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JAIN VALUES, WORSHIP AND THE TIRTHANKARA IMAGE



by

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The main purpose of the thesis is to examine Jain worship and the role of the Jains' Tirthankara images in worship. The thesis argues that the worshipper emulates the Tirthankara image which embodies Jain values and that these values define and, in part, dictate proper behavior. In becoming like the image, the worshipper's actions express the common concerns of the Jains and follow a pattern that is prized because it is believed to be especially Jain.

The basic orientation or line of thought is that culture is a system of symbols. These symbols are implicit agreements among the community's members, agreements which entail values and which permit the Jains to meaningfully interpret their experiences and guide their actions. The thesis traces the connections between Jain doctrine and ethical beliefs, and their practical manifestations in ritual, social action and institutions, artistic symbolism and the experiences and sentiments of the Jains.

The thesis goes on to argue that the worship of the Tirthankara image expresses those more firmly entrenched values of Jainism which, during worship, are grounded in the metaphysical. When publicly recognized in the ritual context, these values permit the Jains to recognize their cultural unity and to identify themselves with the Tirthankara image, a constant reminder of the ideal person and

the ideal society. By becoming like the image, the worshipper not only has an opportunity to reflect on his progress toward liberation but to reflect upon his position within his community and devise a strategy to maintain or improve his social prestige.

In the final section, the thesis addresses the artistic symbolism of the image. This section argues that the image represents in aggregate those ideal qualities--achieved only through proper action--which are essential before attaining liberation and which are used to determine one's ritual prestige. The image symbolizes the proper behavior with which every Jain ought to comply in the ritual and social contexts. This section maintains that the image expresses a cultural idiom used to interpret one's past, present and future experiences and actions, as well as the nature of those social relationships seen as fundamental in each Jain's struggle for spiritual and social prestige.

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INTRODUCTION

Jainism is an ascetic monastic faith in India. It is a heterodox system which rejects the authority of the Vedas, the sacred books of the Hindus, and Brahmin ritualism, emphasizing escape from life, rather than union with Brahma (the Divine Reality of which all else is said to be a manifestation). Its name derives from Jina, or "Victorious One," a law-giver and teacher, who expounds the ethical principles leading to liberation (moksa, nirvana). The law-givers are also known as Tirthankaras (Fordmakers), those who have crossed the river of rebirth. These Tirthankaras exemplify the path toward liberation, the sole escape from samsara (transmigration).

During the sixth century B.C., Hinduism had replaced Brahmanism and was consolidating its hold over India's population. Salvation was coming to rest in the execution of complicated rituals, administered by the Brahmins. The caste system was assuming its familiar form: a hierarchy of ritually ranked, interdependent categories of people. On the western periphery of Hinduism's influence in Bihar, several Kshatriya (warrior) clans disputed the Brahmin's (priest's) claim of ritual and social superiority; they openly rejected the sacred Vedas which attributed their inferiority to a natural inherent condition of the entire caste. These Kshatriyas had long

regarded themselves the equals, if not superiors, of the Brahmins, and they refused to accept a ritualism that denied salvation to non-Brahmins. It was from these Kshatriya clans¹ that the Buddha and Mahavira, the "Great Hero" of Jainism, arose to challenge the authority of the Brahmin's Vedas. These Kshatriya offered personal salvation to any individual who followed their anti-Brahmanical teachings.

Unlike the Buddha, Mahavira was a reformer of an earlier ascetic order begun by Parsvanatha, the twenty-third Tirthankara of the Jains. Mahavira preached a creed of severe asceticism and atheism; self-mortification and respect for life were his primary tenets. He began his career as a renouncer (sannyasa) in Bihar. Having fulfilled his duties of marriage and fatherhood as a young man, he joined a group who followed the teachings of Parsvanatha. He wandered the Ganges valley for twelve years, until he gained enlightenment (kevali), at which time he founded his own order of monks which were supported by a following of layfolk. During the last thirty years of his life, Mahavira's teaching earned him a great reputation and his community grew. In the thirtieth year of his renunciation (c. 468 B.C.), Mahavira voluntarily starved himself to death to gain moksa (freedom). Later generations of Jains proclaimed him the twenty-fourth and final Tirthankara of this cosmic cycle.

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1. As Weber (1958: 225-28) notes, the rise of Buddhism and Jainism was among "well-educated intellectual/s who were "...not of the underprivileged but of very positively privileged strata."

The Jain community prospered after Mahavira's death. However, during the reign of Candragupta (c. 310 B.C.), a serious famine threatened the survival of Mahavira's order. The order divided, one group remaining in the Ganges valley and the Deccan, and the other moving south to Mysore. This geographical division assumed doctrinal significance. The Jains maintain that during the division of the community, Mahavira's teachings were forgotten. In an effort to reconstruct them and write a canon, a schism resulted (c. 82 A.D.). One group of Jains regarded nudity as absolutely essential for liberation (the Digambara, or "Skyclad"), while the other group (the Svetambara, or "Whiteclad"), denied the necessity of nudity in attaining liberation. Throughout later centuries, other minor doctrinal disagreements led to additional schisms, within the two major divisions of Jains.

Unlike Buddhism, Jainism never spread beyond India's boundaries. The Jains adopted Hindu customs and manners so long as they did not violate the principles of Jainism, especially ahimsa, non-violence. While the Jains have no rules for worship, Tirthankara images have been commonly worshipped since c. 100 B.C., although the Jains say they have worshipped images of Mahavira since c. 400 B.C. Images of the Tirthankaras, like Hindu gods, are worshipped in temples. As Jacobi (1915: 473) remarks, the temple worship of Tirthankara images remains the "most conspicuous habit of the laity."

The purpose of this thesis is to examine Jain worship and the role of the Tirthankara image in worship. I maintain that worship and the image embody and externalize Jain values, which define and, in part, dictate proper behavior for the community's members. Through Jain worship, I shall argue, social values are grounded in the metaphysical and the preferences of the community are made objective. Once values are explicitly and consciously objectified, they help the Jain community confidently orient itself in the world. Worship and the Tirthankara image not only interpret and inform the Jains of their specific social history, but also reveal the metaphysical order.

This examination of worship attempts to answer two questions: what are the values embodied in ritual events?, and how is it that values define and dictate proper behavior? Our first task, though primarily concerned with identifying values, must additionally search for a pattern of priorities among these values. Emphasis, not radical departure, defines Jainism, and it is in worship that the distinctively Jain pattern of values assumes its greatest definition. The second question squarely confronts worship's control over social behavior. Worship is a set of symbolic statements which borrows its vocabulary from the everyday natural and social worlds to discuss the supernatural realm, the really real. These symbols, once employed, logically and meaningfully integrate the world. Here I argue that the image is the center of interest in worship and that the image reveals to the worshippers the presuppositions of Jainism, what it is to be a Jain.

The major theme of the thesis is that, during worship, the worshipper becomes like the Tirthankara, represented by the image. In becoming like the image, the worshipper not only expresses the common concerns of the Jains, which worship and the image express, but his actions follow a pattern that is prized because it is believed to be especially Jain. Not only is cosmic harmony or order established, but Jain values and the Jain's preferred vision of the world are given authority as Truth. Worship not only links the historical past, present, and future, but the real and the really real. In effect, worship and the image form a connection between cosmós and society.

METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

It is one thing to state a method. It is quite another to legitimize it or show how the method helps to explain the phenomena under study. Recently Fabian (1971: 20) wrote:

the critical situation in which our discipline seems to be caught is due to a general and largely uncritical acceptance of a positivist-pragmatist philosophy of science in American Anthropology. By positivist-pragmatist philosophy I mean a view of the social-scientific activity which acknowledges these two criteria: (a) Whatever truth may be found is equated with the logical flawlessness of theories generating testable propositions. (b) The meaning of such knowledge is its success in "accounting for," "predicting" and, generally, giving evidence of the manipulability of "data." What this orientation does not imply (at least in any radical way) is a critique of the working of reason and the factuality of facts. It is an approach in which methodology (the rules of correct and successful procedure) has taken the place of epistemology (reflection on the constitution of communicable knowledge).

His criticism: the positivist methodology,² though procedurally adequate, neglects crucial epistemological problems. But what does he mean?

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2. Generally, in a positivist science, events are ordered by using three typical kinds of assertions:
 - a. naming or classification
 - b. the basic or protocol sentence which states a fact and can be verified by observation. These sentences state an intentional identity in subject-predicate form.
 - c. assertions of the form (of a law): $E = f(c)$ in which E is the subsequent value, c is the numerical value of the configuration, f is a functor and $=$ is an assertion of real identity between the two sides (Percy, 1978: 243-264).

As a general point of departure, positivist theories assume that basic propositions and laws are empirically discoverable, and, therefore, are in some sense independent of the observer; they are part of an objective world. Insofar as a methodology is positivistic, it assumes that there are atomic objects and events, corresponding to certain proper names, and atomic facts, corresponding to protocol sentences. Fabian rejects the positivist's assumptions: phenomenalism, nominalism (the assumption that general or abstract terms have no meaning because they do not refer to individual concrete objects), the non-cognitive nature of value judgements, i.e., Fabian rejects the emotive theory of values and allows a place for moral evaluations, and, finally, the belief in the essential unity of scientific method. In a nutshell, he rejects the positivist's fusion of meaning with evidence (truth or falsity).

For the positivist, each description presupposes a meaning that remains stable and, therefore, is in part independent of context. If one adopts the positivist methodology, he asserts that systematic descriptions of reality vary in fidelity: that ultimately he can reduce the world to some basic structure, that he can measure degrees of realism and knowledge. The accuracy of a description is a mere technical problem, rather than a methodological problem.

A positivist observer bases his description on the conjunction of perceived properties. He must assume that his description

classifies an object or event according to particular properties (or a sufficient set of properties), and that other scientists recognize these properties. The scientist refines a description; he does not question the factuality of the description.

For Fabian, the observer's objectivity is a correlative of sharing a theory, i.e., a set of propositions, consistently tied together by the rules of a conventional logic, in which the theory not only selects the data of the external world, but simultaneously orders them. Objectivity lies not in logical consistency of the theory or the givenness of data, but in intersubjectivity. In Fabian's view, the unquestioned assumption--that the structure of theory is that of reality--overlooks the basic problem: one knows reality only through the theory, and no reality, independent of the theory, exists with which to correct or compare the theory.

The important point for us, however, is that the process of doing science and transmitting the resulting knowledge from one person to another presupposes an intersubjective agreement, a symbolic convention, which is built upon a set of assumptions about the world. These assumptions are symbolic statements which, within the positivistic method, science disallows as a subject of its analysis. The scientist views these assumptions as true statements which make the world consistent. He attempts to verify or falsify statements, which must have an empirical content, with events comprising his data.

The perspective I adopt is that data must be regarded as interpretations (in the first case, the native's interpretation, and, in the second case, the anthropologist's interpretation) and not as reflections of facts existing independently of the observer. Rather, the observer--whether anthropologist or native--is an active agent; he creates knowledge. Knowing is a process in which externals are perceived and transformed into conceptualized experience. A description does not describe the world, and the systematic rigor of a description is more a characteristic of the description than the world (Goodman, 1972: 24-32). The real question is whether an account is systematic and not whether the world is. Therefore, if a description cannot describe the real world, then it cannot find a way the world is. The way one sees the world is, by and large, an interpretation; the world appears to be many sided, and each account describes part of it: any account describes only a reality. As Geertz (1973: 15, 9) says:

Anthropological writings are themselves interpretations, and second- and third-order ones to boot. (By definition only a "native" makes first-order ones: it's his culture.) They are, thus, fictions...."Something made".... What we call our data are only our own constructions of what they and their compatriots are up to....Right down at the factual base... of the whole enterprise, we are already explicating: and worse explicating explications.

Any study of culture examines propositions which construct and tie reality together. The world exists, but it conforms

to beliefs. As I will argue below, action is a product of the actor's perceptions, interpretations, and judgements. One has to understand the actor's context of action, if he wants to understand the actor's actions. It is for this reason that anthropology remains an essentially interpretive exercise.

THE JAINS

First Principles: Philosophy and Life

As Herman Jacobi (1961) reminds us, Jainism was a religion well before it became an organized philosophy, but unlike the Advaita systems, the Jains never moved toward philosophical monism. According to Jain cosmology (there is no cosmogony), the universe is composed of two substances: conscious souls (jiva) and unconscious particles of matter (ajiva). The goal of life is to effect and maintain the separation of jiva and ajiva.

Ajiva is composed of five substances: an infinite number of dustlike particles (pudgala) and the media of dharma, adharma, akasa and kala. Dharma, which should be distinguished from the dharma (morality) of caste, is the medium of motion, while adharma is the medium of rest. Akasa is space and kala is time.

There are two types of souls: the liberated (siddha, mukta) and the mundane (samsarin). The Jains dogmatically assert that a soul, having accumulated karmic matter (pudgala), is born in various forms, depending upon the type of and degree of karmic obstruction. Eternally alive and immaterial, the soul has perception and knowledge. A soul rises through individual effort. It is entirely responsible for its own

actions. But souls attain perfection in the world only with great difficulty, and the Jains have an elaborate system of metaphysical principles to explain the procedure as well as an ethical system to effect the rise and eventual liberation. They are different sides of the same coin.

The metaphysical principles are known as the tattvas. They are: 1) the world is composed of jiva and 2) ajiva. 3) Because of the soul's passions (kayasas) of anger, pride and desire, particles flow into the jiva (asrava), 4) where they are bonded (bhanda). The soul becomes increasingly saturated with karmic particles, and the only way to regain freedom is through 5) the cessation of the inflow of particles (samvara) and 6) an eventual displacement of karmic matter (nirjara).

Asrava, the inflow of karma, is caused by yoga, the vibrations of the mind, speech and body. Since the soul in its perfected state is separated from karmic matter, the inflow of karmic particles is responsible for all of one's misery in life. This inflow, though, need not be only disadvantageous. Action, if informed by Right Knowledge and Right Belief, promotes Right Conduct (these are the three jewels of Jainism) and therefore produces meritorious karma. Ultimately, though, one must arrest even these good and proper activities since all actions attach one to the world in some manner.

The Jain ethic emphasizes complete separation from the world. Exchanges of goods and services or simply contact with another person alters one's relative purity, i.e., alters the make-up of one's karmic body, and should, therefore, be minimized. The devout layman or monk directs his behavior solely to this task. Action brings karma. The individual takes every precaution against transforming another's as well as his own internal moral code for action: a "person's moral qualities are thought to be altered by changes in the person's body that result from eating certain foods, engaging in certain kinds of sexual intercourse, undergoing certain ceremonies, or falling under certain other kinds of influence" (Marriott, 1972: 4).

Various kinds of vigilant good conduct, meditation, hardships and a generally contemplative mood in daily affairs promote samvara or the cessation of asrava, but most of all, one frees himself through consecrated social action: the purity of nonviolence (ahimsa) in action, speech and thought (Sangave, 1959: 230). The monks, to avoid accumulation of karma resulting from prolonged contacts with others, travel throughout the country, never stopping for more than a few days, except during the rainy season when accidental injury of souls (e.g., insects) is greatest. The layman, on the other hand, is encouraged to restrain his actions (Weber, 1958: 197). Consequently, one takes voluntary vows restricting

his activities (primarily eating and movement). These vows help stop the inflow of karma.

The crucial step toward salvation occurs with nirjara, the removal of karmic particles. Some of these particles are sloughed naturally (savipaka nirjara), having matured and separated as is their nature. Austerities (tapas) remove the remaining karma. Whether internal (spiritual or psychological) or external (physical), only austerities quell the passions.

The soul, then, rises through spiritual action and an elaborate ethical system defines proper action. While vows (vratas) are necessary to become a monk, the Jain monks and laypeople are not strictly separated. The monks' vows differ only in degree and not in kind from those of the laity. The most important are the five great vows (mahavrata): to avoid 1) killing life in any form (ahimsa), 2) telling untruths (asatya tayaga), 3) theft (asteya vrata), 4) sexual contacts, wine and highly seasoned foods (brahmacarya vrata), 5) attachments to worldly people or objects (aparigraha).

The Jains carry the first great vow to extremes unsurpassed elsewhere in India. Since the world is filled with living bodies, they exercise great caution in their daily lives. Careless movement, eating foods which harbor life, sleeping in places where there is life (e.g., insects) should be avoided because they violate the first vow.

Supplementing the major vows are seven additional vows (silvratas) which, by restricting the domain of action, assist the individual in fulfilling the major vows. These vows include: limiting movement to fixed directions (digvrata), placing a limit on one's movement in the upward and downward directions (desavrata), setting aside a time each day for spiritual pursuits such as meditation (samayika), and restricting the time, place and amount of food consumed. In addition, the devout layman performs the six daily duties (avasyakas): deva puja, worship of the god; guru puja, worship of the preceptor; svadhyaya, study of scripture; samyama, practice of self-control; tapa, practice of austerities; and dana, gift giving.

The Jain laity are also asked to obey thirty-five rules of good conduct. These rules are based on benevolence and are designed to promote harmony. Included are marriage restrictions, clothing restrictions, rules of social intercourse, limitations on the amount of wealth one may accumulate and the degrees of social intimacy allowed between people (Sangave, 1959: 222). As the Chandogyopanishad (Bhargava, 1968: 102-3) reminds us, a good man has five qualities: penance (tapas), benevolence (dana), non-violence (ahimsa), truthfulness (satyacacana), and simple dealings with others (arjavam), i.e., non-stealing.

If a person obeys the major and supplementary vows, and the rules of good conduct, he will progress through eleven stages (pratima) until he becomes like a monk (Sangave, 1959: 221). The pratima are:

1. Darsana pratima: worshipping the true god, a Tirthankara; revering a true guru, a Jain monk; believing in the true dharma (morality), Jainism; and avoid gambling, drinking wine, committing adultery, thieving and debauchery;
2. vrata pratima: keeping the twelve vows and when dying, performing Santharo (a religiously sanctioned form of suicide by starving oneself) to gain merit;
3. samayika pratima: doing samayika (setting aside a time to meditate on the self for one's spiritual progress) three times a day;
4. posadhopa pratima: fasting four days of each month;
5. sachitta pratima: avoiding uncooked vegetables containing life monads;
6. nisibhojanatyaga pratima: not eating after sunset;
7. brahmascarya pratima: maintaining sexual abstinence;
8. arambhatyaga pratima: refusing to do work, such as farming, that violates ahimsa;
9. parigrahatyaga pratima: dividing one's property and wealth among his children and giving a portion to charity;

10. anumatityaga pratima: increasing asceticism, never eating specially cooked foods, but eating remains, and never giving advice on worldly matters;
11. uddhista pratima: wearing a sahu's (i.e., monk's) clothes, remaining in a religious building or the forest, and obeying the rules which guide monks.

The Monk and the Order's Organization

Traditionally, the Brahmins are ritual technicians and experts in the manipulation of the paraphernalia of ritual prestige. If the Jains want to compete for prestige, they have two choices: compete for prestige within the Hindu caste system, or establish a different pattern (not a different set) of criteria for judging prestige. Since Mahavira's time, the Jains have accepted an alternative pattern, an ascetic pattern. Durkheim (1965: 350) states the nature of asceticism well:

There is no interdict, the observance of which does not have an ascetic character to a certain degree....In order to have real asceticism, it is sufficient for these practices to develop in such a way as to become the basis of a veritable scheme of life....The special virtues which it is believed to confer are only an amplified form of those conferred, to a lesser degree, by the practice of any interdiction. They have the same origin; for they both rest on the principle that a man sanctifies himself....The pure ascetic is a man who raises himself above men and acquires a special sanctity by fast and vigils, by retreat and silence, or in a word by privations, rather than by acts of positive piety (offerings, sacrifices, prayers, etc.).

