

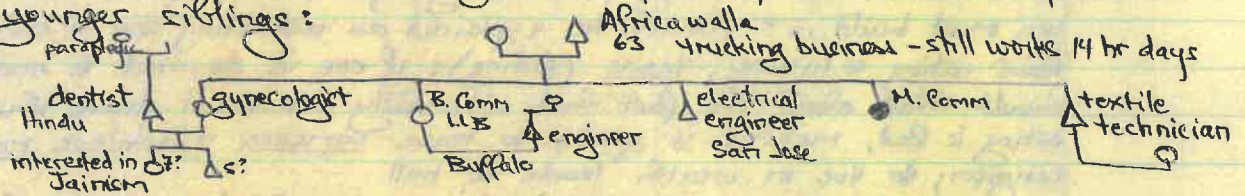
12 FEB (Tues). DIKSHA at Devkinandan Jain temple. We arrived around 5 am, carriages were lined up for the procession, people were going into the temple for darshan + into the uprashya to be blessed by the 2 acharyas Badranta Suri Swarji of the Babji Samudaya (born in Dingo village, near Mehsana), and Kailas Sagar (who had the great temple in Mehsana built, who is an Oswal, + interested in Oswal history according to Arvindbhai). We ran into

Haren Thaveri (tel 444097, "Vasant Kurij", Kalyan Society near Nagri Eye Hospital, next to Bhatta Automobiles, A'bad 6) who offered to take us to meet the girl taking diksha. Haren speaks good English, mysteriously said he does not work, only goes to lectures. He handed out little cards printed in red in Gujarati which seemed to be a series of Jain exhortations: to be away from money, you have to give; to have character, you must build ...? (which he explained as restricting sex to one's spouse); to leave eating + luxury, tapas (fasting); if one is devoted to one's family, one should think about the fact that ultimately one must leave this world; eating is God, moksha is good; to leave samsara + achieve moksha requires religion; to live in wealth leads to hell.

The apartment of the girl about to take diksha was on the 3rd floor of a building next to the uprashya. We met the father, aged 63, dressed in puja clothes, Natwanlal Manilal Shah "Africa-walla" — he lived in Uganda 1948-62, then at independence decided to return to Gujarat; a brother stayed somewhat longer but also has returned. We then met the girl's brother-in-law (sister's husband), who took over seeing after us — giving us a formal invitation. He's a dentist, his wife is a gynecologist who has 2 nursing homes + is also an "analytic gynecologist" for the Air Force. He turned out to be a Hindu with very strongly ambivalent feelings about the diksha (he's opposed to it; during the actual ceremony tomorrow will busy himself with food arrangements rather than be present because he cannot bear to watch) and Jainism (he kept harping on the amounts of money spent on temples, versus the Hindu ethic of having small temples + spending rather on social service, + the latter for every human being, whereas if Jains spend to subsidize food it is only for their own community.) Yet at the same time he would say things like the physical fatigue of 10 days of hosting people for breakfast, lunch + dinner, was being countered for him as well as the rest of the family by a spiritual or mental exhilaration — some supernatural force must be at work, call it god, Krishna or Allah. Later at the after noon puja, when money was collected for the panjrapol, he said one gets real pleasure from such giving, he just heard the call for sick animals + ran to give (not quite so: he was talking to us for a while, finally as if remembering a duty hastily excused himself + went to give some money; moreover he distinguished his giving from that of most — he gave but did not have his name written down, he gave in the name of someone else; he believes in giving to the poor through third parties so neither the recipient knows who gave, nor he knows who received so that if they meet they are not under the burden/complex of inferiority/superiority).

The family first knew of the girl — Turima's — decision to become a nun, sadhvi, about 3 years ago, and at first were shocked. They made her undergo a trial life with the sadhvis to make sure she wasn't being moved by some false motivation. She survived this trial, purpose remaining firm, and they began to see the way she lived in the family was not

much different than life as a sadhvi. Later he filled in more: the father is not very religious, barely knows the maneskar mantra & not much more; the mother is very religious & in fact had wanted to take diksha herself as a young woman before she married. Now the mother says she is not very well & would be a burden to the sadhvis if she took diksha. The mother was the 1st to be told of Purima's decision & she is very happy. The second to be told was her elder sister, the gynecologist, & she kept it from her husband, our informant for several months knowing he would be opposed. As the husband of the eldest sibling, he says he feels like a 2nd father to the younger siblings:



Tomorrow, he said, Purima will take a cold bath (her last bath), her head will be shaved except for 1 tuft which she will pull out & give to her mother, she will be given a new name, her father will no longer be her father; whereas until tomorrow she bows to him, starting tomorrow he bows to her. The day after, she will come to the door & without knocking will only say dhruva abhar (advantages you get from religion) — the family will give her food (as to any sadhvi) and receive her blessing.



The father, he says, will spend much more than on a marriage. This is not required, but it is the last he can do for his daughter.

Haren dhaveri turned the talk to the karma theory, ^{& Dr Kotlawala, our friend saying that said} in Hinduism papa/punya (demerit-merit) can balance one another: what demerits you do are offset by your meritorious deeds. But in Jainism you reap the rewards of all your meritorious deeds, and still you must pay separately for all your sins — there are separate accounts, one cannot offset the other. Hindus pray to Krishna for rebirth — it takes 186,000 lives (or there was a dispute & discussion in Gujarati between Haren, the dentist & a 3rd man — 8.4 million lives) to be reborn as a human being again. In Jainism the dentist continued, there is an idea of 152 karmas intervening between human rebirths (no, no said Haren — you can be reborn immediately as a human or not), but in any case Jains pray for their soul to achieve moksha.

We were shown the diksha announcement in the Gujarat Samachar: Such an announcement is not cheap: Rs 1500. It is meant not merely as an announcement; the philosophy behind it is that it may inspire others to also take diksha.

Purima was dressing, went to the temple — we saw her returning all decked out in gold jewelry. We were told that she would have breakfast with us, then she said lunch. We were given some breakfast including kakra, & hot milk with almonds (excellent). We were each given Rs 11 in fresh bills. Every guest must be given something. The doctor said they were giving out Rs. 5000/dau this was

The Procession. Very colorful. The order from front to back:

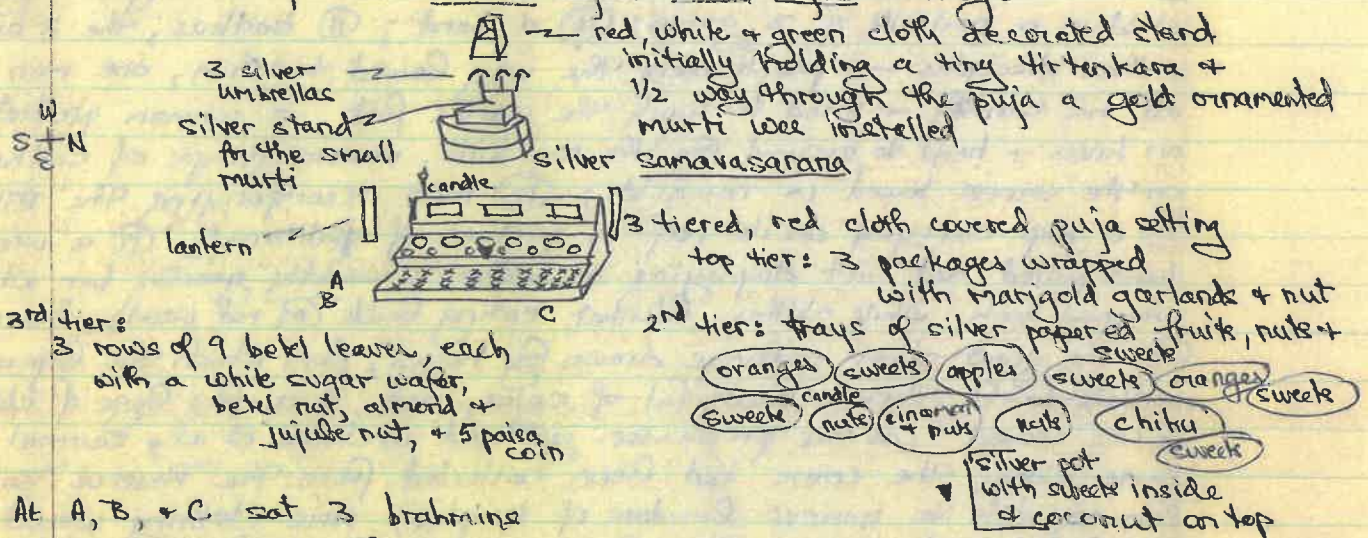
- ① a young boy on a horse with a drum, dressed like a page or prince;
- ② a silver cart on wheels with silver flags  pulled by manual power;
- ③ a camel-drawn cart on which were a group of traditional village musicians Camel decorated w/ marigolds on neck + legs;
- ④ horses on which kids rode; ⑤ car with a moon on top + a little girl in it;
- ⑥ car with a duck on top + children in it; ⑦ women doing a garba dance
- ⑧ car with a duck on top like #6; ⑨ horse-drawn carriage carrying children + portraits of 3 gurus; ⑩ a band; ⑪ sadhus, the 2 acharyas + their disciples — people along the way bowed to them, one man took off his sandals + tried to touch the guru's feet, a woman prostrated herself on knees + head to ground by the roadside, various groups of sadhus on the corner bowed in namaste;
- ⑫ men accompanying the saunis;
- ⑬ a jeep carrying on its roof a picture of Lalitamba; ⑭ a wooden hand-pulled red cart displaying a sadhvi's worldly goods: her white cloth wrapped book, white clothes, blanket, eating bowl (of red wood), broom;
- ⑮ The great silver carriage drawn by horses, from which the bejewelled initiate-to-be threw hand-ful of coins, rice, + a few bags of clothing to the crowd (as the procession gathered urchine et al, several guards came along; the coins had been collected from the Reserve Bank + from requests to various Sardars of temples; more clothing would be distributed to the poor after the procession to avoid real chase; 100 paper wrapped Rs 1 coins were thrown — Susann got one; thousands of 25 paise coins — I picked up 6; + 5 paise + 10 paise coins; she was assisted by her brother, dressed in white puja clothes, + some girl friends — Susann met one close girl friend, who said she'd been asked to sit up on the carriage too, but refused, still could not believe this was happening, remembered running around with Purima 3 years ago in jeans + fashionable clothes); ⑯ a crowd of women — taking turns carrying a silver lantern  like in a wedding carried by the mother; ⑰ a 2nd band; ⑱ a hand-drawn simple wood cart with pails of milk + water, a lamp, incense, sweets + 3 kinds of grain — a brahmin walked along pouring the milk-water from a small pitcher along the ground: a brahmin?, a young man in puja clothes? or a muni? ⑲ a second silver carriage drawn by 2 large oxen carrying a small tirthankara; the father was seated in front in puja clothes, bowing with hands together to the crowd — after a time his place was taken by his son — a woman (the mother?) sat on the side with a broom; ⑳ sadhus
- ㉑ women singing, taking turns carrying a basket on the head with a sadhvi's belongings, trays with silver objects representing the 14 dreams of Mahavira's mother (a peacock headed airplane with a tirthankara on it; bull + lion; moon...) and green covered coconuts tied with white jasmine flowers on silver pots, also representing the 14 dreams (?)

At the return, the initiate dismounted + at the gate of the temple she took blessings from the tirthankara held now on a tray by her brother; her sister-in-law did likewise. Then the brother + others were blessed: a brahmin presided it seems. This was hard to see.

A man standing by me commented: the family may not cry on this day. No matter what they may be feeling they must put on a happy face. Look at the father, he must not cry. (He actually looked rather fit) at this point. He also compared the procession to the marriage procession.

Lunch was served to some 400 people — they had expected 250.

At 12:30 or so the Shanti Snati Puja began. Lasting til about 4 pm. Shanti = peace, a puja (the father explained) to wish peace on the world, on all animals + beings. Last night there was a bhakti, a ceremony to invite the gods: the wind, sun + saturn; and also the goddess, all the divinities. But the 3 are installed under the 3 silver umbrellas of the Shanti Snati Puja setting:



At A, B, + C sat 3 brahmins

To the left side in front were some musicians: 2 drone vase, harmonium, tabla, violin, drum



(M) musicians

(S) sadhis (about 50)

(A) murtis

M male celebrants

W female celebrants

The brother in puja dress stood to the left of the samavasarana, with his wife.

On the opposite side were 4 women of the family incl. the mother.

Next to A stood a series of men holding a tray with a coconut: the first was the father (also still in puja clothes)

Brahmin C began the puja with his mouth covered, pouring milk-water from a silver bull over the thirthankara, wiping it off, + anointing it. The brother follows suit with a pitcher of milk-water — as if the Brahmin were showing him what to do; they then together garland the thirthankara with a red rose. This procedure will be repeated 27 times by the brother on one side with the pitcher, + the 4 women on the other side with pitcher + sprinkler of water (1st held by the mother).

Brahmin C handed out tiny bits of fragrant-smelling cotton (camphor-scent) + rose water which people stuck into the upper lip of their ear.

The brahmins would chant a sloka, then the musicians with their singer would alternate, then brahmin B would beat a gong; brahmin A would take the coconut from the man standing next to him, give it to Brahmin C who would place it on one of the leaves with a sweet on top. A new man would then hold/offer a coconut + the next unit would repeat the sequence. The father selected men to go up + hold the coconut.

A muni began the singing, then left, and brahmin B became the leader. About half-way through all the munis trooped in + sat, + the same old muni led some of the singing — now with more

audience response, esp. from the sadhvis. When the larger murti was installed on the green-red-white stand. And a man stood up + took voluntary donations for the paripatol - collecting some Rs 2000 said the dentist.

Tonight there will be singing of bhajans.

Tomorrow, the initiate will take a cold bath (her last - monks + nuns are not supposed to bathe, but to use water - boiled - only to drink) (we speculated about why than they seem clean + don't smell), + do her last puja: she will put on the murti new ornaments her father just has had made, + they of course are donations to the temple. There will be a ceremony of giving items to her - each person has bid for this honor + the money generated also goes to the temple (non goes to her father). Bidding called uchamani. Tomorrow 5 acharya's will be present: Badrinarayan Sari took diksha at 27, was a millionaire; Kailas Sagar; Keshyan Sagar ... and maybe 100 sadhvis.

Dentist commented: the puja clothes are silk + quite expensive (Rs 500). The women must wear clean saris, meaning they cannot have eaten or used the toilet while wearing them. Before each puja one must take a bath.

It has been a 10 day festival. The family has had to feed people + entertain for 10 days. The dentist's gynecologist wife has been on call for only emergencies (there was 1 last night), + all family members have observed celibacy (brahmacharya) for these 10 days: if Turima can give up so much, we must be able to do a little. Turima used to frequently do 3 day fasts with ease - keeping up all other activities so you wouldn't know (ie only boiled water from sunrise to sunset, + no food at all). He pointed out an older woman crying gently - she is the father's father's sister's husband's 2nd wife, but very close to the family: tears not of sadness necessarily but just sentiment. The family has been strict these past 10 days about eating before sundown.

Turima has chosen a group that is known for its strictness. These monks won't allow photographs. Indeed when they came on, we, another photographer + a video crew had to stop taking pictures. It's a bit of a conflict for the family which wants a record. When she came into the puja in the afternoon we took her picture with Ramesh's wife's help - she would not let us do it against the background of the puja + "god", but allowed it off to the side. She was wearing a white sari - Susann thought a kind of traditional dress; Susann thought she also had shed her jewelry (I think not - we'll see our photos - later in the evening she was still or again wearing the jewelry). Susann also thinks she had looked heavy lidded + as if all was a burden, + fantasized that tomorrow she will look radiant with relief of having abandoned these burdens.

Be the parallel with the marriage ceremony. One big difference. This ceremony does help the family + the father to go through a transition - they've been adjusting + preparing for 3 years, but they're now investing a tremendous amount of wealth, putting themselves through a dramatic public display. But unlike the marriage, there is no structured time for the family to cry, to express sadness at parting. That is repressed.

We returned in the evening for bhajans (religious songs) - the place was packed. The temple, apartment, etc were diked out in colored lights. The temple tirthankaras were dressed to kill in gold crowns, earlobes

bread plates and even a squared additional "martha" over the shoulders plus many neck. The main tirthankar (black + so doubly resplendent in all that gold) had a whole rose bed from the lap (on which was a large gold egg) down to the ground.

The bhajans seemed to be all about metoia + traditional metaphors (eg samsara sagarma panni che — this life is an ocean of water that the soul recycles through). The family came. And Purima felicitated her religion teacher giving him a tilak, coconut, + clothes (including woolen cloth + broom for the pratikrama); he — a thin old man responded with a short speech too.

13 Feb (WED) We arrived around 8 am, and first went to the temple to pay our respects: the ornaments from yesterday were being removed + one could see that some of the gold was gold powder on silver ornaments. Purima came in to get darshan at the front of the main hall, accompanied by a young man (Nitin B. Shah) whose sister had taken diksha last year + who helps others go through the ceremony, + several young women. The dentist brother-in-law said Purima had already come earlier to do her last puja (ie actually anointing the murti). He also said the whole family had been crying — last night was their final meal together + they had all put food in each other's mouths. To one side several men were pouring milk-water from 1 pail into another via 3 small pitchers (2 pitchers take milk from 1st pail, pour into 3rd pitcher into 2nd pail). One of the men recognizing us from yesterday said this was a mini Shanti puja like yesterday afternoon.

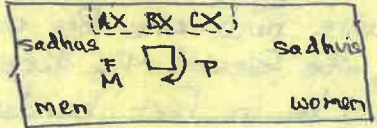
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Mini procession. Purima, Nitin Shah + a couple of others, with the dentist + other men as an honor guard + protection along side, mounted the horse drawn cart (used yesterday for the 3 guru photos). Behind came a contingent of women, one carrying the basket with sadhvi clothes. The procession went only half a block to the S street intersection, going very slowly. Purima again threw coins + rice, + handed out bedspreads (to selected poor people, either handing it to them directly or sending Nitin to make sure it got into the right hands. The crowd was 1/2 Jain + 1/2 really poor folks out to scramble for what they could get. At one point a shower of coins fell on Susan + Purima's father — he too picked one up + said to Susan: it's a good omen, preserve the coin, I will too. A man drove up in a car with a North Eastern University sticker, got out (dressed in puja clothes), + bowed to the carriage: he was bearded + wearing fashionable wire rim glasses.

The dentist commented that he + his wife have taken a vow to observe brahmacharya on the 13th of each month (celebrary), + to become pure vegetarians henceforth. The belief, he said, is that being Brahmacharya permanently is equal to half a diksha.

The mini procession went directly to the hall where the bhajans, Shanti snati puja + diksha were held (under the sadhvi's uprashaya). A square silver samavasarana with a little 4-faced tirthankara under a 3 tiered bodhi tree (a guy from Bombay said this tree flourishes as the religion flourishes) — also looked like 3 umbrellas on top of each other. Three gurus sat on risers facing north: Badranta Suri, the eldest, in black-framed glasses; Kailas Sagar Suru, round + balding;

and Kaliansagar, wavy with shock of grey hair — who had led the singing yesterday. They are all Tappa Gacha, but of different samudayas; Kaliasagar is the guru of Kalian-sagar; Kalias-Sagar defers to Badranka Suri at his senior but of a different samudaya.



A = Badranka Suri
 B = Kalias-Sagar
 C = Kalian-Sagar
 P = Purima/Priamvada

Badranka Suri was already seated when the procession came in. There was an auction for the right to give her a tilak; a large prosperous man won it + put a tilak on Purima (P) + her father (F). Kalias-Sagar now entered, circumambulated the samudaya + took his seat. The tirthankara had been covered with a cloth + this was removed. Purima held some clothes + presented them to the acharya + was blessed. F, M + P now all held coconuts, bowed to each side of the samasarana, circumambulating 3 times (= 12 bows); they were also holding brooms + face cloths, the father of course in puja clothes, + the mother + daughter in red saris. Purima now goes from the side of her parents to the opposite side, spreads a white cloth to sit in the manner of a sadhvi. An acharya (C) chants, the 3 celebrants bow to the samasarana on knees + head to the ground with hands in namaskar (3 "rakat") - 3x. Then they sit. Purima now goes from the side of her parents to the opposite side, sweeping her path before her, spreads a white cloth to sit in the manner of a sadhvi. Father goes to the acharya to be blessed (sandlewood on hair), followed by M + P. + return to their positions. The acharyas take turns chanting. MF + P stand, P bows from waist to samasarana repeatedly. Occasionally on signal the seated audience makes a 1-2 word response, + shifts position (to right, to left), holds palms open on knees, holds hands palms together above head. The tirthankara is covered with the cloth. F, M + P go to the acharyas + are blessed w/ sandlewood. P goes brushing the ground before her, back bent. A man crossed between her + the samasarana during a lull, causing a loud tumult, but the ceremony went on to its 1st high point:

V 3 "rakat"
 by the 3

F gives the acharya a new sadhvi broom. He, M + brother of Purima bow to the acharya. He then tosses it to Purima, who caught it + danced with it smiling + bowing to the crowd amid drums + music of the village band. She held the broom in both hands, twirling and circumambulating the samasarana. She exits to her bath. Kalias Sagar also left.

