A supporter of the ‘Nav’ Terapanth (New Terapanth – the name given to the breakaway group) claims that ‘The rich sravakas (laymen) have a stake in getting a pliable yubacharya because he can ensure influential contracts for them’ …

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103 http://www.philtar.ac.uk/encyclopedia/jainism/nav.html July 17, 2012. http://www.herenow4u.net/index.php?id=80196 Sumit Mitra. “Jainism: Division in the Ranks” in India Today, 15 January 1982. I was unable to secure the full article from any archival source, but the article has been cited in the Here Now 4U website and by Kenneth Oldfield in his M.A. thesis. I discuss this website and its function as a repository of all things Jain in detail in chapter five.
In his letter of resignation, Rupchand’s co-leader in the breakaway group, Muni Chandmal, wrote, ‘My soul does not any longer endorse the utterance of such benedictions to you every morning as “My Lord you are the essence of the organization. I have the highest respect for you.” My heart trembles to utter such non-truths (cited in Vallely, 2002:150).’

Tulsī refused to respond to his critics, but according to Oldfield, in a signed statement published by a Jaipur newspaper, Tulsī suggests that they need to “move with the times” (ibid.). I believe Tulsī may have meant to be more relevant to contemporary notions of philanthropy, but one cannot be sure. One could dismiss the dispute as a representation of a “clash of personalities” as did Oldfield’s informants within the lay community, impatient with the whole affair. However, this would be a very facile understanding of the matter.

A more plausible explanation may lie in the way the opposing sides came to view the laukika and lokottara, which shows a deeper fissure within the ascetic community, a segment of which wants to adhere to the founding doctrines of Bhikṣu. In a way, this split within the Terāpanth ascetic community not only mirrors the founding of the Terāpanth, but also reflects other sectarian splits within the Jaina community over the last thousand years. As Dundas has pointed out, and as I have already elucidated in chapter three,

The word ‘reform’, with its connotation of refashioning an existing structure, is scarcely adequate to convey the radical nature of what the monks and laymen … were doing, namely cutting away the accretions of sectarianism and false practice to lay bare in its stark and simple grandeur a ‘true’ Jainism situated outside the exigencies of historical time and social circumstance (Dundas 2002:245).

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104 Kenneth Oldfield’s M.A. thesis Jainism Today: A Study of the Jain Community in a Rajasthani Village in 1982 is not catalogued in the University of Lancaster’s library nor could it be located anywhere else in the world catalogue. Librarians at the Robarts Library (University of Toronto), at the Hayden Library (Arizona State University) and at the University of Lancaster were unsuccessful in locating it for me and hence I have had to rely on Anne Vallely’s work for this valuable resource. Both Oldfield’s and Vallely’s works are important studies of the Terāpanth order. Vallely conducted her fieldwork in Ladhun in 1996.
Bhikṣu, the founder of the Terāpanth, accused the Sthānakvāsi monks of his time of laxity in conduct. His demarcation of the boundaries between laukika and lokottara becomes problematic, in some ways, for Tulsī who wants to “move with the times”. Tulsī wants to situate the Terāpanth within the contemporary social milieu, in which a rigid demarcation is not tenable because it singles out the Terāpanth community as being uncompassionate. In the Sinhalese Buddhist context, Holt rejects the locative (this worldly vs. other worldly), contrastive, dualistic interpretations of the terms laukika and lokottara put forward by Michael Ames (1964:21-52) following Durkheim’s understanding of “profane” and “sacred”. Rather, he suggests, “it seems to make more sense to understand them within the same bounds of reference, within one system of cosmology; nor do they need to be treated only as bipolar principles acting always in opposition to one another dynamically or dialectically” (1991:23). Furthermore, Holt suggests “that we view these two crucial terms as representing two overlapping orientations of a single dynamic whole: the laukika side representing the conditioned, temporal, and antecedent orientation and the lokottara representing the unconditioned, eternal, consummate orientation” (24). Although Holt states that one should not see these terms dialectically opposing each other, nevertheless he seems to be defining two orientations that do not overlap. In the Jaina context, orientation for both the laity and the monastics could be seen as moving towards a continuum of lokottara. Although monastics, upon ordination, are conditioned to a lokottara orientation, still they are living in a temporal world in which they are only striving towards liberation. They are susceptible to the same temptations and struggles as one who is not ordained. How they discipline themselves to overcome such struggles varies only by degrees. Similarly, even
though lay people are oriented to live in a conditioned, temporal world, devout Jaina lay people strive toward a life that brings them closer to liberation. The telos for all Jainas is to escape the cycle of transmigration.

It is precisely this point that the Terāpanth’s challengers in the rest of the Jaina community are arguing. They laud the Terāpanth’s efforts to bring meditation to a larger audience and Tulsī’s move towards a more liberal Terāpanth. In this they have no bone of contention. However, they object to the delineation of laukika and lokottara dāna. For them visarjana is an artificially created construct that confounds the meaning of dāna within Jainism. Over several hours of interviews Punḍit Pagāria, the Sthānakvāsi scholar from the L.D. Indology Institute, elucidates the Jaina community’s opposition to the use of the paribhāṣā of visarjana. He states:

Their [Terāpanth] discourse on visarjana is the biggest heresy or hypocrisy (pākhanda). [At this point there is a twinkle in the punḍit’s eye. He is clearly excited about this]. In our scriptures there is a word “osire osire” meaning visarjana. When a sādhu throws the urine or excretion out or if there is left over food thrown out, he says “osire osire” meaning he has done visarjana and he won’t accrue pāpa from the lives created from this material. This is a way for every Jaina sādhu to save him from accruing pāpa. This type of utsarga (abandoning) is a discourse meant for the sādhus. It is not for the householder. The samyamī who has sacrificed everything is just ensuring that no extraneous pāpa accrues to him. So he also does visarjana of his body so that on his death if there are any microbial beings on his body, the killing of those beings doesn’t accrue to him. This also applies to their meals. So how can we mix up the path for an ascetic with the path for a householder? A householder doesn’t do complete visarjana. Bhagavāna has laid out two paths (dharma) – one for the ascetic and one for the householder (aṅgāra and anaṅgāra). The sādhus have mahāvrata and the laypeople have anuvrata. Anuvrata is not the path of visarjana (field interview, Jan. 11, 2010).

The above discussion clearly elucidates that the terms visarjana and utsarga have a very specific connotation within Jainism. The Terāpanth’s adoption of the term to redefine dāna is what is objectionable, not the actual process of giving. Moreover, there is a
distinction made between the *dharma* for the ascetic and the *dharma* for the laity. According to the punḍit, monastic life is oriented to the *lokottara*, at least outwardly.

Besides *visarjana*, the *paribhāśā* of *sāmyamī* and *asāmyamī* is equally controversial. When it comes to the protection of lives, according to the punḍit, there is no distinction between *sāmyamī* and *asāmyamī*. If protecting a defenseless *sādhvī* from thieves who are chasing her is commendable, according to the Terāpanth, then it is likewise commendable to protect an ordinary woman in similar circumstances, according to the Jaina *Siddhānta* (doctrine), avers the punḍit. For him there is no distinction between the two women. He argues that Jainas would not go through the extreme lengths of saving ants and insects if there were any validity in a distinction between *sāmyamī* and *asāmyamī*. Nowhere in the scriptures has Mahāvīra singled out the protection of *sāmyamīs*. When it comes to *jīva dayā* (compassion for all beings), the *Pratikramaṇa* *Sūtra* states: “*Mithi me sava bhuye su*” (I ask the forgiveness from all beings; I forgive all beings and hope that all beings forgive me because I desire friendship with all beings).

There is no distinction made between *sāmyamī* and *asāmyamī* (ibid.). There is no doubt that *dāna* to a *sāmyamī*, as I have outlined in chapter two, is a superior quality of giving according to the medieval *Śrāvakācāras*; nevertheless there is also a rich tradition of giving to the needy as established by the Tīrthaṇkaras. The tradition of *varṣidāna*, established historically by Mahāvīra, continues to thrive even today amongst the Śvetāmbaras, for whom the monastic initiation ritual involves a huge ceremonial procession during which the soon-to-be ordained layperson donates his/her wealth to the poor. However, amongst the Terāpanth the *varṣidāna* ritual is limited to giving to the ascetics. During my time in Ladnun, Rajasthan, I observed the ordination of ten initiates
and the only giving that occurred was when baskets of robes and bowls were brought on the dais from the novices to the senior ascetics. There was no giving of wealth to the poor on the streets of Ladnun or the initiates’ hometowns.

For Pundit Pagaria the issue of \textit{varśidāna} is one about faith in the Jaina canon. When apprised of the Terāpanth practice of \textit{varśidāna}, he questions whether the Terāpanth believe that Mahāvīra gave \textit{varśidāna} or not. He responds with an emphatic – “they [Terāpanth] have to believe in it. It is a matter of the canon – faith in the canon. For example, in the \textit{Jñātādhammakathāṅga Sūtra} and the \textit{Samavāyaṅga Sūtra} there are detailed descriptions of \textit{varśidāna} and even they recognize these particular \textit{āgamas} as Muni Nathmal (Ācārya Mahāprajña) has translated them” (ibid.).\footnote{For a detailed discussion on the Jaina ‘canon’ formation by early Orientalist scholars like Max Müller see Kendall W. Folkert’s chapter five “The ‘Canons’ of ‘Scripture’: Text, Ritual, and Symbol” in \textit{Scripture and Community: Collected Essays on the Jains.} Ed. John E. Cort. Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1993, p. 53-84.} The pundit argues that \textit{dāna} is \textit{dāna} regardless of whom it is given to – \textit{saṃyamī} or \textit{asaṃyamī}. To prohibit giving to \textit{asaṃyamīs} by saying such giving is \textit{pāpa} does not sit well with him. He avers: “When Mahāvīra took \textit{dīkṣā} he already had three types of \textit{jñāna} (knowledge) – \textit{matijñāna} (mind-based knowledge), \textit{śrutajñāna} (knowledge derived from instruction and reasoning) and \textit{avadhijñāna} (supermundane knowledge such as clairvoyance). […] Who amongst the Terāpanth has these three types of knowledge” (ibid.)? Here the pundit is clearly saying that Mahāvīra’s knowledge trumps that of the Terāpanthīs’ knowledge and he grounds it in the canon. Mahāvīra gave indiscriminately to \textit{brāhmins, śūdras}, the poor, and the needy all day, every day for a whole year prior to his ordination. Tulsī’s reforms have changed the Terāpanth’s position on giving to society, but they have done so by changing the language used for giving. Instead of labeling such giving as \textit{dāna}, they have
redefined it as *visarjana*. Classifying such giving as *dāna* would have created uproar in the community because it would have meant veering from the founding principles of Bhikṣu, which would have negated his core doctrines, an option Tulsī did not take. As we have seen above, he already had enough opposition within his ranks, and by all counts, Tulsī was a pragmatic man. According to Punḍit Pagāria, who does not mince words, the whole ideal of *visarjana* has come due to an opposition from their society because “if they had broadcasted the main teachings of Ācārya Bhikanji on this subject, they would have had a severe beating. There is no place in society for those teachings … so we have made it more palatable. After all what is *dāna*? It is *visarjana* so why do they need a new term to define *dāna*” (ibid.). Still, whether the terminology is *dāna* or *visarjana*, both the Terāpanth and their opponents agree on one thing – there is no place for giving for self-aggrandizement. Yet, whatever form giving takes, it generates economic activity.

**The Economics of Dāna and Dhyāna**

In order to explicate how *dāna* and *dhyāna* contribute to economic growth, specifically in India, in this section I utilize Ritu Birla’s ground-breaking work, *Stages of Capital* (2009), to show how colonial laws governing the public and private circulation of capital impact giving practices within the Terāpanth. Birla’s work is a narrative of “market governance brought into focus through the lens of a significant and signifying group within vernacular capitalism, the Marwārīs” (2009:9), a group targeted by colonial policy makers as “native commerce” (9). The Indian economic man, caricatured as garbed in “ragged dress,” was perceived, both by colonial administrators and nationalist reformists, in need of a radical makeover, for he was depicted as someone who had “no economic ambition, only longing for nirvana” (2). I am particularly interested in legal
measures introduced to govern charitable giving that saw the market as a “public venture” because it spurred new modes of philanthropy. Colonial policy makers distinguished charitable giving as that which benefitted the “public”, from private gifting for religious purposes by the vernacular man. Charitable giving was enforced through the legal mechanism of “the trust contract” (28). Birla argues that the vernacular subject governed by these new legal measures is a colonial subject who is “an actor produced by and participating in hegemonic discourses … an economic actor subject to new market disciplines … the subject of authority and with will and agency” (6). As Birla shows, debates on what constituted charity in legal parlance and what was private gifting continued all through the period between 1870 and 1880 (79). Did temple endowment and other dharmic giving, that were considered public giving still count as philanthropy in the Western sense and hence exempt from taxation? This would be a crucial question for understanding the ‘politics of gift giving’ amongst Indian businessmen. The Indian Income Tax Act of 1880 exempted from taxation religious giving that exclusively benefitted the public, but religious giving to “deities that operated simultaneously as social gifts and commercial investments” were not qualified for exemption (79).

Owing to the changes in legislations the Terāpanth, a Mārwārī Jain community, like other Jain and Hindu merchant communities, had to shift their values of giving, which for the Terāpanth posed particular challenges given Bhikṣu’s position on dāna. According to Haynes, wealthy Hindu and Jain merchants in the Western Indian city of Surat, anxious about the maintenance and improvement of their reputation (ābru), shifted

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106 The “vernacular man” is a local non-Anglicized Indian as caricatured above who donates to temples and other religious institutions for “merit.”

their giving practices from tribute to philanthropy (1987:41-42). Gifts, whether to local temples, as a tribute to rulers, or contribution to educational institutions and hospitals, were not only a means to gain social capital amongst the community, but were also a way to participate in sovereignty and have autonomy from sovereignty in pre-colonial India (Haynes 1987:40-41, Birla 2009:77). This had to be reconstituted in the colonial and post-colonial period. Traditionally merchants, as members of a mahājan (literally means ‘a great person’, but here refers to the merchant guild) invested in social giving that benefitted their community and in turn such giving helped establish one’s identity as a reputable and trustworthy businessman. Merchants continued such practices as they immigrated to major cities in India in search of new opportunities or for mercantile expansion.

The Terāpanth Lay Organizations: Political and Economic Impact

In what follows, I will demonstrate the political and economic importance of Terāpanth lay-organizations and how these are tied to the community. Although Timberg has argued that Mārwārī commercial expansion “had little to do with the community per se” (1978:82), I would disagree with Flügel’s analysis of Timberg’s work. According to Flügel, Timberg “denies the importance of cultural factors for economic development per se” (1995-96:146 citing Timberg1978:3-6). In fact, Timberg, looking at the role of small family firms in the rapid industrialization of India, tries to “establish the reasons for the disproportionate success of those from commercial communities, and what their community structure had to do with their success” (3-5). Timberg’s comment about Mārwārī commercial expansion having “little to do with community” should be put into the context of the post World War II period in the waning days of the colonial era in
India. Timberg shows that during this period (1945-1951) the Mārwārī family firms started to buy up British firms whose owners, aware of Britain’s imminent departure and jittery about Indian nationalism, were leaving India. Most of these Mārwārī firms relied on internal financing, but the success of rapid expansion has to be attributed not only to community, but more so to the type of business ventures they were involved in, and also to a new generation of businessmen willing to exploit the opportunities provided (79-82).

In particular, Timberg’s data on the early migration (1860) of the Mārwārī Oswal Jains from Bikaner State and the Shekhavati region is important for our understanding of the economic activities of the Terāpanth community in Calcutta. Most of the merchants in the banking, jewellery, and jute businesses migrated from the eastern half of Bikaner State, from places such as Sardārsahar, Churu, and from places on the border of Bikaner and Jodhpur states, four towns in particular - Ladnun, Sujaṅgarh, Bidasar and Chapra - all Terāpanth strongholds (192-194). Timberg mentions prominent families such as the Kothari clan from Bikaner, and other families such as the Baiṅgāṇis and Boids from Ladnun, and the Dugars, Rāmpuriās, Nahaṭās and Gadhaiyās from Sardārsahar and Rataṅgarh in Churu district, and one might add the Coraṅiyās, Dāgās, Seṭhiyās, and Surāṅās (193-195). These families are some of the most prominent members of the Terāpanth community and many are office holders of the Terāpanthī Mahāśabhā in Calcutta (Flügel 1995-96:147). Many of these families, who live in the large cities, maintain huge homes in their hometowns in Rajasthan – some have built large mansions, while others have renovated their ancestral havelis with modern conveniences. I visited many such homes in Ladnun during my fieldwork in 2009 – 2010. These homes are occupied for short periods in the rainy season, particularly if the Terāpanth rāja saṅgha is
in town. I will come back to this point in discussing the impact of the *vihār* (the term means ‘temple’ or ‘monastery,’ but here it means the movement of the ascetics from one community to another during the rainy season). These residences fuel the local economy not only during the family’s visits, but also throughout the year as many maintain some staff to manage the properties and act as security from vandalism.