Dumont (1970: 190) notes that the absolute truths of the early heretical renouncers, e.g., Mahavira and Buddha, were not intended to abolish caste, but merely to abase it and divest it of its aura as a religious fact, leaving a purely social fact. Anyone, theoretically, can become a "true Brahmin." Not content to become Hindu Brahmins, the Jains took pride in outdoing the Brahmins at their own game. De-emphasizing ritual and stressing austere behavior, the zealous Jains more rigorously incorporated the rules of the ascetics into their daily lives than did the Brahmins. However, because of their ritually inferior and weaker position in Hindu society, the Jains could not gain rank or power. Instead of competing with the Brahmins, they chose non-exchange: separation from the Hindu social world. The vows of the Jain monk are those of the Brahmin monk. Moreover, the Jains adopted the same rules of begging and the same organization of their monastic order as the Brahmin. Following the established ascetic pattern, they denied and abolished any lasting local ties. Long term alliances were severed and dependable incomes vanished (Marriott, 1973; Jaina Sutras, Vol. 2: 69).

Entry into the monks' order is the great transition in the layman's life. While the layman partially enters monastic life with every vow he fulfills, he does not sever his worldly ties until initiation (Jacobi, 1961: 470). Initiation is the most dramatic event of one's life because it marks a

change in course, a decision to "die" to the social world. The initiate must then assume the rights and duties contingent on his induction. He takes the five great vows (pancha Mahavrata) and, during the remainder of his life, he will strictly observe the Jain code. Once initiated, the new monk never returns and never fully enters society again. He follows the Tirthankara in word and deed.

From the earliest times, age and seniority determined the rank and authority of each monk. These ascetics are also ranked according to the severity of the vows assumed. Those who have accepted the most severe restrictions are called Jinakalpi. Sadhus and those of lesser will are Sthavirakalpi. Thus, there are levels within the ascetic order. Among the Svetambara Jains, they are Yatis, Sadhus and Acharyas; the acharyas have the highest rank (Sangave, 1959: 180-181).

Traditionally, both monks and nuns are tied to a monastery which governs and controls them absolutely. Customarily, a community or wealthy individual gives land and funding to these monasteries, allowing the monks and nuns to sustain themselves without acquiring goods and property or establishing other ties. Usually located outside major urban centers, the monastery's remoteness is, in part, due to the function of the monastery: the withdrawal of one from the world. The Indian associates the city or village

with the worldly life, while the forest and especially remote places, he associates with asceticism and renunciation (Tiebout, 1966: 36).

Following only the siddha (the completely liberated soul) and the Tirthankara in his purity, the acharya directs the spiritual growth of the monks. He directs the monastery and assumes the Tirthankara's position as the order's head. The eldest monks usually select an acharya because of his age, but it is often because of his charisma (Weber, 1967: 198). The acharya should be free from all physical deformity; physical perfection ensures an abundance of alms. Secular success, due to birth, wealth or power, follows him in his religious life, benefiting the entire order (Caillat, 1975: 58). No doubt lurking in the back of the monks' minds there are thoughts of the practical benefits of a leader formerly well placed in the lay community and, therefore, able to command resources and exercise a certain authority. But the acharya's former social position also provides valuable training (formal education among the most important) for such an important position. The acharya strives to fortify the weak and disheartened, protect his flock by dissuading the angry and vindictive, and prompt the community toward the liberal giving of alms. The acharya listens to confessions and prescribes penance.

The acharya's religious authority derives from an old analogy: the secular monarch, a necessity in maintaining any

society. His authority parallels the king's and he is said to have the same qualities and moral character as a king: honesty, heroism, magnanimity, steadfastness, energy, moral and physical strength, generosity and intelligence (Caillat, 1975: 57). He must be well bred and successful in his tasks. On his throne, he teaches the adepts; he exemplifies dharma in both practice and word. As the spiritual master, he commands obeisance and respect from the monks. They sing praises to his superior wisdom and knowledge as well as his unswerving allegiance to the Jain path toward liberation.

The Jain Cultural Pattern and Social Organization

Although the two orders--the cultural and the social--are not identical, and the form of one does not directly imply the form of the other, they are interdependent. Moral rules are part of the cultural domain; they instruct one in how he ought to conduct himself, which is quite different from determining how one should intelligently conduct himself within the framework of these rules. The canonized rules of the extremist Jains detail the proper conduct of virtually every activity of the monks. The rules governing the laity's actions do not differ in kind or number but differ in degree.

In all of India, the Jains differ only slightly from the Hindus around them. Jainism is not a radical departure from

other sects and groups; it merely alters the emphasis. Consequently, the Jains adopt the local customs of the community in which they live. In fact, many claim to be Hindus (Stevenson, 1970: 9). While ostensibly non-distinct, the Jains insist that they are culturally different from their neighbors (Sangave, 1959: 362). Despite the paucity of local connections with other Jains and non-Jains, established either through food exchanges and interdining or marriage ties, there persists a strong sense of a common Jain heritage (Sangave, 1959: 321).

Indian thought does not separate one's "nature" and one's "morality." Each individual changes not only his rank, or moral standing, but his very nature with each social exchange (Marriott, 1972). Every action, it is believed, contributes to every future action, since it changes one's moral constitution and, ultimately, contributes to one's ritual status and eventual liberation.

For most of India, ritual status is inseparably linked to the caste system. The caste system is a hierarchy of categories of people in which each category, though separate from the other categories, is interdependent and ranked with respect to each. At the head is the Brahmin, followed by the Kshatriya, Vaishya and, at the feet, the Shudra and Harijans (Untouchables). The castes' interdependence and ranking, like the individual members of each caste, is a

result of exchanges. Marriage practices, the exchanges of food and rules concerning contact with food, and the division of labor (the exchange of services) order the castes. But what governs the exchanges?

According to Dumont (1970), the entire caste system is fundamentally religious. He maintains that Hinduism and Jainism are an aspect of the caste system, dependent on it and inseparable from it. The Jains' Hindu neighbors view them as Vaishyas and the Jains accept this view; yet despite their rejection of the caste system, the Jains do make "caste" discriminations based on relative purity among themselves. In Dumont's view, innovation is introduced by the renouncer (sannyasi), e.g., Mahavira, and reflects the product of his individualistic experimentation with novel configurations of ideas and relations. Innovation is introduced when a particular sect, such as the Jains, adopts new values (e.g., ahimsa) which seriously threaten the rank of the Brahmins. Each innovation has implications for the sect's rank in the caste structure which, Dumont asserts, must be interpreted in terms of the sect's relative purity to the other castes. Hence, a pure-impure opposition underlies the entire caste system. It is the primary value directing social action. All actions must be evaluated according to the degree of pollution acquired through contact or exchange with others. Dharma (morality) governs the entire system and social action carries moral implications.

In an Indian's daily activities, the established hierarchy of castes regulates rankings. These rankings, though, are never precisely established. Whether rank is established by exchange and interaction with others or by a set of shared characteristics (observance of certain standards concerning diet, marriage, etc., or the rights to perform certain ceremonies), whenever a large number of competing groups confront one another, ambiguity over ritual purity and pollution arises. Moreover, each context in which ranking takes place--community, region or civilization--requires a different strategy and has different behavioral implications (Marriott, 1968: 109).

As a convenient means of organization, caste will be used to distill the characteristic pattern of Jain social behavior. It should be pointed out that the definition which follows is not intended to be final, without need of qualification, but is a set of characteristics by which the reader can appreciate the position of the Jains within Hindu India. Caste, then, is characterized by: 1) a hierarchy, ordering all castes; 2) concern over pollution, either direct or indirect, by members of lower castes (or others who may pollute); 3) a focus around the Brahmin's prestige; 4) endogamy; 5) membership by birth; 6) an association with a particular occupation which is seen as traditional; and 7) restrictions on commensality between different members of different castes (Leach, 1971: 2-3).

Hierarchy

True to the original anti-brahmanical spirit of Jainism, few Jains today accept the caste system in principle. Despite their professed egalitarianism, the lay community remains as caste-bound as Hindu India. Because of geographic dispersion and social fragmentation, Jain castes are small and numerous. The Svetambara and Digambara, for example, have few castes in common. Jains, however, (unlike Hindus) maintain that caste is a social institution and not a religious one, i.e., they maintain that their rank is not inherent in their caste. They argue that the caste differentiation within the community grew from the partitioning of the tirtha (the Tirthankara's community of followers)³, which unlike the Hindu castes were not as ritually compartmentalized. Others say that the castes arose because of the need to earn a livelihood; everyone had to choose a profession. In any case, the Jains assert that castes are based on "ways of life."⁴ If one changes his way of life, he changes his caste (Sangave, 1959: 69-70). Thus, one chooses his caste or rank by living a particular form of life. As will become clear, the Jains endorse an "intense individualism

3. The community was divided into four tirthas or "means of salvation": sadhu (monk), sadhvi (nuns), sravaka (laymen) and sravika (laywomen).
4. Corresponding to the castes (Varna) are the "four stages of life" (Ashramas): Brahmacharya (student), Grhastha (householder), Vanaprastha (forest dweller), and Sannyasa (renouncer). As a Jain moves through each stage--which is seldom realized in actual practice--he must obey increasingly severe restrictions on his activities.

/which/ feels little responsibility for another's soul and spends its energy on saving itself" (Stevenson, 1970: 9).

Though most Jains believe all castes are equal and assert that they should be treated equally, some castes feel a pride and superiority to others (Sangave, 1959: 75, 316). For example, within many castes there is a division between Visa (pure) and Dasa (degenerated) Jains. Sangave (1959: 338) reports that, in a few cases, the Dasa Jains are denied access to temples for worship and must content themselves with dar-sana (seeing and saluting the image in a temple or in one's house). Sangave says, however, that the Dasa's low position may be raised if there is an increase in their numbers and a considerable increase in wealth. As a general rule, the higher Hindu castes, especially Brahmins, spend more time and wealth doing their ritual observances than do the lower ranking Hindu castes, which lack the necessary wealth and time for ritual performances (Mandelbaum, 1970: 191). The frequent performances of ritual ceremonies, then, are important signs of one's caste and his status; he who shows great concern for ritual performances more closely resembles the Brahmin and asserts the legitimacy of his claim to higher ritual status. Similarly, among the Dasa Humbadas, a minor sub-sect of the Svetambaras, such increases in wealth are reflected in an increase in temple construction (Sangave, 1959: 99). (The construction of temples is a religious act

and is considered highly meritorious.) As with many Banias (merchants, of which the Jains are some of the most successful), wealth is a sign of spiritual, and hence social, superiority (Carstairs, 1975: 120), and worship is used to reflect this superiority.

Concern Over Pollution

Of all values directing Indian life, purity occupies the pre-eminent position. It is the concept of purity and pollution that underlies the caste hierarchy and governs social relations (Dumont, 1970). Whether in the exchange of food or contact with others, one's relative purity is important. Every object, every food, and every person are relatively polluted, and it is necessary that each person recognize in which ways and how he should interact with these objects, foods, and persons without further polluting himself.

There are two basic forms of pollution that every Indian must constantly and correctly recognize if he is to maintain his status in the social hierarchy: 1) temporary and personal, and 2) permanent and corporate (Mandelbaum, 1970: 185). Each type implies some form of avoidance and isolation. Permanent pollution corresponds to those inherent properties associated with one's caste which he cannot remove by ordinary purification. It implies restrictions on marriage and commensality. The Brahmin, for example, has a greater inherent purity and resistance to pollution than the Kshatriya, whose inherent

purity is greater than the Vaishya. Caste endogamy and kinship ties, established through marriage, help each caste member preserve his caste's ritual purity.

Temporary pollution refers to those impurities that one can remove by acts of purification. The most frequent causes of temporary pollution are improper contacts with others and their possessions, eating of inappropriate foods (or inappropriately prepared foods), defecating, urinating, and touching other bodily emissions. The most serious causes of temporary pollution are birth and death. The higher one's status, the greater his concern and the more complicated and painstaking his purifications, but regardless of the person's efforts, his permanent purity can never be elevated by mere ablutions and rites of purification.

Take, for example, death rites. Living among the Hindus, the Jains adopt many of the Hindu's local customs. The Jains, for example, do not in theory accept the validity of the Hindu death ceremonies (antyakarma) and, when questioned, do not say that funeral rites are important (Sangave, 1959: 361). Nevertheless, because of the impurity associated with death, most Jains practice some form of death rites and observe periods of isolation. The length of this isolation period varies depending upon the local custom of the region (Sangave, 1959: 269). Death pollution, however, is clearly of secondary importance. When death is near, the family of the dying person encourages him to take the vow of renunciation: forsake

food and give up his wealth. Until his death, he will have Mahavira's name whispered in his ear (Stevenson, 1970: 202). For the Jains, dying is the final opportunity to attain salvation: it is the final opportunity for the dying person to renounce life and, like the monk who starves himself to death (maranantiki samlekhana), attain liberation.

The Brahmin's Prestige

In Hindu India, the Brahmin stands at the top of the caste structure. Traditionally, he alone has the knowledge of ritual (passed down through the sacred Hindu texts), the expertise in the manipulation of ritual paraphernalia, and the necessary purity to perform rituals. The Brahmins, among Hindus, are considered the purest of men; they are, in principle, more removed from worldly ties and obligations. This inherent purity sets them apart from ordinary men. They serve as mediators with the gods and are the only ones qualified to officiate at worship and approach the image (Babb, 1975: 177-214). It is the standards of the Brahmins which lower castes emulate and use to judge another's status.

Rejecting the Brahmin's claim of ritual purity, the Jains nevertheless employ Brahmins in many of their major rituals and ceremonies. The Jains contend that the Brahmins are ritual specialists who know the proper techniques of purification but who, because they remain tied to the world by performing their ritual duties, have not attained the

ritual pre-eminence of the Jain monk who has renounced all worldly ties (Weber, 1958: 203).⁵ The purity of the Brahmin priest, especially at the larger temples receiving many pilgrims, is suspect in any case since he may be contaminated by people whose habits are unknown. Often these Brahmin priests are thought to be lax in their ritual performances (Mandelbaum, 1970: 188). But even if the Brahmin is beyond reproach, the Jains say he is misguided. Referring to the Brahmins, the Sutrakritanga (Jaina Sutras, Vol. II, 294-95) says,

Some say that perfection is reached by abstaining from the seasoner food (viz. salt), others by the use of cold water (i.e. ablutions), others by (tending) fire....Perfection is not reached by bathing in the morning, nor by abstention from acids and salt....
/Nor by/ lighting fire in the morning and evening....Perfection cannot be established by such gratuitous assertions; those who have not learned the truth will come to harm.

The Hindu Brahmins are not "true Brahmins." Moreover, if the Brahmin serves as a mediator between the Hindu gods and the worshipper, it is of little value unless one wants worldly gain since, for the Jains, liberation is possible only by proper conduct. When the Tirthankara, the highest being, becomes a liberated soul (siddha) and leaves the universe,

5. Among the Digambaras, the pujari, or temple officiant, is always a Jain (Banyia). Among the Svetambara, the pujari usually is a Hindu: Brahmin, Mali (gardener), Kanabi (farmer) or Barota (Bard) Stevenson, 1970: 95).

he is unable to assist those in the world. Only asceticism purifies the individual.

Endogamy

When there is a rule that one must marry within a defined category or group of people, it is endogamy. In India, the operational, endogamous category or group is one's caste, i.e., when a man marries a woman, she must be of the same caste, and any children of the union belong to the caste.

Marriage in India, as Dumont notes (1970: 109-10), dominates social life and religion. It is a most prestigious ceremony, one which not only reaffirms ties among kin groups, but also one in which the Brahmin's services are essential. Jain marriage, while ostensibly the same as Hindu marriage, is not considered a religious duty but a social act. Jains regard marriage more as a social contract than a religious ceremony, even though they base it on the local customs of their Hindu neighbors (Sangave, 1959: 140-41). The early Jain community permitted free choice in marriage. This practice was entirely in keeping with the Jain conception of society which was divided into laymen and laywomen of equal ritual status. In the early years of the Jain community, marriages outside of caste were not condemned, because the castes were not held to be ritual categories, but occupational categories.

Jain doctrine allows and even commends complete freedom in the choice of marriage partners. The preferred form of marriage, svayambara, in which the woman chooses a lover without regard to caste, is considered the most ancient and best form. In actual practice, however, the sub-castes are endogamous groups (Sangave, 1959: 151, 156), and the Jains encourage people to marry only in their own caste and sub-castes (Sangave, 1959: 77, 86, 156).

Marriage ties are a traditional and important means of solidifying affiliations: kin, political, economic and ritual. But among the Jains, the ties established with other Jain and Hindu castes through marriage are weak and severely limited in scope. While the Jains accept the ideal of inter-marriage, they remain extraordinarily clanish. Jain restrictions on locality, caste (or sub-caste), sections and religion create and preserve small isolated groups (Sangave, 1959: 321-323). Nevertheless, the great majority of Jains, regardless of actual practice, approve of inter-marriage among all Jains (Sangave, 1959: 324).

Membership By Birth

For most Hindus, one is born into his caste and he must accept the duties and responsibilities contingent on this accident. For the Jains, choice determines membership, not birth. In fact, the choice of caste (varnalabha) is the

eighteenth rite of one's life. Nevertheless, birth remains an important de facto criterion for membership in any Jain caste. But, then, the Jain concern was never to establish equality among everyone. Rather, the equality lies in the possibility for every Jain to attain spiritual--if not social--elevation. From the very beginning, the monks' order was rigidly hierarchical. There was no denial of caste, but a denial of the ritual compartmentalization that accompanied it. Since liberation was determined by the nearly infinite combinations and permutations of karmic matter, equality was only relative and not absolute.

Occupations

Traditionally, the vast majority of Indians have lived in villages and were tied to their neighbors by jajmani relations, reciprocal relations between food-producing families and the families that supply them with goods and services. Jajmani (from the Sanskrit yajamana, meaning "he who has a sacrifice performed") connotes the religious prestations and counter-prestations of the caste system, the giving and counter-giving of goods and services, rather than payment with money (Dumont, 1970: 97-98). These jajmani relations maintained the interdependence and order of the castes by regulating exchanges. Despite the fact that the vast majority of Indians still live in villages and their way of life is little changed since Mahavira's time, jajmani relations have weakened.

Jajmani ties, however, remain an important ideological anchor, orienting the average Indian in much of his daily transactions.

Contractual arrangements--those services and goods which one pays for with money--are also prevalent and have been so since ancient times; these arrangements offered an alternative to the jajmani ties that were developing during Mahavira's time. Contractual arrangements, not having the usual status implications of jajmani exchanges, permitted partial escape from the confinement of one's caste's corporate purity restrictions. Nevertheless, jajmani relations symbolize many of the ties of the local social order and the major values of the people (Mandelbaum, 1970: 161). The jajmani relations entail important ritual ties and beliefs of social cohesiveness. Thus, while the Jains refuse to adhere to the local jajmani relations, these relations carry considerable symbolic significance in classifying not only entire categories of people, but an individual's social actions. These traditional relations have social implications: caste rank is a product of exchange. To exchange, especially food, is to assert and accept one's caste rank. The Jains refuse to accept this conclusion. They say exchanges are voluntary or contractual and carry no implications of caste status. But to be safe from dangerous and overly complicated social ties, one should exchange non-polluting substances, e.g., money.

Although certain professions are traditionally associated with particular castes, the Jains permit greater flexibility and mobility (Sangave, 1959: 326-27). The Jain canons encourage all forms of livelihood which do not violate ahimsa and the manipulation of non-polluting substances such as money rather than the exchanges of services and goods. This strategy insures that life is not harmed and emphasizes "the proclaimed virtues of a private property environment with considerable stress on individual effort and responsibility, non-stealing and non-encroachment on the possessions of others" (Lamb, 1959: 27). The Jains, like most non-landed, non-agricultural groups with small populations in India, have tenuous connections to their neighbors.

The Jains are primarily Banias (merchants) and occupy a similar place to that of other Banias in the Hindu hierarchy. Renowned for their honesty, the Jains' first rule of conduct is to follow some kind of business or profession with honesty and justice (Sangave, 1959: 277).