While she has gone with women attendants — at first only a few are let in until all her gold jewelry + diamonds can be safely removed; she has been given saris + jewelry by relatives + friends to wear for them, thereby blessing these items, + they are now returned — including Susann as photographer — there is an auction for the honor of bestowing the articles of clothing + utensils on her. (The tirthankara remains uncovered during the auction.) A man from Bombay told me the following were the winning bids: Rs 1611 for the red striped white little blanket/shawl carried over the left shoulder; Rs 1211 for a body cloth; Rs 1211 for a cloth wrapped back; Rs 2011 for the wooden food bowl (won by a white-pigment-tan — patty gug in a fine embroidered Gandhi cap); Rs 1811 for the water bowl; Rs 1511 for the walking stick + broom (a whole family — 4-5 women including the girl with short punk style hair + 2 men); Rs 1111 for the cherowari (tiny brooms; handle < palm length); Rs 1211 for the santariyu (ground cloth — large); Rs 1211 for the asani (sitting cloth) won by her former best friend Malki Shah + her brother Bharat (Malki said she paid/bid

Rs 1500, & this was amended by the dentist in her hearing to 1611); Rs 1211 for the talpatu cloth. I.e., about 13,000 rupees were raised (= \$1,300) — the money goes to the temple.

The items were now one by one taken by the winner — donors to the acharya, who blessed the donors. The guru then gives the items to Purima: he in fact handed them over to be put in a basket to be ceremonially taken by singing women to where Purima was being bathed & shaved.

The tirthankara was now covered with the white cloth. Acharya Badranta Suri now gave a speech in a rather weak voice. He of course uses no microphone. (A mic was present & used for announcements & during the auction. It's like taking photos — these gurus are opposed, but the lady wants pictures, urged us to take them shyly.) He held a face cloth but usually at his knee or chest high, only occasionally before his mouth. The crowd was quiet & listened attentively; heads turned in displeasure at two crying babies. A neighbor only translated: he's telling what we should do to be holy; he says: you are married & think you are happy; we say you are dependent, are laboring for things you will eventually have to leave.

There was still some time after he finished. A woman led other women in singing. [Tirthankara uncovered] [Return of Kailas - Sagar & Kaliyan Sagar]

Rice was passed out in preparation for Purima's entry. She enters, people throw rice at her. She repeats after the guru. She sits.

Cloth cover put over the tirthankara. Chanting. Tirthankara uncovered.

Lotch (plucking out of the hairs). Senior sadhvi approaches the guru, is blessed & given some rice (?). While F & M stand, 4 sadhvis hold cloth around the seated Purima, & the senior sadhvi apparently removes the few hairs left (rest had been shaved). When finished, Purima rises. The 3 acharyas take turns chanting (in order of seniority A, B, then C). A little boy next to me — in 8th standard — Shripal T. Shah, son of Tunamchan Suchandsal, who wants to be an engineer & come to the States — said: "now they are speaking some mantras; then she can no longer touch any man or boy." Purima sits.

Mother & Father standing, heads bowed, holding brooms & mouth cloths, take chatur vrat — an oath of permanent brahmacharya (celibacy). The 3 acharyas chant. F & M approach them & are blessed with sandalwood.

Purima, followed by a woman in a blue sari, approach the acharyas for blessing. Purima walks bent, brushing the ground before her.

Rice is handed out & on signal 3x the crowd throws rice at Purima that her path be made easy. Between each throwing of the rice, Purima, F & M circumambulate the samesarana 3 times. Crowd chants "long live the new sadhvi" (?) such was the translation.

New name is announced by the acharya: Priamvada ("good words"). End of ceremony — everyone rises, most leave, many go up front for darshan of gurus & of Priamvada. She was seated & they touched her knees & she blessed them touching their heads.

She & her fellow sadhvis then left the hall, accompanied by singing women, & proceeded to the temple. She went up front for darshan & then sat midway back. The murti now was decorated only with silver cover on his legs, a gold band of gold powder across his forehead & some roses.

Today Triamvada Patsa — her last meal was with her former family before sundown last night; her next food will be at 8 am tomorrow when she will appear at her parents' door as a sadhvi.

From the interior of the temple she went up to the roof for darshan at that roof image. She came down & proceeded carrying her bowls & all items to the uprashaya where she sat before Acharya Badranka Suri, both she & he smiling & looking very pleased. Then again she set off with her things over her shoulder to the women's uprashaya where she was greeted by a crowd of women; & upstairs where the sadhvis had gathered with many well-wishers, mainly women but also some men. An older sadhvi chanted; there was a festive air. I took a photo of some food bowls & a guru-sambh (*) which had 2 small figures attached: Sadhvi Kumudchandra Shriji (her guru is Bhadrakar Suri Swarji Maharaj) who spoke some English said the little pictures were of the sadhu Siddhi Suri Swarj who lived 105 years, 83 of them as a monk — she was delighted I took the picture. She'll be at Taldi next. In a little side room the guru-sadhvi was blessing people with sandalwood, so we got ourselves blessed.

Naturalal Vora, Big friendly guy, said he was a cousin-brother of the father of Turimal. He came from Bombay & will visit Talitara before returning. (his son's card: Dilip Sand Supply Co., Sand Merchants & Bldg Material Suppliers — 34 Badam Wadi, SV Rd, Malad (w) Bombay 400 064; 204 B Bldg Tarekh Apt, Mandpeshwar Rd, Borivali (w) Bombay 400 092; tel office: 684193, 696006; residence 663410 — come visit — the son is Dilip Vora). He pointed out Turima's father's brother, who he said had come late, they had a dispute, but he had come — on such an occasion, the whole family comes together.

At lunch, we sat with Turima's mother's brother's son, Kilit Shah, a pharmacologist who as of last year set up his own pharmaceutical factory on Naroda road on a private industrial estate. (He lives at 2 Samajivan Society, Osmanpura (near Shanti Navari Jain Temple), A bad 13; tel 44 12 11; 87 64 10). MB ("mama") is a soft relationship: a MB will do anything for the niece-nephew.

We walked back with Malti Shah, Turima's once best friend, do her flat just across the alley from where all the ceremonies had occurred. Her mother was lying down — had had a leg operation. A picture of her late father: he had encouraged Turima's decision; he & his brother (whom we met) were very religious. Her brother Bharat Shah is a lively financial consultant (he worked for a government financial institution, & then — 12 years ago — decided to go into business for himself: he does feasibility studies, helps companies put together proposals for financing, does 3rd party assessments for banks of company proposals. Has a staff of 5, plus some others on a fee-for-service basis. His family also (like Turima's) lived in East Africa — in Tanzania. There are 4

brothers — 1 in Canada, 1 in England, 1 still in Tanzania, himself — & 1 sister. He studied in Tanzania thru 2ndary school, then decided to return. He now has some clients who are interested in joint ventures in E. Africa — Indians supply capital & technology, African partners supply other inputs, there are various kinds of pay-offs including non-officially discussed international currency payments. While we sat, telephone men came with a new phone — he had applied for a phone 3-4 years ago; when his father fell ill, he applied for medical special dispensation & was given a temporary phone; now today he got his own phone. It was installed, the 2 service men given tea & Bakshesh of Rs 11; still they sat — they wanted more bakshesh & said sa. He threw them out.

We next went across to the upashaya to see acharya Kallian Sagar. Arvindbhai had said he knew a lot about Oswal Jain history. Purima's father was there & translated. We 1st approached Kallian Surt who seemed to recognize us; he directed us to take permission from his senior Badranka, which we did. This impressed "Africa walla" as showing the discipline of the sadhus. Kallian Sagar then sat with us. He has written a book in Gujarati on Oswal history, copying out from various old sources in Sanskrit etc & putting it into Gujarati. We should get a copy & get it translated into English. This & a second book on Simandhar Swami got a bit fizzy — Africa walla offered to obtain the books & help find someone to translate; another man identified us as linked with Kantishai Vora & they would take care of it... (Oy!) In any case: there are 3 main divisions — Oswal, Srimal & Porwad.

OSWAL was a large port 2500 years ago; in those days the Indus River ran through Rajasthan; an earth quake change the course of the Indus, & caused the demise of the city; it once was 11,000 miles square 115 miles long by 60 miles wide (?), & had a 150 mile coast; gold was sold by the ton, as was Kaisar, etc. People from Oswal migrated all over India. Porwals originally come from a city named Pravathi, near Mt Abu, of which there are no remains.

Africa walla said he is a Porwad, from a village marriage circle of 27 villages near Mehsana. SHRIMALIS come from a city Shrimalnagar, today called Bhinnmal (c. 50 km from Abu).

Re Visa vs Dessa: the builder of Delwera temples at Abu invited everyone to a dinner, some did not come. So it was decided that those who did not come would not be allowed to intermarry with those who came; interdining, however, would still be allowed. Thus Dessa or 50%.

Villagers would give their daughters to city folk; but the latter refused to give daughters to villagers. So the villagers set up a kind of union amongst themselves to exchange women — like the 27 village circle to which my family (Africa walla) belonged.

What was the Book given to Priamvada during the diksha? A book of rules for her to follow: discipline, food, thinking — incl: Dashavai Kalika, Acharang Sutra, Tradthen...

Sadhus & sadhis may not take baths, even sponge off. How is

it then that they are so clean + do not smell? It comes from adhering to the rules of Jainism, the proper diet + spirit which generates a kind of energy. Badranka Swi took diksha 55 years ago + has not had a bath in all these years.

How can leather drum heads be allowed in a temple? The working of the leather does not involve ~~the~~ himsa. The leather used is already dead, there is no additional himsa.

(This[↑] followed: Africawalla had said Jainism was a religion, all castes including Harijans could be Jain, not just banias. I then asked why historically it was primarily Banias who were Jains. At first he refused the premise of the question; when I said Businessmen instead of Banias, he said OK, a carpenter too can be a Businessman. But Jains generally are not farmers. Finally he relayed the question. Answer: Jains did not go into businesses that involve himsa. leather trade, etc.)

Why silk puja clothes — aren't silk worms killed in the process (this is Kalia Bhai C. Gandhi's question as a textile man). Kaliyan Sagar's answer: In the old days in India, silk was gotten without himsa. The insects would be in the ground, people would lay out little pegs + place sugar on the ground, the insects would come for the sugar + would spin the silk on the pegs, + then go back into the ground. People would then take the silk without hurting the worms. It was in China that they got silk by putting the worms in hot water, not in India. So the reason for preferring puja clothes of silk is twofold: first it is a fibre taken from insect without himsa, without harm to the insects; second silk cloth cannot be contaminated by other viruses. Cotton cloth does pick up contamination.

The temple in Mehsana to Simandhar Swami — he is a tirothankara presently living in another cosmos — Mahavir deha Kshetra — 72 crore km north of our world. His life span is 1 purva = 7 million, 56 thousand crore years (7,056,000,000,000 years), of which so far only 7 lakhs years have passed. In his world there are 100 crore sadhus + 100 crore sadhvis, which gives you an indication of the size of population there. (How do we know about him if he's on another world? — Mahavira who knew all, told us).

There are 1500 sadhus in Tappa Gaccha. All these acharyas here are Tappa Gaccha. But with so many sadhus, one can't keep track of who is chela of whom, + so there are divisions into sardaya. I couldn't get them to give me the names — there are no significant differences, just minor ones, essentially a way of identifying guru lines. How does one get to be an acharya? One's guru decides: the acharya knows when his chela is firm enough in following all the rules that he will never deviate from them. No it has nothing to do with the number of chela you have.

Africawalla, Purima's father (Natarlal M. Shah, "Africawalla",

tel 446558 residence
20618 office

6 Navkar Flat
near Darpan Society, behind Jain temple, St Xavier's
hostel, A' bed 3800/13

At lunch he came to us, first let us know he had taken a vow of brahmacharya — no sexual relations with his wife any more, she will not sleep in his bed, it is not merely physical, but also no more thinking about it. It is hard, but when he thinks of his daughter so young able to do it, he too must be able to do a little of what she can do, + he knows he can do it. Later he returned to ask if we wrote anything on Jainism to send him a copy.

As we left the acharyas, + took our leave bowing to them, he commented on the way Jain sadhus bless you's they have only one invariant blessing - dharma lamu (God/religion will help you). They are not allowed to bless you with any promise/wish for an object of desire; they cannot give you anything.

Re his daughter, he wanted to say that she was very happy in her achievement. This was not a case like some, say a widow, where one took diksha to avoid unhappiness or suffering. His family had everything, car, phone, etc. Still she had the strength to renounce. He had to thank his good luck that when he left East Africa he had returned to India instead of going to America or England, for only here could he have such opportunities to practice the religion. You need an environment + society, which doesn't exist in America. It was 4 years ago when they had moved to this flat that Parima began to be involved with the religion, because of the temple + the activities in this society. Before, they lived in Ambivadi (another section of A'bad - of bungalows of upper middle class folks). Didn't his wife also have a long standing interest, I asked. That's right: my wife was brought up by that old lady you may have seen in the puja yesterday, about 95 years old; my wife's mother died when she was young + she was raised by this very religious lady. And so sanskar came into the family from this lady + through my wife. But the strength was also there in my daughter from her previous life. When my daughter wanted to choose this path my wife agreed immediately. Others in the family did not: I did not agree at first, my son said he would leave the house + never return if she did this; my son-in-law said he would not visit. But Parima said she would not do it without everyone's agreement; she was prepared to wait.

At lunch he said the daughter + son-in-law from Buffalo had been here a month ago, but just could not stay. The son (in computers in San Jose) had called on the phone last night + had a long conversation.

Our religion is a hard one, relative to others, but we believe it is right.

I primarily listened supportively, only saying at the end that though hard, the life of sadhus seemed quite happy. ~~at the end~~ He seemed very tired.

His daughter, the gynecologist, at lunch was gracious, seating us + initially sitting with us - she too was exhausted, saying she had not slept the last 3 nights.

Re folklore, science, contradictions of knowledge + ignorance of gurus. Bharat Shah: the gurus say the world is flat, that men have not gone to the moon - they went somewhere else. It is hard for us to accept that the world is flat, but they are able to argue with scientists, + have deep knowledge. I said I'd seen this one acharya's arguments + his geometry was just plain wrong; if he wanted to talk about cosmology that's one thing, but if he wanted to talk about

geography he was just wrong. Bharat Shah allowed as this all is a problem. He suggested 2 learned sadhus who speak English too:

Mohotji Vijay is at Sankeshwar at the moment

Bhuvana Suri is in Bombay

Also he mentioned this sadhu who had just received a PhD at the U. of Gujarat.

The dentist, as he invited us to lunch, said he had not eaten or taken water since last night. He had not deliberately decided to fast & did not want to say that is what he was doing, because once you took such a decision you had to stick to it. Perhaps he would eat a little just one time today but take no water. He had no appetite. If he fasted, it would be his first time, a new experience for him. (He had expressed some admiration yesterday

His wife, the gynecologist, carrying her son, did not eat with us, saying she was only eating once today. (for the ease with which Parima had fasted for 3 days.)

Impressive how this ritual, fraught with so much ambivalence, repression-denial (we are happy that our relative took diksha is the normal response + hard to get past), forces all members of the family to make major readjustments in their psychology as well as living style. It appears to be a real processual drama, an active force in the Turner's sense.

Malti Shah mentioned not only had her friend once not gone anywhere except riding her scooter, but also that the family had tried to tempt her to go see America 1st & then if she still wanted to take this step she could. (i.e. not just trial, by sending her out with the nurse to see if she could live that way but also worldly temptation). She did not go.

Questions: whose idea was the brahmacharya vow — the mother's, mother & daughter? The dentist had said yesterday that the guru would ask them all to take some vow, that his wife might have to vow not to perform abortions despite it being legal, & this could destroy part of her practice. Why was this date picked? & how? how much was spent on it all?

While I was talking to Kalyan Sagar, Susann saw Bharat Shah come in & be quite obsequious towards Badranka Suri, hanging on his every word.

Badranka Suri's picture was up in the Africawalla's livingroom.

Susann's notes on the headshaving ceremony: it was done by a male barber. Parima was quite calm & smiling throughout. They first cut off her long hair & the tresses were taken by an acrobat. A few hairs were left so that if pulled out in twos or threes they wouldn't bleed. She then stood on a wood platform in a tub in a slip & cherise & pitchers of cold water were poured on her & she was towelled off. Modestly she changed & was helped to dress in her new gear. This all happened next door to Malti Shah's flat — Malti's "sister."

Parima has a striking face — a classic face from Western Indian miniature paintings, almond shaped eyes, strong nose, heavy eye-brows. When shaved, the eyebrows were even more prominent.

Stage managing during the ceremony by the acharges, telling people where to stand, where to go, etc.

Are a number of Africa returnees in this society.

Kotlawala (dentist son-in-law) Residence tel 441171
gynecologist da Wi's nursing home 409757

"Africawalla": Natwarlal M Shah — 6 Naukar Flat — 446558 res; 20618 office

Nitin B Shah 1584 Mansukhbai's Pole nr Tamkotki, Kalapur

Head shaving ceremony. Sister-gynecologist brings her little boy (age 3-4) to hug Purima for the last time: she'll never be able to touch him again. The gynecologist was weepy thru-out the ceremony. Senior sadhvi selected a few strands of hair not to be shaved; Nitin Shah wrapped them around her finger as the barber began to shave. (Father's sister received the cut tresses in her son; Father's sister + sister-in-law received the ~~the~~ final strands when they were pulled out by the senior sadhvi.) Her mother was not in the room for the shaving.

(1974:95)

Detail note from H. Doshi's book, on the pols: at a rath-yatra (procession with temple image on silver chariot), there is an auction 1st for the honor of "leading" the procession, i.e. sitting by the image in the chariot. This is the position Purima's father had, sitting on the chariot with the image (albeit this chariot followed the one with Purima) — quite appropriately since he was paying for the ceremony.

14 Feb (THURS). An errand + reading day. Saw D. Tripathi: his book on the Bareda Bank (Towards a New Frontier) is out. He says he did not really know Verma + never saw the completed dissertation. He hopes to get the conference volume State + Business in India ready for publication before he leaves in April for Japan. He's also going to edit Micra's one on Gandhi's 1938? feet. The student who committed suicide 2 days ago was technically his advisee, had failed last year + Tripathi fought to keep him on; a bright + capable boy, who again "I didn't know him well." The Nagarsheth paper was really his with Makrand Mehta's help; Makrand was still frisking up his thesis + had accepted that Shantidar was made Nagarsheth by Jehangir — Tripathi made him change it.

Afternoon Gujarati lesson. Raman Parmar (17 Shefali Apts) told us day before yesterday that he had been Howard Spodek's Gujarati teacher. Howard had invited him to a passover seder. Parmar's father converted to Catholicism, had been low caste, was a route of mobility. Parmar + Fr Ceuli are translating + adapting a series of church books into Gujarati. The nuns have set up an embroidery program for wives of mill workers (mainly Christian ones) which they export to France. His attitude toward a Jain student who took diksha: if you want to be a nun, fine, but why not then serve society (like Catholic nuns) instead of shutting yourself away. Told us a variant of the Holi story — Holika as a witch, gets burned on the fire.

15 Feb (FRI). Finally Kumar Jayakeerti allowed us to come see him. A friend of Ramesh Shroff's, he had been a monk from age 9 to 31. He is now an astrologer (did not attend the astrology conference here this past week) + president of the Lions Club. He did not want to talk about himself, his own becoming a monk + leaving that life, but he was willing to illustrate how Jain monks construct their sermons using stories. He began by saying monks never prepare, have no particular series of points they want to cover, but simply say whatever comes to mind, beginning with some scriptural verse + telling illustrative stories. What kind of stories, I prompted. And off he went for almost 45 minutes illustrating beautifully + then with a bit more prompting another 15 minutes.

For instance one might start with a verse about dan (giving), and tell the story about the shepherd boy who was very hungry + particularly kept asking his mother for some khir (a rice + milk sweet). She was dirt

[6 Vijay Park — past St Xavier's College + thru the Pabbari-wad]

poor and could not afford to make khir, but somehow she struggled + managed to provide some khir. Just then a muni, a Jain monk arrived. This monk had been fasting for a month, and had come to break his fast. Looking at him, the shepherd boy was overcome with the desire to give to him, and gave him all the khir. Now the punya (virtue, merit) gained by the boy was so great that in his next life he became a multi-millionaire. Jainism teaches that there is great virtue in giving; one should give.