Religion and community had a significant political and economic impact, particularly within the Terāpanth. Although Weber (1963,1991) ascribes the strict asceticism of the Jains to the lack of success in industry, this does not seem to be the case with the Rajasthani Oswals. Timberg attributes religion as having only an indirect effect, particularly in the case of the Terāpanth, because their “spiritual guides … discouraged them from bringing their families with them to their places of business in East India” (195). While this may have been true in the early migration of the Terāpanth, the situation started to change, in particular after the establishment of lay organizations in Calcutta in 1913. On the other hand, Bayly shows us a stronger connection between religion and economics. He elucidates:

> how economic organization was inseparable from the family firm’s identity as a body of pious and credit-worthy Hindus [or Jains]. Thus the corporate identities of the later commercial middle classes were, at base, formed around conceptions of religion and credit (1983:8).

Moreover, Bayly sees a direct correlation between mercantile credit and sectarian religious identity (1983:389) and sees the Jain merchants, at least outwardly, showing “reverence for religious values. Moral peril and economic unreliability were seen to be

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108 Timberg (195) cites the Rāmpuriās of Calcutta and the Bhandaris of Indore both textile millowners, who do not seem to be ostracized by the community. Rodney W. Jones in *Urban Politics in India: Area, Power, and Policy in a Penetrated System*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1974, p. 268-272, also discusses the role played by Jain textile mill owners in Indore and Ahmedabad playing an active role in the formation of labour unions championed by Mahatma Gandhi.
closely connected” (385). In the case of the Terāpanth, Flügel shows the socio-economic implications of the vihār. It is true that the Terāpanth community’s visibility as a socio-economic resource network is less visible than other communities, but it is because ideologically there is a clear separation of religion from the world of property, i.e., the laukika and the lokottara are two distinct categories. Yet, the Terāpanth community acts as a political ‘pressure group’ (Flügel 1995-96:146-47).

Businessmen, to promote the interests of the local Terāpanth community, formed the Terāpanth Mahāsabhā (great assembly), the first lay organization, in 1913 in Calcutta. It was only after Indian independence that other community organizations were founded both locally and nationally to fund Ācārya Tulsī’s educational programmes namely the Anuvrata movement in 1949, the Parmārthik Śikṣā Sansthā (PSS), a religious school for young female novices (upāsikās) in Ladnun in 1949, and the Jain Vishva Bhārati (JVB) in Ladnun in 1970. These organizations function independently and are funded by the Anuvrat Trust (1949) and the Tulsī Foundation (1980). As I have outlined above, these charitable trusts and foundations were subjects of controversy within the Terāpanth. Nevertheless, it is important to note that as charitable trust laws changed, the Terāpanth moved to take advantage of such laws to establish their own philanthropic organizations primarily in the field of education. The founding of the JVB, the parent organization, has allowed the Terāpanth to funnel funds in a variety of ways.

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109 Flügel (148-49) argues that the founding of the Terāpanth Mahāsabhā was primarily in response to the Navalik Cela Registration Bill of 15.9.1913, which threatened to classify young Jain mendicants as ‘professional beggars’ and promised to throw them in prison if caught ‘begging’. The Jains, alarmed by this threat to the itinerant life of Jain mendicants, joined forces but soon there were differences among the Terāpanth and the other Śvetāmbar Jain communities and hence the Terāpanth founded their own organization not only to protest the legislation, but also to protect their property rights within the Jain community.

110 Most of this information is well known about the Terāpanth. For a more detailed discussion of this see Mahārajāja. Ācārya Tulsī: A Peacemaker Par Excellence, Rajsamaṇḍ: Anuvrat Vishva Bharati, 1987, 11-12, 43-44. Also see Flügel 1995-96:146-47.
In 1991 they established the first ‘Jain University’ in Ladnun on the grounds of JVB, the Jain Vishva Bharati University (JVB). Moreover, JVB funds meditation camps and other religious activities both in India and abroad.\textsuperscript{111} The Mahāsabhā, today known as the ‘Jain Swetamber Terāpanthī Mahāsabhā’ (JSTM), not only is the umbrella lay organization, but also supports the 450 local sabhās all over India. It ensures uniformity in implementation of all programmes across the board by providing some standard guidelines within which to operate. As I have stated in the introductory chapter, it also provides all resources for jñānasālās, operated by local sabhās training the teachers who teach in these religious schools for children. Furthermore, it trains upāsaks (these are laymen who are rigourously trained in the Terāpanth doctrine) who take the place of the ascetics in local communities where there are no visiting ascetics, especially during the paryuṣana festival. The JSTM also publishes a monthly magazine Jain Bharati, and other publications at the behest of the Ācārya, and maintains the Bhikṣu Granthāgar (a library with a collection of over 10,000 books) and other such religious activities to promote the primary goals of the Terāpanth.\textsuperscript{112}

The doctrine of visarjana has not only changed the practice of giving, but has had a significant economic impact on the charitable institutions of the Terāpanth. Flügel argues that it is important to distinguish between the charitable institutions and the trusts and properties owned by them and their members. Whether a fund is considered ‘secular’ or ‘socio-religious’ depends on the context. The JSTM’s statute that makes any concern

\textsuperscript{111} Although camp participants pay a fee to attend, all financial matters are funneled through the parent organization, which oversees all such activities through various committees. Field interview with Surendra K Choraria, President, JVB (elected volunteer position), February 18, 2011.

\textsuperscript{112} Jain Swetamber Terāpanthī Mahāsabhā (JSTM) http://www.herenow4u.net/index.php?id=66510 accessed on September 27, 2012.
owned by a member of the JSTM also a member of the organization facilitates the
temporary transfer of any property as a charitable institution.\textsuperscript{113} Often within the Jain
communities these funds become available as communal mercantile credit and function
as a major economic source.\textsuperscript{114} The substantial assets of the JSTM offer two kinds of
opportunities for its members. First, it gives status and power to those members who hold
the prestigious positions of board members, in particular the positions of treasurer,
general secretary, and chief trustee. Conversely board members are elected to these
prestigious positions because they are already community stalwarts who exercise
considerable socio-economic capital. During the two-year term, these board members
contribute significantly to the coffers of the JSTM, in some cases paying for most of the
operating expenditures (Flügel1995-96:154). None of this would be possible without the
recent doctrine of visarjana. As I already have argued, social giving has been devalued in
the Terāpanth following Bhikṣu’s strict position on what constitutes dāna. Nevertheless,
Tulsī’s shift in how giving is viewed today amongst the Terāpanth (see above) has given
businessmen the opportunity to generously contribute to the charitable institutions,
thereby gaining not only religious merit, but also social status. Even though the donations
are supposed to be anonymous, donors are well known because they are very visible in
the community.\textsuperscript{115}

\textsuperscript{114} Birla 2009 has argued this point with regards to both Hindu and Jain Mahājans. See also Flügel 1995-96:153, and Banks 1992:6.
\textsuperscript{115} During my fieldwork in 2009-10, I got to know what community members carried the most weight just from the respect they garnered from not only the laity, but also from the ascetics. Many were visible because they had easy access to the Terāpanth leadership. Others were visible not only because of their physical presence, but also because of their material presence. For instance, the president of JVB, Surendra Choraria, always had a car at the disposal of the ascetic community on the campus of JVB in Ladnun, even though, he lived in Calcutta. The car was used for many purposes from transporting Samaṇīs to villages
Where do the funds donated to the charitable trusts get diverted? In keeping with the charitable trust laws outlined earlier, the funds from the Terāpanth charitable trusts are spent on projects of public benefit, but remain aligned with the Terāpanth telos of education. However, education is not the only expenditure. Birth places and cremation places (samādhi sthal) of former ācāryas, in particular those of Bhikṣu, Tulsī, and Mahāprajñā, the founder, the ninth, and tenth preceptors respectively, are popular places for construction projects such as dharmśālās (rest houses), smāraks (memorials), and schools (Flügel 1995-96:155). These are all pilgrimage sites for the Terāpanth and are sources for economic growth in the towns of Siriyāri, Ladnun, and Tamkor. I want to focus on the projects in the town of Ladnun, the birthplace of Tulsī and the main headquarters for the Terāpanth, and Tamkor, the birthplace of Mahāprajñā, where I witnessed the most concentrated public spending effort on social projects.

The town of Ladnun, for example, has been transformed from a small village in Rajasthan to a bustling town in which the Terāpanth community wields enormous economic power. In 1970 sixty acres of land donated by a wealthy devotee to the Terāpanth Mahāsabhā made the dream of a sprawling JVB campus a reality for then Ācārya Tulsī. As I have already shown in the introductory chapter, the campus houses a large complex of buildings, including residences for the samanīs, the munis, the large university building, an elementary school, a dispensary and physiotherapy center, three guest houses, and in more recent times huge apartment complexes with small one-and two-bedroom apartments for the many devotees who may wish to stay for extended

within Rajasthan, to giving rides to other dignitaries who may need to get to Jaipur. Other prominent members were visible because they were helping with translation projects (translating works written by Terāpanth ascetics from Hindi to English).
periods. All these construction projects were funded from donations made to the
foundations. Guests and students in all of these facilities, with the exception of the
dispensary and the physiotherapy areas (which seem to be somewhat subsidized) pay for
the services. Guests pay daily hotel rates, and costs vary depending on the type of facility.
Students in the elementary school and in the university pay tuition. The university is also
a vehicle for many of the ascetics to earn graduate degrees. There are many samaṇīs and
some young munis earning their doctorates. Many of the professors are ascetics (senior
muni Mahendra and a fair number of samaṇīs are in teaching positions). Ascetics neither
have to pay for their education nor do they have to be paid for their service, as Jaina
ascetics do not touch money. This makes them the ideal candidates for teaching positions,
saving the university a substantial amount of money. Moreover, the key position of the
university vice-chancellor has been occupied by a samaṇī during the last two terms. The
elementary school is too cost prohibitive for the lower echelon staff members to send
their children to the school on campus. Instead, they take their children to a local
school in town. I am led to believe that this may have something to do with laukika and
lokottara. Helping poor asaṃyamī staff members would not fall into the lokottara realm.
All of these facilities generate revenue, which goes to the foundation out of which they
fund other projects.

In contrast to Ladnun, Tamkor is a small town in the district of Jhunjhunun,
Rajasthan, and had it not been the birthplace of Mahāpraṇja, it would be of little
significance. However, because it is the birthplace of the tenth preceptor, the town has

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116 Field interview conducted on October 23, 2010 with an administrative peon in Ladnun who lives on
campus in a one-room facility with his wife and three young children.
been chosen as a site for many social work projects.\footnote{During my fieldwork I made an off-the-cuff remark to a faculty member in the Department of Social Work at JVBU about the lack of any ‘visible’ signs of social consciousness, despite all the rhetoric of ‘relative economics’ and social equanimity. Her response was, “I should pay a visit to Tamkor,” which I did in February 2011 on a follow-up site visit to Ladnun.} It is a showcase for all the good works the Terāpanth are doing. The Terāpanth has targeted it as part of a rural development project. In some ways it is an image makeover, given the criticism of their position on dāna. During my visit to Tamkor I was taken to the obvious pilgrimage sites – the actual home that Mahāprāṇja was born in, which is now a heritage home and a shrine, and the other landmarks of his childhood. More importantly, I was able to meet a group of women who received micro financing to buy sewing machines to develop a cottage industry in hand-made garments. However, for the Terāpanth, the flagship program is a primary school, ‘Mahapragya International School’ (a unit of Jain Vishva Bharati), which opened on July 12, 2007 to commemorate the 88\textsuperscript{th} birthday of Ācāryā Mahāprāṇja. The school started out as a modest playschool and nursery, and at the time of my visit in 2011 had expanded to the fourth grade – each year as the original batch of students graduate to the next level a grade is added. The student body, which began with a modest 180 students, had grown to about 400 students in 2011. The school currently sits in an older building, but there are plans to build a new school with generous support from donors. According to a marketing brochure promoting the school and soliciting donations, the land for the school was donated “by the magnanimous support of Sen Kumar Bhansali and Vijaya Singh Tantia.”\footnote{Mahapragya International School, Tamkor, A Unit of Jain Vishva Bharati. Printed marketing brochure given to me on a site visit.} Varsha Shah from the USA is the patron of the school. Furthermore, the brochure urges the reader to generously donate for the infrastructure of this newly opened school. There are at least twelve different sponsorship
categories that donors can choose from paying for expenses to put one child in school for one month (Rs. 600) to the annual operating expense of the school (Rs. 365,000). Donors can provide for furniture, TV and other equipment, musical instruments, etc. Donation cheques and demand drafts are to be made to ‘Jain Vishva Bharati,’ Ladnun, and all donations qualify for income tax deductions (ibid.). It is interesting to note that although the doctrine of visarjana dictates that the donor remains anonymous, the marketing brochure makes no effort of concealing the identity of the donors. Thus, it is evident that the practice and ideology are quite apart.

Unlike the Śvetāmber mūrtipūjaka (temple worshipping) sect, temple building amongst the Terāpanth, a non-idol worshipping sect, is not merit producing from a religious standpoint. In fact, it is prohibited. However, despite doctrinal injunctions against temple worshipping, there is a prevalent practice within the Terāpanth when it comes to the worship of a local Rajasthani deity, Sachchiya mātā. In the Shekhāvati region of Mārwār, from where most of the Terāpanthīs hail (see above), the worship of Sachchiya mātā is a popular phenomenon. Sachchiya mātā’s history goes back to the practice of satī.119 Cort shows that the veneration of Sachchiya became popular amongst the Terāpanth because people came to believe in her power to confer worldly benefits on devotees. So strong is this faith in her, that within the Terāpanth, worship of Sachchiya is the same as worship of the samādhi sthals (2007:175). Not only are the Terāpanthīs primary patrons of the Sachchiya temple complex, but they have also financed extensive

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119 Satī (meaning virtuous or faithful) refers both to a faithful woman and to the practice of widow immolation, a practice in which widows threw themselves on their husband’s funeral pyre to demonstrate their (widows’) virtuosity. This practice was very popular amongst the Mārwārs of the Shekhāvati region until it was banned by the colonial authorities, who saw it as a heinous act. The highly reported 1986 burning of the young widow, Roop Kanwar, caused public outrage.
construction of the temple complex (174-76). Given that the Terāpanth do not believe in temple worshipping and temple construction is not sanctioned, this seems to go against all of their core belief system. However, Cort avers that the worship of Sachchiya is so strong that the Terāpanth leadership, rather than lose their devotees, decided to be pragmatic about it (176). This acceptance of dāna to Sachchiya generates a paradoxical effect. The donation would be considered ‘social’ (laukika) from the religious standpoint, but would be considered ‘religious’ from the social (legal) standpoint (Flügel 1995-96:154). As Birla has shown, charitable giving for public benefit qualifies for income tax credit, and so even though the Terāpanthīs, according to their doctrine, are not performing a lokottara activity, nevertheless in the eyes of the law they are performing a charitable act.