For the most part, Jains prefer law, medicine, government and business as occupations. Yet with their emphasis on extreme asceticism and austerities, they are clearly following a doctrine different from that of most Hindus. Because of their failure to take part in the exchanges of food and marriage partners; Jain castes and sub-castes

voluntarily isolate themselves within the community. Their obligations are truncated; cooperation, established by durable and extensive bonds of marriage, is limited.

The Banias' strategy is to take advantage of all loopholes to build a successful business. Their strategy for survival depends upon their abilities to live within the Hindu world while not becoming a part of it (Marriott, 1973: 33). While the Jains may be outnumbered by other merchants, they seldom fall below the others in their zeal to increase their earnings. They are not self-indulgent merchants, but austere puritans (Lamb, 1959: 30). Hazelhurst (1966: 91-92) gives a typical account of the Jain Bania:

Lalla jii is a Jain, and like many Jains, he is an extremely austere person. He lives in a modest dwelling, the appearance of which gives no indication of wealth. The house is furnished with little more than charpois (string cots), a straight back chair for guests and a wooden bench upon which Lalla jii and his accountant pass the day....Lalla jiii is a chronic complainer and looks to the past to legitimize his complaints:

"In the past, I was a prosperous metal merchant; but current government restrictions have altered the course of my business. As you can see, I live very simply, and you, a wealthy american /sic/, will have to excuse these humble surroundings."...

Lalla jii deplored the new government restrictions on his business, and this can in part explain his hostile feelings toward the government. Yet it is significant to note that he expresses no positive political affiliation and has not aligned himself with an opposition political system; while denouncing government restrictions, he has prospered from these same restrictions.

The Jains' position rewards frugality, caution and enterprise. Thus, it is important that this strategy for survival came to hold a permanent position in official Jain canons, becoming not only socially advantageous but spiritually uplifting as well. The vows, the daily duties and the rules of good conduct for the layman promote, reinforce and sanction business acumen (Sangave, 1959: 217-23). As might be expected, the vows of the monks and laity inevitably place the Jains in competition with the Brahmins for ritual superiority. Although not nearly as particular about ritual purity as the Brahmins, the Jains' vegetarianism and concern for life contribute to the respect and hatred accorded them by Hindus.

Commensality

The exchange of food in India gives rise to a commensal hierarchy based on the notion that each caste has a ritual purity which may be altered (purified or polluted) by exchanges of food with castes of different rank. Whom one eats with, as Carstairs (1975: 80-81) observes, emotionally outweighs most other daily considerations.

Throughout India, foods and drink are ritually ranked according to the manner of their preparation and the containers in which they are served. Kacca food (lit. "unripe" or "raw") is cooked in water and is very easily contaminated. Pakka (lit. "ripe") food is prepared in clarified butter (ghi)

and is more resistant to pollutants. Kacca, then, is generally shared with those who have the same ritual purity, for example, family members, and Pakka is exchanged between those differing in ritual purity; uncooked food, generally, has no restrictions. Water from a clay pot is Kacca and water from a brass pot is Pakka. Eating meat and drinking alcohol are considered signs of lower caste status because one implicitly participates or condones himsa (violence). The Brahmin and high ritual status are traditionally associated with vegetarianism.

As with intermarriage, the Jains do not in principle prohibit interdining, but in practice interdining is infrequent (Sangave, 1959: 81, 313). Caste feasts are also limited to one's family and circle of friends. Sub-caste members usually dine only with each other, although there is movement toward inter-caste dining (Sangave, 1959: 314, 321).

The importance of caste purity and its connection with commensality is vividly present in the Osvala Jains' account of the origin of the Visa and Dasa sub-castes. As the story goes, an Osvala widow, contrary to the rule against widow remarriage, lived with a Jain priest and had two sons. The sons grew rich and planned to legitimize their heritage by inviting all their caste members to a dinner. They asked Osvalas who were not aware of the sons' illegitimate birth

to attend. Those who ate or touched the food before discovering the sons' descent became Dasa. Those who did not eat remained unpolluted Visa. Thus, the exchange of food and commensality carry important hierarchical implications.

RELIGION AND WORSHIP

Religion: Defining the Domain

In a remarkable series of the Gifford Lectures, published as Varieties of Religious Experience, William James (1961: 368) identifies in prayer the ineluctable prime of religious experience: "the outward face of nature need not alter, but the expressions of meaning in it alter." It is precisely here that our problem of explaining how worship and the Tirthankara image dictate behavior reaches the epistemological foundation of religion. How worship shapes behavior surfaces with startling suddenness as the most difficult problem facing the observer. As we saw, the observer's first problem centers around the enormous difficulty involved in deciding the way the world is given to experience, the way it is seen and the way it is described. How one chooses to answer these questions has profound methodological implications.

The field of religious phenomena and experiences knows no clear boundaries, and we need not attempt such a delineation here. Restating and modifying a definition offered by Geertz (1973: 87-125), I will define religion (or a group's religion as:

a cultural system (or system of symbols) which postulates a sacred (divine or trans-divine) realm as its focus. This symbol system serves

to establish powerful, pervasive, long-lasting moods and motivations in people (an ethos) by investing the everyday world with meaning. It acts as a model of reality (worldview) by offering solutions to problems of existence (life, death, moral consistency) and acts as a model for reality by so ordering experiences that they validate (not verify) the sacred or "really real" realm.

According to this definition of religion, a symbol is any thing, act, event or relationship which serves as a vehicle for a conception, that is, the conception is the meaning. As will become clear in the discussion of ritual which follows, symbols imply more than just a vehicle for conception. The symbol preserves "decisions" or "agreements." Each community member, through use of the symbol, accepts the symbol as an "agreement," i.e., he has "decided" to be a member of the community; he has decided to do such-and-such, to act as a member of the community. For example, he accepts bowing before a Tirthankara image as a proper action. More importantly, the propriety of the act resides in or is constituted by the act. That is, to bow is to assert that bowing before the image is the proper or good thing to do and that there is goodness in bowing. As far as other members of the community are concerned, the proper actions of the person who is bowing bestow goodness or propriety on him (Vernon, 1973: 128).

Ethos is recurrent "emphases" or "themes"; it is an emotional ought, a command of the right, proper or morally correct. A worldview, on the other hand, contains assumptions

about the nature of reality. It is the picture or map that members of society have of the way the world looks to them, looking out. Worldview is the way one sees himself in relation to everything else. It is his ideas about existence: relations to the supernatural, relations to nature and relations to man. As Geertz says, worldview is the picture a people have of the way things in sheer actuality are. It is their most comprehensive ideas of order.⁶

That worldview and ethos are distinct elements is, however, only a useful analytic fiction. Individually, ethos and worldview are each pervasive; together, they are integrated and inseparable. Not all perceptions are equally important in a worldview. Some are clearly subsidiary; they slip from the focus of attention. What determines the focus in the gestalt of perceptions is values. How one interprets what he sees is decided, for the most part, by his worldview and values.

To say that one accepts certain values is to say more than that he sees the world ordered in a particular manner and that meaning arises in a particular manner. One not only accepts certain values but acts to examine them and determine

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6. Two other concepts, implicit in the definition, are scope and force. This distinction is based on the observation that a religion may have a different impact on the group than the individual. The scope of the religion is considered wide if the religion is pervasive and is influential in structuring other areas of society. The force of a religion is the impact on the individual: how it affects his daily life (Geertz, 1968).

if they are true. Action⁷ is mediatory (Bateson, 1966: 412-26). Since the experiences, counted as validation of an action, are determined by accepted values, we cannot realistically separate value and perception. A group's particular worldview and its concomittant values, then, become more deeply entrenched. As William James says, "Truth happens to an idea."

Culture is a system of symbols, and ritual and social life in general are products of this system. As we move our discussion to worship (ritual), the implications are clear: ritual performance has the power to change and (re-)structure the participant's vision of the world and hence his experience.

If a culture is to be shared, the participants in the culture require a common set of symbols, whether language symbols or otherwise. In fact, the very nature of shared understanding rests on a relationship between at least two people: some one and some other, and the mediating link is the symbol. Symbolization is an assertion, an affirmation of a shared understanding, a shared expectancy. Following Goodenough (1971: 205):

The pattern of priorities expressed in a body of social rules represents a set of values. Insofar as people are willing to govern their conduct in accordance with these rules, they demonstrate their acceptance of these values, at least in public. The values expressed by a given set of rules are thus the operating values of those who abide by them; and they are the public values of any social group whose members regard observing these rules as a condition of membership in the group.

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7. "Action is behavior that is deliberate or decided upon; which is subject to critique and could at least be altered on reflection" (Lewis, 1946: 366). Action is behavior that is meaningful to the actor. Moreover, a second person must recognize this behavior as action and, in Weber's words, be "oriented in its course" (Weber, 1947: 88).

Goodenough makes several important points in his definition. First, the social rules of a community are not the same as the values of the community. Values provide not only the motivation but the direction for social rules; they create and regulate. Values do not delineate specific facts.⁸ They deal with the obvious and not the questionable; they strive for consistency of evidence and not discovery of new facts. As Kenneth Burke says, they are strategies for encompassing situations.

Second, as a condition for membership in the community, one must accept these social rules. Rules define the community by ruling-in certain kinds of social action and ruling-out other kinds. To participate in a culture and to be counted as a member, one must act in accordance with all or a sufficiently large set of the culture's rules. He who rejects the social rules withdraws to the outside or the periphery of the community. He tacitly cheapens the values of the community.

Once symbolized (in daily affairs, ritual or art), values become more deeply embedded in the social fabric. In fact, as Bailey notes, it is the constant attention to these values

8. This perspective I adopt has many affinities to Bailey's discussion of political competition. He says (1969: 21-22), for example, "Values are symbolized. This maintains and strengthens them. Indeed, if they are not constantly tended and re-invigorated, they fade. Consequently, rites and ceremonies dramatize fundamental political values and associate them with such non-political values as health or fertility or prosperity or with God....Values, within one structure, are a constant and treated as an unshifting guide for conduct."

which insures their survival. Those values symbolized in ritual (generally the same that motivate people in their daily lives) are given universal application, and it is these values which permit decision when knowledge is inadequate.

Clearly, one cannot argue from a set of rules to the values they represent. The same values can easily accommodate two different sets of social rules. However, if one identifies a "pattern of priorities" in the reservoir of shared cultural symbols and in a particular set of rules, he is in a better position to identify the most important values of the community.

The Ritual Setting and the Image

Among Indians, the temple image serves as a holy medium through which the worshipper contacts the deity face to face and demonstrates his devotion. The deity never shows himself to the worshipper except in the image. While many devout Indians believe a god capable of assuming earthly forms (after all, such occurrences are depicted in the art and told in the legends and myths, not to mention the possession of individuals by a god), the fact remains that the most common and easily accessible contact is through the temple image.

Though ostensibly similar to Hindu worship, the Jain concept of worship differs fundamentally in several ways. The Jains deny the existence of a superior creative deity from which

the world evolves. They deny the existence of a deity of such immense power that he may control, destroy or maintain worldly existence. The universe operates mechanically, passing through cycles, a progressive degeneration, and bondage or liberation depends upon remaining within the universe or escaping to the outside, beyond the control of the universal elements and forces. While the abundant temple sculpture--depicting the Tirthankaras' (as well as other deities') lives, triumphs and qualities--chronicles and visually instructs the uneducated or illiterate in Jain first principles and religious wisdom, the major temple image remains the fountainhead of the nouminous in the world, and within these sanctified grounds the image is treated as a king, a superior being deserving attention because of the protection and honor he brings his subjects. The image, like the guru (literally, the remover of darkness), illumines the path toward moksa.⁹

The worshipper's activities take place within a purified area, the temple. The Jains did not merely copy Hindu

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9. In Jainism, each worshipper has the potential for liberation regardless of his soul's state. Those who have attained liberation, the siddhas, have escaped the cycle of life and death. They are beyond one's view and, hence, cannot be visually represented. Only those souls approaching this liberated state reveal the path to siddha-hood. The highest and most nearly perfect are the Arhat-Paramesthins, or Tirthankaras, the final stage of spiritual growth before completely abjuring the body. He is in the stage of final contact with the world before his final step beyond the reach of our senses, and it is his image that is most appropriate to worship. He is the highest spirit: above gods and ordinary men.

architectural styles but innovated, giving a distinctively Jain flavor to their temples. Perhaps as an expression of the inward nature of worship, rather than the communal or congregational outpourings to a deity, the Jains replaced the open halls of the Hindu temples with enclosed compartments. Thus, the Jain temple insures not only the seclusion and separation necessary for worship and ceremonies (Jain, 1963: ii), but it also physically controls the number of worshippers. As an ethical faith, Jainism requires less room.

In temple worship, the image is the center around which all action and thoughts revolve. As one enters a Svetambara temple, the main image, with its glowing glass eyes, is in striking contrast to the Digambara images. The Digambara assert that this difference shows that their Tirthankaras completely renounced the world, remaining faithful to the Jain tenets of worldly noninvolvement. These eyes, common among the folk images of India, successfully convey a feeling of life within the image. They are considered a source of power, a point radiating divine energy into the world and, under special conditions, having lethal power. In the eye-opening ceremony, for example, the officiant places an offering and a mirror before the image. It is a protective measure, a special precaution against the lethal power of the image's eyes (Stevenson,

1970: 263). These installations are often major ceremonial events (anjanasalaka). The image becomes complete only when its eyes are "opened" in a ceremonial bestowing of life to the image (Coomaraswamy, 1956a: 156; Stevenson, 1971: 263).

Located in the temple's inner sanctuary (garbha-graha), the image is surrounded by a collection of auspicious symbols and smaller Tirthankara images. The major image, for whom the temple is dedicated, is usually in the sitting posture. A siddha-cakra, the consummate symbol of Jain belief, is always present as an essential element of any temple. Inscribed on this sacred symbol are the panca-paramesthins (Siddha, the Realized; Arhat, the Noble; Acharya, the Master; Upadhaya, the Teacher; and Sadhu, the Ascetic) and the four fundamentals of the Jain faith: Right Knowledge, Right Faith, Right Action and Right Austerity. The image of the Tirthankara looks out on the Assembly Hall (samavasarana) in which the offerings are made. While in the image's presence, one holds the hope of attaining liberation; as the Upanishads remind us, "One comes to be of such stuff as that on which the mind is set" (Coomaraswamy, 1956: 10).

Although many lay worshippers ask favors (Sangave, 1959: 238), worship is primarily an act of homage which recognizes the Tirthankara's superiority. The Tirthankara image, at least theoretically, has no power to grant boons and no power to affect worldly actions and their outcomes. Through

the example of his life, elegantly expressed in the image, the Tirthankara touches and enters the contemplative worshipper's consciousness. Worship assists the worshipper in stopping the inflow of karmic particles (asrava) and eliminating the karma which is present (nirjara) (Sangave, 1959: 239). The image is there to remind one of those qualities necessary for liberation. The worshipper's goal is to recognize his soul (jiva) as a reflection of the Tirthankara's and, by performing austerities and obeying the Jain canon, adjust his karmic matter and become like the Tirthankara.

Worship

Keeping in mind the definition of religion given earlier, I will minimally define worship as consecrated behavior, taking place within a zone of purity, which permits direct traffic with and expresses the superiority of the sacred focus. If, as I have argued, worship encompasses or unites the sacred and the secular, matches them as it were, then worship should in some sense acknowledge both of these realms. Saraf (1973: 157) demonstrates that this is in fact the case. He says,

the Hindu ritual complex of worship suggests how rituals occupy a place of prominence in the triad of the Hindu view, way and aim of life. The Hindu view of life is a conception, a cognitive product as an idealized blueprint.

The Hindu way of life is the actual translation of the conception into action....The Hindu aim of life relates to the attainment of mundane and/or celestial goals (trivarga, i.e., dharma, artha, and kama), or of unearthly goals (apavarga, i.e., moksa). The first relates to perspective, the second to ritualism, and the third to orientation.

Here is similar and clear a statement of worldview and ethos mediated, or united, by ritual action as we will find. Note, however, that the aim of life has two orientations: the earthly (which includes celestial) and the unearthly. This separation of goals acquires added importance when we recognize that each of the trivarga is classically associated with a particular varna and is said to govern the varna's members (Dumont, 1970). If renunciation can be said to be outside of society or to characterize the "freedom" of the renouncer (sannyasi), then moksa is surely its correlative (Tyler, 1973: 87-92).

As Weber (1958: 122) says of the Hindu's view:

Order and rank of the castes is eternal (according to doctrine)....To overthrow them would be senseless....Absolute prerequisites...were strict fulfillment of caste obligations in their present life, the shunning of ritually sacrilegious yearning for renouncing caste.

Elsewhere in the same work, Weber (1958: 24) says,

In contrast to the orthodox Hindu sects, the heresey of the theophraties Jainism, Buddhism, Lingayatism consists in the fact that they tear the individual away from his ritualistic duties, hence from the duties of the caste of his birth; and thus ignore or destroy his dharma. When this occurs the

Hindu loses caste. And since only through caste can one belong to the Hindu community, he is lost to it. Dharma, that is, ritualistic duty, is the central criterion of Hinduism.

While Jainism, like Hinduism, accepts the link between caste and dharma, it does not accept the full implications of the interdependence of dharma and caste but, rather, prefers to emphasize dharma over caste, making action primary. A change in dharma, then, would imply a difference in ritual status, and ritual status comes to depend upon following detailed ethical rules for conduct. Individual striving to attain higher ritual status is emphasized. Clearly, hierarchy and the principles upon which it is based are not overthrown; the caste system is simply opened to the individual person striving to raise his ritual status. It is this opening of the caste hierarchy to everyone that puts the Jains' emulation of their Tirthankaras and monks in perspective: when one becomes like a monk, he asserts that his ritual status is above the Brahmin's, whose caste position in society limits him. To become like a monk is to have attained the highest ritual status possible without actually becoming a renouncer.

It should be of no surprise, then, to discover that Jain worship also has two tendencies, depending upon who the worshipper is. Nor should it surprise us to find both orientations mixed in any one worship.

The Jains divide worship into the worldly (Laukika) and the other-worldly (Paralaukika). Laukika derives from the parochial concerns, associated with social and regional considerations. Paralaukika, on the other hand, is based on scriptures, texts which are thought to be divinely inspired and definitive. Paralaukika bestows higher prestige than Laukika, and Laukika should only be practiced so long as it does not violate any principles of Paralaukika (Sangave, 1959: 406).

The Monk's Worship

Before examining Jain lay worship, I shall briefly consider one end of the earthly-unearthly continuum in the idol worship of the Jain monk. The best description of the monk's worship is in Stevenson (1970: 228-29), which I quote at length:

Unlike a layman, he dons no special clothes at the temple gates, but worships in his ordinary ones. When he enters the temple, he stands in front of the idol and bows down to it, and then performs a mental exercise known as Bhava puja, during which he meditates on the undoing of karma, the qualities of the Tirthankara, and similar subjects. He now performs Pradaksina, circumambulating the shrine either four or seven times. If he do it four times, he meditates on the four gati, namely, whether he will be born as a god, a man, an animal, or a denizen of hell; if he walks round seven times, he thinks how he can best escape dwelling in any of the seven hells.

An ascetic can neither cleanse the idol (jala puja), nor mark it with saffron (candana puja), nor offer flowers (puspa puja), nor wave a lamp (dipa puja); neither can he mark his own forehead, as a layman would, with

a candalo (auspicious mark); but his worship seems to be almost entirely mental and 'interior', and sometimes includes acts of worship known as Khamasamana, Caityavanda, and Javanticayanam. He also usually sings some hymn in praise of the qualities of the Arihanta, and then joining his hands repeats a mantra. After meditating in a particular posture (kausagga), he tells his beads, making salutations to 'the Five' (Arihanta, Siddha, Acarya, Upadhyaya and Sadhu), and to Knowledge, Faith, Character and Austerity. When he has done this and said the Avasahi, which allows him to enter his worldly affairs again, he feels that Bhava puja is complete; with its different parts and their variations it generally lasts about an hour.

After completing his Bhava puja the ascetic goes back to the monastery and either preaches or reads one of the scriptures.

