COOPERATION, CONTRIBUTION AND CONTESTATION

The Jain Community, Colonialism and Jainological Scholarship, 1800–1950

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Preface and Acknowledgements

Most of the contributions of this volume were initially presented during the international workshop "The Jains and the British: Collaboration and Conflict, Concealment and Contribution during the 19th and early 20th century". The conference was held on 19.–20. February 2010 in the Institute of Asian and Oriental Studies of the University of Tübingen.

The conference was preceded by a two-year research project on Alexander Walker of Bowland's unpublished manuscript "Narratives of the Mahrattah History and an Account of the Jeyn, or Shravaca Religion", to which Gita Dharampal-Frick had drawn Andrea Luithle-Hardenberg's attention. The editors would like to express their gratitute to Gita Dharampal-Frick for igniting the initial spark that evenually led to the joint volume at hand.

When analysing Walker's material from the early nineteenth century, it soon became clear that the ethno-historical questions which arose from it could only be worked out meaningfully by bringing Walker's material into communication with Indological scholarship, by reflecting on the historical conditions of Walker's time (and beyond), as well as by questioning some of the etablished historical discourses on colonial India. This led to the 2010 workshop, to which were invited scholars from multiple disciplines with a variety of specialisations, and also several Jains who were able to bring their own family histories to bear on the questions raised at the workshop. This last element of the workshop, and also of the resulting book, is, in the opinions of the editors, an important step in the necessary task of bringing scholarship on the Jains and Jains themselves into closer conversation. This interaction is also very much in the spirit of many of the key actors who enliven the pages of the book.

After the workshop, the three editors engaged in extensive discussions on the task of moving from the written and oral workshop presentations to a book. This work involved bringing the presentations, now converted into articles, into dialogue with each other, in order to bring greater focus to the joint undertaking. We identified several topics in need of greater exploration, and asked authors who had not been at the workshop to submit articles for the book. We are satisfied that the resulting book has a strong intellectual unity. Each chapter makes an important contribution in its own right, and all of the chapters when read together make a larger argument concerning the interactions among the Jains and the British in colonial India. Our goal has been to produce a book

that will advance Jain Studies, and at the same time be of interest to a larger audience of scholars, Jains, and other readers interested in colonial India.

All the three undertakings—the research project on Walker's manuscript, the workshop of 2010, and the joint volume at hand—could only be conducted with the generous funding of the Fritz Thyssen Foundation for Wissenschaftsförderung. The editors are very grateful for having received the trust and appreciation of the Foundation's experts of the matter. Only with this kind of effective financial support were we able to invite leading scholars of Jainism and the Jain community, Jain activists and Jain entrepreneurs from all over the world for discussing the urgent issues which are now presented in this volume.

We thank Julia Hegewald and Rebekka Welker for their editorial work, and we thank Mr. Jochem Fassbender for his work in preparing an excellent index to this book.

The interdisciplinary and intercultural process of producing this volume needed time and patience. We thank everyone involved for their contributions, shared inspiration and endurance.

The editors, February 2020

Portraits and Power: Notes on the Illustrations

The Editors

The editors and authors have chosen a number of paintings, prints, drawings, photographs and other visual materials to include in this volume. While many of these serve to augment the chapters visually, and allow the reader to see people, places and objects that the authors discuss, the illustrations also serve to expand and reinforce the arguments of the individual chapters and the volume as a whole. Many of them give us access to how India and Indians, and in particular Jainism and Jains, were perceived in the European gaze. But some of them reverse the gaze,[1] and allow us to see how Indians perceived and portrayed the English. They also allow us to see how Jains, Europeans and Americans chose to present themselves, when they had the agency to do so. The result is a complex interplay of visualities that warrants close inspection.

Many of the illustrations are engravings, paintings and photographs of people. These are both formal portraits, and illustrations of 'representative types'. Five different kinds of people are shown, although many of the persons straddle these categories: missionaries, British administrators and military officers, scholars, Jain renouncers, and Jain merchants.[2]

MISSIONARIES

The dress of the missionaries shows different approaches to the task of missionizing itself. The earliest missionary for whom we provide an illustration, Bartholomäus Zeigenbalg (Plate 1.7), was in south India in the first two decades of the eighteenth century. His engraving portrays him with the stern countenance

[1] We borrow this phrase from Rudolph & Rudolph (2000). We have also been inspired by Dalton's (1993) small photographic essay, in which he traces the changes in Gandhi's persona through a presentation and analysis of his sartorial changes from 1876 to 1924, as he went from being a provincial Gujarati student in turban, dhoti and kurta, to a well-dressed successful South African barrister in suit and tie, and eventually to the 'naked fakir' of whom Winston Churchill complained, dressed only in a loin-cloth and simple shawl.