Although dhyāna does not have the same kind of economic impact as dāna, nevertheless one can say that there is some economic effect. As I have already outlined in chapter three, the Terāpanth charge a fee for all meditation camps in Ladnun, at the Adhyātman Sādhanā Kendra in Delhi, and in all of the other locations where they teach, including in the centres in the U.K. and the U.S. where they also offer yoga classes. Yet, meditation and yoga classes seem to be less of a commodity and more of a religious and cultural activity for the Terāpanth. Their primary goal is to promulgate prekṣā as a preferred form of meditation in the modern marketplace of myriad forms of yoga and meditation. Still it would be disingenuous to say that they do not participate in the active marketing of meditation, which, as Schedneck articulates, “can be consumed in order to help escape modernity and the malaise associated with it” (2012:157). The Terāpanth draw on a trend in tourism that follows popular notions of meditation and Orientalist
conceptions of the exotic East to promote prekṣā meditation. On the Preksha
International website, they promote prekṣā as a method of meditation that grounds itself
in “ancient religious books, modern science, and our experience,”¹²⁰ but is universally
accessible to all regardless of race, colour or creed. They offer a smorgasbord of yoga
and meditation tours specifically targeted towards attracting foreign tourists. The
packages offered are: ‘Step to Spirituality,’ ‘Trip to Spirituality,’ ‘Journey to
Spirituality,’ ‘Fairs and Festivals,’ ‘Yoga Teacher Training,’ and ‘Yoga at Your Stay.’
‘Step to Spirituality’ is offered to tourists in three of Rajasthan’s most exotic tourist
destinations (Jaipur, Udaipur, and Jodhpur) in the convenience of their hotel rooms for an
hour-long session with a trained prekṣā instructor. ‘Trip to Spirituality’ is a five-day
package in Ladnun, which gives the participant a small sampling of a meditation retreat
(only two and half hour of practice a day) in which they practice meditation daily for an
hour and a variety of other techniques such as mantra meditation, kāyotsarga, etc., on
alternate days. This leaves the participant plenty of time to be a tourist and explore the
surrounding historic sites in the Bikaner and Churu districts. ‘Journey to Spirituality’
takes it one step further. The nine-day package is more of an immersion into the practice
of prekṣā, and is generally offered to groups as retreats like the one I describe in chapter
three. I find the ‘Fairs and Festivals’ package to be the most blatantly obvious capturing
of the exotic. It capitalizes on the most popular and colourful festivals in Rajasthan that
draw huge numbers of tourists, such as the very well known Pushkar festival in Ajmer.
The Terāpanth offers yoga and meditation classes in hotels in these cities for the duration
of the festivals; sometimes the venue includes “poolside.” The website shows pictures of
only white, predominantly European, people practising meditation. Moreover, Rajasthan

is advertised as the exotic locale where “golden sands touch silver palaces” (ibid.), and Ladnun is the idyllic small town where the JVB campus is an “oasis in the Rajasthan desert” (ibid.) in which one can experience the serenity – an escape from the malaise of modern life.

Meditation, described as rational and scientific, yet rooted in tradition can be an ideal commodity. Recent studies of Buddhist meditation in Thailand have accentuated this (Schedneck 2012, Cook 2010). Linking tourism and Thai meditation Cook writes:

Buddhism, as well as being closely connected with Thai national identity in the minds of Thai people, is an important part of Thailand’s self-presentation to outsiders. [...] Grounding the nation on the traditions and practices of Buddhism as signifiers of authenticity, meditation is presented as an attractive, accessible and authentically Thai experience for foreign and Thai tourists (2010:36).

Furthermore, Cook avers:

The rhetoric surrounding meditation practice draws on localist discourses on globalization and the limited satisfaction provided by ‘capitalism’ and ‘consumerism’. This is a moralizing project in which the authentic simplicity of meditation as an integral part of Thai culture is read against the uncertainty and cultural fragility of the putatively insatiable ‘Western’ appetite for hedonism and consumption (37).

What Cook is highlighting here is not unique to the Thai culture. The rhetoric of the “spiritual East” against the “material West” can be found as early as Swāmi Vivekananda (De Michelis 2004) followed by others like Swāmi Sivananda (Strauss 2005) and Swāmi Kuvalyananda (Alter 2004). The Terāpanth, as I have already suggested in chapter three, invoke the discourses of science and rationality to ground the seemingly ancient practice of prekṣā. They claim to have organized thousands of successful meditation camps and seminars nationally and internationally. The success of such marketing has led the Terāpanth to assert that over 550,000 people across the world practice prekṣā
meditation.121

Andrea Jain, in her recent dissertation *Health, Well-Being, and the Ascetic Ideal: Modern Yoga in the Jain Terapanth*, argues against the growing literature that evaluates the construction of religious practices in the capitalist socio-historic context, but focus primarily on profits (2010:221-225).122 In particular, she takes umbrage with Carrette and King’s definition of the category of “spirituality.” According to them, “the very ambiguity of the term means that it can operate across different social and interest groups and in capitalist terms, function to establish a market niche” (2009:31). What Carrette and King are taking exception to is the tendency in the culture of late capitalism to brand anything and everything as “spiritual,” stripping it down to a vacuous nothing. They are not seeking an *ur* or authentic spirituality, but to open a contested space for alternative understandings that are more socially engaged (5). Rather, their argument is “spirituality can be mixed with anything since, as a positive but largely vacuous cultural trope, it manages to imbue any product with a wholesome and life-affirming quality” (46). They are concerned with the “wholesale commodification” of religion for capital gain. In ‘New Age’ spiritualities there is an “aura of authenticity” at the same time that there is a removal of any negative connotation associated with the religion. Carrette and King call this the “rebranding” of religion (16). “Rebranding” allows the exploitation of the religious to sell merchandise. Thus, we have “samsara” perfume123 and “zen” deodorant and the list could go on.124 Jain finds this argument to be reductive and too simplistic and

123 A brand of perfume manufactured by the fashion house Guerlain.
124 A men’s deodorant product manufactured by Shiseido
while I agree with her that the Terāpanth are not “simply rebrand[ing] ancient categories such as ‘Jain,’ ‘yoga,’ and ‘meditation’” (2010:221), nevertheless I would contend that the Terāpanth are branding preṣā. After all they have taken references to Mahāvīra’s meditation (pehā in Prakrit) and made it a brand name. They market their brand of meditation as preṣā and this brand has a commercial value. It makes it distinct from other brands of meditation, and in the highly lucrative market of modern yoga, brand positioning ensures a competitive edge.

**Conclusion**

In conclusion, I have attempted to demonstrate in this chapter that the relationship between dāna and dhyāna lies in their function as ethical imperatives moving an individual closer to the goal of liberation. They are ‘technologies of the self,’ allowing individuals to reinterpret their subjective experiences, both in meditation – here I include the practices of sāmāyika and pratikramaṇa - and in their charitable endeavours, to align with religious tenets. Using John Holt’s work as a framework in the first section, I have elucidated that the laukika and the lokottara are in the Jaina context not “bipolar principles,” but rather a continuum in which individuals are always striving towards the ultimate goal of liberation. Employing this understanding, I have argued that there does not exist any dramatic doctrinal tension, as one might expect, between dāna and dhyāna, between giving and meditating, between social practice and spiritual development as such, but there is a perceived tension between the non-Terāpanth and the Terāpanth on the latter’s stance on dāna. The Terāpanth, as I have shown, have tried to resolve this tension by introducing the doctrine of visarjana, but this has not satisfied their critics who object to the paribhāṣā of visarjana and samyamī and asamyamī. This tension also
led to the schism within the Terāpanth. Finally, utilizing Birla’s work as a framework, I have shown how tax exemptions for charitable donations might have actually led to the doctrine of visarjana, which has enabled the Terāpanth lay organizations to contribute to the many, mostly educational, projects of their leadership. I have also demonstrated how the Terāpanth’s marketing of prekṣā, not only has an economic impact, but might be perceived as a “rebranding” of religion. While it is clear that dāna and dhyāna are sources of economic activity, it remains to be seen how they are transformative sources for philanthropy and social justice, a subject I delve in the next chapter.
Chapter Five – Applied Ethics of Dāna and Dhyāna in Jainism

“When I feed the poor, I’m called a saint. When I ask why they are poor, I’m called a communist.”

Introduction

The above quotation from Dom Helder Camara, Archbishop of Recife and Olinda, Brazil, who died at the age of ninety-nine in August 1999, epitomizes the tension between charity and social justice. For Helder Camara, the Christian notion of charity was not enough. What was needed in Brazil and Latin America was a preferential option for the poor that led to social equality. Can we, in the 21st century, talk about environmental health and sustainable economies without social justice for the poor, or are the three intertwined as liberation theologians like Leonardo Boff claim?

Drawing on textual analysis of the Terāpanth writings on environment and the ‘Science of Living’ and ethnographic data, I will argue, in this chapter, that although environmental concerns are a new episteme for the Jains, nevertheless the Terāpanthīs potentially offer a path to address current environmental and social concerns. The contemporary period of corporate globalization and global movements of resistance (“grassroots globalization”) is generating a global discourse of “environmentalism” that functions to universalize 19th century romantic movements concerning “nature”. The global nature of this movement has inevitably resulted in a colony to metropolis exportation of religious concepts from the developing world whose success is contingent upon, to a greater or lesser degree, their congruence with 19th century European romantic

thought. One such project, the cultural translation of Jaina Yoga within the Terāpanth community, may serve as an effective case study of this emerging global phenomenon. Within the Terāpanth Jaina community, ecological awareness is created by practices of meditation (prekṣādhyāna), everyday morality (anuvrata – small vows of moral discipline), and principles of well-being (jīvan vijñāna or Science of Living). In this chapter I will examine, through the prism of dāna (charity) and dhyāna (meditation), if and how such practices can be successful in responding to environmental and social justice concerns. Can these concomitant practices, which the Terāpanthīs claim “transmute human personality,” have any impact in tackling broader social issues such as violence, social injustice, and environmental degradation, or does the Terāpanthīs’ controversial stance (as outlined in chapter two) on dāna present a hindrance in applied ethics?

I will begin with a discussion of globalization and the resistance to globalization in general to set the stage and, in the last section of the chapter contextualize it within the Terāpanth. Secondly, moving towards ecological aspects of Jaina thought, I will not only examine current literature in this area, but also make a significant contribution to the body of literature by explicating the Terāpanth concerns and possible solutions for the environment through the practices of anuvrata and jīvan vijñāna. Furthermore, I will analyze the latest of the Terāpanth innovations, ‘Relative Economics’, contextualizing it within the framework of the post-modern critique of a global consumer culture. Finally in the last section of the chapter I will come back to the discussion of the resistance to globalization by looking at the techno-politics of resistance and how it applies to the Terāpanth.
Globalization and Resisting Globalization

The term globalization is a highly contested term and has both its proponents and its critics. Just as there are a multiplicity of forces and trajectories, both positive and negative in terms of globalization, so too are the resistances to globalization (Kahn and Kellner 2007:662). One can talk about globalization in terms of market and labour forces (not a direct concern of this chapter), “globalization and the environment” (Yearley 2007), “globalization and consumer culture” (Goodman 2007), etc. For many, in particular amongst the poor of the global south, there are growing anxieties related to globalization. As Arjun Appadurai asserts:

In the public spheres of many societies there is concern that policy debates occurring around world trade, copyright, environment, science, and technology set the stage for life-and-death decisions for ordinary farmers, vendors, slum-dwellers, merchants, urban populations. And running through these debates is the sense that social exclusion is ever more tied to epistemological exclusion and concern that the discourses of expertise that are setting the rules for global transactions … have left ordinary people outside and behind (Appadurai 2000:2).

Appadurai here is concerned with the growing disjuncture between academics, “states and inter-state, and the everyday understanding of global forces by the poor” (2) in the discourse on globalization. It is precisely in this kind of climate that beginning in the late 1980’s (Paris 1989, Seattle 1999, 2009, and 2011) activists started resisting certain forms of globalization, which resulted in terms like the ‘anti-corporate globalization movement’ and the ‘social justice movement’ gaining currency (Kahn and Kellner 2007:662-63). The recent anti-Wall Street protests (October 2011) that spread to cities around the globe is a prime example of the marrying of the anti-corporate and social justice movements. There is also a growing discourse around global corporate greed, consumer culture and environmental degradation. In the debate on global warming and climate change,
countries of the North seem to be blaming countries of the South, particularly developing nations like India and China, whose population growth and consumption demands are amplifying the impact of climate change. Anil Agarwal and Sunita Narain, of the Delhi based NGO, Centre for Science and Environment, pointedly argue: “The manner in which the global warming debate is being carried out is only sharpening the North-south divide. Given this new found interest in the so-called Our Common Future and future generations, it is time for the Third World to ask the West, whose future generations are we seeking to protect, the Western World’s or the Third World’s” (1991:2).127 Agarwal’s and Narain’s work has brought much awareness and has empowered the masses in India, which has prompted policy debates on the issue of equity in the climate change deliberations. I will come back to this point in my discussions on the environment.

Another form of resistance comes from a variety of charismatic religious preceptors from the periphery, such as Dom Helder Camara (cited above) and other Latin American liberation theologians (Scharper 2006), and Ācārya Tulsī and Mahāprajña, the 9th and 10th preceptors of the Terāpanth. Furthermore, according to Kahn and Kellner, contemporary resistance movements “are mediated by technopolitics, in which new technologies such as computers and the Internet are used to advance political goals” (2007:666, Kellner 2003:182). I will come back to this point in looking at how the Terāpanthīs use technology to disseminate their message of restraint and meditation globally as an

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127 Anil Agarwal founded the New Delhi based Centre for Science and Environment in 1980 and Sunita Narain is its current Director General. The Centre is highly influential in terms of effecting policy changes at the federal level. Narain sits on many environmental boards amongst them the ‘Prime Minister’s Council for Climate Change’ as well as the ‘Gaṅga River Basin Authority’ chaired by the Indian Prime Minister. The Gaṅga like the Yamuna (see David Haberman’s account below) are two of India’s major rivers that are polluted at catastrophic levels and government and NGO’s are working together to find solutions.
anti-dote to what they consider to be the malaise of a global culture of greed and consumption.

Ecological Aspects of Jain Thought

_Ahiṁsā: A primary tenet_

The Jain worldview places _ahimsā_ (non-violence) at the top of its principles of morality. Nathmal Tatia avers, “Abstaining from any kind of injury, in thought, word, and deed, to any kind of living being, immobile or mobile, is _ahimsā_” (2002:3). The _Ācāraṅga Sūtra_ states in many passages that all beings are fond of life; no one likes suffering or death. There is a reverence for plants and an injunction to the wise to not cut down trees or harm them in anyway, nor cause others to act so, nor allow others to act so. Jainism lists six classes of beings, namely, earth-bodied, water-bodied, air-bodied, fire-bodied, vegetation which has only the sense of touch, and mobile beings with two, three, four, and five senses, with or without the mind, which is the instrument of thought.

Humanity is the most developed class of beings, but not in any sense a privileged class. Jainism does not have a monistic worldview. It emphasizes the individual integrity of each living soul, unlike Buddhism that does not believe in the concept of soul or ātman. It does share with Buddhism the belief that there is no creator God and neither one of these religions is anthropocentric; in other words humankind is not created in the image of God as in Western monotheistic religions, nor does it have dominion over other beings. The _telos_ of both these religions is soteriological, with individual souls struggling to get out of the cycle of _samsāra_, the cycle of birth and death, and rebirth to attain _mokṣa_ or _nirvāṇa_. The path to liberation involves mental practices of meditation, physical practices of self-denial and austerities, and avoiding harm to all living beings. Jains believe that these
practices are necessary for the individual to be rid of the effects of karma – accumulated over many lifetimes – and to minimize the accumulation of new karma. These actions proceed from the soul’s passions for nourishment (āhāra), reproduction (maithuna), and the accumulation of worldly goods (parigraha) for the attainment of power over others. The salvation of the soul lies in its inherent ability to overcome these beginningless passions through knowledge of the true nature of the self – a self capable of being free from embodiment (mokṣa) and attaining the resultant infinite happiness (sukha) associated with that freedom (Jaini 2002:142).