Now, the monk might continue, what is the best sort of dan. Lord Mahavira teaches that the best dan is apaya-dan, saving someone from being killed, giving someone freedom from fear. Apaya means fear. Freedom from fear in the sense that in the old days a king would say: speak out without fear; whatever you say, you won't be killed. In those days, a king could have someone killed just for saying something disagreeable. Not to kill, ahimsa, has a wide meaning, not just physical killing. It also means not to give any sort of pain, not to tear a leaf, not to carve an X on a tree. For this reason Jain monks do not cut vegetables, they never set a fire, they never cook. Not giving pain begins with water, fire, air, vegetation. Apaya-dan is making free from fears. There's the story of the

king^{who} had seven queens, and sentenced a thief to hang. He was a handsome man, and the 1st queen said to the king: Before you hang him give him to me for one day. Let him enjoy one final day. I will take him on a trip, feed him good food, give him every entertainment. Then you can hang him. Each queen in turn made the same request. For one day she would entertain the condemned man before he was hanged. Now the 7th queen was not loved by the king, he never visited her. She came to the king + said: I have no grievances against you, I've never asked you for anything, you don't love me, you've never visited me since we've been married. Still I am your queen. I would like to make a first and last request of you. The king says, yes I will grant your request. The queen says: I have no money, true I live in a fancy palace, but I have no money to spend, so I cannot entertain this over, I cannot give him fine clothes or good food. My one request is: forgive him, pardon him, do not hang him. The king agreed. The thief was asked which day he had enjoyed the most. The day of his release, of course. The other days when the sword of death hung over his head, he could not taste the fine foods. Crores of rupees given to a man have no use if he knows he is to die in three days. Jiji visha

Lord Mahavira said jiji visha, the will to live, is the same in human beings and in reptiles. Every being has the will to live. An old woman used to pray to God every day. She had lost her family, only had a grandson to look after and his sick father, her son. She would pray: oh God, I'm old and ill, please take me away. One night a calf came to the veranda where she was sleeping, and began to chew on the end of her sari. The calf was black, and the night was black. The old woman couldn't see. It was a calf + thought it was yama devo (the angel of death). She was taken aback, thinking that the yama devo was coming because of her prayers, and she cried: I'm not ill, the ill-man is inside, forgive me, take him, not me. No one likes to die. It was her own son she was trying to substitute.

It's like a story on TV recently. There was a husband and wife who were very loving towards one another. A girl lived upstairs. She came

down with a gun, + said: I have a compulsion to kill, I will kill one of you. Now at first the husband tried to save his wife, and she him. I am willing to die for you. But at the end, the wife began to say: I am pregnant, you cannot kill me; and the husband said: no she is not pregnant, don't kill me. Finally the moment of truth came, the girl fired, but it was a false gun, given her by her psychiatrist. Neither husband nor wife was physically killed, but they said, you have killed us for life, you have killed the faith between us.

No depth of love can take precedence over the will to live. An Urdu poet says ...? for truth no one dies, don't let lovers be bereaved, let them live together. A Padshah, Muslim king, once said all creatures have a deep love for their offspring. His minister replied: yes, but not more than love for their own life. A test was proposed. A she monkey and her child were put into a pit which was slowly filled with water. The she-monkey, holding her child began to jump up + down, holding the child to her chest. As the water came higher she put the child on her shoulder, + tried to jump. As the water rose higher yet, she threw the child away, and climbed out. Yes, creatures love their children, but not when they have to save their own lives.

Lord Mahavira said to save someone from death, there is no punya (virtue) better than this. This is accepted by all: no religion says to kill someone; even those religions that permit one to eat meat, do not tell you to kill.

This is because of ^{the} subjective weakness of human beings. If I do something it is not wrong. This is the great weakness of human beings. I don't like lies, but mine are different. If your servant tells a lie, it is a crime; but if you tell a lie, it is cleverness. Wrongdoing is always rationalized. And with one further step it even becomes virtue.

The theme is still moving on ahimsa. Man is a killer. Even if you are my good friend, if I feel you are getting the better of me, I will pull at your leg. Durgun (faults) spring from jealousy. How many people do we mentally kill each day, saying mentally "you bastard!"

Satya (truth) is also below ahimsa. Jainism puts truth below ahimsa; not all people say this. Gandhi said truth is supreme. No: ahimsa is. To state something is not truth. If someone saves someone even if he is detouring from the facts, that is ahimsa. If a deer passes by you, and a hunter comes along and says did you see a deer passing, you can say: I don't remember, I was reading. Silence or saying I have not seen a deer. The intention here is to save the deer from being killed. It is the intention that counts. Satya truth, or really not to tell lies.

Jainism's principles are six, they are all stated as negatives. First is ahimsa (not to kill). (2) Satya - not to tell lies. (3) acharya - not to steal. This is not just physical stealing, but also not to

steal mentally, not to become involved. (4) Vratra name (?) - not to cohabit (the result is brahmacharya). (5) Not to keep things in excess (aparigraha) (6) Not to take nocturnal meals [Isn't this part of abinasa? I asked. Yes: not to kill small insects you can't see as you can in the day. These rules have to be repeated for people to remember, so a sixth was added.]

A guru had 3 disciples + wanted to test which had digested his knowledge. He gave each of them a cock (rooster) made of wheat flour, and to them to kill this wheat flour cock in seclusion, somewhere where no one could see the deed. The first disciple was the son of a king and had little sense of ~~the~~ concerns; he simply went in to a room, shut the door and killed the cock. The second disciple went into the jungle and found a dark cave in which to do the deed. The 3rd disciple, however, was worried. He thought: everywhere there is someone watching, where could one go? He too found a deep, dark cave. He took out his knife, but then stopped. He thought: if my teacher says there is a God, then God can see in the dark too. No, let me become an atheist for a moment: there is no God; forget God. My guru said to do this. He again raised his knife; but again he stopped, thinking: no one can see, but I see what I do; I see. So, let me shut my eyes. Again he took the knife, again he stopped: for though my eyes are closed, from within myself I can see. He returned to his guru and said: I could not find any place where no one could see; at least I always could see, or feel with my senses. That is what the guru wanted to hear.

The worst habit of man is to interpret any good religious law in his own favor. Religious laws are expressed in words, and words are limited, so men interpret them. A mother had two sons, and she told them to live in unity, and that when they received things they should give the larger share to their brother. One day she gave them apples. The younger son got the bigger apple. The elder brother was greedy and said to the younger: Mother said you should give the bigger share to your brother, so give me the bigger apple. The younger brother did so. The mother learned about this and admonished them: I told you to give, not to ask for things. What the elder brother did was bad, teaching the younger brother to demand, rather than to give.

So often religious laws are used only to get our work done. Good virtue is evaluated according to the intention. An insurance agent will tell you life is transient. A guru will tell you the same thing. Same words, different intentions. The insurance agent tells you this partly for commercial reasons. Saints today have also become commercial: Rajneesh, Mahesh Yogi, and so on.

Religion comes from within, not from without. Information comes from without; knowledge comes from within. An adolescent boy gets information about sex, but his knowledge only comes from within and from experience. Before that it is only talk. Elliot said [?] knowledge is lost in the light of information. We are confused because there is too much information. One must be bent to turn information into knowledge, and even if one has this bent, one still needs strength of mind and will.

The biggest thing Lord Mahavir said is that thoughts are superior to action. Actions are valued on the thoughts behind the action. Good food may be fed to a goat so that in 15 days it will be killed. A knife in the hand of a doctor is different from a knife in the hand of

a murderer. The knife in the hand of a doctor kills; the knife in the hand of a murderer kills.

Gurus and religious leaders have become commercial. It might not be commercial to ask for money. But if you yourself do not believe it, and you want money, that is commercial. There is a saying say what you mean & mean what you say. Lord Mahavira said speak what you believe and believe what you speak.

In technical language, what I've been saying is samat gran, samat darshan, samat charita. If you believe fasting is conducive to spiritual health, then there will be an inside drive to practise it. That is why Jain monks go barefoot, don't ride vehicles, only drink boiled water, take no nocturnal meal. There is a correspondence between what they practise and what they preach.

To know things as they are, that is samat gran; to believe things as they are is samat darshan; to practise things as they should be practised is samat charita.

There are 3 levels — philosophy, practise — and practise is partly traditional. Traditions sometimes take precedence over scripture. People — orthodox people — go to the temple very day, go to the gura everyday, they do not eat until 48 minutes after sunrise, and do not eat after sunset, they do pratykrama in the evening. Pratykrama is a confession: one remembers the sins one has committed during the day; one asks forgiveness — not from God. God is not the creator. God is like a mirror. God does nothing, he never involves himself. The supreme thing in Jainism is Karma: everything is moving, everything is happening by nature. No one organizes; God does not create the world. This is counter to the ideas of Christianity or Hinduism. The Jain argument against a Creator: first, of all, minor arguments. Why create the world? God is not a child that he likes to play & that he created such a big confusion, of rich and poor, men and women. God too admonished Adam to refrain from Eve; it was the snake that had him approach her. But that's just a joking argument. Another minor argument: everything has a creator, an eraser, a building — but consider what was created first? If water, where was it put if there was no earth, and if it was earth where was it put. But the real argument is this: if you lay down the principle everything has a creator, then who created God, & who created that creator... It's all eternal. That's so much simpler.

Of course all these things cannot be proved. The 1st demand of all religions is faith. There is no religion unless you find out your own religion. Knowledge comes from within. Knowledge, not feelings — and they are difficult to distinguish. People are loose about religion. First one gets knowledge from abundant information. Information has two natures: objective and subjective. Milk is wholesome. That is an objective truth, but it is harmful to some: to phlegmatics or one with diarrhoea. That

is its subjective truth. No truth is a perfect truth. It has to be merged with objective + subjective perspectives.

Religion presently is motivated by two factors - greed and fear. And so it is not religion. People go to the temple and pray: don't bring things my way that I don't like; don't take away what I do like. A devotee of God had 2 daughters married in different villages. One was married to a gardener and one to a potter. The monsoon approached & he thought, I cannot move about in the monsoon, I should go to visit my daughters now. First he went to the daughter married to the gardener. She said to him: dad, you are a devotee of God. I've sown seeds; if rains don't come soon, our plants will die, & we will be in trouble. Pray to God for rain. Then he went to the daughter married to the potter. There was a huge fire to harden the pots. The daughter said: Dad, it looks like rains; if it rains all our pots will be destroyed; pray to God that it not rain for a week. God reflects the ideas of men: what we want God to do. People are not concerned with God, purity, piety, or religion. Everyday they bargain with God. Saints are commercial buddies, playing agents of God. In this way, yes one may find solace and peace but not religion.

Religion makes you a god-like person. Cut it into two it remains gold; put it into fire, it remains gold. One's personality has 3 dimensions: what others think of you; what you think of yourself; what you really are. You must let yourself know what you are. I must know that I have a high ego, that I am ruthless. Only if one knows oneself, can one proceed to knowledge of the 3rd dimension. I once thought I had no anger. But then I came to know that yes I had anger, I got angry, there was much anger in me. But the thing is to minimize our faults, slowly through practice & reduce anger. This is sadhana, the way to reach a higher state, through practice. Sadhys - what they do is sadhana, practice.

[would be nice to try to get Kumar Jagadeerti to tell stories on the theme of
① Dacharya - not to steal with reference to business dealings; ② sadhana - self control]

17 Feb (Sun) Morning went to gathering of young Simali Devas at Kalyanbhai C Gandhi's invitation - some 150-200 people. The organization is only a year or two old, is a cultural organization intended to supplement the caste organization headed by Kalyanbhai's father. The latter group (some 700 families) holds only one meeting a year with an attendance of < 10% (9-14 people). Some five years ago, says a cousin of Kalyanbhai, he + some others began talking about the young generation doing something & the elder Gandhi said fine. The 1st meeting attracted 1500 people. Today's meeting people are still getting to know each other. Kalyanbhai made a plea to raise funds for a meeting hall - we were meeting in Law Garden - lovely on a nice morning. The rest of the meeting was introducing people. Met Harish Palkiwala (28 Jain Merchant Society, Tabli, Ahmedabad - tel 413830) + his wife: he went to USC (mech engineering). The Society is 40 years old - built a temple about 1957-60. Is a society of about 50 families, mainly merchants. He himself has a factory. His family came from Moti-ri Tol & still maintain membership there, going to functions at the temple there. His wife's aunts (MZ - 2 of them) and grandmother (MM) took diksha - when they were 12. They recently met them in Calcutta - they went to S. Shikar, the great pilgrimage site. The aunts keep in touch by letter. Only when they see them in person do they talk about their life, difficulties on the road and so on. In the letters they mainly admonish that one should do puja, no eat this & that. Munis too ask have you been doing pratyakrasa + so on & when you say well

the last month or two higs have slipped, they say well try to do it every other day or 3x a week. And so their guidance helps you to start again. She will be going to Talitara on March 5 - it is an annual date for circumambulating the mountain, about 12 km; you fast or break the fast after the circumambulation. Maybe a lot of people will be there - you organize ahead of time in buses - maybe a month ahead. Spontaneously she noted that a diksha is different from a marriage in that in the marriage there is crying when the daughter leaves, while in a diksha there is only happiness. Yes the family may have mixed feelings, but the girl or boy is happy. Keliambhai's wife was fasting today - Lord ~~Shiva's~~ Shiva's feet. Keliambhai's cousins: the caste organization has only male members; the youth organization allows daughters to register in their own right + to bring in their husbands.

Afternoon at Arvindbhai's. He 1st gave us a kind of outline of Jain history from the account in the 25th Anniversary Souvenir of the Santi Seva Samaj: that Jains became important in Gujarat from VS 452 on. At the time of Chandra Gupta, Jayshikari (King of Vallabhai) lost the throne due to an attack by Bhicwad (?). Jayshikari's young son was saved, taken to the jungle & raised by a Jain muni named Shiladita Suri or Shila Vijayji. The muni tried to instill in him Jain precepts, but he was a Rajput by blood, and one day he killed some mice that were hurting the muni. The muni recognized that he was a Rajput, & advised him to retake the throne of Gujarat. He did so, and became known as Van Raja (the Forest King: van = forest), because of being saved in the forest. He built a temple in the village Panchasa, the Panchasara Parsvanath temple in VS 802 - near Patan. Around this time the town of Bhinnamal near Abu was in its ascendancy, and Shrivastis & towards migrated there; later they migrated from there to A'bad. Meanwhile the Dewals were migrating directly to Gujarat. It was the period of Patan's ascendancy and many mines became minefields, eg Vimalshah who served King Brundera, who built temples at Abu, and was known for strength so that he was able to shoot an arrow through 3 devil buffaloes (their statues are there to be seen [we did see them]). He also built a temple in the name of his brother Lunigar, who had died of want when the family was poor, before its rise to wealth; he also built 2 balconies (?) named after his wives (derani - jatani relationship btw wife of elder brother - jatani - and wife of younger brother - derani). Then came the period of Asawala or Karnavati (what today is Taldi). Akbar Shah came here on a hunting trip + was surprised that his hunting dogs were chased by the local rabbits: he decided if the local rabbits were so ferocious, imagine how courageous the local people must be, & so he decided to build his city here. The river Sabarmati once flowed past Manekchowk & has been moving to the west (yet Arvindbhai insists Taldi used to be on the east bank of the river?!). Hemachandra Suri converted the Shaivite king Umarpal to Jainism. Hira Vijay Suri was the muni who much impressed Akbar. One campaign was not going well and Akbar's generals complained to him that it must be

because Akbar was giving shelter to a Jain muni who was opposed to violence, that if Akbar were to take the Besieged town he would have to get rid of the muni. Akbar came to Hira Vijay Suri and said this is what my generals are saying, what to do? Hira Vijay Suri replied, if you really want to take this town I will help you on the condition that when you take it, you spare the inhabitants & not kill them. Akbar agreed. Hira Vijayji took some sand and threw it at the Besieged fort; it crumbled. Then there was Jehangir whose gardens were Shahi Bag.

It was at his time that the Chintamani Parsvanath temple was moved from Saraspur to Ratanpur; Shantidas was jeweller to Jehangir; Jehangir had the new temple built at state expense. Jehangir may be the only Muslim king to have built a temple with idols. 15737 Kushaldas, grandson of Shantidas gets title Nagarshekh, + 1/2% of trade turn-over from all the markets (Lage). At the time of the E. India Co. this Lage was abolished but Nagarshekh Fremabhai fought in the Privy Council & had it reinstated albeit as a lump sum pension of Rs 6400 a year, the amount of the Lage at the time. VS 1846 Hathisingh temple started.

Important munis: Hemachandra Suri, Hira Vijay Suri, Yeshe Vijay Upadai (Upadai - a monk who instructs other monks, esp. new monks), Vir Vijay who inspired Moti Shah to build the Moti Shah stupa (temple) at Palitana; Rupa Vijaya c 1908 VS who created many "pujas" & the poetic narration of what to do, what benefit it brings, who did it & what benefits he received - after the "puja" is recited those who are standing there do the ritual actions while everyone else watches; Atmar Ranji Suri, founder of the Sagar gaccha, & his disciple Anandgan who wrote many stavan (prayers) offered at any time, not connected to any ceremony. Sagar gaccha - one Sheth family is attached to. (Arvindbhai thinks that having non-Jain pujaris is only 200-300 year old custom; in villages one doesn't have them). Albad became known as Jain Puri, Jain town.

Notes & corrections re the Annual Report with the account of the 1932 meeting. Funerals: karn = the procession from the maternal relatives (sasru) with women weeping in the lead & men behind. (Or as he put it, women go first, Jains follow) Marriage: paly + paramni is money given to the bride in case the husband dies, she should have some support. Paramni is given by the bride's father; then the groom's side matches the amount and adds some more, this is paly; the combined amount is also paly. E.g. bride's side gives Rs 500, groom's side then gives 500 + 200 = 700; total amount is Rs 1200. It is a kind of dowry, & the caste placed limits upon the amounts. Pala sari is from the groom's side. Kalwa is the custom of the bride's side coming to the groom's house with a pot with sugar & almonds to invite the groom. (We've stopped this custom.) Also there was an anti-evil eye (najar lagvi) procedure when the groom enters the bride's house for the marriage, of waving salt (luna) in a pot in all directions. Pagri means a turban tied in rajput style like a crown; also safa, reta - different shapes indicated caste. Kori = 20 just as dozen = 10; i.e. 15 kori is 15 x 20. Chandla is the Rs 2 or 5 given by each person at a wedding as a token of a good wish - everyone gives a token amount; but it adds up to a sizeable amount and is like a bank or insurance fund (or really revolving pool) since you give back the same amount to others. Chandla is also the tilak: same word.

1921 was the great fire which destroyed much of Ratanpur. The main gate at Manek Chok was partly burned. In 1941 during the Hindu-Muslim riots, the gate again burned; this time it was completely destroyed. Arvindbhai remembers seeing the gate. He claims Jhavarwad &

Wagon Pol did not have a membership fee: what was owned by the Sheth family was maintained simply as joint family property. The poli or watchman was merely one of the many family retainers. The only tax was a lage on outsiders who wished to pass through, & this went not for maintenance, but to the panjrapol, same as the lage on trade in Market Market & among Sharebrokers. Nor does he know anything about the government banning large caste dinners except in times of rationing, when temporarily one was not supposed to feed more than 100 people.

Vanika caste = Varia (British pronunciation Baria), from vahan (ship), vanvati (one who sails). [Van=forest; vs vahan=ship.]

[Rupa & Vijay confirmed that this may be correct. Vijay says vahan actually means vehicle be it on sea, on land, or on air; Rupa affirmed its marked meaning as ship.] [? explanation of munis not using any vehicle as being opposite to the everyday habits of the laity: as commercial folk they are defined by using conveyances to move their goods as evinced by the label varia.

<u>Stavak</u> typically	<u>munis</u>
<u>varia</u>	- no vehicle (as extension: no artificial light, microphones, watches, photo...)
deals in money	- does not touch money
fine clothes, jewelry	- minimal or no clothes
bathing before puja	- never bathe
economically or materially self-reliant (individualistic)	- materially dependent (altho try to minimize this)
spiritually dependent, enriched in social etc.	- spiritually independent (individualistic)
sex self-regeneration	- no sex, self-extinguishing

There are of course many days in which stavaks attempt to emulate munis: dietary code, not eating after sun down; upvan (temporary living like a monk for 35 days); pratikrama; fasts. And there are (denied) ways in which munis emulate stavaks: relatives staying together, keeping in touch with relatives by letter, travelling in social units (not denied).]

Oswal Visa = 700 families; Sheth = 125 families

Tomorrow is the beginning of a big celebration of completion of 100 ambayl by the auntie of Arvindbhai's Chicago daughter's husband. Her husband died when she was young & so she lived together with her sister & is like a mother in law to Arvindbhai's daughter. Ambayl - the taking of one meal a day with no oil or spices, done 1 then eat normally, 2 days ambayl, one normal, 3 days ambayl ... 97, 98, 99, 100. So it takes several years to complete. It will be presided over by Badmanka Suri (who was the senior acharya at the diksha) at Pankat Society. There will also be some rangou (crushed marble colored painting, like sand painting). Tomorrow is a Ram puja. Tuesday is the main Navana Prakar Puja. (Patla puja is the pot with water & a coconut, prepared when calling the gods to help including the 8 rashis (planets))

March 5/8 ? is Chago Firsava (6 mile circumambulation) of Shatrughay done on the day Adiswara (the 1st Tirthankara) achieved nirvana and when 20 crores munis achieved moksha. Chandan talaodi.

Charubhai = head of Visa Simalis.