[2] There is a long tradition of sculptural portraits of both important monks and wealthy patrons among the Śvetāmbara Jains, on which see Laughlin (2003). For introductions to the rich theoretical literature on the portrait, especially the photographic portrait, in South Asian visual cultures, see Pinney (1997; 2008), Kaimal (1999; 2000), Relia (2010–2016), Alkazi et al. (2013).

of a Danish Protestant minister, accentuated by the clerical bib and his body being enveloped in a black robe. His authority as a minister is underscored by the Latin inscription.[3]

Constanzo Giuseppe Beschi (Plate 1.6) was a contemporary of Zeigenbalg, and also lived in south India. He was shaped by the Jesuit custom of 'accommodation' pioneered by Roberto Nobili, and even wrote under the Tamil name Vīramāmuṉivar. Beschi holds a crucifix in his right hand, and has a book—presumably a Bible—tucked under his right arm, but he is also wearing the wooden sandals of an Indian renouncer.

Even more accommodated to India was Abbé J. A. Dubois (Plate 1.4), who was in South India several generations after Zeigenbalg and Beschi. In the introduction to his translation and edition of Dubois' *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*, Henry K. Beauchamp described this very portrait, which for many years hung in the library of the Madras Literary Society:

> This portrait at a distance one takes to be that of some Hindu, clothed in white, wearing a white turban, and holding in hand the bamboo staff that tradition assigns to a Hindu pilgrim. A closer inspection, however, shows that in reality it is the portrait of a European, albeit the face is so tanned, and so furrowed with the lines of age and thought, that the first impression that one receives of it is not easily dispelled. It is a face that literally speaks to you from the canvas
>
> (Beauchamp 1906: viii).

Dubois was a member of the Missions Etrangères de Paris (Society of Foreign Missions of Paris), a Catholic organization that since its founding in 1658 has sent secular priests and laity on foreign missions, especially to Asia (Joseph 2009). This group also emphasised accommodating to local customs, although Dubois arguably took this to an extreme. Not only did he dress like an Indian renouncer, he became a vegetarian and in many other ways lived a life that rejected Western society—what Beauchamp (1906: x) refers to delicately as "the

[3] An engraving of Philippus Baldaeus, a Dutch Reformed minister who was in South India—where the Dutch East India Company sent him for "the sacred service and extension of the glory of God" (Rohatgi et al. 2008: 13)—half a century before Zeigenbalg, shows a similar figure, reminding us of the conservatism and resultant slow pace of change in clerical costumes. He also wears a long black robe, with a clerical bib around his neck. The only difference from Zeigenbalg is that Baldaeus wears a skullcap. Here again, the authority of the minister is underscored by a Latin inscription. A copy of the engraving, made in 1671 by the Dutch engraver Abraham Blooteling (1634–1690), after a drawing by J. v. d. Sijdervelt, and now in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, can be seen in the museum's online archive, see internet sources below.

long retirement of the Abbé from European society for a long series of years after his arrival in India".

The three later Presbyterian missionaries present different sartorial responses to India. Rev. John Wilson (Plate 4.2) sits in his preacher's coat and clerical collar, and displays dramatic nineteenth-century sideburns, and the slightly later Rev. John Murray Mitchell (Plate 4.3) is also in preacher's coat and clerical collar, but in his case with a grand white beard. By their appearance they could just as easily have spent their careers in Scotland as in India. These two portraits were made in Scotland. The inscription on Wilson's portrait says that the engraving was done by Joseph Brown, based on a photograph by Moffatt. This was the Edinburgh studio photographer John Moffatt (or Moffat; 1819–1894). Further, Wilson is described as 'moderator of the general assembly of the Free Church of Scotland', so this portrait celebrates his later career as a church leader in Scotland, not his years as a missionary in India. The photograph portrait of Mitchell, used as the frontispiece of a book based on a series of lectures he delivered after retiring to Scotland, and published posthumously, is also by Moffat. Their portraits betray no accommodation to India; the truth of these missionaries was universal.