In order to progress along this path Jains believe that it is necessary to minimize actions that result in harm to other living beings, and also attachment to and accumulation of excessive personal possessions. The exemplars of these values are members of the Jain mendicant community, the sādhus and sādhvīs, who have renounced the householder life and follow a practice of absolute non-violence (even to one-sensed beings called nīgoḍas), adherence to truthfulness (satya), eschewal of theft (asteya), lifelong celibacy (brahmacarya), and non-possession (aparigraha), except for those items necessary for a mendicant life. Thus they have chosen a lifestyle of voluntary poverty, in many cases preceded by renouncing an affluent lifestyle with a ritual act of giving away substantial wealth. The lay people are bound to follow the same five vows to a lesser extent. This is because, unlike the ascetics who have given up the household fire, lay people’s daily life, even cooking, involves some amount of inherent violence to beings such as one-sensed beings that are water bodies, fire bodies, etc. Jains are strict vegetarians and never miss the opportunity to urge others to give up the consumption of meat and alcohol. According to Tatia, there is a growing understanding in the West (he cites François Peroux of the
Institute of Mathematics and Economics in Paris) that if the consumption of meat and alcohol in the West were reduced by 50 percent, the grain that would be available would be enough to solve all hunger and malnutrition problems in the Third World (2002:8). Tatia goes as far as calling *ahimsā* a categorical imperative in the Kantian sense – a universal law designed to govern all of one’s action (2002:8-9). Jains have been active throughout their history in animal protection, successfully convincing Mogul emperors, like Akbar, to refrain from hunting animals and proclaiming a declaration of non-slaughter throughout their kingdom on certain holy days. In modern times Jains have established many *pinjrapoles* (animal shelters). Here, the Terāpanthīs differ from other Jains, as they do not approve of animal shelters. They take the vow of *ahimsā* to its logical conclusion to the point of complete non-interference in the natural law, which leads them to interpret and follow the doctrine to the letter. This strict adherence to the doctrine, charge their critics, often misses the spirit of the law, which leaves their interpretations open to controversies.

**Jain Involvement in Worldly activities**

Legitimate means of earning a living is permitted for the laity, but Jains are prohibited from occupations that would cause intentional harm. There are 15 specific occupations that are prohibited: the production and sale of charcoal; the destruction and/or sale of timber; the trade of animal by-products such as ivory, bones, pelts, down; trade in slaves and animals; trade in destructive articles, such as weapons, farming implements etc.; work that involves the use of fire, such as clearing forests or meadows.

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128 Although Tatia talks about solving hunger and malnutrition problems, it is more an issue of feeding the hungry as hunger is mainly an issue of distribution not supply.
for cultivation; work that involves draining lakes for future cultivation, just to name a few (Jaini 2002:143).

How does all this connect to Jainism and the environment? One of the leading Jain scholars, John Cort, in his essay “Green Jainism?” boldly states that there is no Jain environmental ethic per se, and that statements suggesting that Jainism historically has always enthroned the philosophy of ecological harmony are largely untrue (2002:65). Cort claims that the concept of ecology is a new episteme raising questions and issues that the Jains have not addressed in this particular formulation. The Jains are just beginning to explore their tradition within the new epistemological framework of environmentalism. The movement “is at best nascent” (66).

Cort suggests several things that the Jains can do in order to develop a uniquely Jain posture towards the environment. First, he suggests the Jains need to take stock of their past history, because the Jains have not always had a salubrious past. It is only through an honest assessment that they could move forward. The Jains have had a checkered involvement in the recent past with accumulating wealth through industries that may or may not have a great environmental record, such as textiles, etc. The Jains have a dualistic, other-worldly view, which requires a detachment from all matter and embodiment. This is not necessarily an eco-friendly worldview. However, the Jains also have a rich this-worldly “value of wellbeing” (70) through its laity – the men and women who form the other half of the Jain community, that provides a counter balance, and Cort notes that “Jain ethics … are highly context sensitive” and hence adaptable to time and place. It is through the Jain laity’s engagement and the practice of their vows that real change will come about. But for this to occur there needs to be a dialectical exchange
between leading environmentalists, such as Ramachandra Guha and M. C. Mehta, to name two, and the Jains, so that environmental thought and activism might help inform how Jains define and realize their commitment to *ahimsā*. Cort also compares and contrasts ecofeminism and the role of women in Jainism, and suggests that social ecology must be taken into consideration, noting that the project to reforest Jain pilgrimage sites has had a negative impact on low-caste herders whose livestock have become restricted from foraging (76-78). Acknowledging the long history of Jainism as a social catalyst, Cort looks forward to the development of a “distinctive Jain environmental ethic” (84). For Cort, “the option for the poor” is a key to an integrated Jain environmentalism. I will come back to this from a Terāpanth perspective when I look at their position on environment and “relative economics”

Similarly, Paul Dundas in “The Limits of a Jain Environmental Ethic” suggests that Jainism, like all developed religions, “has built-in complexities that have to be taken into account lest a simplistic version of its message be constructed” (2002:111). His critique of D.N. Bhargava’s paper in *Medieval Jainism: Culture and Environment* (a title he considers misleading) is revealing. Bhargava claims that because of their polluting effects on the environment, Jain teachers have proscribed the fifteen occupations, listed above (Bhargava 1990:107). Dundas while not intending “to diminish the undeniable power of the Jain vision” (2002:111) thinks that it is debatable whether such a ban arose from a purely environmental concern as opposed to a logical outcome of an ascetic worldview (106). Furthermore, he cautions against recent trends amongst Jain scholars from within the tradition that gloss Jainism as an inherently environmentally friendly
religion and one that is quite scientific. These kinds of ahistorical extrapolations are problematic. He takes examples from the earliest canonical scriptures to late medieval texts to show that the Jain attitude towards *ahimsā* has a history of ambivalence – some incidents are categorically violent and not acceptable to the Jains, such as the case of the elephant ascetics (*hasṭitāpasa*),

while other incidents of violence, such as the construction of temples and worshipping the *Jina* with flowers or the digging of wells, are quite acceptable because the merit of the act outweighs the harm (2002:107-110). These attitudes have also evolved over time and are different in their sectarian approach. While early medieval writers had stigmatized certain professions involving agriculture and animal husbandry, later authors have approved them “as not appropriate to the intelligent,” but if someone were to pursue such occupations they should try to employ the quality of compassion (106). On the issue of temple construction and image worshipping the later reform sects of Śtānākvaśi and the Terāpanthī orders reject these as inherently violent activities. On balance, Dundas is quite “unhappy with the attempt, however well-intended it may be, to compel a traditional soteriological path originally mapped out for world-renouncing ascetics to fit the requirements of modern, ultimately secular, Western-derived agenda” (111).

In his essay “The Living Earth of Jainism and the New Story” Chris Chapple sees Jainism’s cosmology, its sensitivity and reverence for all life as environmentally friendly

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130 Dundas cites the canonical text *Sūtrakṛtāṅga Sūtra* (perhaps third century B.C.E.) 2.6.52 that gives an account of a group of individuals, whom the 9th century C.E. commentator Śilāṅka calls the “elephant ascetics”. The *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* portrays these individuals as eating one elephant a year and Dundas states that one could almost consider these people as “proto-environmentalist, in that it seems to have involved an unwillingness to overexploit the natural world from which sustenance derives” (2002:99).
and in some ways comparable to modern science (2002:119). He outlines a creative juxtaposition of Jain cosmology with that of modern science, specifically as expounded by Brian Swimme. Although he acknowledges the prime difference between the two – the former considers the universe to be eternal without a beginning and an end, with no creator God, and the latter expounds the theory that the universe was created in a single moment some 15 billion years ago as a result of the Big Bang – nevertheless, Chapple does see more points of convergence (121-127). He finds convergence between Swimme’s contention that Western consumerist obsession for dead objects leads to depression and Jainism’s belief that the abuse and manipulation of materiality leads to a thickening of one’s karmic bondage, guaranteeing a lower existence in this and future lives (126). Further, Swimme suggests that people should be in awe of the mystery and beauty of the universe as an antidote to the trivialization of life through empty consumerism. Chapple perceives a similarity here with Jainism’s assertion that things share a commonality in their aliveness, which must be acknowledged and protected (126). He identifies in both these systems an occasion to view the world as a living, dynamic process that, in the contemporary context of environmental degradation, requires protection and care. In addition, Chapple sees in the Jain hierarchy of life, as expressed in the canonical texts and later medieval texts, that humans “have been given the special task and opportunity to cultivate awareness and ethical behaviour to acknowledge that we live in a universe suffused with living, breathing, conscious beings that warrant our recognition and respect” (130). He recognizes this heightened responsiveness to the earth as an essential for the full development of human consciousness in Thomas Berry’s call for a “new story” (130-132), and in David Abram’s call for an intimacy and reconnection
to the natural world (132-134). In his conclusion Chapple does recognize that in reality the Jainas have not lived up to the very demanding life idealized in their texts, but he is optimistic in saying that they have the potential to cull an environmental ethos given their rich heritage.

Padmanabh Jaini, one of the world’s leading Jain scholars, focuses on the issues of industrialization, growth, and development. Quoting Ācārya Mahāprajñā, the spiritual leader of the Terāpanthī community, he stresses the ideologies of non-violence and non-possession as a prism through which all projects should be examined (2002:152-153). In several World Bank projects he suggests that an approach should be taken that would consider the human impact on indigenous populations, on the environment and on all beings, and minimize the impact of the development by resettling affected populations, etc., (151). Theoretically speaking this is what should happen. However, in actuality the many World Bank development projects have had chequered pasts. For example, take the Narmada dam project in India, which failed to meet environmental standards and many of the ādivāsis (indigenous) are still not settled (Brossard et al 2003). Activist, Medha Patkar’s NGO Narmada Bachao Andolan (Save the Narmada Movement) speaks for the ādivāsis.\footnote{Friends of River Narmada. A Brief Introduction to the Narmada Issue. \url{http://www.narmada.org/introduction.html}, accessed on September 15, 2012.} Patkar has devoted her life to this cause, often going on hunger strikes confronting the government on policy issues. The Jainas have shown little engaged behaviour in protesting such treatments of populations. However, Jaini is one of the few voices within the academic circles of Jainism who even expresses concerns for the poor and downtrodden.
Sādhvī Shilapi’s essay in the same volume is an insider’s account written from the perspective of a Jain nun, and as such is more of a prescriptive nature like the Jain literature she cites. She chooses selective passages from theĀcāraṅga Sūtra and from the 10th century Ādipurāṇa to claim that Mahāvīra’s life shows that progress along the spiritual path does not forbid someone from being concerned about the environment and the world around him/her, since the two are not mutually exclusive (2002:160-161).

Mahāvīra’s message certainly shows his concern for the suffering of other beings, as the injunctions to the mendicants clearly elucidate this in various passages, but whether this can be translated as concern for the environment is very unlikely. As John Cort points out, concern for the environment is a new episteme, within which the Jainas need to figure out a way to work out their ethical and moral stance. It would have been interesting if Sādhvī Shilapi had developed the issue of concern for the poor in Bihar, Sādhvī Shilapi’s home state and Mahāvīra’s birthplace. Shilapi mentions that most of the population in Bihar lives below the poverty line. She highlights a community called Mushara, whose food consists mainly of rats. She gives a graphic description of how the rats are trapped and eaten. The children have no basic facilities and no education. Her conclusion from all this is that thousands of animals are killed, and if such activities continue, the environmental crisis in such places will be devastating (165-166).

Michael Tobias’s work on Jainism and ecology is an unabashed, uncritical, elucidation of a faithful convert. In Jainism, he finds a religion akin to his own ideas of non-violence and environmental activism. In extolling the virtues of Jainism he essentializes it, largely accepting at face value the claims made in the few scriptures he examines, and totally accepting the words of the Jainas, well meaning as they might have
been (1987, 1991). His other work *World War III: Population and the Biosphere at the End of the Millenium* (both the film and the book) are an examination of four countries and their imprint on the biosphere from a population growth perspective (1998). Here he critically illuminates how soaring population in Kenya, India, China, and the U.S. are contributing to the problem of poverty, hunger and malnutrition in the first two, and how in China ever more wild lands are being converted into space for human habitation, which leads to a lifestyle of more consumption and short term gratification giving rise to an ecological catastrophe. Lastly, he suggests that the American way of life is in dire competition with the biosphere, warming the climate 9 times more than the Chinese and 14 times more than India. He sees vegetarianism – a practice he admires in the Jainas – as an answer to some of the world’s problems. He claims that 30% of the land use is for fodder for animals raised for meat consumption in first world countries.

As the above literature review on Jainism and Ecology demonstrates, both the Jainas themselves and Jaina scholars are beginning to engage in possible Jaina solutions to the issues of not only ecological problems, but also of concern for the poor. In the following section I contribute to this conversation by explicating the Terāpanth worldview on these issues.

*The Terāpanth Worldview of the Environment: Problems and Solution*

From an environmental perspective, the burning question today, according to the Terāpanthīs, is: what will remain of nature if humankind continues to consume nature’s resources in an indiscriminate manner? The problem, as they see it, is that the contemporary perspective seems to be that all resources are for human consumption. Environmentalists and scholars have underscored the deleterious effects of an
anthropocentric worldview, but for the Terāpanth, as Ācārya Mahāprajña avers, no amount of environmental rhetoric is going to solve today’s problems unless and until people have the right view and understanding (2003:1-2). By right view he means the Jaina worldview (samyak darśana), and along with right knowledge (samyak jñāna) and right conduct (samyak cāritra), potentially offer a Jaina path towards a greener planet. By invoking the three jewels of the Jaina doctrine, the Terāpanth are not only grounding their solutions in the Jaina doctrine, as others in the literature on Jainism and ecology have done, but also through anuvrata and jīvan vijñāna are trying to instill it into individuals from childhood. I will examine this in the next section.

While scholars such as Paul Dundas, cited above, are critical of the Jaina attempts to compel a primarily soteriological path to fit, what Dundas sees as a Western derived agenda, nevertheless it is precisely how Mahāprajña approaches his solution to the growing environmental problems. He wants to give Mahāvīra’s message in the Ācāraṅga Sūtra a new meaning, understanding it in the context of contemporary environmental challenges (2003:15). According to Mahāprajña, Mahāvīra’s emphasis on restraint is not only difficult, as many have suggested, but also very “scientific”. His message can be reinterpreted from today’s ecological perspective. Mahāvīra’s viewpoint stemmed not only from ahimsā towards all beings, but also from ahimsā to one’s own self, for violence towards others creates bad karma for the individual.

132 All translations of this text from Hindi to English are my own.
133 Ācāraṅga Sūtra 1.1.2-7 have injunctions against causing harm to earth bodies, water bodies, fire bodies, wind bodies, plant bodies (beings with one sense) and beings with two to four senses and animals with five senses. Here plants are compared to humans subject to pain, growth and decay (1.1.5) and killing animals for sacrificial purposes, or for their skin, blood, etc., is denounced. One who renounces such actions is called a Muni. The Ākāraṅga Sūtra Sacred Books of the East – Jaina Sūtras Part 1, trans. Herman Jacobi. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1884.
134 I have discussed the use of Scripture and Science as authoritative discourses in chapter three. For reference to how the Terāpanth utilize science and scientific language see chapter three.
Aligning science with the passages from the Ācāraṅga Sūtra cited above on plant life, Mahāprajña states that today's scientific community has unambiguously accepted the importance of plant life and ecology. According to him, Mahāvīra's compassion for plant life and ecology led him to oppose any violence towards them by an adept, one who has renounced the world, or an advanced layperson. Mahāprajña acknowledges that scientists today are not motivated by a compassionate viewpoint, but are motivated more from an environmental pollution stance. Plant life is valued not for its own sake, but because it is necessary for human well-being (14). Furthermore, Mahāprajña highlights the deleterious effects of deforestation, such as an imbalance in nature with the resulting decrease in rainfall, which leads to desertification of the earth. He believes that there is a symbiotic relationship between humans and plant life, although vegetation can survive without humans, but humans cannot survive without trees and plants – they are the very life force. Not only do humans need them for physical survival but also for mental well-being (15-16). He emphasizes the role of nature in our creativity, and emphasizes how being locked up in densely populated urban communities stifles our energy and creativity. Nature fosters our imaginations to be poets (16).