There are several important things to note about the monk's worship. First, his worship entails a proper subset of the acts found in lay worship. As Stevenson observes, these acts are primarily mental and interior. The monk limits physical and, hence (at least for the Jains), worldly contact. As Heesterman (1964: 23) puts it, the monk turns his back on the world. Second, the image is the focus of the monk's mental and physical actions. The monk's first act is to bow to the image. He then meditates on the qualities of the Tirthankara, represented by the image; he circles the image, sings praise to the image and salutes "The Five." (The salute to the Five, the panca paramesthins, recognizes the spiritual chain connecting the monk and the liberated souls.) Third, every action of the monk reminds him of the

necessary steps to liberation: bhava puja and Pradaksina, or assists him in attaining liberation: mantra and kausagga.

The monk, then, is alone and confronts the image without others; he is separated from the outside world. His actions are more restricted and consciously deliberate than are the layman's. They are programmatic and do not require the orchestration of a temple officiant. Although he stands before the temple's image, he bows, showing his subordination to the image, and sings praises; he shows no overt sign of petition or adoration, nor the emotionalism that accompanies Hindu devotional attitudes (bhakti).¹⁰ Moreover, apart from his Avasahi, there is no indication that he has any social concerns. His sole tie, during worship, is to the image.

Whether during worship or not, the monk, in his attitude of moksa, attempts to consecrate all action by categorizing and evaluating his actions according to dogmatic precedent. He should act for religious purposes only (Bhargava, 1968: 160). He will take additional vows and penances¹¹ as the means of consecration.

10. The absence of devotionalism is entirely consistent not only with Jain history but philosophy as well. Theism and philosophical speculation are not bedfellows in India (Smart, 1964: 130). Nevertheless, there is some indication that Jains have introduced devotionalism into the worship of the Tirthankara (Stevenson, 1970: 127-28).

11. The Jains divide penance into two classes: internal and external. External penances primarily regulate

Before proceeding to lay worship, consider our logic of interpretation. Culture is a system of symbols: it is "the fabric of meaning in terms of which human beings interpret their experience and guide their action; social structure is the form that action takes, the actually existing network of social relations" (Geertz, 1973: 145). Symbols are "agreements" or shared expectations, which entail values. Action, insofar as it is accepted as good or proper, bestows goodness or propriety on the actor. Therefore, if a Jain acts in accordance with Jain principles, he assumes those qualities associated with the acts. To act as did a Tirthankara or as a monk does is to acquire those qualities associated with the Tirthankara and the monk. There is, of course, the problem of deceit, i.e., one may act as if he shares, to some extent, Jain principles when in fact he may not. But this is to say no more than that symbols may be pragmatically manipulated.

diet: the kinds and amounts of certain foods, the places at which they may be eaten and the manner in which they may be obtained. These external penances also impose upon the monk a life of solitude and wandering as well as kayaklesa, the infliction of pain on the body by adopting various postures or submitting the body to the punishment of nature: intense heat and inclement weather. External penances primarily support or enhance the effectiveness of the internal penances, which are considered more important than the external penances. Right Belief and Right Knowledge lead to Right Conduct: behavior follows thought, and it is for this reason that internal penances are primary. The most common external penance is kyotsarga ("dismissing the body"), the rigid standing posture peculiar to Jainism.

The Non-idolatrous Sthanakavasi

The monk's and the layman's worship is not merely an opportunity to publicly express one's faith and assert one's position in the community, though it is that, too; it is an essential part of the devout monk's or layman's day. Worship punctuates life, making it distinctively Jain.

The non-idolatrous Sthanakavasi laity explicitly structure their worship around the six daily duties (Avasyakas), the knowledge and practice of which are considered fundamental and absolutely essential for the novice monk (Shubring, 1978: 268-69).

All six daily duties need not be performed in every worship, but a complete performance contains the following:

1. Samaiya, a vow denouncing actions harmful to life, either by mind, speech or action (included are salutes to the panca-paramesthins and one's guru, asking forgiveness for any violation of the first vow of Jainism, ahimsa, and taking a vow to abstain from all sin);
2. Cauvisatthava, a hymn in praise of the twenty-four Tirthankaras;
3. Vandanaga, a salute to one's guru (or the north-east corner if one's guru is not present) and asking forgiveness for violations of the rules of good conduct;

4. Padikkamana, confession of any violations of the twelve vows (the five major and seven supplementary);
5. Kaussagga, sitting in meditative posture and saying a mantra;
6. Paccakkhana, a vow not to eat certain foods during the day (Shubring, 1978: 269; Stevenson, 1970: 254-58).

Thus worship, if complete and performed regularly, keeps ever present in the worshipper's mind the ethical rules of Jainism: the five major vows, the seven supporting vows and the rules of good conduct, which define Jain actions in the social world. These daily duties permit the monk or the layman to reflect upon his previous day's activities, confess his transgressions, meditate on proper behavior and, through vows, strive to improve his daily conduct.

The Sthanakavasi, who believe idol worship incongruous with the true spirit and teachings of Jainism, conduct their worship in the Upasaro, the religious house of the Jains or go to the monastery. Their worship, like the monk's, is wholly interior, that is, meditation, salutation and recitation of verse are the primary vehicles. But the worshipper quite consciously dresses in the traditional monk's clothing, complete with uttarasana, a gauze cloth which covers the mouth and prevents harm to life "monads," and a monk's broom. (The uttarasana is also considered a symbol of the

control of speech.) Worship permits the layman to become, for brief periods, a monk. Ideally the layman takes vows, generally to fast or perform a particular austerity, which he agrees to obey for a specified time after his worship. On especially holy days (the last day of Paryushana, in which one asks forgiveness of all sins committed throughout the year), the layman is encouraged to do Poshadha, entering the monastery and living as a monk for twenty-four hours.

It is important to note at this point that the two tendencies in worship--the unearthy (Paralaukika) and the earthly (Laukika)--play a crucial role in defining Sthanakavasi worship. The Sthanakavasi layman minimizes the earthly goals of worship; the otherworldly goals dominate his worship. He completely patterns his worship after the monk's life. Except for the severity of his vows, he does not differ from the monks, at least during worship. Stevenson (1970: 112) makes the interesting comment that the Sthanakavasi, "having only gurus to bow to, show them double reverence and so have been accused of worshipping their gurus, which they indignantly deny, pointing out that they make them no offerings of flowers and fruit &c." Not only does the Sthanakavasi's denial indicate that the guru is in direct line of spiritual succession to the Tirthankara: he is on the path to siddha-hood first travelled by the Tirthankaras, but it also indicates the Sthanakavasi's rejection of any Hindu elements or influences

in their worship of the Tirthankara. The Sthanakavasi do, however, worship images of Hindu gods, Ganesha and Sarasvati being the most popular. These acts of worship directed toward an image, however, are kept completely separate from "true" Jain worship.

Nevertheless, the great majority of Jains worship images of their Tirthankaras, and it is in image worship that what is most resilient and, hence, most firmly a part of Jain thought presents itself. Thus, while in theory the focus of Jainism is moksa, increasingly (no doubt because of Hindu influence) the Tirthankaras have captured the focus, at least for the ordinary worshipper. The image worshipping Svetambara are more Hinduized than their Sthanakavasi brothers. They do, for example, use sanskrit during their worship and have adopted much of the Hindu ritual protocol. The image worshippers also obey the six daily duties, but an alternative list which, despite the apparent differences, expounds the same principles: worship of the god (Deva-puja), worship of one's preceptor (Gurupasti), study of scriptures (Svadhyaya), self-control (Samyama), performance of austerities (tapa) and the giving of gifts (Dana). Inevitably, then, the daily concerns of the community have come to season Jain image worship with a mundane provincialism absent in the monk's worship.

LAY IDOLATRY

Svetambara Jain worship differs from region to region but the essentials of Jain idol worship are the same as in Hindu worship: purity (both of person and area); pranam or salutation, a gesture of respect and acknowledgement of the image's superiority; and an offering of food (Babb, 1975). Although worship is mentioned in the Jain canons, the canons do not provide rules for worship (Jacobi, 1961: 466), and the Jains, using the flexibility inherent in their strategy of non-exchange and social non-alignment were free to adopt many elements of their neighbors' worship. While the Jain canons are anti-brahmanical, they do not condemn the Brahmin's ritual sacrifices, but urge him to become a "True Brahmin." They urge the Brahmin to become a Jain monk by practicing true sacrifice: austerities.¹²

Image Worship: A Brief Description¹³

Like his idol worshipping Hindu counterpart, the Svetambara worshipper prepares himself by bathing, marking his forehead with candana (an auspicious mark) and donning two special

12. See the Uttaradhyayana, lectures 12 and 25 (Jaina Sutras, vol. 2).

13. I have taken this account of Svetambara worship from Stevenson (1961: 799-802).

seamless cloths kept especially for worship: the loin cloth and the shoulder cloth (which he wears with the right shoulder exposed). He may also wear the uttarasana, the monk's gauze mouth covering.¹⁴ While it is permissible to wear one's daily dress, the worshipper would then not enter the inner sanctuary containing the image.

Before beginning worship, every worshipper leaves any valuables or money outside the temple; only those things which are gifts to the Tirthankara image does he retain. He who enters with valuables forfeits them, whether food or coin; the Tirthankara demands all that his eyes "light" on.¹⁵

After changing his clothes, the worshipper circumambulates the temple (pradakshina) in the auspicious clockwise direction with his right side always toward the temple (and the temple's inner sanctuary containing the image) while he meditates on the Three Jewels of Jainism: Right Faith, Right Knowledge and Right Conduct. Unlike the Hindu worshipper, whose entry into the sacred world of the temple is a purely physical passage (that is, he merely enters), the Jain brings his

14. In some regions, especially in the South, the layman may also wear his sacred thread around his waist and, Stevenson (1961) notes, he may also wear a caste mark. However, this wearing of the sacred thread and caste mark is contrary to Jain principles.

15. It is tempting to see the image's taking all that it sees as a psychological expression of a remote disciplinary father, an all powerful figure that not only takes but also teaches social responsibility by controlling desires and emotions. One's guru or religious preceptor, for example, is said to be like a father with the warmth and compassion of a mother (Carstairs, 1961: 45).

hands together before him (pranam) and says "Nissahi" which "begs and commands" all wordly concerns to leave.

When a wealthy worshipper is present or during important festivals, each worshipper may join the bidding for the honor and merit of performing jala-puja¹⁶, the bathing of the image, which is followed by candana-puja, the marking of the image. A measure of ghi (clarified butter), representing an established sum of money, is the medium of exchange. He who bids highest again says "Nissahi" and performs jala-puja alone. Unlike in many Hindu temples, the worshipper may enter, bathe and mark the image.¹⁷ The Digambara Jains, on the other hand, do not auction jala-puja, nor does a worshipper perform this ritual alone; worship among the Digambara is more congregational.

After the image is bathed with water, milk and five nectars, it is marked with saffron (candana-puja) in fourteen auspicious places. The marking is done while singing the praises of the Tirthankara.

An additional step in those wealthier temples is the dressing of the image in its finest jewelry (anga-puja). Again, the wealthy bid for the honor of having the temple officiant dress the image in its gold finery. If times are

16. Stevenson (1910: 103) notes in her account of image worship at Mt. Abu that, since jala-puja can be done only once during the day, a single person has the honor of doing it.

17. Although women are quite free to worship in the temples, Stevenson maintains that few women enter the inner shrine during Svetambara worship. The Digambara bar women completely from this most sacred place.

hard, the worshipper, for a lesser sum, may have the image dressed in silver.

After candana-puja, the worshipper offers flowers and garlands (puspa-puja). As the worshipper leaves the inner sanctuary, he says "Nissahi" again and does arati, waving a lamp (dipa-puja) and waving burning incense (dhupa-puja) before the image.

Viewed from the Assembly Hall, the image sits on a royal lion throne. In front of the image, the worshipper offers gifts of rice (aksata-puja), sweetmeats (naivedya-puja), and fruits and nuts (phala-puja) to the Tirthankara. The worshipper, whether Svetambara or Digambara, arranges the rice as in Figure 1.

After the offerings are made, the worshipper prostrates himself (pranam) before the image and says "Nissahi" for the final time. He asks to be cut off from any remembrance of his offering. Unlike the Hindu worshipper, the Jain does not partake of the offerings; the offerings do not become prasad (sanctified food). Silently, in one of the meditative postures, the worshipper now performs bhava-puja, the most important part of the worship.¹⁸ In bhava-puja (an act of detachment), the worshipper thinks about the qualities of the Tirthankara

18. In the Digambara worship, the pujari, temple officiant, conducting the worship stands "rigid /in kyotsarga, a rigid standing posture peculiar to the Jains/ before the shrine for a full minute in absolute silence, ceasing for the first time the intoning which he had maintained all throughout the cleansing, preparation and offering" (Stevenson, 1910: 91).

so that he may himself become like the Tirthankara. He makes no requests. Finally, respectfully facing the Tirthankara, he backs away to the door, says "Avasahi," which ends his worship¹⁹, and re-enters his social life.

The Structure of Jain Worship

As Victor Turner (1967: 93-111), following Van Gennep (1960), observes, ritual sets the individual apart from ordinary existence. Ritual is characterized by sacredness and liminality; it is structured social action marked off from ordinary action by separation and aggregation. The Jain worshipper enters the ritual context by joining his hands (pranam) and saying "Nissahi." His activities, in fact, are marked off each time he does pranam and utters "Nissahi." Outside on the temple's porch, he asks to be cut off from the concerns of his worldly life. Crossing the

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19. Jain worship is by no means uniform in practice. Of the three major sub-sects of the Digambara Jains (Bisapanthi, Terapanthi and Taranapanthi), Sangave (1959: 54) notes that the Bisapanthi do arati, offer sweetmeats, and sit while worshipping. The Terapanthis worship images with flowers, fruits, rice and green vegetables, but they do not perform arati nor offer sweetmeats. The Taranapanthi do not worship the images of Tirthankaras, but worship their sacred books. Of the three Svetambara sects, the Sthanakavasi and Terapanthi, are non-idolatrous. The Murtipujaka are idol worshippers and the primary subject of this study.

entrance of the inner sanctuary, he asks to be cut off from any thought of the temple servants. Finally, outside the inner sanctuary, having done candana-puja, he makes his offerings, presents his gifts to the Tirthankara and asks to be cut off from any thoughts of the worship he performs. Each time the worshipper says "Nissahi," he crosses a new frontier, gradually severing his worldly and social ties until he stands alone before the Tirthankara image. It says to those present that the actions to follow are to be interpreted as something more than mere social action.

Jain worship, it will be noted, contains an additional separation and aggregation within the ritual itself. The worshipper's saying "Nissahi" not only separates his social actions from his ritual actions but, within his ritual performance, separates those actions performed outside the inner sanctuary from those performed within the inner sanctuary. Saying "Nissahi," then, highlights the worshipper's actions, breaking the act of worship into those rites outside the inner sanctuary and those within the inner sanctuary.

Stevenson (1970) says that, if the worshipper does not have much time, he may only do candana-puja (marking the image), dhupa-puja (waving the incense before the image) and aksata-puja (offering rice). Elsewhere, however, Stevenson (1910:103) says that many Jains (especially women) perform a simpler and less costly worship which entails only those rites which follow candana-puja and are performed outside

the inner sanctuary. The worshipper does these rites in his ordinary clothes. Thus the Jain worshipper has the option of entering the inner sanctuary with the image. If he chooses to enter the inner sanctuary he must consciously decide to undertake extensive purification rites and dress like a monk. If the worshipper chooses not to enter, he only does those rites which follow candana-puja; he does not, then, dress like a monk and his dress characterizes him as an "ordinary" worshipper. The bathing, changing clothes and marking the forehead are not necessary, except if one wants to enter the inner sanctuary, which, by implication, is the most pure and sacred part of the temple.

Stevenson (1970) notes that at Sarunaya, a favorite place of Jain pilgrimage, worship follows the same general outline as the "complete" worship outlined above. This practice becomes significant when we note that worship, especially during pilgrimage, is considered by worshippers as an expression of their desire to emulate their preceptor's total way of life (Bharati, 1963: 144).

Jain worship, then, has two basic divisions: 1) the "complete" worship, beginning with bathing, in which the worshipper consciously dresses as a monk, proceeding to contact with the image and ending with bhava-puja, and 2) those rites beginning with dhupa-puja that do not require a purification bath and which are performed in one's everyday clothes. These two basic types of worship, with minor variations, are

the most commonly used by the majority of Jains. Every worshipper, irrespective of the form of worship he chooses, performs some of those rites which follow candana-puja. Which additional rites he selects is, by and large, the decision of the worshipper and is contingent on the performance of those rites in the inner sanctuary. It is these actions which constitute the ritual, permitting the actor to declare himself to be like the Tirthankara or monk to his community's members.

Piety has its earthly rewards, too. As noted earlier, worship can be analytically divided into two goals: the earthly, in which each person strives, through various complicated prestations and counter-prestations, to surpass his fellows in ritual purity and to gain some worldly benefit, and the unearthly, in which the worshipsper strives to emulate the monk. Among the Jains, each person must learn to balance the two goals in his daily affairs; he must learn to use one to achieve the other. How this is done is one of the topics of this section.

Thus, within the context of worship, the cosmic (unearthly) and social (earthly) orders comingle, but their fit depends on constricting the social order, which fails miserably to live up to the precisely defined standards of the cosmic order. At best the social order is an approximation, only occasionally ascending to the universal order established in ritual. Cosmic order, however, is no mere skeleton of

the social order, but a social order without ambiguity. It is social action made sacred within the context of its execution.

Ritual Purification

When in a polluted state, one is offensive to the deity or the image and he may not perform acts of worship until purified. As noted earlier, any serious pollution of a person entails some degree of avoidance and isolation. During worship, then, the emphasis is on ritual pollution, not ritual purity. It is the control of pollution that separates people from people and people from gods and, because he may be contaminated by others, the worshipper must avoid those who are more polluted (Mandelbaum, 1970: 192-195).

The worshipper's purification is rigidly formal; it involves elaborate ritual acts: gestures, the repeating of sacred mantras and sayings, and the use of special agents, such as fire, water, and cow product, e.g., dung, urine, milk, butter, etc. (Mandelbaum, 1970: 203). His clothes are prepared under the strictest procedures to insure their complete ritual purity. Moreover, the worshipper will generally purify himself and worship in the morning to avoid as many daily contacts with others as possible before worship

(Mandelbaum, 1970: 184), thereby insuring extreme purity of his person.

While the worshipper's clothes must be exchanged for a purified set, the new clothes are not ordinary clothes. As with the Stanakavasi Jains, the clothes are those which an ascetic monk wears and the worshipper, before entering the temple and beginning his worship, must leave behind those worldly possessions (e.g., jewelry, money) which he will not offer to the Tirthankara image. Putting aside one's possessions before worship is of great importance. Although only symbolically, the worshipper is re-enacting the Tirthankara's entry into the life of a renouncer, faithfully followed by Jain monks for over 2500 years. He sets aside any signs of worldly success, while in the ritual setting he voluntarily accepts limitations on his wealth. He does not, as we shall see, leave behind or relinquish every reminder of his worldly success (and achieve an absolute equality with his fellow worshippers), but he does voluntarily accept limitations on those outward signs of success and wealth. He symbolically enacts the fifth major vow which limits his possessions (aparigraha) and declares that he is not attached to the world.

Every act of ritual purification must be understood and interpreted with reference to hierarchy. Purity is the precondition that entitles the worshippers to enter the temple

for worship; it proclaims an equality among the worshippers. When a worshipper dresses as a monk, hierarchy is neutralized. The worshipper adopts an emblem--the monk's clothes--that does not articulate social differences. The pure-impure distinction, at least among the worshippers, is neutralized. The worshipper's purification assumes added importance when we remember that the first saying of "Nissahi" asks that worldly concerns be gone. The worshipper ritually becomes a renouncer; he becomes a monk.