Rev. J. Sinclair Stevenson, however, is obviously a Briton in India. In one photograph, captioned 'the hiking padre' (Plate 5.1), we see him on one of the annual tours that he liked so much, wearing knee-high hiking boots and sola topee, the distinctive sun hat developed by the British for wearing in India (Yule & Burnell 1903: 850–851). The other photograph shows him at a mission station, still wearing the sola topee, but now also wearing his clerical collar (Plate 5.4). He holds a small, thin Indian child, with the suggestion that the child has been rescued from famine. Stevenson here is depicted in his role as 'under shepherd', a term long used for Christian clergy who toil in the service of Christ the Shepherd.

ADMINISTRATORS AND MILITARY OFFICERS

The illustrations of British administrators and military officers show the gradual transformation of British India from a place where young men could go to find military adventure and glory to being a part of the Empire administered by bureaucrats. When Colonel Colin Mackenzie commissioned Thomas Hickey to paint his portrait in Madras in 1816 (Plate 1.1), he wore the riding boots and red coat with golden epaulets of a British officer.[4] Mackenzie, however,

[4] Thomas Hickey (1741–1824) was the leading British portrait painter in Madras in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. He was born and trained in Dublin. Due to the difficulties of making a living in Dublin, he went to Asia. He worked in Calcutta from 1784 to 1791, and

was concerned not with conquering India, but measuring and intellectually encompassing it, so in the portrait he is accompanied by his three Indian assistants. Each is dressed in clothing appropriate to a South Indian professional intellectual of the time. Two of them hold some of the palm-leaf manuscripts they read for Mackenzie, thereby enabling him to interpret the history of what he surveyed. The portraits of Captain James Tod, which we discuss below, also foreground his identity as a military man.

One of the goals of many of the young British men who ventured to India was to make their fortune, and return to Britain to live the life of the landed gentry. We see this in the studio portrait of Colonel Alexander Walker (Plate 2.1), which he commissioned from Sir Henry Raeburn in 1819, after his return from his Indian career. Walker is wearing the finely tailored topcoat and ruffled shirt of a gentleman, holding his silver-capped walking stick and silk top hat in his hands. He gazes at the viewer with an air of satisfaction and confidence. Henry Raeburn—known as 'the Scottish Reynolds' (Armstrong 1921–1922: 598)—was the leading Scottish portrait painter of his time, so choosing to commission a portrait from him was Walker's way of affirming that he had indeed succeeded in his career.[5]

In contrast to the portraits of these two military officers, Mackenzie and Walker, and also those of Tod, the studio photograph of Justice E. T. Candy (born 1845; Plate 9.2) shows a different British presence in India. As with the studio portraits of Wilson and Mitchell, there is nothing to indicate that Candy was in India (although the publication of the photograph in a volume of "representative men of the Bombay Presidency" tells us that it was made in an Indian studio).[6]

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then was the official 'portrait painter' on a British mission to China from 1792 to 1794. After living in London for several years, he returned to India in 1799 and settled in Madras. He made a number of drawings and paintings connected with the British capture of Seringapatnam in 1799, and lived the rest of his life as a successful painter in Madras. He proposed to the British East India Company "a series of paintings and engravings that would provide a comprehensive survey of the native inhabitants of British India, to be organised by caste, color, customs and physical features". This proposal, which in many ways would have paralleled the work of Mackenzie, was rejected as too expensive (de Almeida & Gilpin 2005: 232; see also Strickland 1968; Archer 1975; Archer 1979).

5 See Thomson (1997) and Coltman & Lloyd (2012) on Raeburn (1756–1823).

6 This was probably the Bombay studio of Bourne & Shepherd, the most successful, and arguably best known, commercial photography firm in India, with studios and branches throughout India. It was established in the early 1860s by the English photographers Samuel Bourne (1834–1912) and Charles Shepherd (*floruit* 1858–1878). They opened offices in Simla, Calcutta, Bombay and London. The firm continued in existence long after Bourne left India in 1870 and Shepherd left in 1878. It published a number of volumes of photographs of India, and its catalogue consisted of about 2,500 'views' available individually for sale to tourists, residents of India, and British officials and soldiers who wanted visual memorabilia of their years in India. See Falconer (2001: 137, 140) and Ollmann (1983).