This fact is underscored by U.S. journalist Richard Louv, whose book, Last Child in the Woods, draws our attention to saving our children from the rise of, what he terms, “Nature-Deficit Disorder” (2006). In looking at ‘Nature, creativity and ecstatic places’ Louv cites Edith Cobb’s influential work The Ecology of Imagination in Childhood (1977). Cobb’s work was based on her analysis of some three hundred autobiographical works of creative thinkers from a variety of cultural backgrounds. She concluded, “inventiveness and imagination of nearly all of the creative people she studied was rooted
in their early experiences in nature” (as cited by Louv 2006:93). Others inspired by Cobb’s work, such as environmental psychologist Louise Chawla, admit that it is possible that “the developing consciousness of all children involves what Cobb describes as a dynamic sense of relationship with their place” (93). But for Chawla, “only in some children, … is this experience so intense that it burns itself into memory to animate adult life” (93). While Chawla emphasizes that a common characteristic of ‘special places’ is quietness and peacefulness and this can be found in a child’s room or an attic, so wonder can be found in places outside of nature, nevertheless Louv laments that the world of electronics, computer games, and built up environment “do not offer the array of physical loose parts, nor the physical space to wander” (93). For Louv they are no matches for the free spaces in nature. Louv cites many scientific studies that suggest nature may be useful as a therapy for Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD) used with, or when appropriate replacing, medications or behavioural therapies (99-111). Coming back to Chawla’s research on children’s relationship with physical spaces, she reports that, for example, business people and politicians report less on nature experiences than artists (93). This is not to say that business people and politicians are not influenced by it. But this could be an important point when we consider that it is large-scale industries that are a big part of air pollution and water pollution, and politicians, who sometimes lack the will to enforce laws, exacerbate the situation.

This point is well illustrated by David Haberman who, in the River of Love in an Age of Pollution, takes the reader on a journey of the river Yamuna from its source in Yamunotri, in the Himalayan mountain range, where the river is beautiful and pristine, through the plains. By the time the river enters Delhi, the river is already heavily polluted
and the by the time it leaves Delhi, it is so polluted that it is called the “river of death” (2006:75). Haberman professes that damming the river further upstream, diverting waters for irrigation purposes, has left the flow of the river in the plains at a dangerously low level, and although laws have been passed to increase the flow in Delhi, enforcement of such laws proves to be difficult. Throughout his work, Haberman examines the dichotomy between those that see the river as goddess, a river of love, and those that see it solely as a river of utility, dumping industrial effluent and untreated sewage into the river. The people who consider the river sacred treat it differently than those who do not.

According to Mahāprajñā, today, in the name of industrialization, there is a blind growth of business and industry. The resulting imbalance of nature is a point of grave concern. Around the globe the dominance of an oil-based economy has not only caused a state of disharmony, but also the destruction of the environment has reached beyond a danger zone (2003:9-10). From this vantage point, Mahāprajñā sees the development of solar energy as a new ray of hope, but cautions its overuse in industry and questions its long-term effects on nature (10). Smoke emissions from factories and vehicles not only pollute the air, but trace elements seep in to the earth and cause harm to both humans and the environment. The elements enter the food chain of humans and herbivores whose milk and meat humans consume (7-8). Mahāprajñā states that when it comes to the environment there is a consensus within the environmental community about the impact of the actions of any one country on the entire globe. In fact, the whole global community is subject to the same arrangement. Any obstacle created by any individual country or person is not limited to its own boundaries, but rather affects the whole world (8-9). Citing environmental agencies, Mahāprajñā avers that although on a per capita basis
India’s environmental footprint is less than the United States or Japan, nevertheless nine of India’s largest cities are rapidly growing in the same direction in terms of their environmental footprint – in terms of pollution. I will come back to this point in my analysis below on the calculation of the footprint on per capita basis. Mahāprajña reifies the reasons for India’s lesser footprint, stating, “it is due to the teachings of great saints and mahātmās (great souls), that the people of India do not follow the school of instant gratification. It is for this reason that there is perceivably (drṣṭigocar) an immeasurable balance (atulanīya santulan) within the body, mind and spirit of Indians” (9). Here Mahāprajña is oversimplifying the Indian context. It is true that compared to the West, there is less of “the school of instant gratification”, perhaps because of poverty. Most Indians could not afford the kind of consumption rampant in the West. However, if we look at the major Indian cities today, shopping malls and conspicuous consumption is clearly evident.

Agarwal and Narain’s, book, Global Warming in an Unequal World: A case of Environmental Colonialism, becomes the foundation for emissions calculated on a per capita basis. The book was in response to the report of the World Resources Institute (WRI), a Washington-based private research group, on climate change that equally blames developing countries for sharing the responsibility for global warming. Acquiescent with several studies on global warming, they argue, “in a world that aspires to such lofty ideals like global justice, equity and sustainability, this vital global common should be shared equally on a per capita basis” (1991:9). Furthermore, they assert, “India, the CSE [Centre for Science and Environment] analysis shows, is the world’s lowest net emitter of greenhouse gases in per capita terms” (11). The per capita analysis remains
embedded in the CSE discourse, as was evident in Narain’s recent presentation in the *Water in Asia: Science, Values, and Activism* symposium (March 27, 2013, Symposium organized by the Center for Asian Research with support from Project Humanities, Arizona State University) and in the keynote address following the symposium *Environmentalism of the Poor vs. Environmentalism of the Rich*.

In a recent talk, Dipesh Chakrabarty acknowledges Agarwal’s and Narain’s argument for a per capita basis analysis as a third world response to a predatory first world, but states that inequality as a cause for climate crisis has its own problems related to population (March 28, 2013, Arizona State University). He avers that in the per capita figures, the problem is one of population, which gets both acknowledged and disavowed. Here is how Chakrabarty explains this paradox. If India and China were not so large (in terms of population) and so poor, their per capita figure would not be so low. However, without the large population they would not have been building so many coal plants, since coal is the cheapest form of fuel. Citing a recent article in the *New York Times*, which claims that coal accounts for 30% of the world’s energy, the highest share since 1965, Chakrabarty points to the irony in the production of coal. Quoting Mahātmā Gandhi’s oft quoted line “there is enough in the world for everyone’s need, but not enough for everyone’s greed,” Chakrabarty proposes that “the need and the greed come together in the coal argument” (Jan. 2013, March 2013). While coal production has been drastically reduced in America for American consumption, Chakrabarty asserts that the American coal manufacturers are lobbying the U.S. government to allow the export of coal to India and China to help them deal with poverty. Again, the irony is not lost. According to Chakrabarty, the total size of world population and human distribution
decides how the climate crisis unfolds. The war between animals and humans is well acknowledged. Chakrabarty contends that one way species will try to survive is by migrating. However humans not only get in the way of other species migration, but they will also aggravate the climate refugee problems, as increasing migration from countries of the South will put pressures on the economies of countries of the North. Thus, according to Chakrabarty, the history of population is about the two histories of human evolution – one that involves human growth in the age of industrial, technological, and modern medicine, and the long history of human evolution. The poor participate, however differently, in the shared human history that conjoins the two evolutionary histories. So coming back to the per capita emissions figure, Chakrabarty concludes, that “while it is useful in making a necessary and corrective political point in the debates on climate change, it hides the larger history that population is a category that conjoins the two histories” (March 2013). I highlighted the per capita argument to illustrate that the scientific claims Mahāprajñā makes are far more complex and nuanced than what he makes them to be.

Coming back to Mahāprajñā, although he emphasizes the importance of all the five elements in his solutions for the environment, nevertheless he selects vegetation as one closest to humans and one that humans can easily understand. He states: “in comparison (apeksā) to other beings, flora (vanaspati) is closer to you (human being). It is harder to comprehend earth bodies, water bodies, fire bodies, etc. However, it is easy to understand flora” (2003:17). Following Jaina tenet of abhaya dāna (see chapter two), he counsels humans to give the gift of protection to all flora (abhay kā avadāna). He urges that though we depend on the vegetable kingdom to feed us, nevertheless we should limit
the harm we cause it. We should take only what we need. We need to cultivate a feeling of gratitude towards these beings that sacrifice their lives, and offer our thanks and ask for forgiveness for the violence we cause. Mahāprajña identifies two types of violence – necessary (āvaśyaka) and unnecessary (anāvaśyaka). We cannot live without some basic violence to beings for our sustenance, but we can, through restraint, limit our needs to basic necessities (17-18). According to Mahāprajña, today’s economists and social scientists encourage economic development at the cost of the environment. The basic message of economics – to increase demands by creating desire, is antithetical to the message of ahimsā and samyama (restraint) as propounded by Mahāvīra (18-21). I will look at Mahāprajña’s vision of a new model of economics based on these principles further in the chapter in my discussion of ‘Relative Economics’.

As the above discussion elucidates, ideologically, Mahāprajña’s message of ahimsā and restraint is geared to today’s concerns about poverty and environmental degradation. However, my observations in the field do not tell the same story. In Ladnun, Rajasthan, at the Jain Vishva Bharati campus, the Terāpanthīs do try to practice the principles. There is no doubt that the ascetics exercise absolute restraint and non-violence as part of their vows of renunciation. On the campus, which is called the land of the three Ps – peacock, penance and peace – they harvest their own rainwater, which is filtered and used for drinking at the university, and they try to grow some of their own vegetables in one of the residences. Still, their message does not seem to be trickling out beyond the campus walls. Right behind my residence (I occupied a portion of the vacant vice chancellor’s residence), beyond the campus compound walls, was a huge garbage dump in an otherwise rural landscape. Just outside the walls of the campus the huge mansions
built by Terāpanthīs living in Calcutta, Jaipur, Mumbai, Delhi and other big cities of India show little restraint in terms of the display of wealth. Here the message of living for one’s needs as opposed to one’s desires (equated to greed) does not seem to be evident. These homes, for the most part, sit empty, except for the short periods when the family is visiting the ascetics in Ladhun, mostly during the rainy season. However, one has to laud the Terāpanth leadership for their efforts in trying to instill\textsuperscript{135} the Jaina values in their flock and others from a young age, beginning with the education provided to them in the jñānaśālās (literally ‘schools of knowledge’, but they function like ‘Sunday schools’) run by the Terāpanth women’s organization. Furthermore, other efforts, such as the Aṇuvrata movement and jīvan vijñāna, have become a way to disseminate their message to a wider audience such as the school system in Rajasthan, where they are having some success with young minds. According to the Terāpanth website, there are sixty-six educational institutions – a mixture of primary schools, high schools and even a couple of colleges – primarily in Rajasthan, but a few in the Punjab, Gujarat, Delhi, Kolkotta, Banglore, Chennai, and a couple of other places in Tamil Nadu – that are operated by them directly. In addition to these schools, there are approximately two hundred and fifty other primary schools in Rajasthan where their program on jīvan vijñāna is also taught.

\textit{Aṇuvrata and Jīvan Vijñāna}

As I have already outlined in previous chapters, according to the Terāpanthīs, laukika dāna is transactional – social give and take (\textit{len den}), which earns only social merit, whereas lokottara dāna is ādhyātmika (that which relates to the Self or soul), and earns punya (religious merit) at least in theory, and hence equated to dhyāna

\textsuperscript{135} I have used the word ‘instill’ here, but throughout the Terāpanth discourse, particularly when they are talking about propounding moral values to children, they use the term ‘inculcate’.
(meditation). In this sense \textit{lokottara dāna} and \textit{dhyāna} are soteriological. What are the implications of a soteriological stance on \textit{dāna} in terms of ethical and moral implications? What impact, if any, does the separation of \textit{laukika} and \textit{lokottara} in the Terāpanth have on charity and social justice? As Peter Flügel suggests and my own fieldwork confirms,

The refusal to recognize the religious merit of \textit{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 Mūrtipujaks and Bisapanthīs to question the religious value of the absolutist (\textit{ekānta}) doctrinal literalism of the new sect […] (Jaini 1979:314, n.63); - an allegation which was countered by the Terāpanthīs claim for greater religious purity (1995-96:125).

However, according to Flügel, the strongest critique of Bhikṣu’s principle came from the Sthānakhāsi ascetics like muni Suśil who advocated social reform and services to humankind. “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” (126).

How do the Terāpanthīs respond to this critique and make \textit{laukika dāna} go beyond transactional social give-and-take, and what role if any does \textit{dhyāna} play? Today’s Terāpanth, contrary to the official doctrine propounded by Bhikṣu, has popular rituals of charitable giving even though it is “deprived of immediate religious value” (Flügel 1995-96:127). Through a series of innovations introduced after India’s independence in 1949, by its ninth ācārya, Tulsī, the Terāpanth today is considerably changed. Tulsī showed great ingenuity by introducing three ‘socio-religious’ institutions for the laity without directly violating Bhikṣu’s principles. He introduced \textit{anuvrata} (small vows, 1949), \textit{prekṣādhyāna} (1975), and \textit{jīvan vijñāna} (Science of living, 1978). \textit{Jīvan...
vijñāna, which the Terāpanthīs call a new “vidyā śāstra” (knowledge treatise) was introduced to “understand life and to develop the root principles for living an ādhyātmika (morally and spiritually imbued) life” (Muni Dharmesh 2008:1). Although the anuvrata and prekṣādhyāna stand independently and can be practised on their own, they have been subsumed as important components of the jīvan vijñāna program. The Terāpanth leaders have lofty goals for these programs to become universal principles to be practised not just by the Terāpanth community, but also by the rest of the nation and perhaps spread beyond its borders – goals that are so important that the program is part of the core curriculum in their university, the Jain Vishva Bharati University. The university’s Department of ‘The Science of Living and Prekṣādhyāna’ offers graduate programs both at the M.A. and Ph.D. degree levels. In fact of the four prescribed forms of dāna in Jainism (outlined in chapter two), abhaya (safety and protection to all living creatures), āhāra (giving of food particularly to Jaina ascetics), auṣadha (giving of medicine particularly to Jaina ascetics), and jñāna (impartment of knowledge particularly by the ascetics to the laity), the Terāpanthīs privilege jñāna dāna as is evident from their institutionalization of education. I will come back to this point, but first let me elaborate on the anuvrata and prekṣādhyāna.

The anuvrata are made relevant to contemporary living and are an expansion of the five prescriptive vows that all Jainas are exhorted to follow, and there is considerable overlap between these vows and the principles of jīvan vijñāna. When the movement

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136 All translations of this text from Hindi to English are my own.
137 The jīvan vijñāna principles are as follows: 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 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 mixing food products, smuggling, trade in eggs and meat,
first began the Terāpanthīs had thirteen vows, which soon increased to eighty-six. In 1958 the movement underwent some changes and a three-tiered system was introduced beginning with an entry-level aṇuvrati, an aṇuvrati, and a pre-eminent aṇuvrati. The precept for the entry-level aṇuvrati was eleven vows, and the aṇuvrati had to observe not only the eleven aṇuvratas, but also she was bound by the moral conduct (śīla) and deportment (caryā) that went with the vows. Moreover, on this occasion they introduced precepts by occupational classes, such as: aṇuvratas for students, for teachers, government officials and employees, and labourers (Muni Dharmesh, 2008:138-139). For example the student vows included: During exams I shall not take recourse to cheating; I shall not cut down large trees, nor shall I be the cause to spread pollution. Vows for teachers included: I shall be instrumental not only in the intellectual development of the student, but also in the development of her moral character (cāritra); I shall provide active support to spread the message of aṇuvrata. At the top of the list of vows for government officials and employees was: I shall not take bribes (140-141). Aṇuvrata is a philosophy of life that is, at least in theory, supposed to help build a healthy social structure. According to the Terāpanthīs, the Aṇuvrata movement raises a voice against those principles that are the cause of depraved behaviour and decay in society, and it fosters an atmosphere of moral and ethical consciousness (141). Although the Terāpanth claim to raise a voice against ‘depraved behavior and decay in society’, nevertheless all of the aṇuvratas are vows taken on an individual basis, i.e., it is not change at a societal level. Even on an individual level the aṇuvratas stop shy of really demanding systemic etc.; to practice acquisition together with renunciation (visarjan) of ownership; to limit the enjoyment of an object. … 7. Anekānt: not to be contumacious, and, as far as possible, attempting to settle controversial matters harmoniously … (Tulsī, in Maṇakcand Paṭāvari (ed). Upāsanā. Mitra Parisad Ātma Sādhana Kendra: Calcutta, 1991: 27-28 as cited by Flügel 1995-96:128-29, n.23).
changes. For instance, in a country like India where a high percentage of the economy is grounded in the ‘black market’ (an underground economy where people do not declare income for tax purposes), there is no anuvrata that states, “I shall not evade taxes”. When I asked the wealthy Terāpanth businessmen why such a vow is not included, the response I received was “income tax is a minor portion of our contribution to society” (field interviews 2009-2010). When I asked the Terāpanth ascetics why such a vow did not exist many responded by saying that Ācārya Tulsī was a practical man. He knew if he demanded too much from his laity, the Anuvrata movement would not have gotten off the ground. It is interesting that for a government employee there is a specific vow, “I shall not take bribes”, but no such anti-corruption vows are in place for the business people. Clearly in a community full of business people such vows would not have been popular, and Tulsī had grand plans for the Anuvrata movement. His Ahimsā Yātrā (journey of non-violence) was to help promote peace and the message of anuvrata. Moreover, the seven-storied Anuvrata Bhawan Building, located in the heart of New Delhi, was supposed to be the central headquarters of the growing Anuvrata movement.