EVER dinner with Vijay & Rupa. Sheth as a Jain & Varia surname comes Rupa thinks, from shawkal "money-lender". Sutaria means yarn dealer. Rupa's maiden name was Sutaria - her father was in

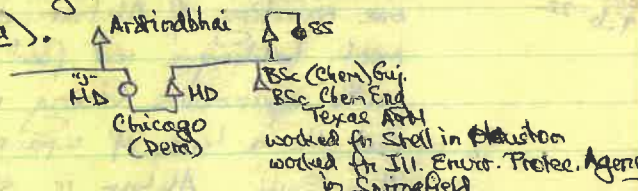
Masrati market, dealt in yeros, a business started by his father. Her elder brother took it over til his death, when it closed. His son did not follow. But all other Sutariae seem to be Jain (except a few Parsis).

Vijay on ads - an unknown company beat all the competition - famous case - with ads appealing to Ayurvedic heritage: a toothpaste with various herbal ingredients, + a body paste. Then Promise tooth paste followed suit: made with olive oil, that your mother used to cure toothache.

Krsna worship peaks in August towards the end of monsoon. One is supposed to fast (but only really not eat cooked grains) - people say must celebrate Krsna's birth with sweets. Wear fine clothes, elaborately decorate temples, sing bhajans. [Interestingly seems roughly to coincide with Paryushana!] Kubera is guardian of divine treasures (of Brahma, Shiva + Vishnu) - Lakshmi might pray to him, but not a merchant; merchant prays to Lakshmi. In the south (Bangalore) merchants invoke Lakshmi every morning with incense sticks; in A'bad Lakshmi is only really invoked at Diwali. Similarly in the south housewives/maids wash their front steps everyday; in A'bad only at Diwali. The south is much cleaner. The textile mills in the south have much better maintenance of machines, run the machines at higher speeds (rpm), have greater efficiency, work more days of the year, are cleaner. Further north (Kanpur) is even slower rpm + less maintenance/efficiency than A'bad. Holi is celebrated more vigorously the further north you go. At the Krsna shrine near Udaipur - colored water is thrown on the image.

18 Feb (Mon) Beginning of an 8 day celebration for an 85 year old lady completing 100 oli or oli ayambal: 1 day complete fast (is only boiled water during the day, nothing after 6 pm) then 1 day ayambal then 1 day fast = 1 oli. The next oli is fast, 2 days ayambal, fast. One may do oli back to back or not. It usually takes 20 years to do 100 ayambal = this lady began 40 years ago. The 23rd will be the last day + the 24th will be the break-fast (parva).

This morning at 7am there was a lecture by Bhadranka Suri on stava (?) - that all creatures have eyes, nose, skin (senses?) but only man has mind - (Arvindbhai's wife trying to relate: she went). Then we went to witness the kumbh stambh and daily shanti puja.



- Tues 9 am Navane Prakar Tuja done by males only
- Wed 9 am Patta Tuja done by women only
- Thurs 8:30 am a celebration for people who have done 70 days of ayambal
- 2 pm Naspaji Tuja - women
- Fri 9 am - procession
- 7:30 am - wad dikha for Triamwada
- Sat 9:15 am Astostari Spatri Tuja or Ashotri Sndhi

We met 2 nephews of the lady: a younger brother who is a B.Sc. in Chemistry from here, then went to Texas A+M for a B.Sc. in Chem. Eng., worked in Houston for Shell, moved to Illinois to be near his brother, + worked for 6 years in Springfield for the Ill. Environmental Protection Agency. He quit 3 months ago, + came back here to get married: an arranged marriage brokered by a friend. The girl is a secretary from Calcutta - she came here to meet him - they've gone out a few times (they just met a few weeks ago) + will marry in March. We met her. He plans to open an outlet in Chicago for the family's perfume + incense factories (there are two run by his father + brothers employing some 300 persons - we saw one just around the corner, a motley crew of women + a few men wrapping incense, kids, men + women sitting around

a table wrapping perfume bottles. The MD brother just arrived from Chicago this morning. He claims not to like all these pujas, thinks they are a waste of time + money; has never been to the Jain Assoc. in Chicago (but is aware of them + could put us in touch). He's lived in the States 13 years has been back to visit 9 times or so. He'll be here for a month. This is the time of year they usually come - he can no longer stand the heat at other times.

We went over to the PANKAJ Society's Sambalnath temple, about 10-12 years old, supported by about 600 people in the society. There are two large elephants at the gate painted grey standing on pink lotuses. We went into the temple 1st + 10 and behold there was a group of nuns + we recognized Primvada who of course recognized us too, recognizable even from the back because her garment is marked with a red gantra. She seemed pleased to see us, and told us to come on Friday to her ~~at~~-wadi diksha (a kind of confirmation ceremony after a few days of instruction). The two murti (idols) on either side of Sambalnath were wearing silver crowns + ornaments; Sambalnath will be gradually adorned with some ornaments this afternoon + more in a couple of days. The six-armed Yakshini with 3 heads was to the left side, holding sword, conch shell, etc.; and Chakreshvari on the other side. (Sandlewood paste is made of sandalwood powder, saffron + borreal?).

Then we went to the hall next door where the ceremonies will be held. First we went to see the rangoli sand paintings (coloured marble, coloured) being done by Ramliklal Shah, an artist from Bombay (he charges Rs 1250 per painting). He had finished one painting of Akbar and the Jain muni Hira Suri, with a second monk holding a red feet bowl. To the left of Akbar are open cages with sparrows being released. The story is that Akbar used to eat 1/2 a kilo of sparrows' tongues (!) each day until he met Hira Suri. Akbar is shown with a farman decreeing that for 180 days of the year in India there should be no killing of animals. He was working on a second painting, with the giant Jaypayan above, the capital of Krsna-Dwarika (on the Gujarat seashore) below. It took about 40 hours (2 1/2 days) to complete the 1st painting. Ramliklal is an artist by profession + his daughter too runs an art school in Bombay.

Kumbh stambh ceremony [very much like a Ganesh stambh:].

The kumbh is a clay pot filled with some water + gold paper (warak) with a coconut covered in silver on top + garlanded with marigolds. It is to invoke good luck, and would be placed in a corner behind some steel cabinets

Two swastikas were 1st drawn on the ground in this corner. Then in front of the samavasarana the brahmin put some earth in the cupped palms of little girls (wearing hankerchiefs over their mouths), + they in turn poured the dirt into

see
Dāreś
Feb 22

□ = samavasarana

4 clay saucers into which already the brahmin had put a Betel nut, coin + paper(?); then in similar fashion the brahmin gave the girls a mixture of 7 grains to mix in the soil: wheat (gauri), rice (chauka), mung, chana, gohar (barley?), adad, and chora. The girls were then told to water it with milkwater, + then flick red kunkum over it, + finally sprinkle some rice with saffron on top.

Next a young woman placed the kumbh on her head, accompanied by her husband in puje clothes, followed by someone carrying a tray with ghee lamps, and the little girls carrying the 4 little gardens, all led by the brahmin banging on a gong — this procession circumambulated the samavasarana 3 times, and then went to place the items in the corner. The kumbh was placed on a pile of rice on the right-hand swastika, the 4 gardens were placed around it also on little piles of rice. The brahmin read from a book titled Santi Snatra Vidi Samacha + had the couple + girls throw rice on the kumbh. Then some clay was brought, placed on the left swastika + the dipak (ghee lamp) tray was placed on it — this will stay lit 24 hours for the whole 8 days. Sandalwood and rice were sprinkled. A nephew + wife of the 85 year old lady were the celebrants. The little girls next went outside to plant little gardens of corn in 4 poles with little baskets; these will be put at the 4 corners of a brick platform 25" x 25" on Saturday for the Ashvini Snatri: as long as the corn grows, it is a good omen.

Meanwhile another man in pujari clothes performed arti in front of the samavasarana, and then did the daily shanti puja which consists of blessing milk-water. A large bowl or pail is prepared with rice, sugar crystal, rose, Betel nut, a Rs 1 and 25 paise. The celebrant cups his palms + the pujari anoints it with sandalwood paste, then a little pitcher is put into his hands. Two people then pour milk-water from another pail with little pitchers into this pitcher + from it there should be an unbroken flow into the bowl. (The little pitchers are then drowned in the bowl. ^{taken to peoples homes to sprinkle on the doorways}) The thus prepared milk water is then used to sprinkle on people, or walls. The puja is to pray for peace on all creatures in the world. The milk-water = naman. The words of the puja are also recited during pratikrama — called brahat shanti (?), chaudadas (?).

They said they closed the family factories for these 8 days + gave the workers an 8 day paid holiday.

Early evening we stopped by Africa walla's with some copies of the diksha pictures. Brother Jitendra ("ditu") and his wife Komudini ("moonlight") welcomed us. They just got married this past 4 December after a "long" engagement of 9 months, an arranged marriage. They had to cut short their honeymoon to help with the diksha. As the only brother Jitendra was saddled with most of the work getting ~~the~~ vessels, shariyana etc, and after the event returning them all. Only delay was he able to go to work for the first time (he's a textile engineer with Saraspur Milk of the Lalbhai Group). Nitin Shah was also a help — a man of few words but much action — he sota who took diksha was a friend of Punima's.

Jitendra too talked a little of the emotional wrench the last week had been: no longer can they call her Punima, but must address her as maharaj or Pramwada ("sweet words"). Yes, they will go to her wedi diksha: we misunderstood, it won't be this Friday, that is of another new sadhvi; it hasn't yet been set, but will be in 20-40 days + will take place in the Hathisingh

read 3
namas karas

naman

temple: it is the final decision. The period between the diksha and wadi diksha is a kind of trial period: one can still back out; but after the wadi diksha the decision is supposed to be final.

Jitendra contracted Buddhism + Jainism as being the same (same 3-4 principles of ahimsa, satya (not telling lies), brahmacharya) with one difference: Jains believe in "toriture of the body" in order to control the self. By torturing one can control the senses + the mind.

He expressed considerable distaste or ambivalence: we (he + his wife) think differently from other people, we don't like diksha, all this torture of the self, + the public display of going to the temple. Oh yes he goes to the temple everyday, but for himself, quietly, not like most of these people who come ostentatiously in their puja clothes to show off how religious they are. He talked about how the family tried to dissuade Purima; the father offered even to settle 2-3 lakhs rupees in her name so she would not be dependant on him or her brothers if she wanted to live singly + devote herself to religion but stay with the family — she could live on the interest. She rejected this.

Since the diksha, his father has stopped watching TV and films which previously he used to do all the time. He had opposed the diksha, but now he is happy. Komudini took a vow at the time of the diksha to go to the temple every morning before breakfast. Jitendra took no vow — he did not want to saddle himself with anything he was not sure he could fulfill. (He did not know if his agnostic sister + husband took any vows, there hasn't been time to talk, but they are further from all this, being Vaisnava.)

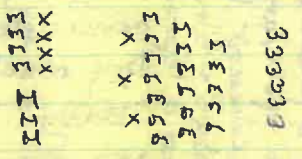
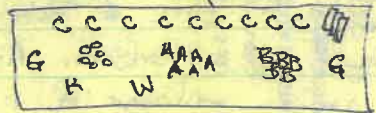
They moved here next to the temple because his mother was getting old, and being very religious she wanted to be able to go to a temple easily. It was in this environment that Purima became religious. Earlier when they lived in Ambivadi, she had been a "funny girl." She now had a new set of friends, + was drawn into the life of the sadhus + nuns who were always about. (In Ambivadi they had been a 13 member family + had 2 flats; now they are reduced to 4. Part of the thinking when they moved was to have a 3 bedroom flat — one for the parents, one for Jitendra, + one which after Purima would marry would be a guest room.)

The mother looked at the photos, did not seem to express much emotion, basically ignored us. She went off to do her evening pratikrama (one should do it 2x/day; if one does it in the uprashaya there is a fixed time, otherwise one can do it as one likes; there is a set prayer of confession — prayshit sutra —; if one doesn't do it daily then at least one should do it the 8 days of Taryushma.) Samayik is the 48 minute deal — one can read any of the scriptures.

Komudini described the ambay (not oils, spices) as "tasteless" and hard to put up with. In contrast to Jain fasts which are serious (nothing but boiled water), Vaisnava fasts mean only no wheat or rice dishes, but one can have fruits, sweets + milk. Nuns + monks do not bathe: to use minimum of water; if the sweat they merely wipe themselves with a clean cloth.

Letenda says at first they thought the diksha would run them Rs 50,000. Then the acharje outlined this 10 day affair, and they estimated Rs 1 lakh. In the event, it was double that. 800 people do lunch the final day, 400 boxes of sweets sent to members of the society, prabana (gifts of sugar, token amounts of money, agarpeti incense; Rs 10,000 varshidan - i.e. the coins thrown from the carriage).

19 Feb (Tue) Morning I went to the Navaro Prakar Puja at Pantraj Society. The table in front of the sarvasarana was set with 10 coconuts on betel leaf with sweet on top, sugar cane to the right; next row: green coconut on each end, with oranges, apples, chikus, bananas & sweets in between. A lamp was lighted next to the sarvasarana. The musicians who had played at the Shanti Sruti Puja were seated in a row to the left (harmonium-singer, tabla, drone - M) & 3 or 4 men were in that row with beck stands - including one who acted as director (M). Audience men sat opposite facing them, the 1st line also with beck stands (X). Some women sat behind them. There are 9 pujas to this ceremony: i.e. 9 songs. After each song, the "director" banged a gong, & 2 men who had been standing by the sarvasarana announced the little virthankara: the one with milk-water from a pitcher, the other with roses. (The 1st puja was initiated by a 3rd - a brahmin to get them started?) These two were rotated; they stood with handkerchiefs over their faces. After each unit, at the gong, a number of men would rise, bow to the virthankara and leave; others kept coming in - there were never less than 25-30 men. One of the older men said the 1st song/puja was about Shatrunjay & showed me a picture of Shatrunjay in the Book at that point. Why? - the member of the family who showed us around yesterday said he didn't know - should ~~not~~ be something decided by the writer of the puja. (The usage here of "puja" is similar to Arvindbhai's the other night: not the actions, but the composed verses of description.)



I went for a stroll to Masani Market - the wholesale cloth Bazaar: Kantibhai claims it is 80% Jain (both Marwari Jain & Gujarati Jain) - Jain & Patel. We stopped by his place in the evening & got him to promise to take us around on Thursday.

He says he spent 1 lakh rupees on the wedding (\$10,000) including everything - the lunch for 1200 at Rs 22/head (most weddings only spend Rs 15/head) i.e. c. Rs 25,000 rupees (\$2,500) just for the lunch. The bride got 4 sets of jewelry - 3 gold + 1 silver, worth about Rs 1 lakh. One gold set is given her by the groom's side at the time of engagement & 1 at the time of the marriage; the 3rd is given by her father at the time of the marriage. A set includes necklace, earrings, ring, nose piece. The silver set also included the rings and key chain (these are big fancy things which women here on their sari at the waist). One of the gold sets was nicely worked & set with diamonds, rubies and emeralds. Gold is valued in tolas at 11.5 grams per tola costing Rs 2500 per tola. The bride has 30-40 tolas (40 would be 1 lakh worth) - i.e. a set is roughly a tola. We were shown 3 of the sets; the 4th gold set is in a bank vault.

So Kantibhai spent half of what Africawalla spent on the diksha.

Siddhikatra pujas are frequently done, here in A'bad too, after deaths. There will be one nearby in about 2 months.

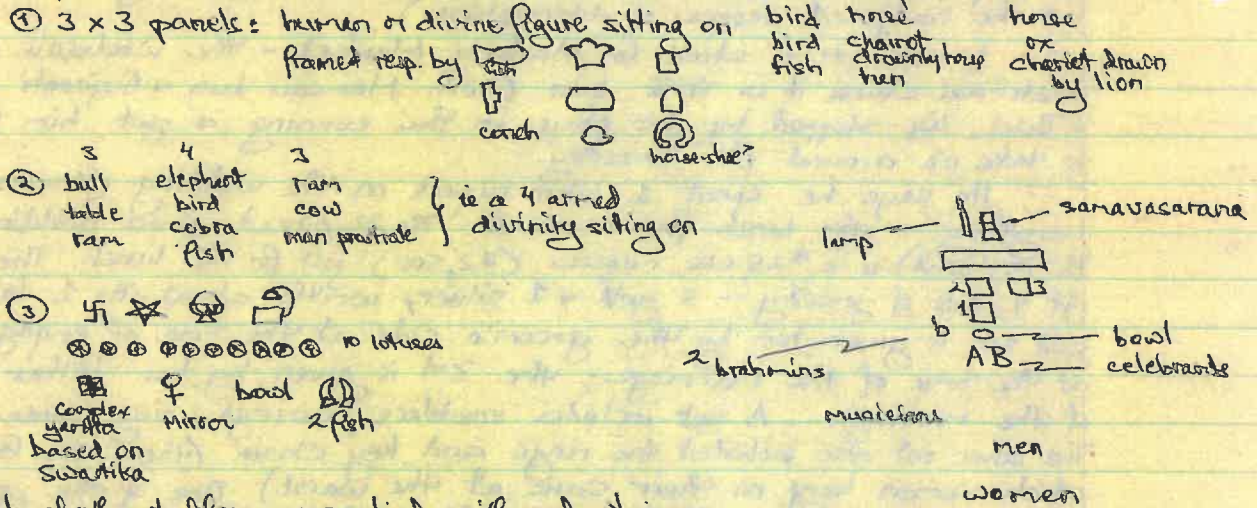
Kantibhai's wife will go to Shatrunjay for the "18 km" circumambulation. On Katri (Vaishk Suktij), the day Adiswar achieved nirvana is also the breakfast day for the Varasi tapa which is 13 months & 13 days of 1 day fast, next day 2 meals, next day fast, 2 meals, fast... The meals are

* The other foreigners were all French — the Sanskritist who runs the Alliance Française (+ gave an incredible 19th century French imperialist speech about the importance of defending a language, proudly saying a survey of scientists in 54 countries — 90% spoke/understood English, 70% French, 10% German, 60% Russian — + accused India of not having a coherent language policy — all would French literature + film from Africa, Switzerland + Belgium), the French Embassy's linguistic attaché, + French presidents have written books; there is a 2 French runs who run a leprosy hospital.

of any food, not just restricted kinds like the ayambel, but you eat on the ground + only eat what you want at one sitting (eg noon) + then again eg at eve (ie no snacking or getting up + sitting down again). On the break-fast day you take only sugar cane juice. Those who can break the fast at Talitana or Astorapur near Delhi (also associated with Adiswara).

Earlier in the evening we went to the Rotary Club (Main) — there are 6 Rotary Clubs in A'bad — the oldest + largest, with 143 members. Arvindbhai + his brother are members (Arvindbhai is in charge of catering the snack before the meeting). Kalienbhai, who conscripted us to be one of their foreign guests* for their International Day meeting did not show up. The current president is Yogendra "Bobby" Patel whose family sold off their 3 mills in the 1970s, now own Natraj Theater, + a variety of factories in other lines. ('Shelter' C.G. Road, Ellis Bude A'bad 350006 tel (res) 444 292, 445676; office Natraj Theater, Ashram Rd tel 409184, 409435). The program chairman was Subodh Chinubhai Shah, whose name tag said Salt Distributor (from the Ramon of Kutch) but whose business card says exporters of Indian arts + crafts (6 Mahavir Society, Paldi; cable: kumkum). He says an acharya is staying with him (?) who is not only learned but talks to devas (6)

20 Feb (Wed) Morning stopped by the Patla Puja. There was not much on the large red table in front of the samvasarana: a lamp, + box of sweets? (closed), a sweet + an orange on rice pile. Later some lighted incense. But in front of this were 3 small tables covered with metal relief work.



Each of the tables were tied with red string. The brahmin prepared the tables dabbing some sandlewood paste on each, some rice, and a rose on ① + ②. The assistant brahmin anointed the Parthankara. The celebrants (the doctor from Chicago's elder brother + his wife; there are 4 brothers, no sisters) then sat before the bowl and table ①.

Like yesterday, the Puja appeared to be organized into iterated units, each of which:

brahmin gives: A+B rice, points to the central panel of table ① + they sprinkle the rice on it; then with little wood sticks they go around the frame with sandlewood paste

mean while the brahmin is reading a blessing on the Parthaj Society, Sombal neth also mentioned (to whom the temple is dedicated)

A+B (lick kankun (sandlewood paste?) on it + put a rose + a triangularly folded red cloth on it; brahmin gives them a bunch of grapes to put on top; then a ball (popcorn, sweets?) + a leaf with betel nut (s?).

brahmin begins, A+B count worry beads
brahmin puts rice in their hands, + milk-water; they sprinkle this over the offering + dump the rest into the bowl (repeat 3x)
while brahmin rings gong

Next panel: upper right - repeat above procedure (incl same blessing on Panthaj Society, Sambalath); this time 2 "popcorn balls" + 2 betel nuts; this time during the song + after counting worry beads, the couple A+B put on marigold garlands; brahmin puts rose in bowl when begin rice, milk-water sequence at end.
3rd unit = 2nd panel on right [] . 4th unit = upper left, + 5th unit 2nd panel on left [] . Incense was lighted btw 3rd + 4th unit.