He wears the voluminous robes of an English judge, and sits with his right hand resting on a table, holding one book while another book is on the table. The brief biography in the volume informs us that Candy passed the Indian Civil Service exam and joined the administration of the Bombay Presidency in 1865, and his career over the intervening three-and-a-half decades "has been spent in different capacities in nearly every district of the Bombay Presidency". He then was called to the Bar in 1880, and had been a judge of the Bombay High Court since 1889 (Houston 1900: 102). If Walker and Tod had made India British by conquering parts of it and established sovereignty through treaty over other parts, and Mackenzie had been engaged in measuring what the military men conquered, Candy was engaged in the task of administering British India, with all the authority of his judicial robe and his English language books.

The available portraits of James Tod present a complex set of perceptions and portrayals. The engraving in the frontispiece of Volume II of the 1920 edition of Tod's *Annals and Antiquities* (Plate 3.1) shows him as a British officer, in his dress military coat with golden epaulets. But the portrait included as the frontispiece for Volume I gives a different understanding of Tod's life and mission. This is a posthumous marble bust of him, carved in 1837, two years after his death, by the sculptor Vo. Livi.[7] Whereas the engraving shows him wearing his military uniform and looking directly at the viewer, the bust shows him wearing a Roman toga, and looking off into the distance at an angle. The engraving shows Tod the British military man. The bust visually equates the British military conquest of India with the much earlier Roman military conquests of Europe. Further, the choice of the bust as the frontispiece to Tod's masterpiece of description of Rajasthan equates Tod with a more famous predecessor who was both a successful military conqueror and a skilled author who could write evocatively about the land he had conquered: Julius Caesar. One almost expects Tod to begin his account, "All Rajputana is divided into three parts […]".

In the case of Tod we also see a reversal of the gaze. His travels in Rajasthan were of sufficient note that there are paintings of him by contemporary Indian artists. A common motif in Indian painting is to show a king or emperor riding an elephant, and thus towering over his subjects. Only important personages rode elephants, and in many kingdoms they were a royal monopoly (Digby 1971, Trautmann 2015). A painting of Tod from Mewar in 1817 and attributed to the court painter Chokhā shows Tod riding an elephant, and thereby gives us a sense of how he was perceived by the members of the Rajput courts among

[7] This can be seen on the Wikipedia page devoted to Tod, see below.

which he circulated.[8] It was presented to Rāvat Gokul Dās II (r. 1786–1821) of Devgarh. It was sufficiently popular that three years later in 1820 a copy of it was made, probably in Udaipur, by a less prestigious artist, for presentation to the same patron.[9] Mahārāṇā Bhīm Singh of Mewar had accepted the status of a British protectorate in 1817, so Tod as Political Agent in Udaipur was in a position close to being the de facto ruler. Both paintings feature Tod riding an elephant in the centre of the painting. He wears a red jacket and a broad hat with a white feather. A servant holds a parasol over his head—a common sign of high status. Soldiers march in front of him in the procession, and cavalrymen bring up the rear. In front of him one of the foot-soldiers carries a mace, another sign of prestige and even royalty. He is accompanied by three British officers on horseback. At the bottom of the page two servants lead hunting hounds on leashes; hounds are yet another sign of status. The caption of the painting makes Tod's superior position abundantly clear: he is "Lord Sahib" (Tillotson 2007: 19).[10] A third painting, from 1822, possibly by Ghāsī (*floruit* ca. 1820–1836), another Mewar painter, also shows Tod riding an elephant (Plate 3.3).[11] On a second elephant is Yati Gyanchandra, Tod's Jain research assistant. The two appear to be meeting each other after an absence. Tod is again accompanied by infantrymen and cavalrymen, and this time also by several soldiers on camels. He is wearing his red coat, and in this painting wears a somewhat floppy stove pipe hat. In addition to being shaded by a parasol, a servant is waving a fly whisk over his head, in another sign of status. Tod is in the center of the painting, and Gyanchandra on the left side; and Tod is riding a larger elephant. He is shown as superior to the Jain monk.