If the Anuvrata movement helps build moral and ethical consciousness and a healthy social structure, then, according to the Terāpanth, preksā meditation is a tool, a primary support for spiritual development. Although the name preksā, which literally means seeing, was coined by Ācārya Mahāprajña in 1975, the Terāpanth trace the term’s antiquity to at least Mahāvīra, the 24th Tīrthaṅkara, and even into the legends of Rśabha, the first Tīrthaṅkara. During my fieldwork in Ladnun, I asked Muni Mahendra, a senior scholar-monk, about the connection between dāna and dhyāna. He responded by saying that before we can talk about that we have to understand the Jaina principle of nirjarā or
the shedding of karmas. Jainism believes that the soul amasses new particles of karmas that perpetuate the cycle of birth and death. According to the Muni, tapasyā – fasting, etc., is one means of nirjarā, but meditation is a superior means of nirjarā, because “tapasyā is concerned more with our physical efforts known as bāhīya tapa or external penance, whereas the practice of meditation is known as ābhyantaratā or internal penance” (Field interview Oct. 1, 2009). It is more effective because it directly involves the engaging of the subtle levels of consciousness, which in modern terminology we call unconscious level and subconscious level. The Muni avers that the practice of prekṣā meditation, by penetrating into one’s deeper level of consciousness through concentration, has a direct effect on the process of nirjarā of karma. Unless we can bring about change at the deeper level we cannot expect to bring about change in our external environment. Intellectually we may know everything, the Muni asserts, – “this is better, this I should give up – but in practical life it becomes difficult to adopt good things and to give up evil things … without refining one’s inner consciousness” (ibid). Prekṣā meditation can bring about this kind of transformation.

As the above discussion underscores, for the Terāpanthīs jīvan vijñāna with anuvrata and prekṣādhyāna are the instruments that bring about personal transformation, which in turn brings about social transformation. There are three basic principles that all of these hinge upon, which are ahimsā (non-harming), satya (truth), and aparigraha (non-possession), considered to be the core values in Jainism. It is through the latter that one connects dāna and dhyāna. Dāna is aparigraha; it is the renouncing of a thing belonging to oneself for the benefit of another (TS 7.33-34). I have already cited Maria Heim’s remark on dāna (see chapter two), however it is worth reemphasizing here what
she states: “The instrumentality of the act of dāna is what leads to the refinement of moral qualities and sensibilities. Here, one becomes generous by practicing dāna, rather than practicing dāna because one is generous” (Heim 2000:95). For the Terāpanthīs, lokottara dāna would definitely fall into this category. Although, doctrinally laukika dāna is problematic for the Terāpanth, one way they have overcome this is through the doctrine of visarjana (parting of possession with complete abandonment). Still neither lokottara dāna nor visarjana translate into any kind of structured, social, political or economic change, despite the fact that Tulsī was a master diplomat and exercised some political influence, as is evident from photos in an edited volume, Acharya Tulsī Fifty Years of Selfless Dedication, with key political figures of an independent India, such as Jawaharlal Nehru, India’s first prime minister, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, India’s first vice-president. There are also pictures of Nehru inaugurating an Aṇuvrata seminar and sitting beside Tulsī in the same seminar as a participant. This alignment with the ruling Congress party continues even today, as I witnessed political celebrities on the occasion of Mahāprajña’s 89th birthday in July 2008.

However, according to the Terāpanth, it is through visarjana that they are redressing social inequities. By encouraging a well-to-do laity to donate their wealth to Terāpanth foundations, the leadership is able to fund projects that demonstrate some social consciousness. Most of these projects are centered on education, which as I alluded earlier, remains a major focus for the Terāpanth. The development of the human being from childhood to adulthood is a central concern, which they try to achieve by teaching values from childhood. They dispense this through their jñānaśālās, administered through the Terāpanth Mahilā Maṇḍal (literally ‘women’s circle’ here ‘organization’), and
through some 250 primary schools, mostly in Rajasthan. Moreover, the University provides a more institutionalized setting to further their educational goals. *Jñāna*, or providing knowledge is a valid form of *dāna*, which allows the Terāpanth to remain doctrinally true to Ācārya Bhikṣu’s precepts. Although the Terāpanth are trying to address social inequities through *visarjana*, nevertheless *visarjana* is a philanthropic model not a social justice model.

According to the Terāpanthīs, *dhyāna* allows us to perceive and know the ideal type of *dāna*. Does this mean that there is scope for social justice? Does this mean that the person practicing *prekṣādhyāna* is more likely to embrace systemic economic solutions that respond to social justice? When the Terāpanth asked their laity to do something about education, they responded with the establishment of the Jain Vishva Bharati. In the same vein, I asked Muni Mahendra, if we say that India has great poverty and there are many disadvantaged people and we should do something, then what is that something? The Muni responded by stating that for that they have developed a program called ‘relative economics’. However, the Terāpanth focus is on the individual. Teaching and transforming one individual at a time generates change. It may ultimately transform society, but the change does not transpire by engaging in social activism that effects change at a policy level.

**Relative Economics**

Relative economics is the latest of the Terāpanth innovations. Ācārya Mahāprajña says that in order to avert poverty in society, there must be equilibrium (*saṃtulana*) in
society. One can achieve this through samyama (restraint). The language of samyama (restraint) and asamyama (unrestraint), samyamī (one who is restrained) and asamyamī (one who is not restrained) is very prominent within the Terāpanth discourse on dāna.

According to Mahāprajña, in order to bring about equilibrium, society must be educated in how to conduct its economic affairs. However, education is not always a cornerstone of social justice, and, as I have expressed above, the Terāpanth is not involved at the economic policy level. With education and economics in mind, the Terāpanthīs have developed a program and sponsored a national conference for the past four years on the topic. Muni Mahendra elaborates on the program for me. He states:

Relative economics is when you manage your economic affairs in such a way that there are equal opportunities for the poor people to also sustain. In the present day economy the whole thrust is on profit making. It is on selfish interest only. …This is not the right way of economics. The right way of economics is when there is balance, when there is parity amongst all. How can that be created? That can be created through samyama, through self-restraint, through self-imposed poverty. This is through simplicity. Put a limit on your consumption. So if people grasp the concept of relative economics then there will be balance in society.

Although Marx would disagree with Muni Mahendra’s notion of creating “parity amongst all … through self-restraint, through self-imposed poverty,” nevertheless the Terāpanthīs believe that by educating the young within society, this kind of balance can be achieved. With such a goal in mind, the conference is organized in collaboration with the Indian Institute of Learning Management in Jaipur – a management school particularly focused on education. The conference is well represented with the young management students, government ministers and pillars of the business community.

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138 Keynote address at the 4th National Conference on Relative Economics. November 1-3, 2009, Ladnun, Rajasthan. He also uses this kind of language in many pravacans (sermons).
139 Field interview with Muni Mahendra, September 28, 2009.
The papers in the conference handbook engage with the central theme of ‘Relative Economics’ as an alternative model of Development. Dr. Ashok Bapna, the conference organizer, acknowledges the failure of various economic models that have created more problems as “discontents and conflicts are increasing in the whole world in modern times” (2000:3). According to Bapna, while a neo-classical model of development has helped countries like India and China achieve high growth rates, and increased foreign exchange reserves in recent times, nevertheless countries like India still have to grapple with growing economic inequality, high rates of unemployment, poverty, malnutrition and disease, environmental degradation just to name a few problems (3). For Bapna and others at the conference, Jainism, particularly Jainism as reinterpreted by the Terāpanth, offers a more holistic and sustainable developmental model based on the teachings of Mahāvīra – anekānta (considering all viewpoints and giving others’ viewpoints their due respect), ahimsā, and aparigraha or non-possesiveness. Based on these three principles, Ācārya Mahāprajña expounds the “economics of Mahāvīra.” According to Mahāprajña, Mahāvīra did not reject material wealth or pleasure, but rather stressed a balanced approach in which “materialism and spiritualism are interwoven” (2004:3). He iterates the same message as Bapna above that the current economic and development model is one-sided, its primary goal being economic prosperity for all. In order to fulfill the objective of pervasive prosperity, modern economics is based on uncontrolled desires, which fuels an infinite expansion of wants. Mahāprajña’s reinterpretation of Mahāvīra is essentially steeped in post-modern rhetoric in which he wedds “Western materialism” to “Eastern spirituality”. As I show below, Mahāprajña

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speaks the same language as other post-modernists who seem to be disenchanted with the
global capitalist world, but the question remains as to how anti-capitalist is Mahāprajña’s
or other post-modernists’ rhetoric? Does Mahāprajña’s rhetoric allow the very wealthy
and capitalist Terāpanth community to dabble in anti-capitalism ideology as a ‘feel good’
antidote? In what follows I outline the general post-modern discourse and then offer a
critique of the post-modern through Slavoj Žižek (2005).

There are growing voices in the scholarly world from a wide variety of disciplines
that speak to the consumer culture in a globalized world. Post-modernist sociologist,
Zygmunt Bauman, speaks to the “now” mentality of the post-modern consumer (1998).
He states: “Ideally nothing should be embraced by a consumer firmly, nothing should
command a commitment till death do us part, no needs should be seen as fully satisfied,
no desires considered ultimate” (1998:81). For Bauman, this insatiable desire for goods
and services is fostered by global competitiveness in the name of economic growth, a
climate in which industry is ever seducing consumers with the production of “temptations
and attractions” (78). He suggests that consumers are people who “live from attraction to
attraction, from temptation to temptation, from sniffing out one tidbit to searching for
another, from swallowing one bait to fishing around for another” (84). Bauman is not
alone in linking globalization to a consumer culture. Scholars like Douglas Goodman,
theorizing on global culture, are not sure if there is a global culture, but “to the extent that
there is a global culture, it will be a consumer culture” (2007:347). Although, Goodman
avers that the consumer culture will be limited to some extent, for only people with
money will be able to participate, nevertheless, according to him, it does not mean that
“the poor will be barred from participation, but it will be as spectators who are invited to
admire the seductive goods through the window of a locked door” (347). Is this the “Jihad” that, political scientist, Benjamin Barber warns us about (see below) or is it just the “democracy of consumption” that Dipesh Chakrabarty talks about (March 2013)? I will come back to Chakrabarty’s notion of the ‘democracy of consumption’, but let me first explicate what Barber calls ‘Jihad’.

Barber is speaking to the homogenizing effect of globalization or what he calls McWorld. Barber acknowledges that McWorld has spread economic and political stability, but it has also spread a message of “secularism, passivity, consumerism, vicariousness, impulse buying, and an accelerated pace of life” (1995:60). What Barber calls the heterogeneity of ‘Jihad’ is, according to him, a backlash against the McWorld. By Jihad, Barber does not primarily mean the Islamic reaction, but rather he speaks of “communities of blood, rooted in exclusion and hatred, communities that slight democracy in favor of tyrannical paternalism or consensual tribalism” (6).141 Is Barber right? Is violence just “rooted in exclusion and hatred” or is there more going on? Is consumption as vile as post-modernists make it to be, or is it liberalizing in a way that electoral democracies have sometimes not been? Chakrabarty makes a point that while electoral democracy has not spread throughout the globe, “the democracy of consumption” has spread rapidly even in dictatorial states. It is a major way in which many governments legitimize themselves. Chakrabarty cites the history of cell phone consumption in India, and speaks of how proud people are of their cell phones and the liberalizing effect it has had even on the poorest of people in India (January and March 2013). Sunita Narain who, in a discussion on the problem of emission and climate

141 Barber puts forth the notion that Jihad and McWorld are in a dialectical even though the one is driven by “parochial hatred, the other by universalizing markets.” In Barber’s thesis, what the two have in common is undermining the nation-state and thereby democracy.
change, speaks of the Indian middle class clamouring for their cars, also underscores this point (March 2013). A car is a status symbol in India. Narain is quite happy for the ordinary citizen to purchase his/her car and for the Indian car manufacturers to produce their cars, provided people opt to park their cars at home and took public transit. Here is where what Chakrabarty avers, following Žižek, is important. “Ideology is not just to do with thoughts,” he states (March 2013). It is not about spending a weekend doing *vipassana* (Buddhist insight meditation) and then going about doing what we normally do with our lives. Thus Chakrabarty poses the question: “How do we get out of anthropocentrism, when we remain in anthropocentric thoughts and structures” (March 2013)? He responds by stating that anthropocentric thoughts are not indifferent to historical changes, and non-anthropocentric thinking might be to think of the history of Earth and our history of arriving very late on it. James Lovelock offers us something to ponder “to consider the health of the earth, consider it without the constraint that the welfare of humankind comes first” (2010:36). What Lovelock is urging us to think about makes sense. In putting the welfare of the earth first, we may actually be contributing to our own survival, and hence it is in our best interest to do so.

So how does ‘Relative Economics’ help us relieve the tensions and burdens of an increasingly globalized, consumer world that is structurally unjust? What answers does Mahāvīra’s economics provide to mitigate the growing disparities between the rich and the poor of the world – the poor, who are the victims of our never-ending demands for consumption in a world with limited resources? I am not sure that the Terāpanth have a solution to offer to such weighty problems. Nevertheless, they attempt to put forth an ideology that they believe offers a way out. In a position paper for the conference on
‘Relative Economics’, the young Muni Akshayprakash outlines the conception of Relative Economics in four dimensions: 1) The development of material and physical well-being; 2) The development of an environmental awakening; 3) The development of moral and ethical values; 4) The development of a spiritual awakening.\textsuperscript{142} All of these dimensions are focused on personal development. As I have emphasized throughout this chapter, whether these ideologies transform much on a societal level is questionable.

According to the Muni, who represents the Terāpanth worldview, money has five utilities. It is a means not only to fulfill the basic necessities of life, but it can also provide material means for creature comforts and luxury, be a means for social recognition and a means for peace and happiness. The development of an environmental awakening can happen through four fundamental principles. All Sentient beings (\textit{jīva})\textsuperscript{143} and matter (\textit{padārtha}) influence each other. The environment and living beings (human and non-human) are both conditioned by and dependent upon each other. The five elements – land, water, fire, air, and ether – are all links in a chain of universal life. A disruption in any one of the links has a causal reaction in all the other links. Beings can only survive in these particular conditions. Furthermore, in the pursuance of material well-being, it is crucial that the means are moral and ethical and in the spirit of non-violence. What does this mean? According to muni Akshayprakash, it means that it is imperative to awaken one’s consciousness to the dissolution of the ego; to the interdependence of all things within the cosmos; to the spirit of renunciation, which, for the lay people, means giving away a portion of one’s income (\textit{visarjana}) to society.\textsuperscript{144} In the case of the Terāpanth, this means giving to the institutional charitable foundations within the Terāpanth, whose

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\item \textsuperscript{142} Muni Akshayprakash, personal communication Nov. 5, 2009.
\item \textsuperscript{143} The Muni translates \textit{jīva} as soul, which is valid, but in this context, sentient beings is a better translation.
\item \textsuperscript{144} Muni Akshayprakash, position paper on ‘Relative Economics,’ personal communication Nov. 5, 2009.
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prime focus is education. Much of this emphasis on education is on *ahimsā* or non-violence. What are the Terāpanth doing in this discourse? Are they espousing Western discourse on the environment and liberation theology in the garb of Jaina theology of *ahimsā*?