At this point I had to leave to go meet Subodh Shah. I was given Rs 1 prasad (as yesterday). Stopped by the temple on the way out: when I had come in in the morning the central Sambalath murti was all decked out in white over the silver ornaments; now the silver crown + shoulder pads were still there but his chest was bare + people were anointing him (they had been earlier too).

Subodh Shrinubhai Shah, the Rotarian from last night, looked much spiffier in white bush jacket + pearls on a cycle than last night in suit + tie. He took me to meet Acharya Subodh Sagar. First we went to Dharnidar Society's Sankeshwar Parsvarath temple (the new one Panthaj Vora too had taken us to) - it will celebrate its anniversary this Friday. Friday is an auspicious day: there will be many marriages; a new temple will be inaugurated at Tuk some 50 km. from here - his son-in-law from Miami (Janak Shah, importer of Indian textiles) + son from "Brazil" i.e. Paraguay have come for this.
The left side chapel outside - the archer figure of Kantakra Mahavir: he is (his temple is) in Mahoudi [nr Meheara]; he was king of Ladakh; he is the deva with whom Acharya Suri is in constant touch. Subodh Sagar is 63; walks 40 km a day, so fast you can't keep up. He is the disciple of Bhuda Sagar who wrote a Karma Yoga (when Tilak wrote his Karma Yoga he prefaced it saying had he known Bhuda Sagar had written one, he wouldn't have.) Subodh Sagar has said he will build no more temples or uprashayas (he had the Dharnidar one built), + will devote himself instead to spending money to help feed people (without 2 meals a day, people cannot be expected to do dharma), + create dispensaries. (He has sadna - communication with devs.) Subodh Sagar was staying in a house vacated for him - there being no uprashaya here, next door to the mother of Janak Shah (Subodh Shah's son-in-law). He blessed me with sandlewood + advised me to see Kalais Sagar (whom he claimed speaks English). Janak Sagar came up. His father in law says he has a room in his house in Miami with idols. He apparently came back exhausted from Sankeshwar yesterday; put off going to Talitana today. Then Atmar Sutaria + his wife came up to be blessed (gave his wife Rs 10 to put in the tray for the blessing (as a donation in exchange). Then Sutaria, Janak Shah + we retired to the house - they engaged in a conversation about business both secular + religious (mainly in Gujarati). I told Sutaria I wanted to talk to him about the Maskati + New Cloth Markets. He's also the king pin in running the Panjragol. We talked briefly + agreed I'd come to his office in New Cloth Mkt (after noons 3-6); arranged it through nephew Kallianbhai.

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is

see over ref. Sagar + Bhuda Sagar

is

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see over
re: Sagar
& Bhuda Sagar

He says the perijapal has 3000 animals, that it started because farmers did not want to send their old animals to the slaughter house. New Cloth Market was land his father had ~~to~~ intended to build on — had bought it before WW II. He fulfilled his father's ambition. The father was Pres. of Market Market for 20 years, he himself for 12 years but they changed the rules & you can't serve more than 6 years, so he had to let someone else do it in-between. But now he's stepped trying to be President tho he's still very involved.

As we left Subodh C. Shah said Subodh Sagar has decided not to take any medicine or fruits any more (esp dry fruit) — because the body has no value. I tried to ask if there was a general Jain problem with say antibiotics (kill germs) or birth control — but didn't get a proper response (most of course have no need of birth control, & for birth it is a new subject, so there wouldn't be old rules.)

Bhuda Sagar he said is a descendant of Kartika Mahavir (1).

Raymond Farmer commented on the student agitations against the new increase in reserved places for scheduled castes — they set a couple of buses on fire, took an oath at the Gandhi statue not to take exams. Elections are coming up for the state, & Solanki (himself a low Kshatriya or darara kshatriya ३.१.२१) is partly appealing to the majority of voters who are scheduled caste. Raymond says 80% of the population is — Only 20% are upper caste or savarna (२.१.३१): these now include Patels who once were shudras; and Sikhs now are also saying they are not to be counted among the scheduled castes — they are above reservations. The problem is that now there is a real squeeze on places especially for engineering & medicine. Once there were not enough scheduled caste folk claiming the allotted seats, but now there are, with the result that a scheduled caste person who scores 55 on the entrance exam gets in, while an upper caste person must score 75 or better. He says the term Harijan (originally coined by the 14th cent. saint Narsi Mehta, who tried but failed to abolish caste distinctions in worship — tho he himself was a Nagar Brahmin) includes shudras as well as untouchables or asprushya २.१.२१. Patels rose to wealth after the British declared land to the cultivator. Darara Kshetriya are counted among the scheduled castes. (Hitendra Desai, a Jain, was chief minister of Gujarat; Moraji Desai is Brahmin) The reservations have been raised from 33-49% (it is 68% in Tamil Nadu & Karnataka; 58% in MP, Kerala, Punjab, J+K; Bihar 48%; Nagaland & Arunachal P. 45%; Andhra Pradesh 42%).

Evening dinner at Africawalla's. Jitu, 24, says there is a section of Jain scriptures only palmistry that only munis are allowed to study & so they can tell your future. He says it is in the Kalpa Sutra, which is read during Pargushan. [Don't think so: Kalpa Sutra has the lives of several tirthankaras.] Aren't all the scriptures translated? Well the translations may not be accurate & it doesn't do any good if not accurate. Badraka Suri can tell the future.

Africawalla was delighted with the pictures we gave them + wants more. they sent their rolls to the States + won't get them back for a while. He began in business as an insurance agent. In 1948 he went to Uganda - his father had been there since 1933, in turn had followed his sister whose husband (?) had a papaya plantation - the kind of papaya from which a medical extract - pepin - is made (was shipped to the States). It was difficult to get visa, but his father got him a visa as a primary school teacher they needed teachers. So he did that for 5 years (doing insurance on the side) till he got a permanent resident visa. Because he was in insurance he knew of many cars that were damaged + he got into the auto repair, 2nd hand auto trade. Then he got a dealers ship for Pugsots (20s), + later for Fiat. Independence was 1960, he left in 1962; the business continued until 1972 when the Asians were thrown out - his brother ran it till then. Now Asians are being invited back, but people have found better things to do - most went to the UK, some to the States, a few came back to India. He returned to Bombay where he was a partner in a small factory. His father developed career + wanted to be in A'bad. So he shifted to A'Bad, still doing insurance, started a small restaurant (now sold out to his partner - he had been the financial partner as in the factory in Bombay), a travel agency, a corp. with the Lakkia brothers (Bhambhani a caste of mixed Brahmins + Khatris - tend to be very well educated, doctor lawyers, etc.) - 5 businesses in the Building across from the British Library. His main business now is transporting trucks - he has contracts to deliver Tata truck chassis from Jamshedpur to Jaipur, to Bhopal, to here, etc. They are driven as chassis with wooden seats (not put on carriers as in the States). There are 800 truck drivers in Jamshedpur, organized into a union with fixed rates. [Guess he essentially acts as a broker.] Has a contract with the Gujarat government who buy 1000 vehicles a year from Tata + Leyland.

Priamvada's wadi-diksha will be on 11 March in Taldi. Bhadrakand was married before he took diksha at age 27 (had been wealthy too) - both his wife + daughter took diksha (both have since died): the daughter was the guru of Priamvada's guru. (Bhadrakand is now 82; this guru is 52). Bhadrakand's sister's daughter's son took diksha at age 9 + travels with him.

He is going to Mehoudi on Friday evening + will take us with him. The shrine of Rantaka Mahavir (the archer). Sure he knew Subodh Sage he was supposed to come to the diksha but was ill + sent his 2nd Vikram instead. Re. not taking antibiotics - yes they prefer ayurvedic medicines. For similar reasons Jaines don't eat cake (has yeast) or cheese (stomach lining of cow as starter #). He goes to Mehoudi once a month.

He showed us pictures of himself in Africa - always wore 3 piece suits until the last 3 or four years; + of the family - Purima used to wear black frame glasses: now she's got contacts; + of the gynecologist-dentist's marriage. That marriage like all his children's marriages were arranged marriages - the child had choice, but not complete freedom, parents too involved - none were love marriages; all the marriages were outside his traditional marriage circle of 27 villages (Porwals around Mehsara - includes Betapur which once had 500 Jain families). The dentist was/i Vaishnava; Jitu is married to a Visa Srimali from Kathiawad side. He gave us a copy of the old register of families




of this 27 village circle living in A'bad — there are 1200 in A'bad, 250-300 in Bombay, 120 in the US. Of the 1200 there are 100 who need financial help + he tries to broker it, appealing to their richer relatives, + to the community.

He showed us a little shrine in his Bedroom (a wardrobe little door, marked with a pattern of holes in ~~it~~ — a series of pictures of the murti from the temple next door; the Kantake Mahavir; ~~the~~ Ambaji; since the diksha (?). Says he's stopped coloring his hair

Afterwards we stopped by Zubeida + Baechubhai Desai's. Baechubhai specializes in problems of the digestive tract (liver, intestines, pancreas, stomach, etc) — he gets many sadhvis as patients with everything from diarrhea to ulcers, hypertension, diabetes; they drink the water everywhere etc, but they won't touch a piece of paper he's touching — throw it at him. Claims there are many rumors about of sexual hanky-panky among monks + sadhvis. Zubeida's mahallah in Ankesvar was across from a Jain one, so she had many Jain friends; still dies — she was ill a few years ago, + I made her promise to go to Kantake Mahavir when she got well — you buy a sweet (ghee + jaggery), the maharaj takes a bit + the rest you may eat or distribute — you're not to take it home with you (that's Bad luck).

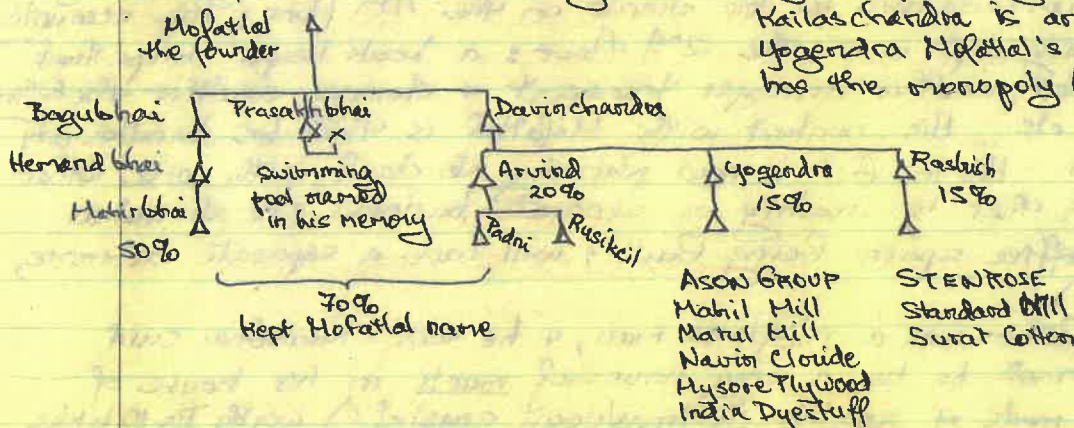
Item in newspaper: Maruti imbibes Japanese work culture. Suzuki-Indian coop: 8hr shift with physical exercises (no co. song yet); slogans galore on walls urging "zero defect"; workers + executives all wear same light grey uniform + have a common staff canteen, ^{clean factory}; are 30+ Japanese personnel. Assembled 1st car in Dec 1983; last year produced 10,000 cars; 6000 in last 2 months; vans intro last Oct. Plans to exceed target 20,000 cars this year. Capacity is to be 1 lakh units at end of 5 yrs — depends on local component suppliers: 24% is supposed to be Indian by 1985-86; 70% by 1989.

21 Feb (Thurs). No puja today at Pantaj Society, instead Bhadrakand Suri was giving a lecture to a packed house — many sadhvis as well. Some preparations for tomorrow. Upstairs 3 wrapped packages on the stand, + the bricks had been formed into a square with mud surfacing . A couple of little rice puja remains ^{on} ~~the~~ stand. The 3rd tangori (pearl sand painting) is finished + Bhadrakand Suri being touched with a rod or lightning by his guru from the heavens above: Siddhi Suri. In the temple today there was a white wall decoration behind the murti. A man, also from Bombay, is doing an elaborate decoration on the silver ornament for the murti's a clay-paste base is made with chandan (sandalwood) powder, + then colored glass beads set in silver can be pressed on this base to make an elaborate pattern. The man has a set of these silver-glass "gems" worth Rs 1 1/2 lakhs. He is 50 and does this now as a hobby — his regular business is repairing air conditioners (Ashok Electricals, Mahavir Jain Vidyalaya Bldg No 5, 48-A August Kranti Marg [Gowalia Tank Road] Ground Floor Room 1, Bombay 400-036). Though he says he doesn't charge for his time — it's his hobby, he enjoys it — it costs the sponsor Rs 1500 each day. A new one is prepared each day. The clay costs Rs 50/kg + about 4 kg are needed; then a silver tinsel is used to fill in the spaces between the gems — that's Rs 250/50 grams. So one day is sponsored for the wadi diksha + 1 for (150?)

the 100 day ayambili (= 5500 days if done in sequence). Menai is mixed with the sandal wood + water, or you can use a gun.

Afternoon: Kanti Bhai took us to the New Cloth market + the Masbati market area. NEW CLOTH MKT. We first visited Kailaschandra Hirabai Strab, the mother's brother of Susmar (Raja's new bride), who with his brother Kumar, and his sister's son (Susmar's brother) is an agent for 2 of the mills (Mahil + Matul?) of the Asan Group (owned by Yogendra Mofattal). Kailaschandra's father who died a couple of months ago, aged 97, started the business 75 years ago; he had been a pedlar, as had his friend Mofattal. No you don't need capital to start a factory - more important is your credit, your social relations in the market: people see how you behave, + on that basis they will lend you capital or give you credit.

Kailaschandra is an exclusive agent for Yogendra Mofattal's group of mills; he has the monopoly for the south (Karnataka, Kerala, Tamilnadu, Andhra P.)



There is a monopoly channels the group appoints an agent for each region. That agent earns a commission of about 7% (7 1/2% on fancy cloth; 8 1/2% on printed cloth) to wholesale. Kailaschandra says he ~~has~~ moves Rs 50 lakhs of goods a month (does Rs 7 crores of business a year). He in turn selects semi-wholesalers in the south, say 3 in Bangalore or Karnataka. (Wholesalers deal in hundreds of bales; semi-wholesalers sell a few bales lots to retailers). These semi-wholesalers also work on fixed commission of 8 1/2%. Then the retailers add 15%. So the whole mark-up is 30-35%. Kailaschandra's business is thus assured; his problem is to keep the flow moving. Occasionally when demand is down a wholesaler may discount prices, just to keep stocks moving; but he tries not to do this because then customers will always ask for discounts. The fixed commission rate must absorb all his costs. What he does instead is to travel + persuade his clients to accept more cloth - he + his brother travel 3-4 times a year to all their agents in any case to keep up the personal contact, to see how they are doing (are they building a new house, a temple), and through personal contact clients will place bigger orders than over the phone or by letter. Again for the same reason he needs to travel + not just send an underling. The market has been slow for 3 months (Kanti Bhai says it is now picked up - because it is the marriage season + in the north Holi is coming up). Part of the business is knowing seasonal demand patterns (in Kerala, Onam season; the harvest celebration generates high demand; in Tamilnadu Pongal season; in Andhra Pradesh Desseru); now the new school season demand will begin (ie the old year is ending).

The above is one channel for moving goods. There is a second one, via Pedhiwallas or Artiaart. These are local financiers of buyers who

8 1/2 plus tax

called "indenting agent" (?)

come from "up country" (i.e. elsewhere): the Buyers are not persons known to the wholesaler, but the artiaat or pedhiwalla is. The wholesaler makes out his Bill to the artiaat, + the latter makes out his Bill to the buyer. After 45 days, financing charges run 18%.

Occasionally in Bad markets, Kailaschandra may seek permission from the mill to sell to local buyers in A'bad where normally he is not supposed to sell. In Bad market periods, there are all kinds of malpractices.

He bought his 4 story shop in 1965 for Rs 35,000; today it is worth Rs 20 lakhs. He has done considerable remodeling. He has accommodations for his clients on the 4th floor; the accounting + book keeping dept is on the 2nd floor: a book keeper keeps track of cloth orders, another arranges transport + storage, another the Billing + receipts, etc. His contract with Mahafal is that he handles only their cloth. He in fact is now planning to deal with some other mills + for that is creating a separate business (he showed us the new office space being built; will have a separate entrance, name etc.).

His father was a religious man, + he too. Kantibhai said + he confirmed he has a very unusual marti in his house of Neminath, made of spatik (a translucent crystal?) worth Rs 10 lakhs. He lives in Taldi near Kantibhai - we must come see.

The Mahajan collects 15 paise on each Rs 1000 of sales (called lage) which it uses not only for the panipapol, but also to help poor people, medical care, + education. He gave the example of employees who only earn Rs 400-500/mo + find it ~~hard~~ hard to raise a family on that: the Mahajan may help them with food supplies etc. (As we left the market, Kantibhai pointed out the Maskati Market dispensary on the corner of the entrance - open to all, he said. At the old Maskati Market he pointed out a free library + reading room.) Many people of course don't pay the full amount they should (he claims he does because he's religious + believes in the cause) [Mahajan fee to join is Rs 1800 according to Kantibhai's elder brother's son.]

We next visited Arvindbhai Kalyanbhai Brothers (shop # 148) who deal in piece goods + damaged goods from Ankur Mills (sister mill to Arvind, is recently bought by the Lalbhai Group); they have a 2nd shop in Sakar Bazaar (near Kantibhai's shop) that deals in the same for Arvind Mills. The business here is slightly different from the "press" goods that Kailaschandra deals in. Again they take the whole output of the mill of this category of cloth (i.e. it is a monopoly on the supply side), but they sell to anyone (not regionally or otherwise limited), mainly through the Pedhiwalla system. (Indeed while we were there, a man from the south came with a Pedhiwalla - both quite young.) Piece goods are sold by the kilogram + are cheaper than press goods: if the latter would sell at Rs 20, pieces sell at 18; smaller 1 meter pieces sell at Rs 16, and very small pieces ("raqs") at 12. This is one of Kantibhai's

regular suppliers. (Kantibhai says Lalbhai, Mofattal + Vimal are the 3 names for reliable quality - Vimal's Reliance Mill puts out the finest stuff).

49 We next went to Suren + Co. (shop # 296), one of two agents for Nutan Mill (also Lalbhai)'s piece goods. If one pays cash one gets a bit of a discount - 4% discount if one pays within 7 days, 2% if within 37 days; for payment beyond 37 days the finance charge is 18%. (Siraf, money-lending rates are normally 18% - Kantibhai has a friend who gives him money at 15%.)


50 We took a rickshaw from the New Cloth Market (founded in 1965 by Bogilal Chotulal Sutaria, whose bust is up in the market) to Panjkura Gate (kura = well), where we stopped by an Arun Mill wholesaler; he was at Dhokha(?) for a temple installation tomorrow. Most of the shops in this area are semi-wholesalers. We walked through the Sindhi bazaar (semi-wholesale) - refugees from Pakistan in 1948; we had come past another Sindhi Bazaar (retail) by the Gate. Then across Relief Road to the Jamari Market (also semi-wholesale). And to the Sakar Bazaar (wholesale) off which is the large old Maskati Market. Kantibhai has a semi-wholesale shop just past it in the Bank of Baroda building along Sakar Bazaar (his elder brother's son is the accountant here; Anilbhai is carrying the ropes here). He says he does Rs 1 crore worth of business here a year. He sells mainly to ready-made garment manufacturers (of which he also is one). He is President of the newly re-formed Mahajan of the ready-made garment manufacturers (410 members) - it was started 12 years ago, badly run + fell apart; 4 years ago it was reconstituted under his presidency. (Membership fee is Rs 500, + Rs 100 per year; they meet in the shop of a member who has a large space; since they are new they have no ancillary services yet.) There are 2 kinds of ready-made manufacturers - those who use piece goods - this is his Mahajan; + those who produce higher priced garments from press goods - Mangaldas' ready-made factory presumably is the latter. While there is one overarching Mahajan for wholesalers; semi-wholesalers are divided into several mahajans: Panjkura, Sindhi, Rattanpol, etc. One of the important functions of the Maskati Mahajan is arbitration of disputes, + if an outsider fails to pay, circulars are issued to all members not to trade with this person. The ready-made garments mfd mahajan also does this. At the entrance of Kantibhai's shop (as at other shops) hangs a lemon + chillies (a new one is put up each week on Saturday) - why lemon + chillies Kantibhai does not know, but it is supposed to attract customers.

51 We went across the street to an Arun + New Cotton Mills agent; he was away as well.

Raymond Parvaz: shah from shahukar 266 562 meaning a shroff. Last Hindu King of Gujarat was Kurar 573 surnamed Vegila 412 66 (a Rajput surname) but usually called just "gila" 466 "mad" because under him the Muslims came.

Dinner at Harsh Mangaldas'. Cousin Shayam Shodhan came to help check the genealogy with 2 relatives. Says the textile mill elite was only 20-25 families. The old caste of the Shodhan + Mangaldas' consisted of only 150 families + so there are many multiple linkages. This is the Visa Porwal Neshri Banya caste.