This is not the only way that Indian artists portrayed Tod. Another painting attributed to Ghāsī, and influenced by the style of Chokhā, from 1820, visually asserts the superiority of Bhīm Singh over Tod.[12] Tod has been away, and so the king has come outside the city in a grand procession to meet him. Both men are

[8] On Chokhā (*floruit* 1799–1826), see Beach & Singh (2005). This painting is published in Tillotson (2007: 20–21) and Beach & Singh (2005: 89). It is in the collection of the Victoria & Albert Museum in London. See internet sources below.

[9] This is also in the Victoria & Albert Museum. See internet sources below.

[10] Another painting of Tod riding an elephant is the black and white frontispiece to the Hindi translation of his *Travels in Western India* (Tod 1965). The caption says that it is an 'ancient picture' (*prācīn citra*) of 'Tod the foreigner' (*firaṅgī Ṭāḍ*), at the Rajasthan Oriental Institute in Jodhpur. It is a wall painting in a much simpler, more folkish, style. It shows Tod seated on an elephant, wearing his black hat, with a fly-whisk bearer seated behind him, and accompanied by six horsemen.

[11] Ghāsī served as a draftsman for Tod, and so knew him well. On him, see Khera (2013: 193–271).

[12] This painting is in the City Palace Museum, Udaipur. Tillotson (2007: 18).

on horses. Bhīm Singh is in the center of the painting, whereas Tod is located below the king, in the lower right quadrant of the painting. The king's horse is more elaborately caparisoned. The king is accompanied by servants holding over him a parasol and white fly-whisk, and behind him are servants holding aloft a mace and the royal standard of Mewar. Even the king's hounds wear fancy coverings. Finally, the king's elevated status is indicated by the gold halo around his head. Tod, in contrast, has doffed his black top hat (which this time has a white feather), and is bowing to the king.

A second painting by Chokhā, from 1817, also depicts Tod as subservient to Bhīm Singh.[13] It presumably shows the negotiations that led to the agreement between Mewar and the British. The two are seated under a canopy in the palace. Bhīm Singh is both larger and slightly higher than Tod. His royal standard is behind him, and his head is encompassed by a halo. He is wearing sandals, and his feet are resting on a footstool. He is gesturing with the index finger of his left hand, as if he were giving Tod instructions. The latter, wearing his red coat and the broad-rimmed hat with a feather in which Chokhā portrays Tod, is seated on a much simpler chair. He has removed his shoes as a sign of respect, and his feet are on the floor. He holds a scroll, probably the draft agreement. The reality is that power is shifting from the Mewar court to the British. In this painting, however, Chokhā visually maintains the fiction of the semi-divine royal power of his patron, before whom the British are merely barefoot supplicants.

Yet another painting gives us a third Indian perception of Tod. Sometime during the four years (1818–1822) when he lived in Udaipur, Tod visited Amet, whose ruler was a feudatory of Mewar. To commemorate Tod's visit, and the obvious comradeship that developed between him and the local Ṭhākur (ruler), the latter gifted to Tod a specially made chess set.[14] Inset into the box is a small painting of Tod and the Ṭhākur playing chess. While the latter is shown with a halo, the two men sit at the same level. Tod is wearing his usual broad-rimmed hat with a white feather on the top, but instead of his formal red coat is wearing a less formal light purple jacket. He still has his sword at his side, another sign that these two men view themselves on a more equal footing. Tod has no sword when he is seated before Bhīm Singh.

[13] Relia (2010–2016, vol. I: 16–17).

[14] The chess set is in the collection of Jon Crumiller, and can be seen on his web page. See internet sources below. According to the online label, the ruler's name was Shyam Singhji Sundavat (=Śyām Singhjī Sunḍāvat). The inscription actually gives his name as Somnāt (= Somnāth?) Singhjī Cunḍāvat. Unfortunately, we have not been able to find evidence of a Ṭhākur of Amet by either name, nor does Tod give a specific name to the Ṭhākur.