According to muni Akshayprakash, the Terāpanth delineate nine factors of violence, the result of such violence, and propose solutions to purify the mind and consciousness from such violence by training the brain (Nov. 5, 2009). The muni, in his position paper continues: Avarice leads to a spirit of possessiveness that fosters an attitude of I and mine or ego-centered. Training of non-infatuation with the body and material objects would avert this. Fear leads to the development and use of armaments. The muni clarifies it is not just individual fear, but fear at national and international level so that nation-states are arming themselves against real and perceived threats. The antidote is training for fearlessness, and an embargo on anything to do with the manufacturing or trading of armaments. Furthermore, the muni avers, enmity fosters a spirit of revenge. Thus one needs to cultivate friendliness and freedom from the spirit of revenge. Anger results in a strife-ridden community, whereas the spirit of forgiveness brings harmony. The outcome of egotism is hatred, caste based society, untouchability, and malice born out of racial discrimination. The remedy is politeness, and non-cooperation with injustice. Cruelty is venom that leads to exploitation and murder. Training one’s mind to be compassionate towards all beings is a corrective. Intolerance breeds communal strife. From tolerance of different ideologies ensues communal harmony. Absolutist thinking results in pertinacious mentality. Relative thinking prevents one from denigrating other people’s ideas. Finally, the muni concludes, the consequence
of an absolutist conduct is a mentality of mutual non-cooperation in community life. One needs to cultivate an attitude of interdependence (Nov. 5, 2009). When I ask the muni what the propagation of such a discourse would accomplish, he responds: “On the surface these nine factors and the solutions seem facile, but acculturating one’s mind to vigilantly follow a righteous path is not an easy task. This is where meditation helps to retrain the habitual mind” (Nov. 5, 2009).

Outside the realm of education, the Terāpanth of today are active in other social projects, primarily through the National Women’s Organization and its local chapters. One particular project they like talking about, which seems to be a success is “adopt a village.” Each local Terāpanth chapter adopts a nearby village in which they provide free, clean drinking water and scholarships to deserving students. Each local chapter competes nationally with other chapters to see which one excels in their charity works, and awards of recognition are given at their annual national meeting to the chapters that demonstrate leadership in this area. Given Bhikṣu’s stance on laukika dāna, such acts might be “deprived of immediate religious value;” nevertheless during my fieldwork in Ladnun in 2009, I observed that the attending ascetics at the National assembly, including the Sādhvī Pramukhā (head of the 600 female ascetics), did not disapprove of such actions. The Terāpanth leadership neither encourages nor discourages social giving, but they do actively encourage visarjana and in this way they are slowly trying to change their position on dāna. Their critics would argue that there is no need for the paribhāṣā (conceptual language) of visarjana.

I believe that through ‘Relative Economics’ and environmental concerns and solutions, the Terāpanth are trying to become yet another post-modern voice in the anti-
capitalist globalization movement. According to Kahn and Kellner, the movement has been portrayed as an evolution of modern political rights struggles in which all manner of identity and single-issue politics have become loosely linked, and to some degree hybridized, in joint contest against the rapacity of transnational neoliberalism as they fight for further extensions of universal human rights and a sustainable planetary ecology (2007:663).

The language that the Terāpanth employ is less about universal human rights and more about equity and equilibrium (*saṁtulana*) bringing fundamental attitudinal shifts in people’s approach to their fellow beings and the environment. But is this a move toward a justice paradigm?

As a way of analysis, I conclude this section on the Terāpanth and post-modern discourse on the economy, ecology, and social justice by employing Žižek’s thoughts, which fit well here. Žižek argues:

The ultimate postmodern irony is today’s strange exchange between the West and the East. At the very moment when, at the level of “economic infrastructure,” Western technology and capitalism are triumphing worldwide, at the level of “ideological superstructure,” the Judeo-Christian legacy is threatened in the West itself by the onslaught of New Age “Asiatic” thought. Such Eastern wisdom, from “Western Buddhism” to Taoism, is establishing itself as the hegemonic ideology of global capitalism. But while Western Buddhism presents itself as the remedy against the stress of capitalism’s dynamics – by allowing us to uncouple and retain some inner peace – it actually functions as the perfect ideological supplement (2005 [http://inthesetimes.com/article/2122/](http://inthesetimes.com/article/2122/) accessed on March 31, 2013).

Žižek explicates further how Eastern ideology “functions as the perfect ideological supplement” to global capitalism, by considering the phenomenon of “future shock” in today’s world, in which people increasingly cannot psychologically cope with the dizzying array of technological developments and ultimately lack “the most elementary
cognitive mapping” (2005). Žižek continues to explain how such line of thinking functions. He avers:

The way to cope with this dizzying change, such wisdom suggests, is to renounce any attempts to retain control over what goes on, rejecting such efforts as expressions of the modern logic of domination. Instead, one should “let oneself go,” drift along, while retaining an inner distance and indifference toward the mad dance of the accelerated process. [...] Here, one is almost tempted to resuscitate the old, infamous Marxist cliché of religion as “the opium of the people,” as the imaginary supplement of real-life misery. The “Western Buddhist” meditative stance is arguably the most efficient way for us to fully participate in the capitalist economy while retaining the appearance of sanity” (2005).

In the wake of the 2008 stock market crash and bank failures, Žižek’s arguments have palpable potency. In today’s virtual capital markets, where fortunes can be made and lost, based on mere rumours and the “herd-like behavior” of investors, Žižek suggests that, “the only “critical” lesson to be drawn from Buddhism’s perspective on virtual capitalism is that one should be aware that we are dealing with a mere theater of shadows, with no substantial existence” (2005). Žižek avers that in this line of thinking, once one has accepted that there is no substantial reality then one needs to give up desire itself and “adopt an attitude of inner peace and distance” (2005). For Žižek, it is for this reason that Buddhism functions as the perfect ideological supplement to virtual capitalism: “It allows us to participate in it with an inner distance, keeping our fingers crossed, and our hands clean, as it were” (2005). What Žižek asserts with regards to “Western Buddhism” can easily be applied to the Terāpanth ideologies. Although the Terāpanth has nowhere near the following of “Western Buddhism,” nevertheless by participating in the post-modern discourse they are hoping to have a similar impact on their followers.

Techno-politics of Resisting Globalization
In a globalized world, information technology has revolutionized the way people communicate both socially and politically. Douglas Kellner has argued that the use of computerized technology and networks is becoming a normalized aspect of political life just as broadcast media was in the past. However, technology and Internet networks are mapping out “new terrains of political struggle for voices and groups excluded from the mainstream media and thus increases potential for resistance and intervention by oppositional groups” (2003:181). Since the forms that globalization and technological revolution will take are neither fixed nor determined, Kellner argues, it is “perfectly reasonable to oppose corporate capitalist globalization and its market model of society, its neoliberal laissez-faire ideology and its putting profit, competition and market logic before all other aspects of life” (181). Since dominant state and corporate powers, as well as conservative and right wing groups already use technology in a sustained way to advance their agenda, Kellner is of the opinion that, “if forces struggling for democratization and social justice want to become players in the cultural and political battles of the future, they must devise ways to use new technologies to advance a radical democratic and ecological agenda and the interests of the oppressed” (184). Kellner cites many examples of groups fighting against state and corporate powers.\[145\]

The Terāpanth, with their message of non-violence, are resisting the corroding effects of a highly commoditized and violent global world, and technology is a tool in this resistance. They use technology extensively to spread their message of peace, non-violence, non-possession, restraint and meditation as a means to counterbalance the deleterious effects of globalization. They utilize the Internet, social media websites, and

\[145\] Kellner cites examples as varied as the Zapatista movement in Chiapas, Mexico, the anti-Nafta coalitions, anti-McDonalds and anti-Nike websites as grassroots movements deploying the Internet to advance their cause to the world. See Kellner 2003:182-190.
social networking services, such as Facebook and Twitter, in a most prolific way. A Google search on preksha results in 39000 hits, which include not only the official Preksha meditation homepage, preksha.com, the Face Book page, the Twitter page, but also many YouTube videos on varied topics including videos of the entire 1<sup>st</sup> International Preksha Meditation camp held in Oct, 2002 in Koba, (Ahmedabad) Gujarat, and even an Android application! A search of the Aṇuvrata movement yields 14000 hits on Google, whereas a search of Jeevan Vigyan and Terapanth reveals 12400 entries on Google. What all this suggests is that in an age of information technology, the Terāpanth have both the means and manpower to create such a wide variety of Internet sites. There are at least a dozen Facebook accounts for the different Terāpanth organizations that target a different audience and serve a variety of purposes.

Besides being a social networking opportunity that is religiously imbued, these pages offer a way for the community to rally around different projects. An analysis of the Akhil Bharatiya Terapanth Yuvak Parishad (ABTYP All India Terapanth Youth Society) Facebook page reveals a drive for blood donation. The poster’s slogan is “you have it you can donate it – Mega Blood Donation Drive.” It shows a virile young man and a quotation signed by a local celebrity: “This will be my Salute to humanity, will you be with me. Let’s do it on 17<sup>th</sup> September 2012 – You have, You can – Donate Blood.” The drive is part of a campaign to be in the Guinness World Record and is a national multi-city push for all to volunteer. A side bar comment by an Anuj Mehta reveals their goals. It states:

PLS…PLS…PLS… DONATE BLOOD ON 17 SEP 2012 FOR THE SAKE OF HUMANITY AND BE A PART OF WORLD RECORD…
OUR TARGET IS TO COLLECT 1 LAC [Hundred thousand] UNIT OF BLOOD IN A SINGLE DAY AND MAKE THIS MOMENT HISTORICAL … SACHIN
TENDULKAR [the best cricket batsman the world has seen and a huge national hero] AND MANY MORE CELEBRITIES ARE WITH US… THIS ‘MEGA BLOOD DONATION DRIVE’ WILL BE AT ALL OVER INDIA… PLS SO SUPPORT IT AND ADVERTISE IT… DO COME AND DONATE BLOOD ON 17 SEP 2012 AND BE A PART OF WORLD RECORD… DONATE BLOOD YOURSELF AND MOTIVATE OTHERS ALSO… DONATING BLOOD IN [sic] EVERY 3 MONTHS, IS GOOD FOR HEALTH… SO BE THERE WITH US...146

This Blood donor drive is interesting on several different counts. Without the social media networking site, a marketing and advertising campaign like this one would be quite expensive to launch and might not reach its target youth audience so technology is used to great advantage here. Furthermore, given the Terāpanth position on dāna to an asamyamī (unrestrained being), it is noteworthy that the Terāpanth leadership sanctioned such a campaign. The only way this would be authorized as a national campaign is to doctrinally see it as visarjana. In a way it meets their criteria of visarjana. The blood is not donated for a specific individual, and once it is donated its recipient is not known. In other words, the person donating has no concern once he/she gives the blood as to what happens to that donation. The Yuvak Parishad, as its name implies (youth organization), is a powerful and influential organization for young males that meets annually under the guidance of the Terāpanth leadership. There is no equivalent youth female organization, which may mean that young women join their mothers in the women’s organization or marginally participate in such activities. During my stay in Ladnun in 2009, both the Akhil Bharatiya Terapanth Yuvak Parishad and the Akhil Bharatiya Terapanth Mahilā Maṇḍal had their meetings, with a great deal of fanfare, under the auspices of the then Ācārya Mahāprajña and the Sādhwī Pramukhā (head of the 600 or so female ascetics).

Besides the national Facebook pages for these two organizations, there are also pages for the local organizations of each of these societies that promote local events in a given city. Of course in a country like India many people may not have access to technology at home, but today, with the proliferation of Internet cafes, all major cities have Internet access at a very reasonable cost, and the middle class and up are, by and large, highly educated. The Terāpanthīs themselves, as I have underscored previously, are a fairly wealthy, literate community, and most would have Internet access. In Ladnun, at the Jain Vishva Bharati University and elsewhere, technology is widely used, and computer access for university students is free in the university’s computer lab.

While I do not want to analyze all the Facebook pages, it is worth examining a few selected pages for their contents in order to elucidate the importance of technology for the Terāpanth in disseminating their ideologies. I will scrutinize three pages closely – Acharya Mahashraman Amrit Mahotsav, Preksha Meditation, and Aṇuvrata Mumbai. The Acharya Mahashraman Amrit Mahotsav page was set up for the occasion of the 50th birthday of the current (eleventh) preceptor of the Terāpanth, which occurred on May 12, 2011, and the page seems to have become a rather important page not only for communication within the community, but also as a way of propagating a number of different messages, including the daily sermons of the Ācārya. These sermons are in Hindi so the audience is limited to Hindi speaking people in India and Jainas in the diaspora, not limited to just the Terāpanthīs. The sermons are a mixture of parables and doctrinal messages. For instance, the sermon delivered on May 16, 2012 takes the thematic concern of friendship (maitri) in which Mahāśramaṇa uses stories from the

147 I use the modern English spelling Preksha instead of the Sanskriti Prekśā in the following pages because it is the spelling used by the Terāpanthīs on their English websites.
Uttarādhyaṇa Sūtra to impress the message that one should extend friendship towards all. It is easy to extend friendship to those who are nice towards one, but it is even more important to be nice and extend auspicious feelings (maṅgala bhāvnā) towards even those beings that may be critical of one.\textsuperscript{148} There are also many aphorisms and pithy sayings penned by Mahāśramana that serve as daily inspirational thoughts. A few people post on tīthi (these are days in the Jaina lunar calendar when Jaina’s refrain from many things) days, e.g., on the 5\textsuperscript{th}, 8\textsuperscript{th} or 14\textsuperscript{th} days of the lunar calendar, a reminder for their fellow Jainas to observe some sort of fast. Most observing Jainas refrain from eating green vegetables (so only dry lentils are allowed) so as to not harm vegetation and limit one’s needs and wants for those days. Others may just observe the fast of sunset to sunrise for all things including water (chauvihār). Other Facebook pages, such as the Preksha Meditation page and the Ānuvrata Mumbai page, are utilized not only to announce events, such as meditation camps or Ānuvrata camps, but also to post camp pictures and other events that may be happening.\textsuperscript{149} Another posting congratulates the community for the “excellent efforts and good show” in Sion, Mumbai by the ‘Jain Education and Empowerment Trust’ on the inauguration of a school for less privileged children ‘The Shree Adinath Vidyapeeth’ in Belapur, New Mumbai. This kind of propagation of all the efforts by the Terāpanth community could not be possible without the use of Internet and other technology.

In addition to the Facebook pages I have just discussed, the Terāpanth have many other websites that propagate the different ideologies. Of the many websites I want to examine two in particular – The Preksha Meditation site and the Here-Now 4U site – the

\textsuperscript{148} \url{http://www.facebook.com/amritmahotsav.acharyamahashraman} accessed on June 25, 2012.
\textsuperscript{149} \url{http://www.facebook.com/anuvrata.mumbai} accessed on June 25, 2012.
former is the official website for Preksha and the latter is a Terāpanth on-line magazine edited by a German woman, Carla Geerdes a.k.a. Karunā Jain, a Terāpanth convert and her husband, Christian. The Preksha Meditation website tells you everything there is to know about Preksha. The site has information in three languages, the official English language page and Japanese and Russian language links. As I have already explicated in chapter three, Japan and the former Soviet Union bloc countries are an important market for the spread of Preksha. In the post glasnost period, the Terāpanth are trying to fill a spiritual void in the Soviet bloc countries and people in these countries seem to be responding to Preksha. The website shows at least a dozen contact emails for Preksha centres within these countries. The site describes Preksha as “a path of self awakening and self realization” and states the goals of the Preksha Foundation. It was formed “to promote and propagate this [Preksha] scientific technique across the globe … [and] is a non-profit spiritual, educational, charitable and humanitarian organization, dedicated to serving society by strengthening the individual.”

150 Its mission, according to the website, is to spread awareness of the benefits of Preksha Meditation to “the barest corner of the globe” and claims that camps and workshops held by the Foundation “have helped millions around the world to overcome stress, depression and violent tendencies and elevated their actions towards a better world.”

151 Such claims on Internet based websites help the Terāpanth bring spiritual tourism to their doorstep in Ladnun, Rajasthan, where a lot of the camps take place. In chapter four I have highlighted how prekṣā allows the Terāpanth to participate in the booming spiritual tourism economy through other tourism websites.