During ritual, hierarchy is never completely banished. While the worshipper's equality insures that each worshipper has access to the image, it does not imply the equal "moral nature" of each worshipper. As we noted earlier, some Dasa Jains are denied access to temples because other Jains believe them to have an inherent impurity which their ritual purification cannot ameliorate.

Equality, especially during ritual and pilgrimage, supports and affirms hierarchy, not by showing absolute equality, but by showing the potential equality of the worshippers. It will be remembered that the monk's order, the most vehement denial of the caste system, never eliminated hierarchy. Ritual equality, with its apparent non-differentiation among the worshippers, merely establishes the preconditions for the renewal of hierarchy in a purely religious and sacred domain. This must be the case for if our analysis

of the Indian hierarchical system is correct, complete equality presents a dangerous situation because it questions, and must ultimately deny, those fundamental values of Indian society. It questions the very rules of normal social intercourse; it threatens to create disorder or meaninglessness.

The structure of Jain worship separates the worshippers into two classes: those who ritually purify themselves in order to touch the image, and those who do not purify themselves but continue to wear their everyday clothes. Thus, among the worshippers, the ideal social organization of the Jain community (the tirtha) is ritually duplicated. Those who purify themselves, becoming like the monk, are in a heightened state of ritual purity and separated, within the ritual context, from social obligation.²⁰ Hierarchy, then, reappears. While the ideal social organization of the Jain community denies caste, it preserves hierarchy and the importance of purity.

As with the non-idol worshipping Sthanakavasi, the worshipper's progress, entering the temple, approaching the image and making the offerings, allows him to share, if only

20. It would be wrong, I think, to make too much of this similarity. While it does in fact exist, it must be remembered that the Digambara absolutely refuse to let women enter the inner sanctuary since they cannot under any circumstances attain liberation. The Svetambara, while permitting women to enter the inner sanctuary and conceding that they may attain liberation, in fact have few women willing to undertake the necessary steps, despite the fact that women are said to more closely follow the rules of ritual etiquette than do the men.

briefly, the life of a monk. Just as the monk renounces his social life and becomes solely responsible for his actions (and thus his salvation), the worshipper steps outside and--because of his pending juxtaposition with the image--above social obligations and cultural categories. Increasingly, personal responsibility surfaces as a dominant value: "When the thought occurs to a mendicant: 'I am myself, alone; I have nobody belonging to me, nor do I belong to anybody,' then he should thoroughly know himself as standing alone--aspiring to freedom from bonds" (Jaina Sutras, vol. 1: 71).

Candana-puja: Worship with Sandal.

Candana-puja is, for most worshippers, the primary activity in the inner sanctuary. Within the inner sanctuary, the worshipper touches the image, marking it in fourteen auspicious places. The marking takes place after the image is bathed with water, milk and five nectars. The marking is done while singing the praises of the Tirthankara.

While only one worshipper may bathe the image, one may, if the proper purification and change of clothing is done, mark the image in fourteen auspicious places: right big toe, left big toe, right knee, left knee, right wrist, left wrist, right shoulder, left shoulder, top of the head, forehead, throat, heart, navel and the center of the right palm. (See Figure 2.) These fourteen auspicious marks correspond

to points of energy on the subtle yogic body and, for the worshipper, are important sources of energy which purify. Marking these points with sandal paste recognizes the necessity of asceticism and the performance of austerities (tapas) in attaining liberation.

The procedure of marking these auspicious spots is always from right to left and from the feet to the head, then down the center of the body. Were the image female, as in the worship of a Hindu goddess, the worshipper would mark the image from left to right (Stevenson, 1971). Here, priority--auspiciousness--is associated with the right side (maleness) and the head (purity). The marking of the auspicious spots, associated with yogic meditation and, hence, liberation re-asserts the importance of purity and its correlative: hierarchy. In Indian life, the head is more pure than the feet and men are superior to women.

As I have suggested, worship permits a layperson temporarily to become a monk. As the worshipper moves toward the inner sanctuary, he increasingly isolates himself from the social world each time he says "Nissahi." When he approaches the image, he identifies himself with the Tirthankara through his mantra and chants and, according to the rules governing purity and pollution, elevates himself by his contact with the image.

Candana-puja is more, however, than the consummation of the worshipper's identification with the Tirthankara. It

re-establishes the status quo; the image, symbol of all ascetics who follow the Jain way, is publicly recognized as the superior of every worshipper. The image acts as a "master symbol" which, as Wolf (1972: 150) says, provides the "cultural idiom of behavior and ideal representations through which different groups of the same society can pursue and manipulate their different fates within a coordinated framework."²¹

Ritual Superiority

Image worship requires that the Tirthankara is superior to the worshipper. The most frequent expression of the image's superiority is the worshipper's bowing before the image, a gesture called pranam. The fundamental notion underlying pranam is ritual superiority; it is an assertion, a shared understanding of the image's (or one's superior's) holiness and power. It clearly establishes the differences in status among the Tirthankaras, the monks and the laymen. The laity give the monk the same special reverence. At public gatherings, the monk sits above the laity on a raised platform or, if a platform is not available, on a cloth which represents the platform (Oman, 1973: 144) and symbolically raises the

21. The cultural idiom embodied in the image will be clearly explicated in a later section: The Tirthankara Image.

monk above the laity. During worship, it will be recalled, the Tirthankara image sits on a throne, which raises the image above the worshippers. Worship, then, expresses the ritual alignment of society.

During worship, the rank of the worshippers moves away from the egalitarian and broad hierarchy in which the image is superior to many who are all relatively equal. During Hindu worship, for example, the distribution of prasad (to be discussed in the next section) is often a means to re-assert the caste hierarchy. Not only is the deity's superiority re-established, but the distribution of prasad restates the social status of each worshipper--those of higher rank are given prasad before those of lower rank.

The Jains use the auction of jala-puja to the same end. The bidding for jala-puja orders the worshippers who will enter the inner sanctuary; worldly status and ritual status move toward coincidence. Just as the acharya is superior to the monks, who are ordered, one under another, according to their spiritual progress, the worshipper who does jala-puja is likewise superior to the other worshippers for a brief period. Among the Digambara, who do not practice the auction, all worshippers remain relatively equal. They assemble before the image, while the pujari enters the inner sanctuary and performs jala-puja. But with the Svetambara, the merchant's ethic has lodged itself deep in the fabric of worship. Merit

and superiority belong to the person who can pay, and he who pays validates his superiority. Thus, the ability to pay, i.e., one's wealth, plays an important role in the worshipper's ritual performance. Only one person, after all, does jala-puja in any one worship.

The Jains, a predominantly mercantile people, give primary allegiance to their business and view their wealth as the most important index of worldly and spiritual success. Every morning a Jain will pray to Kubera, the guardian of the North, King of the Yaksas (earth spirits) and Indra's treasurer (Pereira, 1977: 60). The Jains also enthusiastically celebrate Diwali, a Hindu festival originally in honor of the Goddess of Wealth, Laksmi. They justify their participation by asserting that it was on this day that Mahavira, their last Tirthankara, died and obtained his release from the cycle of rebirth (samsara). His first disciple, Indrabhuti, was to have said, "Since the light of intelligence is gone, let us make an illumination of material matter" (Jaina Sutras, vol. 1: 266). Therefore, each year on this day, the devout layman should worship Mahavira. Laksmi-puja and Bhaubija, Hindu ceremonies associated with Diwali, have no official religious significance and should not be practiced (Sangave, 1959: 252). Yet Stevenson (1970: 261) observes that both are fervently practiced:

A Brahmin is called who writes Sri (i.e., Laksmi) on the account books over and over again in such a way as to form a pyramid. The priest then performs Laksmi-puja, the oldest obtainable rupee and the leaf of a creeper being placed on the account book, and also a little heap of rice, pan, betel-nut and tumeric, and in front of it a small lamp filled with burning camphor is waved, and the book is then marked with red powder. No one closes the account-book for several hours, and when they do so, they are careful to say: "A hundred thousand profits."

While wealth is an all-consuming passion among many Jains, it is also the source of an intense ambivalence. The Jain monk is advised not to yearn for gold and silver and to abstain from buying and selling, which are great sins. He should live on alms (Jaina Sutras, vol. 1: 205). But the Jain layman must make a living. He must and is allowed to acquire wealth by obeying the principles of Jainism and avoiding evil deeds. The fourth lecture of the Uttaradhyana (Jaina Sutras, vol. 2: 18, 19, 20) offers the following warning to the Jain laity:

Men who adhering to wrong principles acquire wealth by evil deeds, will lose it, falling into the snares (of their passions) and be held captive by their hatred....Wealth will not protect a careless man....Though others sleep, be thou awake. Like a wise man, trust nobody, but be always on the alert....External things weaken the intellect and allure many; therefore, keep them out of your mind. Keep off delusion, remove pride, do not practice deceit, leave off greed.

The careful man is pious and acquires wealth by adhering to right principles: ahimsa, honesty and truthfulness. Although he acquires wealth, he should not become attached to

his wealth and the worldly benefits it brings him. His worship of the Tirthankara image, his benevolence (dana) and his respect for the image, demonstrated by his bidding for jala-puja, are signs of his non-attachment to worldly wealth and his virtue.

These moral virtues associated with the worshipper's wealth promote further success because they publicly demonstrate the community's confidence in the worshipper's conformity to Jain principles. The more wealth one has, so long as he avoids frivolous displays, the more closely he is thought to obey Jain principles and, therefore, to deserve the respect of his fellows. There is virtue, then, in his wealth.

The acharya, it will be remembered, is selected in part because of his secular success. His continued success as a monk is dependent not only upon the severity of his renunciation, but also upon his ability to insure alms for his community of monks and nuns. The severity of his renunciation and the community's gifts of alms only further indicate the success of his worldly withdrawal in conformance with Jain principles. Wealth, then, is a sign of the layman's virtue; the more he acquires and the more he gives, the greater are his gains toward achieving liberation and higher social status. To borrow a phrase from William James, Jain moral principles have a "cash value."

It would be wrong, I think, to assume that every person will necessarily want to bid for the right to do jala-puja and therefore express his claim of superior status. A worshipper's superior status entails more than prestige and respect; it also implies an obligation to contribute to the support of others who have a lower status. People are respected not only for the amount of money they accumulate, but also for the amount that they give to the needy. They are respected if, having accumulated a large amount of money, they restrict the amount for their personal use and give the rest to charity. These benevolent donations are, of course, public knowledge. Thus, with the Jain disposition of avoiding ostentatious displays of wealth, which implies superior status, jala-puja offers a rare opportunity for the worshipper to openly flaunt his superiority.²²

The Second Half

Those rites performed after candana-puja, viz. dipa-puja, dhupa-puja, aksata-puja, naivedya-puja, phala-puja, and bhava-puja, comprise the second half of lay worship. For this portion of the worship, the worshipper does not need the ritual bath because he will not enter the inner sanctuary. It is this

22. Temple construction and the regular support of monks are other common means.

part of worship that is most commonly practiced by women and those who, for whatever reason, do not bid to bathe the image and those who do not mark the image in the fourteen auspicious places.

While each worshipper who performs the second half of the "complete" worship cannot enter the inner sanctuary and touch the image and, therefore, denies himself direct contact with the image, he does participate in a common set of rites with everyone else who worships. Regardless of which rites the worshipper selects (he need not select all of them), he shares those rites in the second half of worship with all other worshippers. It is during the second half of worship that each worshipper's attention is directed toward those actions and beliefs held to be distinctively Jain; it is during the second half that the fundamental metaphysical principles of Jainism surface and the corresponding ethical rules surface.

Worship, whether Jain or Hindu, takes place in a ritually pure area. This area must not only be kept pure by the temple officiant, but, in order to maintain and intensify the area's purity, the worshipper must also perform basic purification rites during worship. The first rite of the second half of worship is arati, which is composed of dipa-puja and dhupa-puja. The Jains borrowed this basic rite of Hindu worship. At its most elementary level, arati is a rite

which honors the Tirthankara. But arati is also considered to be an offering--it pleases the senses of the Tirthankara--and a purification of the immediate vicinity around the image. Arati sets the stage for the offerings of food to follow.

As among Hindus, the waving of the lamp (dipa-puja) and incense (dhupa-puja) is done in a left to right circular motion before the image. Many Hindus interpret this motion to describe the sacred symbol aum, which, according to Vedic tradition, is believed to have the power to create and sustain the world. It is through the use of these sacred symbols that the worshipper rightly maintains and rejuvenates the proper order of the cosmos (Battacharya, 1953: 169). Arati is also accompanied by the chanting of slokas (sayings from religious texts) and mantras, the repetition of which serves to center the mind on the Tirthankara and permits the worshipper to identify with the Tirthankara.²³ This is often accomplished by telling beads as the monk does in his worship, but it may also be achieved by music or by drumming.

The Jains believe that when a Tirthankara attains omniscience (kevala), the Pratiharyas (symbols of omniscience), which include an aura, showers of celestial blossoms, a drum and heavenly music, spontaneously appear (Pereira, 1977: 43).

23. Bharati (1969: 111-112) gives three purposes to the mantras: propitiation, the repulsion of unpleasant powers and thus the putting of the worshipper in the good graces of the "pleasant ones"; acquisition of unobtainable goals, objects or abilities which are not obtainable through secular or other religious efforts, e.g., magical powers; and introjection or identification, purification of the elements or identification with the focus of worship.

In some temples at the moment of dhupa-puja and dipa-puja, the temple officiants create such an intense din by blowing conch shells and beating drums and gongs that they completely suffocate any other sounds (Ayres, 1956: 152). This din is believed to attract the gods' attention so that they might witness the worshippers' acts (Bhattacharya, 1953: 162). It is a moment of transition (Stevenson, 1910: 97), the moment preceding the move to the Assembly Hall to give offerings, make vows, and do bhava-puja. It precedes the most introspective part of worship.

The second half of lay worship, then, begins with an opportunity for the worshipper to purify the area around the image and give a small offering. But perhaps of greater importance is the implicit assertion that others should interpret or understand the actions to follow in a special way. The worshipper declares his actions to be consecrated. They reflect the worshipper's acceptance and conformity to Jain morality (dharma); his actions are to be witnessed not only by the Tirthankara and the heavenly gods but, most importantly, by members of his community.

The Offering

Generally, the Jains are more particular about the kinds of food eaten and the times it is eaten than they are with

whom they eat. As among most Indians, the Jains consider vegetable foods to be superior to meats. Eating flesh is a sign of one's low status because it presupposes taking life, which is generally considered sinful. Drinking of alcoholic beverages is also considered sinful. Those who have high rank avoid non-vegetarian diets and alcoholic beverages.

The Jains have incorporated these assumptions concerning food into the very social fabric. Two of the five major vows (mahavrata) of Jainism explicitly concern themselves with ahimsa, avoidance of killing, and brahmacarya vrata, avoidance of wine and highly seasoned foods, which are sources of impurity. The Sutrakritanga (Jaina Sutras, vol. 2: 393) says that one absorbs into his body the essence of whatever food he eats: impure substances become a part of one's essence. One should know this and knowing it, one should be careful and circumspect with regard to his food, always exercising caution. The Uttaradhyayana (Jaina Sutras, vol. 2: 72) recommends the following diet for monks:

Dish-water, barley-pap, cold sour gruel, water in which barley has been washed: such loathsome food and drink he should not despise, but call at the lowliest houses (for alms); then he is a true monk.

According to Jain doctrine, ahimsa or non-violence should govern life. Thus, in accordance with this doctrine preached by the Tirthankaras, the devout Jains do not eat potatoes, onions, beets and many other tubers which are believed to contain minute forms of animal life. In addition, most beverages

should be strained before drinking, a custom practiced by the monks with their mouth covers. Moreover, one should not eat during darkness, for it is easier to harm life at that time.

During the ritual offering, the Jain worshipper, being very particular not to harm life, gives only those foods the Tirthankara can eat without committing himsa, violence. These are "cold" foods: sugar, rice (the only grain permitted as an offering), fruits (coconuts, bananas, mangoes), and almonds. As Mandelbaum (1970: 204) notes, fruits and nuts, as long as they are whole, are not considered subject to ritual defilement. Giving them is a sign of deference and benevolence. While the Digambara do not offer fresh fruits, because they may contain life, the Svetambara are less strict. Nevertheless, the vow of ahimsa, the most pervasive principle of Jainism, governs.

The worshipper arranges his offering of rice as in Figure 1. If the worshipper is wealthy, he will place a coin at the center of the swastika. This pattern has great significance for all Jains. With it, they symbolize their entire ethical and metaphysical system. This complex symbol embodies in abstract the great principles of Jainism. The swastika represents the four gati. These are places in which one can be reborn: the upper arm is Devata, the home of the gods; the right arm is Tiryanic, a state lower than humans (insects, birds, reptiles, animals or plants); the left arm is Nanusya,

the human abode; and, finally, the lowest arm is Hell. The anti-clockwise swastika symbolizes a perfect being, locked in spiritual meditation, closed off from the impurity of the world. The arms, then, also represent moksa, dharma, artha and kama. At the center is the jiva, the soul (Bappa, 1972: 115). The three piles of rice above the swastika are the three jewels of Jainism: Right Faith, Right Knowledge and Right Conduct; the crescent holding the final pile of rice is siddhasila, home of the liberated souls at the top of the universe, which is free from the restraints of the world.

The Jains invest considerable attention in this pattern, for not only does it contain symbolically much of the philosophical and spiritual teachings of Jainism, but in its (re-) construction of the universe (and non-universe), the worshipper is mentally following the path toward moksa and, by implication, his universe is governed by ahimsa. To offer food, teaming with life, would not only degrade the Tirthankara but defile the world as well. This ritualized reconstruction emphasizes an important conceptual distinction between permanence: dharma and the soul, and the change and permutations of the world (Beck, 1975: 10/10). The permanent, hidden beneath the worldly flux, is revealed. The permanent is revealed not only in the actual image, but in the design of the offerings. The principles governing the cosmic order and the social order are matched.

Gift Giving: The Offering Again

Marcel Mauss (1967) was the first to emphasize that many exchanges of goods and services assume importance as gifts and consequently have more than just economic significance: gift giving is a social act, i.e., it is symbolic. Sahlins (1968: 9), for example, notes that the giving and counter-giving of gifts serves to bind people and groups of people together. Exchange is instrumental; it establishes solidarity between people. Gift giving symbolizes social interdependence, and generally those who share the same values and worldview have a higher frequency of interaction and exchange.

Gift giving, as Sahlins (1968: 81-86) goes on to say, is not always a one-for-one transaction in which equivalent gifts are exchanged. Reciprocity may range from the generalized, which includes the "pure gift" (giving without any demands of reciprocation), to the balanced, a fair and immediate exchange, to the negative, self-interested, maximization of "profit." Generalized reciprocity includes such altruistic acts as "sharing," "hospitality," "mutual aid," and "generosity." It includes those obligatory gifts to kinsmen and gifts to kings. Balanced reciprocity is less personal; it implies greater social distance between the two individuals. Balanced reciprocity is a direct, immediate return in which equivalent value is carefully calculated. Negative reciprocity is more appropriate for those of great social distance.

In India, exchange is traditionally associated with the jajmani system and connotes the religious prestations and counter-prestations of the caste system. The jajmani system, at least traditionally, centers around the exchange of goods and services, and the traditional patterns of exchange reflect beliefs about the inherent purity of the castes and, consequently, the distances between the castes. While the Jains' social ethic promotes the isolation of the individual and his family through non-exchange and, therefore, clearly condemns the caste system, it does not deny the importance of exchange as an expression of one's personal status.

Giving and counter-giving is equally important among monks. As with the king who is due taxes, the acharya is due gifts from other monks in exchange for his instructions. Likewise, the monks are due food and gifts from the laity in exchange for their instructions. The monk should not return food (especially leavings) for ritual services but give more subtle gifts, such as religious instructions (Marriott, 1976). The monk's return of religious instruction is not, however, a service, at least as normally understood within the caste system. The laity's gifts (dana), especially food, are given free of any expectation of reciprocity. The laity gives because giving promotes its liberation and the liberation of the monks;²⁴ it permits the monks to pursue liberation without acquiring worldly ties.