22 Feb (Fri). 7:30 am wadi diksha ceremony at Tankaj Society. Three sadhvis stood by the samvasarana, hands folded with broom and face cloths to their lips, while acarya Bhadrakant chanted. Around the base of the samvasarana were 4 lamps + coconuts + a tray of rice. The tirthankara was covered with a cloth + the 3 turned to Badranta directly - still open book, occasionally reading but seeming to chant from memory. They sit + then stand. The tirthankara is uncovered, Badranta puts on his glasses, his book is open, + the one tall sadhvi with hair recites being the samvasarana. All 3 are blessed with sandalwood + circumambulate the samvasarana 3 times bowing at ea of 4 sides, sweeping before them, sitting briefly in between; audience throws rice at them. Mearhib harmonium plays + single singer - audience joins in the refrain. Tirthankara is covered, the 3 girls bow to the guru, stand + recite to him + sit. A 4th sadhvi on the other side was made (by Badranta) to repeatedly stand + bow down to the ground (my neighbor claimed she was ill + this was to help her). Then reading again Badranta reconfirmed their new names. Finally the relatives of the diksha girls (from Bombay) rose + when to be blessed + to give clothing bows + wool to Badranta. (My neighbor said he would refuse most - some were distributed to the sadhvis.) Everyone was tilak + given a Re 1 coin by a man who went around with trays in paja clothes. Susann was told that 2 of the new sadhvis were sisters; the 3rd - the tall one with long hair - she, her husband + 2 sons all took diksha, a year ago. Africawala + Nitin Shah confirmed this - said three years ago they were ignorant, but heard Badranta speak, + were sparked. The husband + sons (aged 9 + 11 at time of diksha) are at the moment in Duraghar (?).

A breakfast followed, and then a procession for the agambili woman. This was a parade parallel in form to the diksha parade. It was led by little boys dressed as rajee on horses, the first beating a drum (there were 5 horses); then 3 cars decorated with garlands, a horse drawn carriage with children; 3 more cars; 3 more horse drawn carriages with children; a jeep with silver ornaments; a chariot with 4 silver horses mounted on a jeep; the munis and men; the band; the chariot with the dd lady throwing money (a young woman told Susann, that to catch such a coin would ensure you no money problems + not losing the money you have); then the 2 oxen drawing the samvasarana with a little gold/brass munis held by Springfield's fiancee; and he was sitting on the front in paja clothes w/ handkerchief over his nose, holding a pitcher + pouring milk/water. 3 men marched along side - one with pail of milk/water, one with incense, + one with a gang; then the nuns followed by the women (with Amindbhai's Chicago daughter carrying the mangal-divo lantern ). The carriage with the dd lady had a large portrait of Sidhi Suri (Badranta's guru); he died in Virar (a

Bombay suburb + there is a statue of him there.

Ramlal Shah (the rangoli artist) address: "Joyt" [Bungalow],
Irda Bridge, S.V. Road, Valabarla, Bombay 56 - tel: 46: 572310.

Met a young man who stays in a hostel in Taldi + invited me to
come see: Paresch M. Shah (from Saurashtra), Shree ~~Shree~~ Mahavir Jain
Vidyalyaya, Taldi, chabr-rasta Room No. 31. (There are about 125 students,
60 or so from Saurashtra - most are engineering + medical students).
The place will be closed for a month now because of the student agitations
+ he is going home.

Afternoon at 12:39 there was a puja at Dharnidar Society for Ganta Karna
Mahavir; and at 2:00 a Padmaavarti Puja. Today is the 4th anniversary of the
temple (to Sarkeehar Parsvarath), the 44th anniversary of Subodh Sagar's diksha,
and Subodh Sagar's 63rd birthday.

The puja to Ganta Karna Mahavir (the archer) was set up in front
of his chapel: a triangular 4 stepped fire altar, white, with a red string
around it. Subodh Sagar sat with his disciples in front of the men; Janak Shah
(Subodh C. Shah's son in law; President of Mahudi International,
the textile import firm to the US in Miami - supplies some big
chain like Sease or Tenny's - does \$8 million worth of
business according to his uncle, S.K. Dhall) was the
sponsor of the puja: he went into the chapel at a couple
of points to put a rose on it (?), otherwise sat + watched at x.
was in puja clothes

Two other guys in puja clothes seemed to be in the chapel through out placing roses
on the god in the spaces carved by the bow + arrow + his arm. The ritual
leader (a Jain, not a Brahmin) initially did a kind of touching of stomach,
chest, forehead, top of head + back several times standing + chanting. This
lasted maybe 5 minutes. Then came a long section in which he sat before
the fire, and chanted an invocation in part to gani. Long period of silence,
except for a gong every 10-15 seconds, at which three guys would feed
the fire with dung patties + sandalwood chips (?); ghee mixed with spices
(baked ghee) with a long-handled wood ladle from a bucket; pieces of
something black with silver paper on top (an incense? - they said it was
a secret formula of 64 items - the name was not to be declared); and
naman (milk-water) from a little pitcher. This lasted a good 15 minutes.

Then a rapid gonging, + ladling in ghee from the bucket in quantity. Then
there was an arti - a guy in street clothes was given the chanter's top
cloth + wrapped it around his neck + right shoulder, waved oil lamp on
chale before the fire + the god, while the guy in the chapel rang the
bell, + ~~the~~ A chanted. A green coconut with silver paper + a 2nd fruit
on the tray were brought + placed before the fire. And red strings were
handed out. These red strings tied around the wrist were really fought
over, especially by the women, but the men too were insistent + demanding.
People got up + went for darshan. he came just for this puja

I talked with a couple of older men, esp. S.K. Dhall from Bombay (uncle
to Janak Shah + part of that import-export business: Bombay telephone:
8228964 residence; office: 271 037, or 275 354). He says Janak Shah has
a shrine in Miami, a room, to Ganta Karna Mahavir where he burns a
light always; he came just to sponsor this puja. Dhall was one of the
3 men feeding the fire. Another man explained that normally such a
fire is lighted on an altar for Ganta Karna Mahavir only once a year,
the day before Diwali (Kali-chodas). They took me around back + showed



from a
tali-tray

naman
contains
saffron
(Kaisar)?

me the man making the decorations for the murti of Sankarvar
Parasvanath. He too was using the sandalwood clay to stick on
glittery stuff. He'd been working since 6 am without food.

ગ્રી = ૧૨ ગુગર (ghee mixed with spices + sugar?)

If we are going to Mahudi, 10 km away is Vijaypur + 7 km further
is Aglar: the latter is the shrine to Nani Bhadravar; the former
has many shrines: to Ganta Karna Mahavir, to Padmavati Mataji,
to Saraswati Mataji, etc. - all sponsored by Subodh Sagar.

A puja mainly for women to Padmavati Deva followed at 2 -
there were about 10 men (30 or so more around the other side
where they couldn't see), + 150-200 women. The two guys who
led the puja dressed in bright red dhoti + top cloth. This was a
fairly dull affair. A series of women were let into the chapel to
put roses, later sweets, candles + fruit around the idol. (Handkerchiefs
over their faces) + there were 2 guys in white dhoti who stage-
managed. The red-clad leader (A) invoked Padmavati Devi; both
A+B led mantra chants repeated by the audience beginning with the
namaskar. Gong; guy in white puja clothes (C) sprinkles raam (milk-water)
on everyone + ~~the~~ santal sandalwood powder on a saucer of coals.
A does a chant of "ram, rim, rum, rah" touching his stomach, chest,
forehead, top of head; and back down. Stands + throws water in
different directions to the words "chan, chin, chun, chunag, chaha". Gong.
Then sits "Raam" + a chant with hands on top of his head; rim: hands at
eyes; rum - chest (some invocation to rakes); rom - stomach...
Has a white puja chd guy take a rose into Padmavati. Puts a
tikka on himself. Then there seemed to be a series of rituals:
women sang a song, women enter chapel to do a puja with the
roses, sweets, lamps, fruit, A chants a repetitive mantra keeping
count by shifting an almond from one thali to another (27 I think).
Red strings were handed out. (I left after an hour)

A bride + groom arrived still tied together - white cloth around
him tied to her sari to do dachan of the murti.

Evening with Africawalla + a friend (retiree from state govt) trip to Mahudi (૫૬૬૧)
+ the Shri Ganthakana Mahavir (૨૧ ૬૨૬૫૬ ૫૬૬૬૬ ૬૬) Devi shrine.

Budi Sagar, a Patel, prayed to Ganthakana Mahavir, a yaksha (= raksha) to
come to earth + help people. He had a vision of him + the yaksha said
he would but on condition that he would not do anything opposed to
Jain philosophy. (So altho all sort of people believe in + come to this
shrine, it is essentially a Jain place). What this means also is that
one comes here with only 2 requests: peace of mind + health. The yaksha
doesn't give money, or children, or other material things (though of
course many people do come with the wrong idea. Africawalla says
he's been coming here for 40 years before there were roads (by railway,
+ then walking or catching a horse cart). He comes once a month.
This time he's coming because he made a vow that if all went
well with the diksha he would come.

We arrived just in time for the auction (bolli) of evening honors +
he took 2 of them (for Rs 100 and Rs 250). They are calculated in
maunds at Rs 2.50/maund, i.e. 40 maund = Rs 100. The auction was

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at the Jain temple: a man sat at a box with microphone, 3 musicians at his side, one of whom acted as scribe writing down the successful Bidders: name, from where, address, room number here. The auctioneer sang & played the flute in between as well. In one corner of the temple portico is the room where Budi Sagar meditated & saw his vision: Africawalla supplied the marble for the walls. Budi Sagar then described his vision of the yaksha as an artist who drew it & then carved it in stone — this image now is in the shrine at the other side of the temple — a separate structure. A third Building houses a statue of Budi Sagar in full beard & hair, & above his head in a canopy of 3 stone, painted wood, is a Tirthankara. We did arti 1st in the temple (9th Tirthankara), then at a Tirthankara in the gallery behind (with 2 gura figures on each side of the doorway), then at Budi Sagar's shrine (Africawalla was careful to say the arti was not to the gura but to the Tirthankara above his head), and finally at Santakara Mahavira. The last was the longest, most bell ringing, & a mechanical drumming machine. Afterwards, Africawalla went down on hands & knees for a long count. (He says whenever he's upset, he comes here, prays for peace of mind; by the time he gets back to A'bad, he's figured out a solution to his problem: i.e. Santakara Mahavira gives but the seed of an idea.) Various pictures of Budi Sagar are on the walls, also his chela (disciple) Kirti Sagar (whom Africawalla himself heard preach before he died), and Kirti Sagar's chelas: Kailas Sagar & Subodh Sagar (pictures of them as young men with full heads of hair & beards) & Padma Sagar. There is a bell tower attached to the Santakara Mahavira shrine: when Budi Sagar was dying at Vijaypur, people offered to bring him here; he declined & said when he died, the bell on the tower would ring (and so it did).

Priamvada — in the morning he went to see her & so didn't follow the procession. (He also saw her briefly coming out of the uprashaya.) She did not come to the wadi diksha because she is in menses. During menses (said the dentist bitterly) sadhvis just sit in a corner, are untouchable, don't go out for food (it is brought to them). They don't walk to new places at such times.

She was originally going to join a different samadaya but her guru there had a stroke, & she decided if she stayed with that group she would have to spend all her time serving this sadhvi-guru & would have no time to study for her self. So she switched to Badratendra's group. The earlier group is also Tappa gaccha but a different samadaya. That 1st group is the one the 2 brahmin girls (sisters from a poor family) who used to sweep the Devkanandan uprashaya joined — they listened to the guras, were impressed & joined. (Their young brother will probably follow suit.) The sangh paid for that diksha — voluntary contributions were taken; they probably spent about Rs 30,000, is a smaller affair < Triamvades.

Africawalle is planning to create a trust for Priamvada's needs: her's, then her group's, then other sadhvis. i.e. he, his son, her HB, etc. will be trustees. They will let the guru know there is money if there is need for medicines, books, etc. No trust deed will mention her name — she cannot have money — but she has a long life ahead of her & this way he can support her. He gave her a shawl worth Rs 2000 (fine Kashmir wool) — there is a shop in the pols (near Calico Dome, Relief Rd) which sells shawls for sadhvis & sadhvis at cost, shawls of all qualities. It is of course not exclusively her's — anyone in the group may use it.

at the aptmt
before we
left

in the
car

at the aptmt

Akbar called Hira Vijayji to Delhi because of a woman who fasted for 125 days. Akbar said he didn't believe it: she said, put me in a room + test me, I'll continue the fast. He did, she did. He asked where she got the strength. She said: from our guru, Hira Vijayji. So Akbar called him from Cambay to Delhi. At first the muni refused + the lay community was suspicious of an invitation from a Muslim king. When a 2nd invitation was issued, a deputy was sent to find out Akbar's intentions. Finally Hira Vijayji went to Delhi. There a red carpet was rolled out for him, but he refused to step on it. Why? There are insects beneath it. No there aren't, we just laid it out yesterday. Look. They did + saw insects.

Manukbhai Shah, A'bad mill owner (A'bad Spinning?) had no son, vowed if he got a son, he would go to Talitara. He got a son; when the son was 5 (many parents take their children around this age to Talitara) he sponsored 30,000 people to walk from A'bad to Talitara. Africawalla's grandmother was one of these. Sponsoring meant providing kitchens + water along the way: breakfast each day, lunch at 4 pm. This was about 50 years ago.

Be hell (narka). Srenik (1st King to follow Mahavir - Buddhists call him D-), because he killed people he went to hell; but for his good deeds he will be reborn as a tirthankara. Similarly the great Hemachandra Suri aided the King of Tatan in trying to crush the Hindu religion; for this he went to narka, + for his good deeds then to devalok, the 14th compartment (the best); but there in a heaven, he will have to be reborn as a human being before he can gain moksha. Only from a human state can one gain moksha: people often don't realize how lucky they are to be born human, + waste their short life. Great thing to be born human.

Money-lending can be helpful or exploitative. Jain teaching is to be helpful, never to hurt anyone (= ahimsa).

Kailas Sagar was from a Rajput, i.e. Kshatriya, family. He's from Rajasthan. (? sic - I couldn't get any further what they meant by Rajput or Kshatriya). Harikash Suri, a muni of long ago, was a Harijan. They were trying to say Jainism is not the religion only of Harijas or rich people.

Matapuri was the original name of Mehudi - the old town was nearby, a somewhat different site.

On the day before Diwali, a fire (chavan?) is built here before Santharans Mahavir. Janak Shah (pres. of Mehudi Internet) comes here frequently.

We stayed in the 3 story dhansala that has recently been built forming one side of the courtyard. It has a library where one can read Badi Sagar's "108" books as well as others, + buy a few items. There is a dining hall, both rooms with solar panel heating + a respectable older dharma on the other side.

23 Feb (Sat). In the morning we walked through the village — many buffalo — a 3 story new milk cooperative building. We did a little puja before Santakama Mahavir with a lamp, flowers, + coconut + sukhi (jaggery, wheat + ghee). Sukhi you buy in amounts of Rs 2 to whatever. Africawalla spent Rs 101 (the amounts were Rs 5, 11.25, 21, 25...). You eat what you like + the rest must be shared in the temple compound. Africawalla claimed that Bodi Sagar intended this rule as a way of helping the poor people of the village; today they have the milk cooperative (their tobacco, cotton, groundnuts, etc fields look very good — small fields but healthy plants, not as widely spaced as in the Sankeshwar side) + are relatively better off. (Sukhi says there are stories of a couple of people who tried to sneak the poad out, but their ears would not start until they took the poad back into the compound. Also if you climb the tower + ring the bell, your wish will come true; a relative of Sukhi's having trouble having children did this, + a son was born on Mahavir's Birthday.) The silver work around the asher image has guys holding dusters (+ the pujari waved such a duster while we did the lamp puja), lions, angels, also some magic squares (or mantra codes). Africawalla says 200 people from the village find employment at the shrine — on Saturdays + Sundays they feed 2000 people, + indeed as we left buses started to arrive.

Africawalla said the geography we learn in school is different from that in the Jain texts. And started the clichéd line about "but we baily don't know; the munis have such deep knowledge..." So I a bit prematurely said — there's a difference between geography + cosmology. He accepted this. So I recovered letting him speak by asking, when children go to school are they confused between what they learn in geography + what Jainism teaches. Yes he said quickly, and I too am confused. His friend then jumped in with: Science is proving so many things in the scriptures that previously we didn't think could possibly be true e.g. that there really was life in plants; modern civilization has separated us from inner knowledge + insight about the world + nature. Even something like television — in the scriptures that Mahavir could see things in another cosmos.

Shanti Suri — a muni who used to stay at Abu (now deceased; Africawalla's auntie still saw him) had developed his powers to such an extent that natural enemies of the animal kingdom would sit peacefully together near him — dogs + cats, lions + tigers.

Nakod2 Parsvanath in Rajasthan — is also a vira, like Santakama Mahavir, + the shrine there functions similarly to this one.

On the way to VIJAYPUR. Africawalla: this is good tobacco land; Golden Tobacco Co. has an office here (used to be called Chahr Minar 4 minarets — owned by Vazir Sultan, the royal family of Hyderabad). Also fields of castor oil (tall leafy stalks), wheat (about a foot high now, dense + green), cotton, garlic (white flowers, like large crab grass), linseed. A number of ceramic factories (pipes + bricks) — good clay in the area around Pilvai.

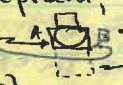
VIJAYPUR is a new, rapidly developing shrine. On the place where Bodi Sagar was cremated is now a nice shrine: his figure is inside (a woman was seated on the floor in front praying) + around the walls are scenes from his life: ① his mother giving him birth in VS 1930 [1873]: his father was Sivdas Patel; his mother Ambarben; ② a serpent hanging from a branch over his cradle protects him; and his parents pray to Ambaji. (Fem. fig on tiger);

③ a scene of him as a boy beating some Buffaloes, + Rai Sagar (to become his guru) stopping him ④ 2 scenes of the growing boy studying with different - non sadhu - teachers; ⑤ the young man in debate with a potest, Muslims looking on; ⑥ sadana (meditation); ⑦ yatra (going on pilgrimages); ⑧ the meditation scene where he has visions of Gantakara Mahavira and of Mani Bhadra; ⑨ the meditation in a cave of Mt Girnar where he is blessed by Saraswati (given knowledge); ⑩ His diksha procession, ⑪ his diksha ceremony: receiving the broom from his guru, with the samevasarana; ⑫ as a muni preaching ⑬ and writing; and ⑭ agam-vajana ("reading the agams") done each day in the upashaya 2-4 pm: read out a passage, + ask the disciples to interpret the meaning; symposium; ⑮ preaching to people of all religions; musicians accompanying - singing bhajans; ⑯ portraits of his disciples Kirti Sagar + Ajit Sagar, and their disciples Subodh Sagar (of Kirti) and Uaikirti Sagar (took diksha at age 11); ⑰ with the Gaekwad of Baroda + others including Gandhi listening (this area of Mehsana district belonged to Baroda); ⑱ at Mahudi; ⑲ at verge of death (samaji ?); ⑳ funeral - being carried in sitting position on a palanquin by dains; ㉑ on funeral pyre - still in this sitting position. [we actually had seen photos of such a funeral procession at Dewkimesandan Jain Temple, - the father of Padima Surri, the 1st, curly haired, monk we met there, his father]

funeral forms

Funerary anniversary/obituary pujas: can do a siddhichakra, but this is an expensive puja, c. Rs 2000 for the puja, plus gifts that are given out (sweets, or coconuts at Rs 4/ea); less expensive is a tribaran. Africawalla sponsored a siddhichakra puja to celebrate the conclusion of an 8 day fast by his wife 4 years ago. ~~done in the village~~ Purima did an 8 day fast 1 year ago. His wife also did a 45 day updan (alternate 1 meal a day, with 1 day fast; otherwise live like a monk or nun) in the village Randheja [done by several people under guidance of a guru]. A person will come to the guru + say I have Rs 50,000 what shall I do with it + the guru will suggest sponsoring an updan. Africawalla says the siddhichakra puja involves worshipping the 9 planets.

Anumodana (inspiring someone to do good by paying for them) is a punya (virtue, merit). In talking about the funeral anniversary or memorial pujas (I had asked about doing a siddhichakra on such an occasion), Africawalla was concerned to say that Jainism was not just a religion for the rich. One can do less expensive pujas; one also need have no money at all. There are always people willing to pay for whatever one wants to do: they will thereby earn some punya too. Eg all those who supported Purima's diksha earn some of the punya; not as much as she, but still coparticipate in it. The purpose of the procession was not just celebration but to inspire people. [There is a service notion here built into all the questions, lavish puja displays, building temples, supplying dharmshalas + food, organizing + paying for yatras, etc.]