151 Ibid.
Finally, I come to the Here-Now 4U site, which is not only fascinating in its own right, but also because its founders and editors, Carla and Christian Geerdes, have an intriguing history with the Terāpanth. I met Karunāji, as she is known in the Terāpanth community, in 2008 at a Terāpanthī friend’s home in Jaipur, Rajasthan, where I was doing some preliminary fieldwork. Over tea and cake she told me about her journey to India seeking for ‘ātman’, a term she had no knowledge of, and had encountered in a dream. She came to India in search of a guru, and ironically said, “we Germans have to be careful of the gurus we chose.” When she met Mahāprajña (the tenth preceptor), she knew she had met her guru, and within the Terāpanth she found a spiritual home. The couple is such devotees of the Terāpanth that they have donated all their time and resources towards the cause. They founded the on-line journal in 1997, which has become a repository, not only for all things Terāpanth, but also for all things Jaina. The journal has many tabs, including one on the Department of History and Cultural Studies Center for Jaina Studies (CFJS.FU) The CFJS.FU at Freie Universität Berlin (FU) was founded in May 2011 at the suggestion of Prof. Klaus Bruhn, who held the chair of Indology at FU until 1991, and is one of the leading experts on Jainism in the Western world. This tab lists all the staff – faculty and board of advisory – as well as all newsworthy items related to the Center, and publishes an on-line scholarly journal *CFJS Journal of Jainology*. Furthermore, the site reports on news items reported in the external media, has a section on Jain culture, Jainology, Jain Saṅghas, a catalogue of on-line books in progress, and also an on-line bookshop, which sells books primarily written by the Terāpanth leadership, but also by others, and the funds are accepted in sterling pounds. For the Terāpanth this is a very important website in promoting their agenda with

regards to Jaina education and helps boosts their image within both the Jaina community and the scholarly community.

I started this section on the Terāpanth’s use of technology by stating that they use the various websites and social media networks to serve a variety of purpose and their target communities and readership for the various sites are also differentiated. The Akhil Bharatiya Terapanth Yuvak Parishad pages serve as a community social site for young, upwardly mobile Terāpanth males not only to connect with each other on a national level, but also to connect diasporic Terāpanth male members to their community in India. It keeps these young members in the fold and promotes and engages them in socially responsible, feel-good projects like the blood donation drive described above. The Akhil Bharatiya Terapanth Mahila Maṇḍal Facebook page is a social media site that is to some extent utilized for that purpose for female members to connect with each other, but often it is a site to announce the Mahilā Maṇḍal’s upcoming events or past activities. These events generally focus on the religious aspects of the community. While the target audience for these Facebook pages remain primarily the Terāpanth community, the Preksha meditation website tells a different story. These pages demonstrate an appeal to a different audience, one that is westernized, and there seems to be a definite goal to fill a void amongst the disenchanted members in the former Soviet bloc. Here we certainly see echoes of what Žižek (see above) says about “Western Buddhism,” but to a people that seem to be lost in the wake of the fall of communism. The target audience on these pages is people who are part of the growing market of “spiritual tourism.”

Conclusion
In conclusion, in this chapter I have shown how the Jainas, in general, and the Terāpanthīs, in particular, participate as a voice in the anti-globalization movement, using post-modern discourse to appeal to a global audience. I have attempted to demonstrate that the Terāpanthīs, through anuvrata, jīvan vijñāna, and preksādhyāna, are aiming to transmute society one individual at a time by teaching Jaina values from childhood. In moving towards a greener planet, the Jainas, as the literature reveals, have not always shown consideration towards a preferential option for the poor. There needs to be more voices along the lines of Gustavo Gutiérrez, Leonardo Boff and Ivone Gebara that position preferential treatment for the poor and concern for the environment ahead of the satiating needs of imperial economic powers such as the U. S. and its consumer society (Scharper 2006). However, the Terāpanth are, at least, in their words ideologically moving towards a more equitable world in which the environmental and social equity concerns are expressed by reinterpreting Mahāvīra’s thoughts on ahimsā, aparigraha, and anekānta into scientific language to accommodate the needs of a post-modern global world. Still this discourse remains just an ideological rhetoric, with very little political action to effect policy changes. The Aṇuvrata movement, as I have shown, stops shy of propounding any real changes that can contribute to any societal transformation. In ‘Relative Economics’ the Terāpanth provide a system of thought, like Buddhism – here I am following Žižek – whereby we can participate in a global economy while maintaining a sort of inner distance and hence, sanity. I am not sure if one can go as far as saying that the Terāpanth provide an anti-capitalist ideology that capitalist may enjoy in their spare time, because I think their goal genuinely may be more altruistic. Indeed the personal practices of anuvrata, jīvan vijñāna, and preksādhyāna, along with ‘relative economics’
may undeniably lead to more compassionate, concerned individuals, but this may well not translate into structured social, economic and political change for social justice.
Conclusion

Throughout this dissertation I have argued that dāna and dhyāna in Jaina yoga are ethical imperatives that, as ‘technologies of the self,’ allow individuals to move towards liberation. The Terāpanth, in spreading their doctrines – prekṣādhyāna, aṇuvrata, jīvana vijñāna, and even ‘relative economics’ – have been focused on the individual, trying to transform one individual at a time, though their goal is to change society. This approach raises some questions such as: How successful are the Terāpanth at bringing about social change? Furthermore, as I have argued through the course of the dissertation, the Terāpanth have sought the authority of scriptures and science to lend force to their innovations and reinterpretations. What, if any, impact does this have on Jaina theology?

A Question of Success

I begin by answering the first question. How successful are they in bringing social change on a mass scale? Let us take prekṣādhyāna, which was a recent innovation, and one that they hoped would become a transnational movement like others in the modern yoga movement, such as the Buddhist vipassana meditation, or Transcendental Meditation™ movement. Although the Terāpanth have been somewhat successful in India, and in pockets of the Western world where they have centres run by the samaṇīs, nevertheless, as I reveal in chapter three, their claims of having over a half million people practising prekṣādhyāna worldwide are largely unsubstantiated. Within the diasporic communities where each of these centres are located in London, England, Iselin, New Jersey, Houston, Texas, and Orlando, Florida, the samaṇīs have been able to draw people largely from the local diasporic populations, both Jaina and non-Jaina Indians and to some extent other non-Indian local population who come to the classes primarily for
prekṣādhyāna’s health and fitness benefits. Beyond these pockets of people, prekṣādhyāna has failed to mushroom like other similar movements in the contemporary yoga setting. Andrea Jain suggests that one possible reason for this lack of success could be that prekṣādhyāna is grounded in Jaina asceticism, and that the reputation of Jainism, as being too rigorous a tradition, may have inhibited the spread of the movement (2010).

However, the large success of Buddhist insight meditation and TM are to a great degree owing to the charismatic leadership associated with these movements, which prekṣādhyāna lacks on an international level. Though Mahāprajña and his predecessor, Tulsī, are well-known in India, they do not have the same exposure internationally, beyond, perhaps, the diasporic populations. On the other hand, although the vipassana movement, as I have already discussed in the introduction and chapter three, was founded by S. N. Goenka who is well-known in his own right, nevertheless vipassana’s popularity also stems from the fact that Buddhist insight meditation has been universalized and popularized due to Buddhism’s biggest celebrity spokesman, the Dalai Lama. Similarly, Transcendental Meditation became a worldwide phenomenon in the late 1960s following the highly publicized Beatles tour to Rishikesh, India to study TM with Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, who was already recognized as an enormously charismatic leader. Today, TM’s cause has been taken up by such celebrities as the U.S. comedian, Jerry Seinfeld and the film director, David Lynch, whose foundation, the ‘David Lynch Foundation for Consciousness-Based Education and World Peace’, has been hired by the U.S. Defense Department to train soldiers and veterans in the art of TM with a $2 million grant. Such

153 I rely on my own interviews conducted with diasporic Indians visiting Ladnun during my stay there, and also on interviews with samaṇīs who had lived in the centres abroad. The samaṇīs are rotated out of the centres on a periodic basis, though not every rainy season as ascetics in India would each year. Also see Jain 2010:226-242.
cachet is hard to come by for preśādhyāna since the Terāpanth ācāryas never travel outside India and hence their field of influence is limited, at most, to the national level within India. Thus preśādhyāna remains narrowly circumscribed. Still all Jainas, at least the ones to whom I spoke to, perceive the ‘revival’ of Mahāvīra’s meditation as a positive change, something they can feel honoured by and gratified to claim as their own, and laud the Terāpanth effort in bringing it to the world. Furthermore, all the practitioners I interacted with – Indians and non-Indians in the international camps – acknowledged the positive changes that the daily practise of preśādhyāna have wrought in their lives.

In chapter five I outline Tulsi’s vision for the Aṇuvrata movement to be ‘socially engaged’. Tulsi and Mahāprajñā, who walked the length and breadth of India as part of their ahimsā yātrā (lit. ‘journey of non-violence’ – a journey undertaken to spread the message of non-violence), were exemplars of their own vision. Furthermore, the building of the seven-storied ‘Aṇuvrata Bhavan’ in the posh Delhi neighbourhood shows that Tulsi’s vision for Aṇuvrata, as a secular movement, was grand. It illustrates that Tulsi expected the building to be filled with many volunteers and staff to actively take his vision forward. Today the Aṇuvrata movement occupies only two of the seven floors. The remaining floors are leased to tenants. Although Tulsi elaborated the five Jaina anuvratas and made them relevant to contemporary life, their effect, at least on the people I interviewed, were negligible. In her recent ethnography on the Aṇuvrata movement in India and the diaspora, Shivani Bothra, avers that while her respondents found the ‘socially engaged’ movement to be a desirable good, they were unable to articulate its relevance in their lives, which leads her to conclude “that the vows are good but for others to practice” (2013:83 emphasis is in the original). Thus the Aṇuvrata
movement has fallen far short of Tulsi’s vision and largely remains as a desirable ideology that has not even translated into successful transformation at the individual level let alone at a societal level.

As far as the impact of jīvana vijñāna is concerned, it remains to be seen if the seeds sown in young minds at an early age will come to bear any long term fruits. It will be interesting to see if the Terāpanth are able to take the program more nationally beyond the sixty-six schools operated by them and the two hundred and fifty schools, largely in Rajasthan, that have adopted the program. Lastly, the ‘relative economics’ ideology is in its very early stage of development and seems to have made very little inroads. It remains mostly rhetorical. All of the above, prekṣādhyāna, aṇuvrata, jīvana vijñāna, and ‘relative economics’ are as suggested, aimed at the individual, which does not necessarily transmute society. Dāna, translated as visarjana, has allowed the Terāpanth to fund projects largely related to education, but this too has not had a significant impact beyond its own community. It has not transformed into any large-scale philanthropy or social justice initiatives impacting society at large. The Terāpanth, as I have shown, are not active in bringing about systemic societal changes. They do not capitalize upon their close alliance with the ruling Congress party to effect policy changes at the governmental level to transform society.

**Scripture and Science**

One of the recurring themes in this dissertation has been how the Terāpanth use authoritative discourses of scripture as canonical authority and of science as a ‘secular’ and ‘modern’ authority to bolster their arguments. In chapter two I argue that Bhikṣu carefully culls passages from the Śvetāmbara canon to justify his position on dāna and
$dayā$ (compassion). For example, as I have attempted to illustrate (see p. 58-62), Bhiṣku selects certain ambiguous passages in the $Sthāṇaṅga Sūtra$, which he admits as such, and then proceeds to reinterpret them, at the same time claiming that his opponents are misleading innocent people. The paucity of material, coupled with interpretive ambiguities, allows the Terāpanth latitude to interpret the scriptures to suit their own particular agenda. However, as I have discussed in chapter three, the subject of the ‘canon’ itself is a problematic one, the formation of which comprises parts that are ancient, others that are accretions and redactions. Again what constitutes a ‘canon’ is also disputed within the Jaina tradition itself. The Digambaras do not recognize the Śvetāmbara canon claiming that the canon was lost. Within the Śvetāmbaras the Mūrtipūjakas have forty-five canonical texts and the Sthānakvāsis (from whom the Terāpanth hail) recognize only thirty-three of these texts. So what does this mean in terms of Jaina theology? Is reinterpretation part of an adaptive strategy that every religion undergoes or are there certain doctrines that are sacrosanct, which, if changed, would result in an unacceptable theological erosion? I contend that despite the problems with the formation of the canon and certain doctrinal differences within the Jaina sects, there are some doctrines that are central to Jaina theology. Thus all sects accept the five vows ($mahāvratas$) of $ahimsā$, satya, asteya, brahmācārya, and aparigraha. $Dāna$, as I have elucidated in chapters two and four, in the Jaina tradition has been one of those core positions, and the Terāpanth interpretation has caused some consternation amongst other Jainas who feel that there has been manipulation and misrepresentation of the core doctrine of $ahimsā$ as compassion.
Science is the other authoritative discourse that the Terāpanth utilize. In chapter three I elucidate how prekṣādhyāna is not only made to appear ancient, but it is also made to seem scientific, and medical experiments are performed on practitioners, particularly those with stress management and health issues to prove that prekṣādhyāna ‘works’. Furthermore, I demonstrate in chapter five how the Terāpanth reinterpret passages in the Ācāraṅga Śūtra to reflect the language employed in contemporary environmental science. I show that this is a growing trend not only within the Terāpanth, but also in the literature presented on Jainism and ecology, within other modern yoga movements, and, as Lopez has shown, within Buddhism. Lopez concludes his study on *Buddhism and Science* by elucidating how innovations were accommodated and techniques developed within Buddhism, which I draw upon here because it can be easily said about the Terāpanth and Jainism more broadly. Lopez draws attention to two terms in Buddhism – *nitārtha* (definitive) and *neyārtha* (provisional). Lopez states:

> Although again variously interpreted, the pair was often used to distinguish those things that the Buddha said which he also believed from those things that he said in deference to the limited understanding of his audience. This strategy would seem to encourage rather than discourage innovation, for it allowed an old teaching, once regarded as authoritative, to be superseded without being rejected. Indeed nothing could be rejected, because all was the word of the enlightened Buddha (2008:213).

Lopez affirms that innovations recurred throughout Buddhist history, for instance, during the rise of Tantra, and again with the rise of Buddhist modernism in the twentieth century.

Let us apply what Lopez avers about Buddhism to the Jaina case. The Digambara Ācārya, Kundakunda (2nd century C.E.),\(^{154}\) coined two terms, *niścaya nayā* (definitive,}

\[^{154}\text{Since the Digambaras believed the canon to be lost, Kundakunda’s works are considered to be the most authoritative texts by the sect. Amongst his most famous works are: Niyamasāra, Pravancanasāra, and}\]
certain standpoint)\textsuperscript{155} and vyahvāra naya (transactional and provisional value and viewed from a worldly perspective).\textsuperscript{156} For Kundakunda, from niścaya naya “the sole object of omniscience is the soul (jīva) itself” (Niyamsāra 159-66 as cited by Dundas 2002:108); everything else in the universe is viewed as vyavāhirka or worldly. The Terāpanth have reinterpreted Kunkakunda’s niścaya naya and vyahvāra naya as lokottara and laukika. Thus, as I have argued throughout the dissertation, everything that leads up to the soul’s omniscience is lokottara and everything else is laukika. One can extrapolate from the Terāpanth’s anchoring of their theology to the scriptures that all that is attributed directly to Mahāvīra is lokottara, and everything else is mundane or laukika. By extension, since their theology is anchored to scriptures, then their reinterpretation of Mahāvīra’s meditation in modern scientific language as prekṣādhyāna is also a lokottara means of achieving liberation. Following Lopez’s argument above, if one takes Bhikṣu’s position on dāna as the new theology within the Terāpanth, then within the Terāpanth everything else prior to it is provisional, and when Tulsī reinterprets dāna as visarjana without rejecting Bhikṣu’s notion of dāna, Bhikṣu’s theology becomes provisional. When the Terāpanth uses science to anchor their theology it becomes in a sense ‘canonized’.

However, the problem with science itself is that every new discovery replaces the old,
and makes the previous science provisional. Thus a grave caveat accompanies mooring theology to science. This might lead to the erosion of core theological precepts.

While future historians might view such developments as natural evolutionary moments in the unfolding of the Jaina tradition, there is a danger that developments – often driven by a capitalistic, consumer, or celebrity driven culture – could actually vitiate such core concepts as *ahimsā*. *Ahimsā*, in its positive sense, relates to dāna as emerging from a source of compassion – not just compassion for humans, but for all beings. In this sense, Bhikṣu, the founder of the Terāpanth, has an important interpretation. In his valuing of water beings (see chapter two), Bhikṣu articulates an important non-anthropocentric valuing of all beings in the universe. As I have argued in chapter two, the interpretation regarding humans versus water bodies is deeply problematic; yet the appeal to sensitivity to non-human life has important resonance with contemporary ecological perspectives. Although the Terāpanth have not been successful in widely disseminating these ideas, it does not necessarily invalidate the potential relevance and importance of these concepts, especially in light of our present ecological concerns.
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