24. The Jains are well known throughout India for the Rest Houses, which protect without discrimination men and

The merit acquired from giving is greatest when the giver is pious, when he gives while in an attitude of non-attachment, and when he gives to a Jain ascetic. Giving to other ascetics, e.g., Hindu ascetics, brings less merit. The Jains rank the recipients of gifts according to the amount of merit (punya) gained: aspirants, those with Right Faith but not observing vows; those obeying moral laws but without Right Faith; and those without Right Faith and not obeying moral laws (Bhargava, 1968: 137). Stevenson (1970: 110) tells a popular Jain story about Mahavira that illustrates the importance of gift giving:

Mahavira is a previous birth, when a woodcutter, gained great punya by feeding a party of monks who had lost their way. His reward was that in his next incarnation he became a devata, and after many many births was incarnate as Mahavira /i.e., he became a Tirthankara/. For less illustrious services one may in the next life become a merchant, or a ruler, or gain some other coveted position.

During worship, Hindus offer food and gifts to the deity, not only to honor him, but as payment for past favors. (The Tirthankara, however, never gives favors.) After the Hindu god has eaten his share of the food, the food is transformed (because of his having eaten) into prasad, sanctified food, which is distributed to the worshippers. Generally among Indians, contact with the eater's saliva contaminates food; it becomes jutha and should be avoided. Leavings from one's

animals alike, their hospitals, which provide free medical care, and their schools and libraries, which are open to the general public (Sangave, 1959: 287-290).

father, husband or god, however, are good to eat because these people are superior in ritual rank and, if one eats their jutha, one partakes of the good qualities of these superior persons (Mandelbaum, 1970: 199-200). The fundamental values underlying ritual--hierarchy and purity--are not violated. The reverse, accepting jutha from an inferior, is, however, profoundly degrading.

To accept the prasad of a god, then, has serious hierarchical implications relating to purity and pollution. If the worshipper feeds and gives gifts to the deity without partaking of prasad, the asymmetrical bond established between them puts the deity in an inferior position. A gift accepted but not repaid debases the one who accepts it; the recipient's status is lowered. If the sanctity of the moment and the sanctity of the deity are to be maintained, there is a strong pressure on the worshipper to accept reciprocation. Moreover, as Sahlin notes, balanced reciprocity, prestation and direct, immediate counter-prestation, implies distance between the worshipper and the deity. One who willingly eats prasad from the deity reaffirms and reestablishes his subordination and inferiority, but, for those who share the prasad with the worshippers, there is relative equality, a closeness either symbolic or real between them (Babb, 1975: 56-59).

The most significant difference between Jain and Hindu

worship is the offering. The Jains' offerings never become prasad. In fact, Stevenson (1961: 800) assures us that the word is never used; rather, the offering becomes merely deva-dravya, the temple's property. Moreover, the offerings are never shared with the worshippers. A meal from the offerings may be given to the temple servants (non-Jains) or to others as an honorary reward, but no self-respecting Jain would eat any. Generally, the newly formed deva-dravya is stored and sold on the market to menials.²⁵ The profit from the sale is used only for the upkeep and improvement of the temple.

The Jain canons also sanction the Jain refusal to eat prasad. The Akaranga Sutra (Jaina Sutras, vol. 1: 99) tells the Jains that a monk should not take any portion of a god's meal. After all, a deity cannot assist one in attaining moksa. But more importantly, the taking of prasad signifies a bond, not only between the image and the worshipper, but between the worshipper and the world, a bond the Jains are eager to eradicate. The fact that the Jains do not eat the Tirthankara's leavings should not be interpreted as a denial of the hierarchical principles permeating Indian life. Rather, the worshipper's refusal denies the inherent status implications of the caste system.

Recall that one of the daily duties of every layperson which permits him to participate in the life of a monk was

25. Stevenson, in her Rites of the Twice Born (1971: 390) notes that many Shaivite temples sell their offerings to merchants for a similar purpose, give it to the lowly pujaries or simply throw it to the birds.

dana. One who refuses to give, sins and accumulates danantaraya karma. The Jain's gift must be pure (aharasuddhi) and given freely without desire for worldly gain. Moreover, the worshipper must be pure of mind (manahsuddhi), speech (vacanasuddhi) and body (kayasuddhi), and he must give to his superior: Tirthankara, acarya, monk. All the usual gestures which recognize another's superiority are used: saying "namaste," a truncated form of pranam, offering a high seat (a superior position), and adoring and saluting him (Bhargave, 1968: 137-38). Thus, in ritual, the Tirthankara is recognized as superior, but not as essentially different in nature from the worshipper. The worshipper gains merit by giving, just as he does when he gives to the begging monk, and, by the implications which Sahlin notes of a "pure gift," asserts that the differences between worshipper and Tirthankara are to be explained by adherence to Jain principles and not by inherent purity.

It is here that the true nature of the Jain Tirthankara is revealed. He is not a god, infinitely superior to mere men, but just another man who through proper living elevated himself to godliness. He is the Prince of the State (the temple, and, by implication, the world) and the profits from the sale of deva-dravya are for his use alone. They are alms; no reciprocity is expected.

Bhava-puja: Purifying Thought

Liberation is achieved through meditation, which, among the Jains, consists of elevating the worshipper's character and stopping those actions which harm life. Only through the elevation of one's character--bhava-puja being one of the preferred means--can one know reality. Thus meditation or contemplation is the primary medium of release, not the worship of gods. The central premise supporting kaussagga--an internal penance which, through austerities, burns karma--is that meditation purifies and sanctifies the soul. Meditation transforms the individual's spiritual constitution and, hence, his internal moral disposition for action, a product of the karmic particles he has accumulated. Worship permits the layman (or monk) to strive to become like the Tirthankara, represented by the temple image. It is an opportunity for the monk and the layman to complete their identification with the Tirthankara; they use the image to direct their attention toward moksa.

Bhava-puja is at the core of worship, and for both the monk and the layman it is the most important part of the worship. Without it, the rest of the worship has no value (Stevenson, 1961: 801). Because the chances of harming insect life are increased after sunset, the worshipper is discouraged from going to the temple after sunset to do bhava-puja. Bhava-puja may, however, be done at any time of the day. Unlike

most Hindu images, the Jain Tirthankara images are not retired during the evening.

During bhava-puja, the worshipper meditates on the elimination of karma, denounces any harmful actions committed on the day of worship, meditates on the qualities of the Tirthankara, represented by the image, sings praises of the Tirthankara and does kaussagga, a particular yogic posture. Bhava-puja lets the worshipper do pratikramana (padikkamana), i.e., confess any violations of the twelve vows--the five major vows and the seven supporting vows--and take vows to avoid sinful acts in the future (pratyakhyana). It will be recalled that pratikramana is an essential daily duty of the non-idolatrous Sthakavasi. Pratikramana is self-criticism and confession before one's guru and should be accompanied by the recitation of the Pratikramana Sutra (Bhargava, 1968: 169).

Bhava-puja, then, makes an implicit distinction between mental and physical acts.²⁶ Bhava-puja is the ritual purification of the mind through meditation. Since Right Thought leads to Right Action, bhava-puja is essential because it prepares the worshipper to conduct himself in society--he takes vows of proper conduct--as he would during worship; his

26. Stevenson (1970: 117) makes the distinction clear: "The Jaina make a very interesting distinction between spiritual and actual murder (Bhava himsa and Dravya himsa). One sins against Bhava ahimsa by wishing for anyone's death or desiring harm to befall him. In addition, if one does not continue and complete one's own education, or strive to improve one's mind, or if one fails to exercise and discipline one's own soul, one commits Bhava himsa, for one kills by stultification what one might have been."

actions become more like those of the ascetic monks. Bhava-
puja is not done to obtain worldly benefits but to purify
the mind. It permits the worshipper to concentrate on the
Tirthankara and the Tirthankara's teachings, which promote
proper conduct--conduct which leads to moksa.

Summary and Conclusion

I began this study by looking for the Jain pattern of
values. It was argued that this pattern of values was instru-
mental in formulating and maintaining a distinctively Jain
vision of the world. Worship and the image, I argued, mediate
the cosmic and social orders and, in doing so, give the Jain
tenets of proper social conduct authority as Truth.

Jain worship permits the Jains to publicly recognize
their cultural and social unity. It allows each worshipper
to identify himself with the Tirthankara image, a constant
reminder of the ideal person and the ideal society and the
focus of Jain worship. Jain worship expresses the Jain pattern
of values. But Jain worship does much more. Worship, es-
pecially worship of the Tirthankara image, expresses those
more stable and firmly entrenched values of the Jains, values
which promote actions that emphasize self-sufficiency, that
endorse attitudes of introversion and reclusiveness and, hence,
according to Jain doctrine, that minimize the changes in one's
physical and moral constitution.

The Jains' metaphysical and ethical principles support the Jain strategy. The accumulation of karma provides a ready rationale to explain the social, as well as heavenly, differences in one's relative status.²⁷ One's worldly position and status reflect his acquisition and divestiture of karmic particles, resulting from past actions; his actions validate Jain dharma, the rules of proper conduct leading to liberation.

If worship grounds Jain values in the metaphysical, it is clear why this metaphysical grounding of values is essential:

There must...be links between the worship service and the immediate personal and social reality of the worshippers....Unless there is a link between the religious symbols making up the worship ceremony and the particular past and present of the worshippers, then the worship process cannot begin. Indeed, the more deeply the symbols do grasp the real problems and conflicts of the worshippers the more powerful the subsequent experience can be....Worship is the transformation of the personal into the trans-personal, the immediate into the transtemporal. Through this transformation the immediate problems and conflicts can be seen in a new light, insight can be achieved, and postworship changes in behavior can ensue. How we evaluate these changes...depends on our values....The mythical, archetypical, timeless character of religious symbols provides a perspective relative to everyday reality without which, in Blake's words, the latter would "stand still unable to do other than repeat the same dull round over again."

Worship, to be maximally effective, must provide not only a symbolic reordering of experience but an element of consummation and fulfillment. (Bellah, 1970: 210)

27. The various deva or gods populating the heavens are ranked according to their relative purity just as people are (Stevenson, 1970: 270-72).

Worship and the image do not, of course, address all problems and conflicts which call for interpretation by an individual Jain. Worship and the image suppress some, molding them through the manipulation of religious symbols and, therefore, achieving a modicum of orthodoxy among those who worship.²⁸

By becoming like a monk during worship, the worshipper has an opportunity to reflect on his progress toward liberation and to take vows of proper conduct, leading to liberation (i.e., his unearthly goals); he has an opportunity to reflect upon his position within his community and devise a strategy, consistent with Jain moral principles, to maintain or improve his social position (i.e., his earthly goals). The worshipper measures himself against the standards of success embodied in the Tirthankara image and his success depends upon how he measures up to the image.

Having examined Jain worship and the central position of the Tirthankara image during worship, we now turn to the image itself.

28. Vernon (1973: 127) makes a similar argument. He says that symbols preserve decisions and, thereby, eliminate the burden of making the same decisions again and again. Symbols promote a kind of social harmony.

THE TIRTHANKARA IMAGE

Throughout all of India, the Jains number less than two million people and, in most respects, share the same customs as their Hindu neighbors. Similarly, Jain sculpture is relatively undifferentiated from Hindu sculpture. There are, however, the Tirthankara images. Always represented in a manner quite different from other Jain images, the Tirthankara images are an oddity among the more common and familiar Indian images.

Oddness in itself is not particularly startling until we realize that these images are virtually unchanged since their adoption by the Jains (c. 100 B.C.). Stylistic changes occurred but the basic manner of representation remains to this day. These images suggest either the community changed very little over this time (which in fact is the case, relatively speaking) or there is something about the image of such fundamental importance to the Jains that stability is required.

Several reasons assure us that the image's importance comes from its position within the core of the community. First, there is great concern among Jain journals to describe, interpret and inform the community about the images. The Jain Journal and Jaina Antiquary are notable examples. Moreover,

throughout India, Jains still show a lively concern in building and renovating temples (and, consequently, images). These temples are generally owned by castes which pay for the temples' upkeep and repair, as well as the support of the attending priests or officiants. Apart from this, most Jains, unlike Hindus, worship daily in local temples. Pilgrimage and worship in distant temples are also considered meritorious. But perhaps the most significant index of the Tirthankara image's importance to the Jains is, as Pereira (1977: 40) notes, that the Tirthankara image "dominates Jain art more than Christ does that of Christianity, the Buddha that of Buddhism, or any god or hero that of his religion and cult." If we are to completely understand the Tirthankara image's position in worship, we must examine the image and understand in what sense it is, as Coomaraswamy says, "visual theology."

The Image as Visual Theology

Religious art, like ritual, attempts to order and describe the critical fringes of human existence and experience. It is a purposeful exploration and examination of social meaning. By continually defining the boundaries of orderly and meaningful social life, it strives to eradicate meaninglessness. It does so by structuring everyday experiences with the already

established syntax of reason and emotion, thereby defining one's experiences and guiding him toward proper action.

Religious art, like ritual, depends upon the coalescence of worldview and ethos, of what is and what ought to be.

The Tirthankara image is not an imitation. It does not truly resemble any actual person. (Indian) artists long ago recognized that nothing is ever or ever can be represented completely in all its aspects and with all its idiosyncrasies. To capture a part of his subject is the best he can hope for. The Indian artist's creation of works of art necessitates the sacrifice of many features of a real object. Sacrifice, however, does not diminish the artist's task. The goal is still to present the object of artistic creation as whole, complete. The primary function of artistic symbolization is understanding. Practicality, pleasure and communication are secondary and depend on this need to understand (Goodman, 1976).

Often represented with multiple arms, heads, eyes, etc., the Indian deity's multiplicity of bodily parts is not intended as an accurate portrayal but rather suggests the greater than human capabilities of the deity. Using variations on the body to express greatness is one of the most natural decisions of any artist. Everyone knows the boundaries, limitations, moods, desires and needs of the body. One sees others being born, again and dying; he comes to know others

by the things they do and say; he understands others not only because he shares similar experiences, but because he expresses himself in a similar idiom.

The Indian artist calls upon these common experiences and actions to convey more profound sentiments. Dancing, singing, crying, shouting, yawning, sighing, laughing, etc., all have religious significance in India; they express those more rarified emotions one has toward the numinous. As is always the case in India, the mundane has its match in the celestial sphere.

The Jain Tirthankara image, unlike its more familiar Hindu counterparts, is completely human in form. There is no insurmountable distance between the viewer and the person in the image. The Tirthankara is not inherently more powerful, more heavenly. He is not a high god whose position is one of spiritual or spatial distance. Each viewer partakes of the special knowledge the image offers by recognizing that the Tirthankara is not essentially different from himself.

Distinguishing Characteristics

In many respects, the Tirthankara images resemble other Indian images. The images are composed of standardized signs and symbols drawn from the common heritage of most Indians.

This similarity of images should not surprise us, since Indian civilization spawned Jainism and Jain images. The distinguishing characteristics of Jain Tirthankara images, then, are tokens; they do not absolutely distinguish Jain images from Buddhist or other Indian images but simply characterize a proper image. Although many characteristics are unique to the Tirthankara images, they are of relatively minor importance and then quite esoteric. A full understanding of the images must take into account the usual and accustomed meanings of these characteristics.

Bhattacharya (1974: 19-20) sets out the images' distinguishing characteristics. The Tirthankara images are distinguished by the youthful body, which is usually naked among the Digambara; the long, hanging arms, reaching below the knees in the standing images (see Figure 3); and the srivatsa symbol on the chest. Other characteristics are: a yaksa and yaksi on his right-hand and left-hand sides (these attending deities are usually in the lowest corners of the work), an asoka or tree under which the Tirthankara attained kevala, as well as a throne seat, a lion throne, a trilinear umbrella, an aura or halo, a drum, celestial blossoms, two chowri bearers and heavenly music. Additionally, each Tirthankara is accompanied by a cihna or cognizance which identifies the particular Tirthankara. The image may also contain one or several of the eight auspicious symbols of

the Jains: swastika, mirror, urn, cane-seat (shaped like an hour glass), two small fish, flower garland and a book.

Maha-Purusha

If the body is truly the primary revelatory vehicle, the simplest expression of cosmic unity is a giant man (Maha-Purusha). Indian monists and dualists alike posit this cosmic model. The Jain universe, according to non-canonical sources, is the shape of a giant man. His legs are adholoka, the seven hells; his waist is tiryaloka, the earthly realm; his breast is devaloka, heaven; his neck is graiveyika, the region of kings; and the top of his head is siddhaloka, the place where liberated souls, free from the body, go when released (Stevenson, 1970: 271-72).

However, the canonical sources, such as the Svetambara's Lokapraksa, describe the universe as three pyramids stacked one upon the other (Lalwani, 1968: 85-86), or as a downturned earthen bowl, a cymbal (jhalara) and a mrdanga on top (Sukhlalji, 1974: 199). Regardless of the descriptions, each shares a tri-partite order. Every description has a bottom, a middle and a top. Surrounding the Jain universe (loka) is aloka, a region where matter does not penetrate. Here the media responsible for movement and stillness do not exist and time's clock has a broken spring. The siddha, or liberated soul,

cannot (and could not) assist those still a part of loka.

The Indian artist employs a wide range of techniques and standardized means of representation in his attempt to express the world as a giant man. Whether in the inner sanctuary of the temple or merely along a temple corridor, he attempts in each image to completely display the universe. In Figure 2, the large, square throne fills much of the lower region. The throne rests securely on the earth. It is held firmly in gravity's grip as are all earthly objects. Appropriately, the yaksa and yaksi, the earth-bound spirits, are nearly hidden in cavern-like niches of the throne. Their gorged, rounded figures again typify earth-bound natures (Havell, 1964: 143). The body's diaphragm and expanded chest (usually associated with the yogin's breath control and, hence, the control of life forces) are the middle; the head, lofty and pure, is the topmost region. At the bottom are the feet, the most polluting and hence most dangerous bodily part. Every Indian, when prostrating himself before a god or great person, puts his head to the other's feet. This gesture is fundamental, an assertion of the relative purity and impurity of the two people, an assertion of their relationship of dominance and subordination.

Cakravartin: Universal King

Like the Buddhists, the Jains claim their origin in the

womb of the Kshatriya caste. As great princes who renounced their worldly power, the Tirthankaras never renounced the goal of unifying the world; the spiritual order and secular order were simply two sides of the same coin (Zimmer, 1960: 127-30). With chowries in hand, the attendants mounted on royal elephants indicate their subordination to the Tirthankara. The trilinear umbrella symbolizes the deva-lokas; its shank is the cosmic axis claiming the ceiling of the heavens as the domain of the Tirthankara. At the top of the universe is an amaloka or crown, his symbol of authority and place where the liberated souls reside. The lion throne suggests the Tirthankara's authority. Furthermore, the Tirthankara's broad shoulders and robust chest indicate his great strength and resolve to perform austerities (Boner, 1962: 214). The Tirthankara is no Brahmin. He was not born a god, but claims the right to be a "true Brahmin."

Because of the contingencies of survival among the Hindus, the Jains long ago renounced their claim to be Kshatriyas, but the conflict between the Brahmins and Kshatriyas, expressed by the Tirthankara, continues to this day. While this rivalry helped spread such characteristically Indian practices as vegetarianism and ahimsa, it also was responsible for a great deal of persecution by the Hindus (Dumont, 1970; Sangave, 1959). This acrimony survives in the dogma that all Tirthankaras must not only be born in a noble family, but

that Indra wrested Mahavira, the final Tirthankara, from a Brahmin's womb and planted him into a Kshatriya's womb. Only as a Kshatriya could he become a Tirthankara (Jaina Sutras, vol. 1: 230-31). In worship, the princely model performs a valuable service. The worshipper treats the image as a king, giving it supremacy in the temple. Only when the context permits does homage become holy. Hence, worshipping the image transcends the homage to a king or another highly placed person. An earthly home for the gods, the Jain temple, like the Hindu, is a model of the cosmos (Rowland, 1967: 275; Fischer, 1970; Beck, 1976). The Tirthankara seated in the center of the temple is the ascetic monarch not only of his temple but symbolically of the universe as well.