We are still not finished with this visual exploration of the complicated relationships between Tod and the Indians among whom he lived. Tod was deeply dependent on his research assistant, the Jain Yati Gyanchandra. The latter translated many texts for Tod, and also helped get him access to Jain archives. Another painting attributed to Ghāsī (Plate 3.2) shows the two working together, with Tod again wearing the floppy stove pipe hat in which Ghāsī portrayed him.[15] They are seated at either end of a long table, on top of which are tools of the literary trade. Both men are writing on European sized paper with pens. At Tod's end of the table are an inkwell and a pair of scissors. The indistinct object on the corner of the table to Tod's left is perhaps a wad of cotton for blotting. Several manuscripts in the traditional Indian *pothī* format—an unbound manuscript, with cardboard or wooden covers to keep the pages in order, then usually wrapped in cloth and tied with a string—are open between the men. In a remarkable reversal of the relationship between patron and research assistant, Gyanchandra is gesturing to Tod, who appears to be writing what Gyanchandra is telling him. Tod may have gained fame as an historian of India from his English-language publications; but this painting, which is the frontispiece to Volume III of *Annals and Antiquities*, clearly shows Tod's dependence on his Jain interlocutor, who provided essential information from sources in classical and vernacular Indian languages.

SCHOLARS

Portraits of scholars—most of them produced in studios, and therefore carefully staged self-presentations—also show varied interactions among Jains and Westerners. Many of the portraits of Western scholars—and we could have included many more—show them in abstracted space (Plates 10.1, 10.2, 10.3, 11.4), indicative of the universality of their scholarly pursuits in an era when scientific, context-free knowledge has attained a position of global hegemony. The portrait of Tessitori (10.3) is especially telling on this point. In the version we publish here, all one sees is a close up of Tessitori looking intently into the camera, and wearing a wool jacket and bow tie. The previously published version of it (Dolcini & Freschi 1999: VII), however, includes in the background the blurred outlines of the interior of a room, and the caption adds the contextualizing information that it was taken in Jodhpur in 1915. This is erased in our version.

[15] Unfortunately the whereabouts of the original painting are unknown, so all we have is a black and white print of it.

Notes on Contributors

Lawrence A. Babb is Professor Emeritus of Anthropology and Asian Studies at Amherst College, Massachusetts. He is the author of several books, including *Alchemies of Violence: Myths of Identity and the Life of Trade in Western India*; *Emerald City: The Birth and Evolution of an Indian Gemstone Industry*; *Desert Temples: Sacred Centers of Rajasthan in Historical, Art-Historical, and Social Context* (with John E. Cort and Michael W. Meister) and *Understanding Jainism*.

Nalini Balbir is professor in Indology at University of Paris-3 Sorbonne Nouvelle and at Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes (Section Sciences historiques et philologiques), where she teaches Sanskrit and Middle-Indian languages. She is a member of the research unit UMR 7528 Mondes iranien et indien (CNRS – Paris-3 – EPHE – INALCO). See http://www.iran-inde.cnrs.fr/membres/membres-permanents/balbir-nalini.html for biodata and list of publications. Her fields of research are primarily Jainism, Theravada Buddhism, as well as Pali and Prakrit languages and literature. In recent years she has been engaged in cataloguing Jain manuscripts in various European countries, which has led her to focus on the modes of interrelations between Europeans and Jains in the nineteenth-century search for manuscripts.

John E. Cort is Professor of Asian and Comparative Religions at Denison University, in Granville, Ohio, USA, where he also holds the Judy Gentili Chair in International Studies. He is the author of *Jains in the World: Religious Values and Ideology in India* (2001) and *Framing the Jina: Narratives of Icons and Idols in Jain History* (2010), co-author with Lawrence A. Babb and Michael W. Meister of *Desert Temples: Sacred Centers of Rajasthan in Historical, Art-Historical and Social Contexts* (2008), and editor of *Open Boundaries: Jain Communities and Cultures in Indian History* (1998). He is also the author of several dozen articles and book chapters on the Jains, religion and culture in western India, and South Asian visual culture.