A new temple is being built at Vijaypur - Subodh Sagar raised Rs 6 million through an auction 3 years ago; the temple was started 10 years ago. The main murthi is called mul nayak. Usually at the entrance is the goddess protecting this particular deity. Here the tirthankara is Parsvanath; the devi would be Padmavarti. In the last 30 or 50 years, these goddesses have tended to be moved outside the main temple to an attached chapel. Here beneath Parsvanath there is a frieze of 7 figures carved on the marble base: Ganesh, lion, elephant, Padmavarti, elephant, lion, Padmavarti. There are 2 guru statues at the entrance : Gautham Swami (with halo + seated on a lotus (A) and Kirti Sagar (B), Subodh Sagar's guru (Subodh Sagar being the "builder"). There is one of these electric drumming machines here too. The pujaris, says Africawelle's pensioner friend, are Nayak or Bhogak by caste, i.e. cross-marriage between Brahmin + Barya (parallel to the Nagar Brahmins who are crosses between Arab Muslims and Brahmins). They were wearing pink + yellow.

Picture at entrance to Budhi Sagar mausoleum is a painting of an elephant shaking a tree; a man is hanging from a branch by his hands, + a few drops of honey from a honey comb drop into his mouth; beneath him is a pool with serpents. Interpretation by Africawelle + friends: life is short, + man is not aware of the future; he struggles for a drop of honey unaware the elephant is about to topple the tree + he will be devoured by serpents. This life is but one in a series.

Between the "mausoleum" and the temple is a shrine to Padmavarti. Around the wall are pictures of all the goddesses who protect the different tirthankaras, each riding an animal vehicle: Rohani Devi on the Bull, Pragnapati Devi on a peacock, Vrajshukla on a lotus, Brajksnu Devi on elephant, Amrapriya on a man-faced bird, Prushdata on Bull, Keli Devi on lotus... From the picture of the devi you can identify the tirthankara. Two are most important, most frequent: Chakreshwari (who goes with the 1st tirthankara) + Padmavarti (who goes with Parsvanath). The statues in front are Padmavarti in the middle, Lakshmi to the left, and Saraswati to the right.

On the other side of the temple is a shrine to Goshtakane Mahavir. There are 18 shrines now to this yakea: the original one at Mahudi - it is growing + spreading.

This will be a nice shrine compound - already nice trees - dharmasala + feeding place are around the side.

We went on to AGHOD + the shrine to MANI BHADRA. There are 3 parts of Mani Bhadra placed in 3 different shrines: the head (a snouted face) is at Ujjain; the mid-section is at Magarvada near Patanpur; and the lower section here. Anantan is the munni looking after this place. It is 400 years old, painted green + yellow, little Hindu sadhus (with hair in Hindu style) around the outside top. Next door is a smaller little chapel with tirthankaras. Mani Bhadra rides a 7 yoked elephant; himself has 6 arms holding cobra, coconut, nail... Outside the compound are small Hanuman + Shiva shrines. Plans are underway to build a

new temple (architect is B.M. Sompura, 1213 Sampura Society, Vasana, A'bad 7): the main murti will be Shree Vasudhaja Swami. It will be carved here over a year or two; the sculptor will be instructed to wear puja dress & to work only when he is in a good frame of mind so that the image will be invested with good & his best. No point in having a meat-eater (Muslims in Jaipur carve images) just knock out an image; anyone may carve an image (Muslim, Hindu etc) but the result will be better if the carver is in the spirit. Rs 75 lakhs also will be spent on miniature models of all the pilgrimage sites. There are photos up here of Ramachandra Suri (the old muni currently at Felitane) & his guru Prem Suri. (Padma - the curly haired muni we met at Devkaranden is a disciple of Ramachandra.)

Kshama (forgive & forget) - Basic principle of ahimsa.

In May, the hottest time, there's a monk who sleeps in the sun on a stainless steel sheet naked: an offering of the body to nature for ultimate concentration of the mind - a form of kaushya.

mise: Sampati Maharaj, King of Ujjain, 1200 years ago, took a vow to begin building a new temple each day before having breakfast (ie by the foundation stone): he is responsible for temples all over India.

Sanand (on road to Viramgham, 24 km from A'bad) 14 idols were recovered from the ground. At Serica (near Kalol, Mehsana Rd fr A'bad) an idol was found in a well - two villages fought over it: solution let the ox-cart pick the direction. (A Saralhai - but not Ambedkar's family - involved)

Usa (Mehsana Dist.) is the center of Isabgol, a seed grown only here, a protein used in medicines, also increases potency of semen (viria), also cleans the stomach; is a crores of rupees business, some 500 shops here

On the way back we drove by ^P Betapur, once 500 Jain families - now only a handful - is a temple. (PC says it once was known for block printing) and several other of the 27 villages in Africawalla's marriage circle: Unava (where his mother was born), etc. And quickly through Gandhinagar (pop 30,000), begun 1965: we went past the still unfinished legislative assembly buildings. The place is very spread out, divided into 4 sectors (a bit like Brasilia). Much water on pretty flowers along boulevards & circles w/o buildings.

Barel tree - used as tooth brush, good feed for animals, grows all around. (Lajamari - a plant "shy" at Taranga Hill which collapses when you touch it; rises again later.)

Shanti Sakti sotra (prayer) done each morning; puja form is more elaborate: verses are repeated several times

Sola Vidyapith - chaired by Moraji Desai

Chandodia suburb - where Africawalla's daughter has her maternity home - she has a financial partner (split income 50-50)

Milk trucks (stainless steel, insulated) cost Rs 6 lakhs - Africawalla delivers them.

open factory
at Aglod

(Unjha?)

24 Feb (Sun): item in the newspaper: Digambaras by foundation stone of new temple (Rs 20 lakhs) in Gandhinagar in presence of acaryas Sudharm Sagar + Bharat Sagar. They also have a march and file a brief in Gujarat High Court to stop the Kanji Swami group from installing a statue of K.S. as 25th tirthankara at Songadh (Bhavnagar dist.) in a ceremony beginning today + ending 27 Feb. The idea came from a dream of one Champaben that he would be a tirthankara in several thousand years. Nirmal Kumar Shethri (Pres, Shree Bharat Varshhiya Digambar Jain Mahasabha). - Times of India, p. 22

We went to a flower + vegetable show at Sanskar Koodar (to promote growing of vegetables), + to the miniature museum there (badly lit, bare minimum labelling). Then walked across the bridge to the wholesale vegetable bazaar, + down to the river to see the cloth dyers washing cloth in the Sabarmati turning parts of its little channels red + black + purple. Then over to the Ellis bridge bank flea market - some animals (goats, chickens, roosters, birds), kitchen ware, metal vessels, old parts + tools, clothing, etc.

Afternoon + evening with Rupa + Vijay. Did her genealogy. Her family is Desa Porwad Baria, + Vallabhacarya Vaishnava. This sect has relatively few temples: in A'bad, there is one in the suburb of Naroda where he spent a few days; in the city he gave a pravachar at Asarva + his seat is there; a third little shrine is near Shahibag, near the Civil Hospital (Rupa's mother goes to this one every day). In the city is the residence of the dharma gurus who are the hereditary descendants. Her father's family has a Shiv-ling which seems to be some 400 years old; they do a puja with it every morning, and when people go away from the house, they have a neighbor come in to do the puja for them. At the time they sold the Shahibag Bungalow after Rupa's father's death, there was a debate: how could they sell the bungalow, the Shiv-ling had to be worshipped there + not be moved; but youngsters argued if the grandfather could move it from the city to Shahibag, there was no reason not to move it again. [4 cardinal pilgrimage pts of India: Dwarka in Gujarat in the West, Ramaswaram in the South, Bhadrinath in the north, + Jagorath Puri in the East in Orissa.]

25 Feb (Mon) - General strike today against the new reservation quota. The state has closed all colleges + this is being challenged in the high court tomorrow.

Item in newspaper about the bird hospital at Red Fort: established in 1926 by Acharya Shanti Sagar Maharaj, it has a capacity of 6500 birds - there are currently 3000 permanent residents (disabled birds) + fit ones who like the regular feed. They receive 20-25 birds daily in winter, + 120-150 in summer, says Surendra Chopra, the full-time vet there. (A British tourist, Arthur Davis, brought an injured pigeon ^{the day}; Mahesh Chand, a 9 year old, brought a pigeon he saved from a cat - he's brought 6 birds previously: a crow, 4 pigeons, + a parrot. He says in the summer birds get injured by fans (esp sparrows + pigeons) + rich folk (bade log) throw them out their windows. He's the son of a laborer, bare footed + scantily clad.) Times of India p3

Afternoon visit to Amira Ameen - she took us to faculty tea of the Linguistics + English Depts. One friendly English prof suggested looking at the Swami Narayan sect (go to the temple in Shahibag where there are educated sadhus, rather than the one in the city) for a group almost as successful in business as Jains. They have a written code Shikshak Patria for practical life including such rules as even exchanges between father + son should be recorded. Shikshak means teacher, but also corrective punishment. There's a local saying, "never trust a banya, + squint at a Swami Narayan." As to Vallabhacarya Vaishnavas, sure some banyas are successful, but many

followers of this sect are not businessmen; moreover there is no philosophical code encouraging sacrifice as there is in Jainism - sacrifice for profit of course. Jainism are more pleasure oriented.

The other end of the table seemed to have considerable anti-Jain feeling, saying from they always talk about ahimsa, but they don't care about the violence/hurt they do to others through business; and they appear to be simple, dress simply etc, but they are not; to a real slur: that at the village Pansar on the Mesara road near Kabi, there is a temple where they had cots full of bugs that they paid poor people to sleep on, thereby claiming a 3-fold profit: the bugs get fed (kindness to bugs), people get paid (for letting themselves be eaten), and Jains earn purva. One of these profs claimed to have personally seen this in 1957; a second now vaguely confirmed that this was Jain practice. The former called Jain "peculiar"; the latter cruel, + cited as well as repulsive their pulling out of their own hair (monks are not supposed to use a Barber).

26 Feb (Tues). Morning saw Ramesh Stroff at Vidyapith. He explains about the reservation agitations. I.P. Desai (sociologist at Surat who died 26 Jan) was on the Rajy Panch (commission which produced a report on govt policy 14 months ago) told him that the report proposes changing the basis of reservation (of places in colleges, etc) from one of caste to one of income - this is something Ramesh had been urging. Gujarat has 6% Harijans + 14% tribals (only Harijans are called scheduled caste - contra Raymond's opinion); but various caste have been added onto the list of Backward classes or castes. One group at the time of the original list had risen out of the untouchables but claimed Backward status to get aide. The list has been revised every 10 years + more caste have been added. The percentage of reserved seats parallels the population of caste on the list. The change to an income basis rather than a caste-group basis is long overdue, but difficult to implement because politicians fear losing votes. Why the Gujarat Govt has not published the Rajy Report is unclear + is a contributory cause of the ill-informed agitation by the students. (Vidyapith was unaffected by the hath yesterday.)

Amongst them in the paper: 5 students on a fast against the reservation policy have been removed to the hospital because of deteriorating condition after days. Amongst only in the context of these long Jain fasts we've been hearing about - makes it seem these kids simply don't know how to fast.

Ran into Ken Folkert: he + Tom had a very productive 8 days in Ved. Wedding scheduled for the 15th was shifted to the 22nd because the groom refused + ran away to Bombay. Mansuthbhai came into A'bad + quickly arranged for a 2nd groom! This time Ken + Tom were guests of the wife's side + could be catered too here: the men of the wife's side play servant to the groom's side + are very busy. Ken was drafted into cutting vegetables along with everyone else the night before.

Last Sun was Shivratri - Shaivite celebration of bharg + hash. Last Sat or midnight there under the stars

Evening at Ken + Tom's with Harish. From the list of where Jamnath + Sadhu spent Chaturmas this year, there seem to be roughly 1500 monks + 3000 nuns. (Kalisagar is listed with 17 monks.) Temple where I saw the fire ceremony (22 Feb) is Dharanendra - Sankethar Parsvarath - Padmavarti Temple: Dharanendra is the male yaksha (Harish uses term sahayak) of Parsvarath. Dinesh told the story that when Parsvarath was 13, a magician was burning some wood + Parsvarath told him to stop because there were 2 snakes in the wood + they shouldn't be hurt - these 2 were Padmavarti + Dharanendra [Hence the 2 serpentine forms around Parsvarath images: tops are human male + lion, bottoms are intertwined snakes.] By repeating jap (wooly beads) mantras to Padmavarti while doing tapes one can get the power to do anything (fly etc.).

Possession + exorcism. Bu'a = exorciser. Bu'a is god possessed. Are many around. A relative was cured by one here at the Sabarmati. There is one who lives in Tatan + works in Mehsana in the bank that is used by nuns. Story of a pretty Jain nun who began to have fits of laughing + crying + cursing (would lock herself in a room when she felt it coming on), she would break into singing Hindi songs. She was taken to the Bu'a who determined that one Kapil, a Muslim boy, had desired her, + had then been suddenly killed in an accident. (Ghosts - baat - are created when someone dies with unfulfilled desires) The bu'a also determined that this Kapil had been having an affair with 2 married women, a Jain + a mali (gardener) woman. He said these two should come, put their hands on the nun's head + bless her. The mali agreed; the Jain refused on the grounds a shrawak may not touch a nun. Bu'a then had the mali do it twice. Ghosts, baat, created by unfulfilled desire, also by suicide: if one's span of life is supposed to be say 50 years + at age 15 one commits suicide, one still must stay in this world for other 35 years. Jealousy (evil eye) can also cause possession (najar lagri - baying sight): to remove - thali, bowl, dung patty, water chalice, fire; turn bowl with chalice upside down on thali, if it sticks then najar lagri is confirmed; then recite mantras (no naming of possible culprit). Vargu chalis = possession (also cling to, palm off cheap goods are deriv. words)

Kinship: Harish + Dinesh seem not to know or use term gotra. Instead use varsh (• ci 26) do all who are related to same ancestor (male). Harish's family has a purvaj (y 2 ci 8) an ancestral symbol in a little gokla or areo (alcove, cabinet) before which they light a divas (oil lamp) each night, and when there is a marriage say the couple comes + vanden (bow) to it + break a coconut. The family name is Kainesh (?) from the village of that name - they came to Ved 100 years ago. There is no purvaj in that village; only 1 in Ved: it can't be moved from this house. After 20-30 years the purvaj may be thrown into a prayag (where two rivers join) raj (eg Allahabad: Jumna + Ganges); one fast at this time + the brahmin does some vidi (ceremony). Annually on Hartik Sud Pasam, 3 brahmins cook some lady, put a cloth + coconut in the gokla + perform a vidi.

Dinesh's father is Bachubhai, the guy with the big mustache + dark glasses + black cap, whom Tom calls a darbar (a Gujarati Rajput).

Feb 27 (Wed). AMBAI temple in Jamnagar being expanded (Rs 2 crores, 4 year proj): income of this famous temple is c Rs 80 lakhs, are 180 staff; the Shri Ambaji Seva Trust runs a hospital at cost of Rs 10 lakhs. (Times of India p 5)

Feb 28 (Thurs) Figures re. reservation quotas. Cert. Cut: 30% of total seats in engineering + med to be open competition for students coming from other states. Still unclear but likely that the 49% of reservations are to be computed from the other 70%. Past few years - quotas in med + engineering have not been used by the beneficiaries; no. of claimants declining 675 seats in med + 208 (31%) reserved for scheduled castes (7% - 47 seats), scheduled tribes (14% - 94 seats) + soc + ec backward communities (10% - 67 seats); last yr 118 seats

in reserved category went unclaimed & were given to open category.
Engineering: 2249 seats: 31% reserved = 696; social & backward communities took up 91 of their 225 reserved seats 1983-84, + 138 last yr; scheduled tribes filled 77 seats in 83-84, + 101 this year; scheduled castes 148 seats filled last year, 157 this yr. (i.e. increasing taking up of seats by SEBC + ST) i.e. 14% of reserved seats in med & 18% in engineering last yr → open merit list.
-Indian Express, p. 1

Afternoon went to find Sutarra at New Cloth Mkt (B II) & invited us along to see the Pariprapol on Sunday — he says Masthat Mkt Habrajan (does not incl Parichkura) raises 2 lakhs (Rs 200,000)/year for the pariprapol. Other charities (library, dispensary) have separate trusts. From the levy raised 60% goes to the pariprapol, 40% to other. Re history of the Habrajan go see the secretary, Mr Dave (E4) tel 351637. The pariprapol near Azad Society is being rebuilt into shops — temple will support the pariprapol. The administrative offices of the pariprapol are still in Katarapol as in a kind of refuge.

Evening took some pictures to Affricawalla. He showed us his including some things at the diksha we had not seen: like a marriage (marriage to God) Purnima's mother puts a tilak on her, garlands her, gives her a coconut. Purnima prays at a shrine put up on the living room table. F & M bless her. She rides a Maruti the 1/2 Block to the temple, goes in for darshan, comes out & steps into the silver chariot. (The morning before she put special gold ornaments on the virthenkara — her last puja.) The snati puja the afternoon before ended with* the run off naman (milk-water) in a pail being poured through small pitchers into a silver kumbha (bowl); a green wrapped & rose decorated cone put is put on top, + Purnima carried it on her head to her father's house, some one preceding with a gong; a lamp was lit by it — 4-5 hours. In the procession, her MBW carried the chab (basket) with her new clothes (just as in a marriage she would carry the saree). (*A arti with 108 flames instead of the usual 5 flames; then the last arti is with 1 flame — called mangal dhar.) On the chariot with the virthenkara — the F, then B in front; B wife on the side with the duster; MB pours naman before the virthenkara.

Priamvada's guru's name is Subhoday Shriji, is the disciple (cheli) of Acharya Bhandrakar Suri's daughter. Bhandrakar, now 83, took diksha 55 years ago. He had been a wealthy grain speculator from a place north of Mehsana. When he decided to take diksha, his family was opposed; he left them & for two years he served someone else in business. Then the family gave permission. His wife + daughter also took diksha. His sister's son lives in the society here, and his son in Bhandrakar's chela.

The group Priamvada originally planned to join was under Kalapurn Suri, a contemporary & colleague of Ramchandra Suri — they both were in one place together for Shaturmas in Albad this past year. We met the father of the 2 Brahmin girls who took diksha.

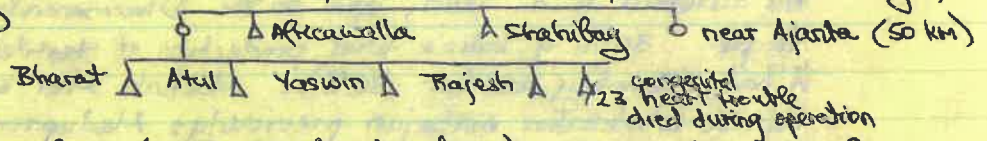
Bhandrakar Suri likes to go for food to non-Jain houses because Jain houses will have prepared something special for him.

The silver flag carriage in the diksha procession is called an Indra tjata. People would tell him that in the period before the

diksha when Purnima went to the temple, her prayer was so intense, often with tears in her eyes, that they would be tempted to watch her face rather than the idol. At lunch 1000 people were served, plus he sent food for 300 to the school for blind boys (he had originally invited them to come, but the school said that would be difficult logistically). He planned honored guests with his shawl. The women who served food were from Dyoti Singh (an organization which helps widows, & other women - painting, sewing, sewing, etc - got Rs 15 each plus food)

This Sunday at Hathising Temple, a woman aged 35-37 is celebrating 500 ambela (8 am). Will be a siddhichakra puja in the afternoon.

He took us to his sister's house (her husband is dead) who has 4 sons & 1 daughter. A son, Yaswin, is getting married on the 9th to a girl who works in the State Bank of India (her father also is dead). The 4 brothers have 3 factories making wood Bobbins for textile mills, each factory has 30-35 employees (There are 40 such factories in A'bad; others in Bhavnagar, Bulsar, & Navsari.)



Africawalla's mother (lives with the daughter?), Champaben, has become "Digambara" Kanji Swami, under the influence of a Gadhwa cousin. She confirmed that Dig. don't think women can achieve salvation; Milna, the tirthankara, Svetambar's say was female, Dig. say was female in the life prior to becoming a tirthankara. Africawalla's mother does not believe in this idea that Kanji Swami will be a 25th tirthankara. Champaben, the woman disciple of Kanji Swami who dreamt this, has lost status in the eyes of many since she made this claim. Her sister, Santaben, is here for the pratishtna (installation) ceremonies of the new Kanji Swami temple near HL Commerce College. (to be on 12 Mar.) A 10 day preparatory series of ceremonies are being done near Naorangpura Bus Stand 8-11 am + 2:30-5:30 pm Tomorrow is the 3rd to last day. Africawalla says Digambaras don't do puja to their idols (ie appoint them in 9 places) & are like Surt name, 1 step elevated, don't need that initial step. Shaktis don't need idols/temples at all.