The Ascetic

Appearing as early as 2500 B.C. in Harappa, the ascetic was an early subject of Indian sculpture (Rowland, 1970: 35). The ascetic's austerities (tapas) and sexual continence were (are today) believed to confer great psychic and formidable physical abilities upon the ascetic. Feared, admired and emulated, the ascetic exemplified the hopes of the non-Brahmin majority. The ascetic walked the path which would overcome a profound and growing pessimism, a pessimism arising from the decreasing social and, hence, spiritual mobility of

India's caste system (Martindale, 1962). The Indian ascetic expressed, as he does today, an age old confidence that nature can be conquered and controlled, that alternative routes to the same destination not only exist but are passable (Potter, 1963).

The great Hindu prototype of all ascetics is Siva, the symbol of world renunciation. He literally resides in unlivable places: tops of very high mountains and cremation grounds, places of great extremes in temperature, places where only the dead--those released from their earthly body--are permitted. Siva haunts burial grounds; covered with ashes, he performs austerities which give him the power of miracles. He retires to mountain tops, where, because of their great height, he is simultaneously in contact with heaven and earth. His feet are on the ground but his head is in the skies. Siva, however, has a dual nature. He is the world renouncer, forsaking the social ties of family and community, but he is also the potent male who through austerities surpasses all other males. He has immense power, and release of his power comes either procreatively or in a frenzied world-destroying dance (Zimmer, 1972).

The Jains' Tirthankaras are clearly parallels to the ascetic Siva. They share a constellation of symbols (moon, trident, cobra, Mt. Kailasa, as well as links to paternal potency) (Manjula, 1968). They also acquire their great powers and abilities through austerities. Jain mountain hermitages

and places of pilgrimage abound in India, and, significantly, twenty of twenty-four Tirthankaras reached omniscience (kevali) on a mountain top (Bhattacharya, 1974: 21). Whenever possible, high ground is preferred for temples.

Unlike Siva, the Tirthankara does not vacillate between ascetic world renouncer and potent father figure. The Jains denied the sexual procreative aspect of Siva in favor of an eternally constant and benevolent ascetic. Although Rsabhanatha, the first Tirthankara of this cosmic cycle, is often described as the progenitor of the Kshatriyas on earth and as the great hero who taught people their crafts, arts and "culture," he is never, nor is any one of the other Tirthankaras, depicted as a sexual creator. Such depictions are reserved for lower and inferior deities, adopted from the Hindus. In fact, the Digambara Jains refuse to accept that Mahavira was married and fathered children. While the Tirthankaras (at least according to the Svetambaras) fulfilled their obligations of marrying and raising a family, they left the comforts of civilized life to conquer the uncivilized in themselves. They set out on a lifelong pilgrimage to moksa.

The community of laypeople support the Jain monks. They recognize in the monk's behavior those universal rules (dharma) leading to moksa. As a symbol, the image points to this universal order.²⁹ Every ascetic brings the Jain canons to

29. It will be recalled that Tirtha means the original community of monks, nuns, laymen and laywomen. Tirtha also means "one who expounds Dharma" (Bhattacharya, 1974: 11).

an immanent position within the community. The begging monk, dressed in rags, wandering from village to village, performing the rigid penances of the faith, re-enacts the lives of the Tirthankaras.

Nudity

The Jain image arose in a tradition that was anti-Brahmanical. The Brahmins' ritual monopoly increasingly excluded the other castes. With the rise of the sannyasi, or world renouncers, a challenge arose; the Brahmins' spiritual supremacy was questioned and ultimately rejected by Mahavira, the last Jain Tirthankara, and by the Buddha, to name only two. Mahavira called for strict penance and, following the long tradition of the Ajivikas (Basham, 1951), he discarded his clothing. The Jains, however, never prescribed nudity; in fact, the early monks of the sect as a rule dressed in loincloths rather than go about naked (Basham, 1951: 107-09). Nakedness was of course restricted to men. While the Digambara ("sky clad") ascetics continue to this day the practice of nudity, the Svetambaras quickly adopted some minimal clothing.

Mahavira's nakedness would later come to signify the cleansing of the soul from karma. Initially, however, the practical result was the complete elimination of any caste or social markings which might identify the individual's

previous social position or suggest any commitment to worldly ties. The individual had, in effect, stepped beyond and above the social bounds of his world (Zimmer, 1960: 210). This symbolic equality, soon enough to vanish, had the initial advantage of eliminating many recruitment difficulties that strict adherence to caste principles might engender. As formerly reliable relationships of mutual aid and assistance collapsed, the Brahmins' authority was immediately and severely tested. The Brahmins would soon adopt many of the new attributes of these heretical renouncers--vegetarianism and strict practice of ahimsa--thus reasserting their claims to ritual control and social purity. The Jains would also adapt; they would accept caste distinctions among their own kind and claim status as Vaishyas. Mahavira's renunciation would, however, continue to provide an anchor with which all Jain could legitimize the present through the past. For those demanding some visible and substantive reminder of the Tirthankara's teachings, political rebellion shows even in the dimensions of the body. The slim waist and broad robust chest came to symbolize the aristocratic birth of the Tirthankara as Kshatriya. The large shoulders and long arms became and remain signs of great and prominent men (Chitrabhanu, 1978: personal communication).

But the monk's nakedness (or near nakedness) also bespeaks a complete destruction of the desire for any physical ties except the most rudimentary--food, which is strictly regulated.

The individual is completely vulnerable to both the physical world and the social world upon which he relies for survival. He is alone and solely responsible for his spiritual survival. It is by conquering his desires and fears, made more immediate by his vulnerability, that the monk approaches liberation.

Furthermore, every accidental or momentary feature of the Tirthankara was eradicated in favor of a stereotypic representation. The images required the extension of particularizing marks into generalizing marks. Their bodies are always shown in yogic trance, in a pure state, uninvolved in worldly exchanges. The image's body is perfect, unlike its more common human form, a "fragile," "decaying" and "unstable entity" (Jaina Sutrās, Vol. 1: 44). This surface vagueness, which is not intended as ambiguity, effectively shifts the viewer's mind from the empirical level to a mythological level of comprehension. Denial of the transient, unstable level allows the higher level full impact on one's awareness. The image's absence of all muscular or bone structure indicates the Tirthankara's spiritual advancement. His body has no veins, tendons or body hair (which comes to assume great importance since hair is the feature most easily manipulated--all the Jain monks are required to pull out their hair by the roots).

In his Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization, Zimmer (1972: 157) suggests that the requirement of tonsure,

before embarking on an ascetic's life, simulates the dispassion of an old man. With his hair gone, he no longer is a link in the generative chain. Hair implies passion; after all, Siva has a great mound of matted hair that accompanies his virile destructive energy. Elsewhere, Basham (1951: 106) suggests that this painful tonsure accustoms the new monk to the physical severities awaiting him, i.e., it is an austerity which tests his resolve.

One might also infer that hair not only suggests the passionate male, but can be categorized as a bodily remnant, a pollutant, along with feces, saliva, sweat, etc. Absence implies purity. Therefore, the Tirthankara's body and breath are fragrant (Zimmer, 1960: 209). He is free of pollutants.³⁰

Prasad (1972), in his comparative study of Buddhist and Jain monachism, notes, however, that tonsure is repeated when the hair reaches a prescribed length: four fingers. Since daily grooming is discouraged, the monk does not bathe, wash his clothing, cut his nails, ornament himself or use any cosmetics whatsoever to improve his appearance. Prasad (1972: 34-35) believes that these strict measures are intended to subdue any physical attraction a woman might have for a monk. Indeed, I suspect this practical solution is quite effective.

30. Stevenson (1915: 45) gives an interesting account of Mahavira's death. According to some Digambara, Mahavira died alone. Upon achieving moksa, his pure soul departed, leaving only his nails and hair remnants. The Jains fashioned a new body from these leftovers and cremated it with all the usual ceremony.

However, prior to taking the monastic vows and pulling out his hair, the initiate purifies himself; he approaches his great moment dressed in his finest clothing. Only then does he begin his merciless dismissal of the body. He begins to grow impure, just as the dead are impure until cremation (Das, 1976).

Male Form

The Jains say the liberated soul is without shape, color, smell, sex or any conditioning qualities. Having risen to the top of the universe--above heaven, earth, and hell--the soul is forever beyond the particularizing hold of matter. But this eternal separation of matter and liberated soul presents a serious problem for those wanting an image to worship. Some Jains, the Sthanakavasi for example, are non-idolatrous. Since the liberated soul is without recognizable physical characteristics, the Sthanakavasi do not worship images. These souls, they maintain, simply cannot be depicted, and it is essential to depict something if it is to be worshipped. While the Tirthankara is not completely liberated (he still has a body and some residual, though subtle, karma), he is the most appropriate figure to emulate and, therefore, worship. As a Tirthankara, he has overcome all worldly obstacles and conditioning qualities. He has only the final

stage of spiritual growth remaining, the complete abjuration of the physical body.

Why are the images male? The obvious answer is that the Tirthankaras were in fact men. The only two historically placed Tirthankaras, Mahavira and Parsvanatha, were men, and it is probably that the remaining twenty-two, though connected to historical personages, are additions, modelled on the avatars of Vishnu (Bhattacharya, 1974: 12). The Jains' Tirthankaras are technically beyond any sexual particularization, the image as a male proves to be a "convenient artistic interpretation" (Chitrabahanu; personal communication, 3/30/78).

The Digambaras refuse to accept that women attain liberation; their images are always men. The Svetambara, on the other hand, admit that women can attain liberation. In fact, Malinatha, the nineteenth Tirthankara, is a woman (Bhattacharya, 1974: 55). Malinatha, however, is never represented as a woman; she is always male.³¹

This "convenience" of the male form proves instructive. Certainly if the artist is to represent a great person, the image must interpret society accurately, i.e., those most likely to achieve greatness will more easily facilitate the expression of greatness than those unlikely of such success. Once an image gains authority, certain implications are inescapable.

31. In a reference I am unable to locate, an image of Malinatha as a woman is mentioned, but I have never, despite repeated efforts, encountered another example, though it may indeed exist.

The most obvious implication is that the male form is superior to the female form. The Tirthankara occupies the center of any work; he is the largest figure in all of our examples, and he is male. Furthermore, the image can be divided into two complementary halves which are usually symmetrical. Structurally, a vertical line usually runs through the umbrella above the Tirthankara, his nose, the srivatsa lotus on the chest, his navel, and, on the standing images, his genitals. The works are remarkably symmetrical; the left and right appear as mirror images.³²

The left-right division finds parallels in the daily life of the Jains. One eats with the right hand; the left is used for those polluting activities such as defecation (Carstairs, 1961: 80). Offerings during worship are given with the right hand. As a general rule, one's right side is superior to one's left, and the right-left distinction is used freely as a symbolic statement of superiority-inferiority, purity-impurity.

Returning again to the images, we notice that in the lower left and right of the Tirthankara's throne, in what appear to be cave-like niches, are two attendant deities:

32. This nearly perfect symmetry of the body does not, of course, exist in reality. Furthermore, one must assume that Indian artists were aware of this asymmetry. After all, artistic traditions elsewhere regularly use this asymmetry. We can conclude, then, that this nearly perfect symmetry is an important statement about the Tirthankara's flawlessness.

a male yaksa on the right-hand side of the Tirthankara and a female yaksi on the left-hand side. The analogy is obvious. Male and the right are superior to female and the left. Furthermore, these artistic associations of right and left, male and female, appear to have wide currency throughout India. It is true that the sexual division does not necessarily express a relationship of dominance and subordination, but the implication is inescapable in Jainism.

The Jains assert mental power is proportionate to bodily power. While women may be the personification of intelligence, as with the sixteen goddesses of Learning (Vidyadevis) (Bhattacharya, 1970: 122), their nature is essentially neutral--without goodness or badness; it is said that they assume the moral disposition of their husbands. Because of this weakness, the Jains say women are unenduring, corrupting and corruptible (Sangave, 1959: 179). For this reason the nuns suffer harsher repression, must accept that positions of authority are virtually out of reach, and must always respect and revere men of less control and fewer years practice (Sangave, 1959: 180-81).

The Tirthankara is an uncommon male. As we view the Tirthankara's image in kyotsarga, the rigid standing posture peculiar to the Jains (see Figure 3), we notice that there is no diminution of the genitals to express the denial of the body and especially sexual passion, as is often the case in much medieval Christian art. Nor is there any sign of

the masochism or passivity that often accompanies Christian art. The Tirthankara controls himself; his genitals are lifeless, chaste. There is no procreative urge. Furthermore, no attempt is made to hide the penis as in the traditional treatment of male nudity. There is no shame, and no sexuality. He is completely detached.

Havell (1964) observes an important transformation in Jain sculpture. Purusha, the male principal in Hindu philosophy, is the highest type of divine beauty. He is symbolized by the male form. The female, prakriti, is said to be the mirror reflection of Purusha. As with the representation of Siva as Attanarisarar, in which Siva's left is feminine in form (complete with breast, shapely hip and thigh) and his right side is masculine (with the wide chest and muscular thigh of the male), the universe is divided into male and female halves. The male is superior and, hence, on the right-hand side; the female is inferior and on the left-hand side. But Havell notes of the Jain, as well as the Buddhist, images,

It would be more exact to say that, in the images of...the Jain Tirthankaras, Indian artists were aiming at a divine type which combined all the physical perfection of male and female, and transcended them both. The broad shoulders and lion-like body were... masculine characteristics, and the rounded limbs, smooth skin without veins, the joints with bones hardly showing, represent those of the other sex.
(1964: 161)

He continues,

Most of the marks of female beauty enumerated by Indian poets, such as navel low in the body, eyes like a lotus-petal, face like the full moon, lines on the neck resembling those of the conch-shell, and the slender waist, were equally attributes of male beauty, and were included in the lakshanas or beauty marks, prescribed for images of...the Jain Tirthankaras. (1964: 162)

Thus, the Tirthankara unites the attributes of male and female, without destroying the fundamental association of right and left, male and female, dominance and subordination (hierarchy), and purity and impurity. He is a true guru.

Yoga

The goal of spiritual striving is to escape existence (samsara). For the Jains, the liberated state is one of unsurpassable happiness and perfection of all kinds, and yoga is the primary means of attaining it (Dasgupta, 1959: 85).

Meditation

The vertical stability of the Tirthankara image's posture suggests spiritual equilibrium; he has overcome the contraries of life. He has purged himself of all desire and will.

The ability of the yogin to enter and maintain meditative states is analogous to spiritual liberation, freedom from rebirth. Many Indians think that a yogin needs less food than his worldly counterparts and his denial of food only serves to bring him closer to moksa. Ascetics are commonly buried in yogic postures as if they were only in trance. Often the Jains sanctify the place of the ascetic's burial and attribute miraculous powers to the body (Carstairs, 1961: 101).

The association of meditation, which is virtually synonymous with asceticism, and death (really a release from birth and rebirth) is found frequently in Jainism. For example, while still in his mother's womb, Mahavira was well on his way to becoming a Tirthankara. The compassionate fetus, wishing not to distress or harm his mother before his birth, "did not move nor stir nor quiver, but remained quiet, stiff, and motionless." He was practicing penance in kyotsarga.³³ But feeling no movement, his mother thought the infant had died. Mahavira, sensing his mother's distress, moved to reassure her and vowed that "It will not behove me, during the life of my parents, to tear out my hair, and leaving the house to enter the state of houselessness" (Jaina Sutras, Vol. 1: 249-50). The parallels are clear: not only

33. The most common external penance is kyotsarga ("dismissing the body"), the rigid standing posture peculiar to Jainism.

is the meditative posture like death but renunciation and taking the vows of a monk is like death. Leaving the social world is analogous to leaving the cycle of birth and death.

Dhyana, the most important internal penance, accompanies kyotsarga. Dhyana is concentration or fixing of the mind on an object. The goal is to withdraw the mind from the world, regulate one's thought and, eventually, eliminate the agitations of thought completely. Thought always reaches out and comprehends objects; it involves one in the world. Since actions of the mind, body and speech affect the self, dhyana's goal is the elimination of these actions.

In Pindastha dhyana, or concentration on the body, the monk visualizes a fire burning a lotus in his heart. As tapas consumes karma, so fire consumes the lotus. Only ashes remain. The monk then visualizes a powerful wind which carries the ashes away followed by a cool, cleansing rain. The soul becomes a siddha (Bhargava, 1978: 200-201), and presumably rises straight up to the zenith.

Through tapas (literally, heat), the yogin consumes his own body. Furthermore, he controls the cosmic directional forces. Fire (the southeast) consumes the body. Wind (the northwest) blows away the ashes, and earth (the southwest) draws the water (the northeast) to wash away the remaining ashes (Bhargava, 1968: 200).

Youthful Body

The Tirthankara's body is always represented as youthful. He is a perfect man. The Tirthankara does not suffer the limitations of childhood nor the infirmities of old age; he has stabilized his condition between that of birth and death. He has stopped nature's effects. The Tirthankara achieves perfection through the performance of austerities which stop the inflow of karmic particles and transforms his bodily constitution.

As was noted, there is a general tendency in Indian speculation to see the bodily codes as changeable, as reflections of a person's moral constitution acquired through the effects of karma. Pantanjali long ago expressed the transformative power of ascetic practices. Through these practices, one can attain physical perfection of the subtle body: "excellence of body," "color," "loveliness," "strength," and "adamantine density." The body, through conquest of the physical elements, becomes white with purity, extremely beautiful, and very strong, developing an impenetrable density, stopping all alterations in its constitution (Ballantyne, 1971: 91).

There is no doubt that the Jains accept this part of Pantanjali's doctrine. For the Jains, the material bodies range between the gross, or those composed of loosely packed atoms, and the subtle, or those composed of tightly packed

atoms (Sukhlalji, 1974: 113), and it is austerities which metamorphize the body by compacting these atoms. By progressively polishing the gross body, varying degrees of subtlety are effected. Those beings in heaven are said to have bodies of greater subtlety than those below.

Silence

Yoga gives rhythm and uniformity to an otherwise disrhythmic and asymmetric life. By controlling bodily functions and movements, the body's life appears to diminish and kevali becomes possible.

The Tirthankara images are always standing or sitting silently. Silence, obviously, is an important mode of communication. It is not uncommon to feel an uneasiness with new acquaintances; there are uncomfortable "gaps" or silences in the conversation. Silence is a break in the flow of words, of language, of symbols, and it assumes its meaning because of its opposition to language. Augustine's sudden revelation of the importance and holiness of reading silently is a case in point. We forget that reading silently is relatively recent; reading aloud was the common form. Oral traditions precede silent ones. Those who know something but are silent about it, know greatness. In their silence, they express the greatness of the ineffable.

Silences, however, differ depending on the context (Smart, 1972: 31), and their importance in worship is undeniable. For example, the chanting devotees' silence before the image indicates the superiority of the Tirthankara. In a very real sense, mere words cannot express the inexpressable greatness of a liberated soul; they cannot describe what is indescribable. Language has its limits beyond which it cannot rise. But silence in the proper context may also express happiness or supreme rapture and not the supremacy of a person or god. The Tirthankara standing or sitting silently, in meditation, expresses the ineffable, but an ineffable beyond conscious categorization, prior to worldly involvement. This silence, unlike that of the worshippers, springs from participation in the sacred and not observation of it. Meditation leads the worshipper to experience the sacred as an element of the "self" while the Tirthankara experiences something greater than the ordinary self. These two experiences may coalesce and become identical. They are simply different experiences and expressions of the same thing (Smart, 1972: 28-30).