Christoph Emmrich trained in Jain Studies at the Free University of Berlin, obtained his Ph.D. from University of Heidelberg in 2004, and is currently Associate Professor at the University of Toronto. He has worked on Jain scholastic literature with a focus on the doctrine of time and, more recently,

on literary historiography and textual practice among the Jains of the Tamil-speaking region. His work includes 'The Man Who Fell from the Gopuram: Picking Up Pieces of Worship and Learning among the Kanchipuram Jainas,' in *Sacred Places in the Jaina Tradition,* ed. by Peter Flügel and Olle Qvarnström (London: Routelege, forthcoming); 'The Ins and Outs of the Jains in Tamil Literary Histories,' *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 39, no. 6 (2011); ''When Two Strong Men Stand Face to Face': The Indologist, the Pandit and the Re-Making of the Jaina Scholarly Tradition,' in *Boundaries, Dynamics and Construction of Traditions in South Asia,* ed. by Federico Squarcini (Firenze: Firenze University Press; & New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 2005); 'How Many Times? Monism and Pluralism in Early Jaina Temporal Description,' in *Essays in Jaina Philosophy and Religion*, ed. by Piotr Balcerowicz (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2003); and 'Some Remarks on the Terminological Construction of *kāla* in Kundakunda,' in *Vasantagauravam: Essays in Jainism Felicitating Professor M. D. Vasantha Raj of Mysore on the Occasion of his Seventy-fifth Birthday*, ed. by Jayandra Soni (Mumbai: Vakils, Feffer and Simons, 2001).

Anna Aurelia Esposito is Assistant Professor at the Chair of Indology, Department of Cultural Studies of East- and South-Asia, University of Würzburg. She studied Indology and Cultural Anthropology in Würzburg, Heidelberg and Tübingen, where she obtained her M.A. with a critical edition and translation of the one-act play *Dūtavākya* attributed to Bhāsa (1998). After her dissertation, a critical edition of the drama *Cārudatta* with translation and a study of the South Indian drama Prakrits (2003), she moved the focus of her research to Jaina Prakrit and literature. In 2015 she completed her habilitation with a study about the transmission of religious and moral contents in Jain narrative literature.

Gira Shroff Gratier, who lives in Brussels, is an independent researcher interested in the relations between philosophical views and geographical contexts in various communities of India. She has worked as a consultant to industry and to the European Commission on India-EU economic cooperation. Her background is in economics, which she studied at University College London and St. Xavier's College, Mumbai.

Hawon Ku is Associate Professor of Indian Studies at the Department of Asian Languages and Civilizations, Seoul National University. She studied Indian and Islamic art history at the University of Minnesota, where she completed her dissertation on the patronage, temple architecture, painted maps, and legal cases surrounding the Jain pilgrimage site of Śatruñjaya (2005). Her recent work

includes a series of articles on the architecture and education of colleges and universities in British India, the visual culture of Hindi popular cinema, and a co-authored book on Asian art history.

Andrea Luithle-Hardenberg received her Ph.D. in Cultural Anthropology from the Free University of Berlin. Her 2006 Ph.D. thesis 'Die Reise zum Ursprung' ('The Journey to the Origins'), which was published in 2011 (Manya Verlag, Munich), establishes the importance of pilgrimage to Shatrunjaya for the collective memory and the identity of the Shvetambara Murtipujaka Jains. Her first post-doctoral project focused on Alexander Walker's historical accounts of the Shvetambara community in early nineteenth century Gujarat. It entailed an international conference on Jain-British encounters during the colonial period, which led to the volume at hand. Luithle-Hardenberg taught in the Department of Cultural and Social Anthropology at the Asia-Orient-Institute, University of Tübingen, from 2011 to 2016. She is a lecturer in the Department of Cultural Anthroplogy at the Goethe University, Frankfurt am Main, since 2017. Her current habilitation research project deals with Shvetambara child ascetics (*bal munis* and *bal sadhvis*).

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Sushil K. Premchand is the Chairman of the PRS Group, Mumbai, which is closely held by his family. The Group's main business in India is PRS Permacel, Mumbai. In addition, he is the Managing Director of PRS Services AG, Zurich. A Chartered Accountant, with an economics degree, he joined the family business in 1985 after spending fourteen years with the international accounting firm, Arthur Andersen, and four years with a British multinational. Sushil Premchand is a Board member and the Honorary President of the Swiss-Indian Chamber of Commerce. He is an Emeritus member of the Advisory Board of the Foundation of the American Academy of Ophthalmology and he is a member of the Council of the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine. Living in Switzerland since 1977, he travels regularly to India to monitor the family's 160-year-old business, which was founded in 1856 by Premchand Roychand, a prominent leader of Bombay's Jain community at that time.

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