The Tirthankara's Position and Orientation: The Center

The image occupies the center of the temple (garbha-grha, literally womb room) and, as Figures 2 and 3 demonstrate, the

Tirthankara image occupies the center of the work. Just as temple worshippers surround the major temple image in worship, the minor figures surround the Tirthankara. The center is obviously an important position; it implies dominance. In Indian monistic philosophical speculation, the world began from a single point (the siva bindu) and grew outward in concentric rings (Chatterji, 1973: 20-21). Geographically, the world is likewise ordered: earth is surrounded by ring-like oceans and islands (Lalwani, 1968). The traditional pattern of political alliances postulates a ring of concentric circles, alternating allies and opponents (Zimmer, 1960: 114-15). In deva-puja, the images of Vishnu, Siva, Devi, Ganesha and Surya are arranged in a circle with the image of the worshipper's patron deity placed in the center. In temple worship, the central image, in the center of the temple, is circumambulated; it is ritually placed at the center of action.³⁴

The Tirthankara, as the central figure, is visually much larger and more important than the other figures which surround him. Moreover, his central position and his dominance arise because he controls those desires which lead one

34. In contrast, consider the traditional Western notion. For example, the priest in Catholic worship performs the rituals in front of his congregation, separated by a religious frame that one may approach but not enter. God is separated from his people, whereas the Indian view postulates a personal and immanent god.

to heaven or hell; he is an ascetic. He controls his breathing and hence the breath of life; he masters the air (i.e., breath control) that mediates between earth and sky. The Tirthankara's withdrawal and silence are movements toward the center, the soul, of the individual.

Unlike other Hindu images, the Tirthankara image always faces the viewer, but the front of the body assumes the greatest significance in virtually all forms of artistic expression. Many of the reasons are obviously connected with the greater expressiveness of the front. The most expressive part of the body, the face, is in the front, as well as other characteristics: the women's breasts and the men's genitals. But the front is also the preferred orientation in worship. One bows facing the image. The front is the side of respect. The symmetry and asymmetry of the body are more evident from the front. The expanded chest of the yogin is more visible from the front than the back. Simply: greater symbolic flexibility inheres in the front of the body. But this is not the whole story.

In the temple, the Tirthankara sits facing the samavarsana or Assembly Hall. According to legend, Indra built (and decorated with flags and white umbrellas) the Hall so that the Tirthankara, upon attaining kevali, might preach his wisdom to his congregation (Shah, 1955: 85). Indra supplied all the royal paraphernalia just as we see it in the image

(Figure 2). The Tirthankara enters the inner sanctuary from the east, performs pradaksina and seats himself on the lion throne. Indra's architects, the Vyantara gods, then make three life-like images of the Tirthankara in the other cardinal directions. Thus, the image not only is the center of attention but his front is visible in all directions. Note, however, that the Tirthankara is not portrayed as having multiple sides (analogous to the multiple limbs of the Hindu deities), but he receives the aid of the inferior gods so that they might benefit from his wisdom. The Tirthankara resembles Siva as Daksina Murti (the world teacher). The Tirthankara sees in all directions and, by implication, symbolically sits at the center of the world; high atop the cosmic mountain, he views the earthly realm below (Boner, 1962: 202-3).³⁵

The Usual and Accustomed: A Description

Although in relief, the image in Figure 2 clearly shows the major distinguishing characteristics. The eighth Tirthankara, Chandraphrabha, sits in padmasana, the lotus posture. His legs are crossed and his feet are placed on his thighs. The left hand rests under the right with the

35. The Jain preference for putting the image atop a ziggurat, which symbolically represents the cosmic mountain and the temple, provides further support for this interpretation (Shah, 1955: 123-30).

palms placed upward. The srivatsa is prominently displayed in the center of his robust chest. Chandraprabha sits entirely motionless with eyes fixed on the end of his nose and a smile, barely discernable, on his lips.

Two circlets, forming an aura, frame the Tirthankara's head. The inner aura is a four-petal lotus and the outer circle is a twenty-four-petal lotus. The hair is tightly curled. The lotus aura is positioned between two constellations of Tirthankaras, which may be intended to represent the six major planetary deities (Navagrahas) or simply other Tirthankaras. Each constellation has four Tirthankaras: two in padmasana and two in kyotsarga, the standing posture of Jain meditation. Above the aura on the (viewer's) left is a Gandarva and an Apsara, representative of music and fragrance. On the (viewer's) right, in the complementary position, are flower garland bearers. A trilinear umbrella, topped with an amalaka or crown, centers the upper portion of the work. Immediately above the crown is a tammata or drum and its musician.

Below the smaller Tirthankaras are two Ganadharas bearing chowries (the ceremonial fly-wisks). They are mounted on elephants. The elephants stand upon platforms that extend from the sides of Chandraprabha's lion throne. Chandraprabha rests on a lotus cushion ringed with dharmacakra symbols.³⁶ Below and between the throne's legs are

36. The dharmacakra symbolizes the preaching of the Tirthankaras and is associated with Rsabhanatha, the first

two protective lions with paws raised. Immediately to the (viewer's) left and right are Chandraprabha's attendant deities: Vijaya, the yaksa, and Bhirkuti, the yaksi. On the foot band is the crescent, Chandraprabha's cihna (identifying symbol). All the elements of the work are essential in exactly defining Chandraprabha's position.

The yaksas are earth spirits who traditionally guarded the mineral wealth of the world and were associated with earthly riches. They are associated with Kubera, the God who resides on Mount Meru, the cosmic mountain. The yaksis are fertility spirits associated with trees. They symbolize water and fertility. Their power enables them to bring trees to fruition through an embrace of the tree's trunk or by merely touching the tree with their foot (Rowland, 1970: 47). Indra appoints the yaksas and yaksis as attendant deities upon the birth of the Tirthankara. As surely as they connote wealth and fertility, they connote the greatness of the Tirthankara they serve.

The lion throne is a sign of royalty. It symbolizes the great power and authority of the one who sits upon it. The lions are solar symbols; they destroy the darkness of ignorance and represent the omniscience of the Tirthankara (Boner, 1962: 204). As do the lions, the Tirthankara has forbearance and the great strengths necessary to perform austerities.

Tirthankara and, hence, the first to preach the Jain dharma (Bhattacharya, 1974: 52, 58).

Chandraprabha's posture and the space around him--outlined by the minor figures--form an invisible, but nevertheless significant, pyramid in which he sits. The triangle points upward toward heaven and generally connotes clarity of vision: the knowledge which illumines the heavens. It is the direction of fire and indicates the sattvic or heaven-bound temperament of the liberated soul. The triangle is the male essence of the god. It symbolizes his ascetic fervor and kingly splendor (Zimmer, 1972: 147).

Chandraprabha sits in meditation in the lotus posture. While in padmasana, the Tirthankara turns inward. His concerns for the outside world evaporate and he assumes the mood of silence (santa) (Mukerjee, 1965: 114). The vertical stability of the Tirthankara's posture suggest spiritual equilibrium. He has overcome the contrary pulls of material existence. He has banished all desire and will; his posture suggests equilibrium, equanimity and tranquility, and is intended to indicate his position as a major figure or deity (maha-deva).

Like Siva in Daksina-murti (spiritual teacher), whom he generally resembles (Bhattacharya, 1974: 28), Chandraprabha faces all directions. The world is assumed to revolve around his throne high atop Mount Meru, the cosmic mountain. His vision, in all directions, implies that he looks upon the earthly realm below him (Boner, 1962: 202-3).

Placed upon the chest over the heart, the site of Truth, is the auspicious srivatsa. It is the lotus of the heart where the full content and force of life are directly experienced. It is Brahmabeshma, the citadel of Brahma, wherein supreme joy is experienced (Coomaraswamy, 1956A: 174). It is here that the petals of consciousness are opened.

Two chowri bearers and royal servants flank Chandraprabha. These personages, standing upon the elephants' heads, create a siz-zag line from earth to heaven reminiscent of lightening bolts (vara-vaira). These bolts may be interpreted as the thunderbolt with which Indra, the king of the gods, slew a giant dragon, thus releasing the waters of life. But more probably, they represent the path to liberation shown us by the Tirthankara (Zimmer, 1972: 145). As bearers of chowries, the personages indicate their subordination to the Tirthankara. The Tirthankara is cakravartin, the Universal King. The regal elephants further reinforce his symbolic position.

The aura of the Tirthankara illuminates the heaven as the brilliance of his soul's intellectual purity expands through the heavens. The two constellations of Jinas designate this region about the halo as one free from the pollution of karma.

The trilinear umbrella symbolizes the deva-loka or heavens of the gods. As an ancient symbol of royalty, it represents the world axis, claiming the ceiling of the

heavens as the domain of the liberated soul. At the top of the umbrella is an amalaka or crown. It is here at the top of the universe that the soul migrates when freed of its karmic bondage.

Around the umbrella's perimeter fly the Gandharvas and Apsaras, as well as garland-bearers. They are Vidya-dharas, the heavenly musicians, who live in cities on the high tops of mountains. Their presence expresses the joy of liberation experienced by the Tirthankara.

Poised upon the umbrella's top is a lone drum and its player. The drum is the only instrument of the musicians shown. Its sound runs out in all directions toward earth spreading the word of the Tirthankara. The work contains no adoring figures. All emphasis is directed upward.

Summary and Conclusion

I began this study with a critique of positivist-pragmatist anthropology, arguing instead for an historical view, a view which defines culture as a system of symbols. According to this view, meaning is grounded in the intersubjective. After all, if symbols are vehicles for conceptions, they must articulate a coherent worldview and offer solutions to problems of existence. Culture, as defined here, formulates rules for action, rules which represent a set of values.

These values, in Bailey's (1969:22) words, are an "unshifting guide for conduct." During worship, the same argument holds with equal force.

The Tirthankara is not merely an object of devotion, but a model to be emulated by the worshipper. In fact, the worshipper symbolically re-enacts the Tirthankara's renunciation when he enters the temple to do a complete worship. Not only does he dress like a monk--this act is itself an exemplification of the Tirthankara's way of life--but his worship is punctuated throughout with rites intended to encourage the worshipper to emulate the Tirthankara's life. It is these actions which recognize a common pattern of values and promote a sense of a common cultural identity, the recognition of a shared worldview and ethos. To be a Jain is to accept this set of values; it is to accept this implicit contract to act as Jain doctrine prescribes.

Jain worship, however, is not merely an effort by someone to demonstrate his membership in the Jain community. It is also an effort to manipulate the system of symbols. It is an effort to gain some worldly benefit, e.g., higher status, wealth, etc., or to gain an unearthy benefit, e.g., liberation. While it is certain that all earthly goals do not lead to liberation, the Jain worldview recognizes that liberation cannot be attained without a certain degree of success in attaining one's earthly goals. Thus we find that the cosmic or unearthy--in this case the ritual context--must encompass

the social context. It does this by making explicit those values necessary for proper social action; it teaches Jain dharma as practiced and preached by the Tirthankaras: non-violence, non-exchange, austerities, benevolence and self-examination. By acting like a Tirthankara (or a monk who follows the Tirthankara's example), each worshipper endorses these Jain values and endorses a view of the ideal person and of the ideal society.

If, as anthropologists commonly assert, people of all cultures treat the body as an image of society, an image which articulates important aspects of society by manipulating the body's form, then the Jain image, insofar as it is a product of the Jains' values, should also express those aspirations and beliefs of the Jain community and must likewise be treated as an image of society. In this sense, the image--just as ritual acts do--objectifies Jain values, giving the worshipper a permanent, unchanging record of the basic principles governing Jain social life.

The Jain Tirthankara image, then, represents in aggregate those qualities which the moral and pious devotees strive to acquire through Right Belief, Right Knowledge and Right Action. Through this image, the Jain ideal of asceticism, anti-Brahmanism and renunciation find their most elegant expression. The image, just as do the acts of worship, embodies those values of the ideal Jain social order. As

Wolf (1972: 150, 153) notes of another image in another cultural context:

Occasionally, we encounter a symbol which seems to enshrine the major hopes and aspirations of an entire society....It reflects the salient social relationshipsand embodies the emotions they generate. It provides a cultural idiom through which the tenor and emotions of these relationships can be expressed.

This statement is no less true when applied to the Jain Tirthankara images.

FIGURE 1

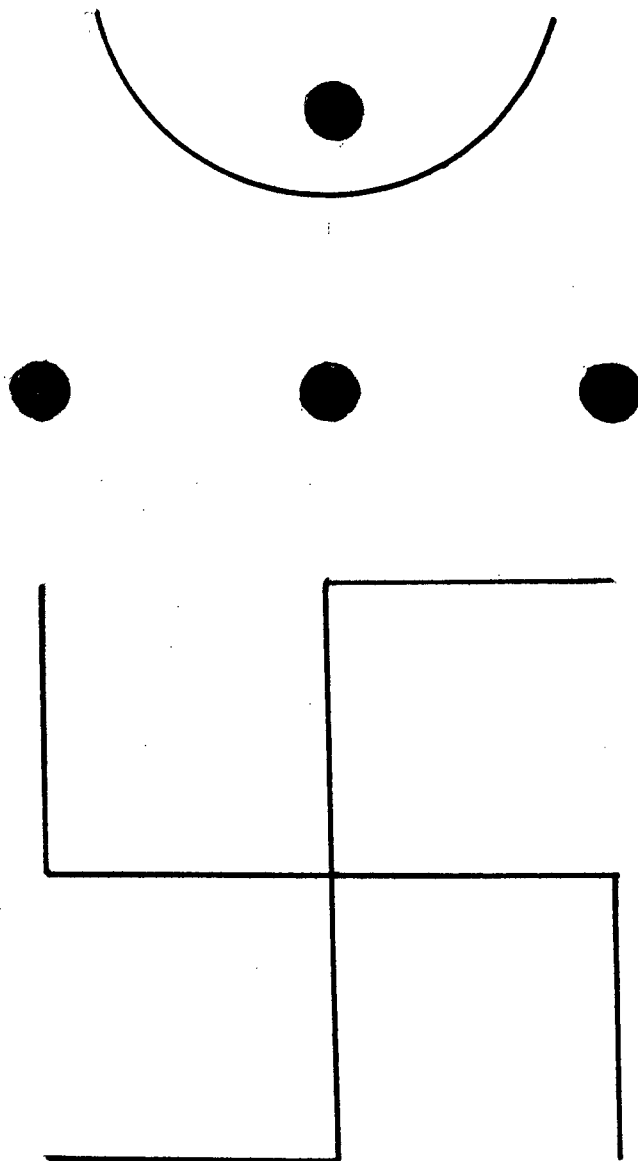


FIGURE 2

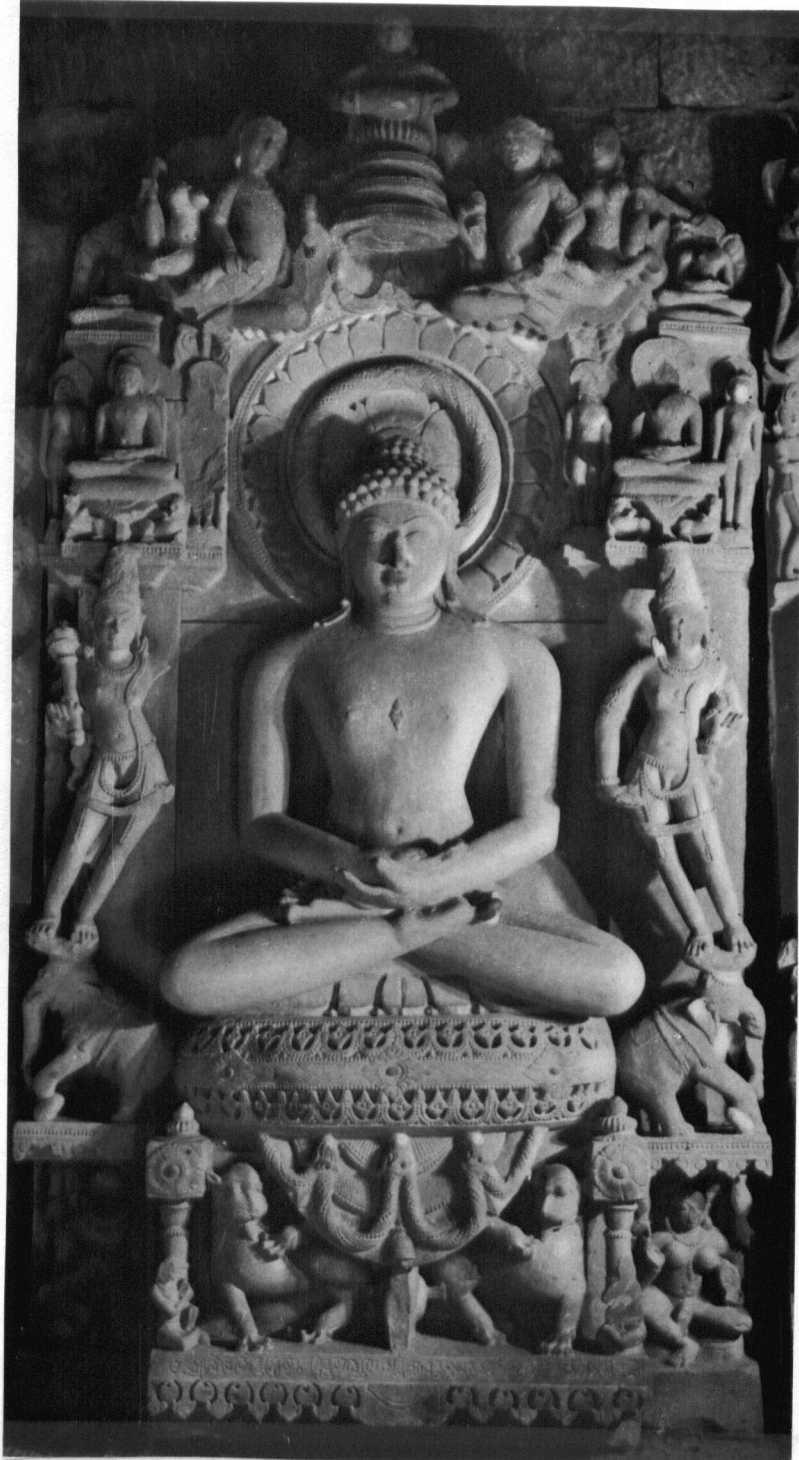
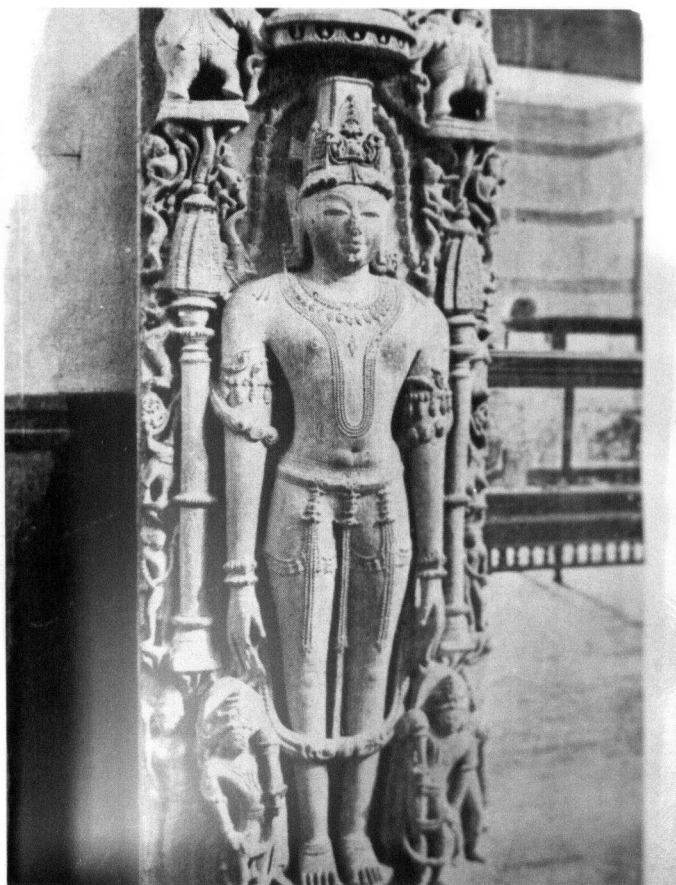


FIGURE 3



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