1 Mar (Fri) PANIKAPOLE at Tajpur-Changodhar village, 20 km fr A'bad, under Manek Chawk Trust has a 600 cows. Bio-gas plant being installed by Gujarat Energy Devel Agency, a subsidiary of the Union Min of Sci & Technol., to meet fuel req of the 43-house village plus a 10 horse power generator for irrigation. Two wells will be ready by March - cow dung w/ slurry in the larger (8:20 m diam + 4.40 m deep), human excreta w cow dung in smaller (7.10 m diam + 4.10 m deep), latter to be filled by 10 latrines connect. by pipe. Steel holder (4.5 tonnes) with lid for stirring - 2 peo to be employed to move rod. Pipe lines to ea house. Six other pits to prod. manure. 240 tonnes of cow dung to be fermented for 40 days to get it started; then 7.5 tonnes to be added daily: 600 cows expected to contrib 4.5 tonnes of dung/day; human 3 tonnes. This Rs 3 lakhs project aided by the Cent. Govt. is the 1st biogas plant in A'bad district [? - Navabhai's]. GEDA plans 5 more in the state: Nandipier (Mehsana), Aslali + Daskoi in A'bad, Jernani Muvada in Sebar Kanth, Pi in Kaira. (Ind Express p 7)

6th Jan Lit. Conf. held at Vallabh Vidyanagar, hosted by Khambat Taluka Sarvajanic Kelavni Mandal as part of its silver jubilee. Eshan Bhardar in Khambat to be visited in connection.

Morning went to check out this Kanji Swami set of ceremonies - turns out the installation is this Sunday. Each day since 24 Feb they've had a program, & part of it is an event in the life of the tirthankara: a cradle was of do one side.

This morning was his diksha. The idols are white - 2 standing, 1 seated - have curly hair. The standing ones are draped in white cloth. Only on the last day is the "god" born as a "god".

Went to locate the Maskati Market Mahajan office. Noticed that Sakar Bazaar road is just lined with cars - these merchants are not doing badly! Also noticed the clean Moti Mahal Hotel facilities seem to be connected to a very clean interior mosque.

Plaque on Maskati Market gate: "This Maskati Cloth Market was built by Bai Nantallabhai widow of Sheth Abdul Tyet Esmail Maskati & was declared open on the 24th day of April 1906 by Mr Robert Muirhead Kennedy ICS Commissioner Netherer Division. A Wajp in respect thereof was made in the year 1911 AD."

Afternoon returned to Maskati Market to meet the Secretary, Mr Dave (E4), tel 351637, a 70 year old Brahmin who has been Secretary for the past 33 years (since 1952); his son works as a pollution expert for the state & has just been sent to Newcastle Univ. for more training. His assistant is a Jain, goes to the Dharmendra-Sankeshwar Parsvanath temple. 30% of India's total production of textiles is distributed through A'bad (Bombay another 30%). Maskati Mkt began in 1906. There had been a wholesaler mahajan previously: Madupara Mercantile Assoc. The Parichkura mahajan is different - initially sold only British goods, & are semi-wholesalers; they remain a separate organization till today. Maskati Market began with 100 members or so. Today there are about 2000 members plus 1000 associate members, a new category. Full members pay Rs 1800 as an initial fee; Rs 18 each year as dues; and the mahajan lagar: for each Rs 1 lakh of turnover one pays Rs 12.50, or for each 1 crore Rs 1250. This goes to support the paripadal (60% of it), health & education. Associate Members do not pay the lagar, but only a membership fee of Rs 125-150 a year (ie the membership is renewed each year) - this category was created for those who didn't want to pay the lagar. The 60% of the lagar which goes to the paripadal is now about Rs 2 lakhs a year; it used to be Rs 3 lakhs - the reduction is due to the institution of the new Assoc. category. The Mahajan's membership is not down because of the crisis in mill cloth because it also handles power loom cloth (today 70% of total cloth production in India). The 40% of the lagar goes to VS Hospital, Civil Hospital, 8-10% goes for scholarships (priority to members & employees, but then others too: applications are received), about Rs 1 lakh goes for ed. The dispensary & the library are run under separate trusts set up from the Mahajan's capital (Mahajan capital from membership fees is Rs 9-10 lakhs). Various charities are supported: monthly applications are entertained from paripadals, calamities (contributions usually made through the Gujarat Relief Committee), even personal applications for cancer treatment, etc. (c. 2-5,000 Rs). The Mahajan reconstructed a whole village 12 years ago - Sahol in Broach District.

In 1939 the Mahajan purchased land for a New Cloth Mkt & it was built in 1962. This was the 1st market established on a corporate society form: 300 shops were allocated to members &

another 300 shops were rented to other members. The market cost Rs 60 lakhs to build; a shop costing Rs 40,000 then today is worth Rs 15 lakhs.

Mashtati Mkt is still owned by Mashtati Charitable Trust (with main office in Surat + Bombay). The Manager's Office - a large space - still only pays Rs 1 rent. [Mashtati family now operates from Singapore says PC]

The market originally began exporting grey cloth to Japan for processing and reimporting the finished cloth; then Manchester cloth came into the market; + then indigenous cloth.

Panchkua Mahajan has about 800-1000 members

Officers. Dave says originally the market was dominated by Jains, this is no longer true - they no longer are a majority yet officers continue mainly to be Jain, which he attributes to long service + concern for the Mkt as a social organization, vs newer members who are primarily concerned with their own gains.

Presidents

1906-08	Sheth Mashtati	Ebataria
1908-32	Maneklal Premchand	Jain
1932-53	Bhagilal Sutaria	Jain
1953-62	Chandulal Bhikhabhai Satia (broader woodker)	Jain
1962-68	Ataram B. Sutaria	Jain
1968-73	Hiralal Bhagwati (but thinks as a Jain)	Vaisnava
1973-79	Ataram B. Sutaria	Jain
1979-82	Hiralal Bhagwati	Vaisnava
1982-84	Geraish Patel (but follows Jain sect) Mill Owner (Prasad) + broker young # 44 New Cloth Mkt	Vaisnava

VP

Tritanlal Masuktan	Jain	} under Sutaria
Dabhbhai Premchand	Jain	
Ratilal M. Kaparia	Jain	
Amalal R. Chokshi (pakha Vaisnava)	Vaisnava	
Katcharabhai Nathisingh	Jain	
B.R. Patel (F of G.B. Patel)	Vaisnava	(under Bhagwati)
Rasiklal Modi	Jain	(today)

General Secretary

1924-1952	Rametal Jaini	28 yrs
1952-present	Daveh (Brahmin)	33 yrs

Hon. Secty

Haribhai V. Kaparia	Jain
Chandulal B. Satia	Jain
Hiralal Bhagwati	Vaisnava
Kelantabhai Shah	Jain
Rametal V. Shah	Jain
R.C. Modi	Jain
C. H. Bhatia	Vaisnava

- was really the chief executive, a close friend of Sardar Patel, Maulanagar, et al many meetings held in Mahajan's office

The Mahajan was the 1st Assoc to raise the national flag. The British Collector called + demanded it be pulled down. B.C. Sutaria replied: don't worry, some people got too excited, I'll have it pulled down. And to the Mahajan he said: don't worry, I'll keep it up.

1947 British imposed a quota system on cloth - was handled by the Mahajan, coordinated by Rametal Jaini; ie the free market closed. All went smoothly: war licensing sys.

During swadeshi movement there were of course conflicts over selling or cloth - again people would say no we won't sell, but cont. selling.

Jains are risk takers, farsighted, resourceful, and they also have a streak of selflessness: they will part with money more easily than others for charitable causes. Patels are enthusiastic and take on too much risk - are over riskers. Vaisnavas are less enthusiastic, take less risk - are under riskers.

Marwaris stick together: more than Jains or others they hire their own, give business to their own. (Jains like to hire Brahmins to run their administration - he said laughing: he is Brahmin. And Brahmins, of course, are not risk-takers, not businessmen).

Marwaris have been coming into the market the past 10-15 years, with capital made during the war. [PC later: Marwari in Surat are typically: calls in a weaver + asks, can you copy your cloth? - yes, how much will you make this cloth for?]

5 rupees/yd. They bargain: 7 1/2. OK make 10,000 yards. Then he calls in a smaller weaver who says he'll do it for Rs 6. OK make 5,000 yds. Then calls in a small weaver - Rs 3 Cancels 1st 2 orders. I objected that

then he would not get the cloth as fact: the small weaver can't produce as much — but this wasn't part of the story.]

Cloth, ^{+ cotton cloth} used to be called the Raja business. It had such prestige that if a man was looking for a husband for his daughter he would prefer a clerk in the cloth market making Rs 20 to a mill worker making Rs 50. People would deposit their money interest free with a cloth merchant for security rather than a bank. (Yes, 12 years ago the Mahajan sponsored two cooperative banks: Textile Traders Cooperative Bank, chairman H. Bhagwati; Natan Nagri Coop Bank, chairman A. Sutaria. There is also a Federation of All-India Cloth Association Dealers — the members are Mahajans; last meeting was in Indore, current Pres. is the Delhi Hindustani Mercantile Assoc.)

But today profit margins on cotton cloth have declined to 2-3%. The big mills (Lalbahai Group, Mafatlal) fix their rates, make sure their agents get 5%. As cloth prices rise (+ they've become very high), traders need to borrow money from the Bank or private sources; with poor remuneration/margins on the cloth, the interest burden cannot be born. All cloth is bought on credit; no one buys cloth as cash purchase; credit 2, 3, 6 months. The number of rotations (turn-over of capital) has declined from 10 to 3 or 4 rotations a year; thus the profit ratio is down. As mill cloth is high priced due to government excise taxes, + controlled labor costs, corruption or business ethics comes in: dealers may sell a customer that x cloth is mill cloth + sell it at that high price when it is in fact low expensive power loom cloth. The government gives low interest loans to industry, but not to traders: something needs to be done to reduce credit time for the traders, + to free the flow of money between the mill + power loom sectors: the disparity of prices between the 2 sectors must be balanced. To do so the government must ~~change~~ rethink its excise policy + labor policy. (See the Mahajan memo on this). Many problems of ethics. Manubhai Shah's organization — yes it keeps some watch on false labelling, but Manubhai Shah is responsible for mislabelling — he used to run the Lalbahai Group, still works for them, would print false fabric content percentages. There is no way here to get independent lab tests — we tried sending some cloth to ATIRA but they would not test it for us: they belong to the industry. The credit problem begins with the consumers: they pay at harvest, but else need credit. (Food too in India is bought on credit — rice, pulses). The ready-made clothes market is still very small: you buy cloth + have a tailor make it up — the tailor has to be paid in cash, but the cloth is on credit.

Re Vaisnavas + Jains. 1st mill was started by a Brahmin. Mengabhai was important for a while, but nothing like the force of Kasturbhai. (Sarabhai left Jainism.)

Evening PC: it is often said of Jains, they won't kill an ant, but they don't mind killing a man (ie business exploits). In industry government regulation prevents real exploitation, but in business you hire a man for as little as possible. In 1949 Kasturbhai & Vikram Salabhai interviewed me for a job - offered Rs 350/mo. I said Rs 450 + I'll take the job, but no less. They said no. A month later they called + offered Rs 450 + I took it, because I had nothing else. Rs 450 entitled me to travel only 2nd class whereas others in the small ATIRA staff went 1st class; an American at ATIRA at the time complained about this to Vikram + indeed made PC come along on trips with the others 1st class. Going through the open file, PC found that Vikram had long had an eye on him + had written a memo saying PC upon return from the US should be hired at Rs 600-100. PC took this to Vikram + said, you've cheated + exploited me. Vikram just laughed. Yes Kasturbhai paid his workers low wages; for some reason this changed at the end of his life + suddenly wages became quite handsome. Today Roy (the R+D director) will make Rs 6000/mo plus perks worth Rs 2500: he gets a loan with low interest to buy a house + car, a car allowance to pay back the loan, etc. PC ~~started at ATIRA~~ ^{became R+D DIRECTOR at} at Rs 3500/month in 1969 + it remained the same til he retired; the next year the new director got a Rs 1500 increase. Dearness allowances in the mills are linked to a cost-of-living basket, calculated each month: a mill worker making Rs 50/mo. will get 650 dearness addition; a weaver making Rs 650 will also get the same Rs 650 dearness. Government dearness allowances are calculated only when the cost-of-living index goes up by 10 points; then the lowest ranks get a full increase, + it is progressively decreased till the top salary grade get nothing.

Letter from Gay am today; we call home in the evening; connection not very good - worried about mother's operation (!) last Monday (!).

2 Feb (Sat). I stopped by the large tent at Navrangpura where the Hanji Swamis are doing their preparatory rites for installing a new temple. A bolti (auction) was under way when I arrived at 9 am; this was followed by a lecture on TV monitors by Hanji Swami (he died 2 years ago). People went for darshan of the 2 sitting white images + at least 2 standing ones, + one little gold one. There were many books around - maybe I missed something earlier? - I had been told the main event would be at 9:30. Then 4 guys in gold top wrap took the gold image one carrying it on his head, at a fast pace with a small procession behind up the street to a tent 'across from' (next street over) HL College of Commerce. There the image was received by a group of men + women holding coconuts: they circumambulated the guy carrying the image. It was then placed on a stand made of little wood tables, + people began to do puja to it - ghee or milk-water on his hands, + sweets + fruits, milk-water etc on a tray in front of him. Meanwhile a tray of milk-water was passed around, people put their hand in it + touched it to their eyes. After the puja - rice was thrown + there was singing of bhajans + some dancing by men next to the musicians. All a bit chaotic.

After lunch I stopped back at the Masthiti Mahajan offices. Dave was entertaining Sanskrit scholar/reciter, who he has invited to perform a Bhagvat parayan (recitation/interpretation of the Bhagvat) for 8 days 31/3/85 - 7/4/85, 9-12 am + 3-6 pm, at his home village Nadd (20 km from A'bad). The man a white-haired guy with short hair except a little top-knot/pony-tail: Shastri R. J. Umrethwala (ashram at Umreth: 'Champaranya', near S.T. Stand, Umreth 388 220, dist. Kaira, tel no 7; also Bombay: Satyabhama Nivas. Kasturba Rd No1 Boruli (East) 400 066, tel 66 2049/2562 32.) The Bhagvat (of which the Bhagvat Gita is the essence) is Mahashri's 'Vas' interpretation of the Vedas. Brahmins say the Vedas are the utterances of Brahma, but to be understood they had to be interpreted. Dave's village is Bhagam.

They also had received an invitation for a siddhi chakra at Navrangpur on 7 March (Thurs) 11:30-4 at Mayank Bungalow near Punjabi Hall, being done by a rich man for relief of his sick father. There was a very elegantly printed announcement with the 14 dreams + gold on the border.

Re. the Masthiti Mahajan. 1969 was when Assoc. Membership was introduced - the idea was to include all the wholesalers, there were many around the area who were not & did not care to be members, didn't want to pay the lagar. So for a small fee they could join & refer all their problems with mills, etc. to the mahajan. Subsequently many members also became Associate Members: thus the decline in lagar arrears. Associate Members don't vote. There is one annual general meeting of full members a year if there are no issues on which meetings are called - the last was recently to talk about the new professional tax imposed by the government (calculated on turn-over for traders, & only income for salaried folk).

[Fr. yesterday, one of the biggest accomplishments of the Mahajan was in 1954, they got the government to abolish the multiple sales taxes, and instead impose a simple "additional excise tax" at the point of production - i.e. the mills. This considerably simplified the traders' accounting problems.] [Kabala & Ubi Et. - the "contract" from between mills & mahajan]

New Cloth Mkt - 302 members of the Mahajan responded to the call to contribute Rs 2000 to the purchase of land for a new market in 1939. Three of these fell out - were defaulters - so it was 299. The land didn't actually cost that much, only 1750; so 250 was refunded. Each shop is 75 sq. yards: 45' x 15'. For construction cost a Rs 40 lakhs loan was obtained from the Bank of India (each member got a loan of Rs 15,200) & the was repaid within ten years at 2% over the bank rate). Then at Ataram Sutar's suggestion a 2nd floor extension was added costing Rs 3500 which today rents out for Rs 1500/month. The original ground floor was 14-15' ceilings; many have made a mezzanine; so in effect now there are 4 stories. The market was organized as a Cooperative Society. It took 2 years of correspondence with the government to get this agreed to - the gov't kept asking why a group of millionaires would need a cooperative society - they shouldn't need special gov't loans. Dave promised they would not ask for such loans & that the reason for asking for Coop. Society status had to

do with discipline, + esp. the ability to transfer property rights without going to court or paying 12% stamp duty. Til 1982 there was no transfer fee; the Society only charged Rs 5 to 10. After 1982 the law changed + cooperative societies are charged 4%. Also cooperative societies have rights of dealing with their own estates, arranging transport vehicle rules etc.

The Mahajan deals with thekadars, i.e. the contractors of the cart laborers (men + women who pull the wooden carts on which cloth Bales are shifted). Thekadars do the same work but get an extra share of pay for organizing the other laborers. There are about 100 thekadars: the Mahajan deals with them only, not the other laborers. Dave helped organize the thekadars. Laborers earn about Rs 20-30/day on average (men + women the same).

The Mahajan has about 15 employees: 5-6 clerks, 2 librarians, 2-3 peons, several accountants, Dave + his typist (the Jain fellow who says he flunked 2nd year college + quit - he's been here 1 year less than Dave).

Associate members normally pay Rs 125-50. But those who are related to full members pay Rs 75 - i.e. this is largely for those who divide their business into several different firms for tax purposes.

Re. spending on relig., the shastras say 1/10 of your income should be set aside for religion. The Jain typist said Jainism says 25% (1/4 for family, 1/4 for future problems, 1/4 for working capital, + 1/4 for religion). There is one Jain derasa in the New Cloth Mkt = on the 2nd floor of No. 202; it is 10-15 years old, was built by the surrounding Jain shopkeepers to have a place to go in the mornings; the shop itself, #202, is owned by a Patel. Jain munis occasionally come to the market, + may be given a room to sleep in for a night. Ramachandra Suri came here during the agitations 17-18 years ago against the Deora slaughterhouse being built in Maharashtra, + gave some lectures in support of the agitation.

Narottamdas Lathba is the father of Janak Shah (Mahudi Textiles): he was an ordinary man, followed the advice of Subodh Sagar to go to Bombay + became a millionaire; he is a great spender for religious things, esp. whatever Subodh Sagar wants. Subodh Sagar will tell people what auspicious days are for business. Munis are not supposed to tell people the future, but Subodh Sagar bends the rules a bit.

Dave told a couple of stories about Brahmins. Ashirwad (Blessings) can change destiny. A childless man came to Narat son of Brahma + asked if he ever would have issue. Narat asked Brahma. Brahma said: no. So the man renounced the world. As he was doing so, he walked past a Brahmin who said why are you running away from the world, that's silly, return + do your duty, + may you have issue. Sometime later the man had a son. Narat complained to Brahma: you said he'd have no issue. Brahma said by destiny he wouldn't have had any, but the Brahmin's blessing changed that. Brahma decided to teach Narat a lesson, pretended to be gravely ill + to need human flesh as a cure. Narat said his devotees surely would give, but no one was ready, til in despair a Brahmin offered his whole body. When Narat came to Brahma, Brahma was well + said look this Brahmin was willing to sacrifice himself, but you can't get others to sacrifice.

Brahmin may not keep food > 3 days.

Stopped by Kantibhai's shop. Jains are important in the steel vessels trade, a new import of the last 30 years; new standard steel sheets are imported from Japan + fabricated here. Bogilal Deschand, a friend in Market Chowk, is in this trade. Re the share market: Navinbhai Modi (who lives in Shantapurjee Sae) Raw Cotton + Granite. Chandrakant Bhatt, lawyer, stopped by (6A Rajarhasam Flats or Sagar Hall - or Kantibhai) - old friend of Tom McCormack.

3 Mar (Sun) Panjrapol with Ataram Sutaria. We began at the panjrapol near 11M. The plaque on the inner court says:

This Asylum for Birds + Beasts - Superannuated, Disabled, Deserted, etc - The foundation stone whereof having been laid by Sir Chinubhai Madhavlal Karchhodlal, 2nd Bart. on Sat. 30th Mar 1929 is established by Akhad Maskati Cloth Mkt Association under the disinterested supervision of Engineer Bhogilal Malichand Sutaria at a cost of Rs 1,89,356-11-6 - Rs 1,20,000 contributed by the Association, and Rs 69,356-11-6 by other donors + dedicated to the use of the Akhad Kheda Dhor Panjrapole. Opening ceremony performed by Sheth Kasturbhai Lalbhai, Friday 6 May 1932.

The bird house + one set of cow sheds in a semi-circle around the Yower are intact + house a few cows. The other side is being rebuilt into a set of shops which will help support the Panjrapole. About 15 people gathered - there is a cow protection society which wants to do some sort of joint project/get some land from the Panjrapole at Dabla. Anulbhai Chinubhai (managing director of Ajit Mills) initially befriended us, but wasn't too clear about what exactly the new project was. Ajit Mills has not been doing well, but new things are a bit better + he hopes they are out of the woods. He's a Vaishnava, serves on the board with Sutaria of the school for the handicapped next to 11M (400 students - they're now planning a new girls' hostel); he lives kitty-corner from the Panjrapole ("Anand" Dr Vikram Sarabhai Marg, nr Polytechnic off 36B22, Res 441945). (His father-in-law is a Lalubhai.)

We drove out past VIKSAT 20 km on a dusty road, past some new "farm houses" + real estate development (summer homes - but not for the monsoon) to the Rachada Panjrapole Dabla (it used to be at Rachada; now moved to Dabla). It is over 100 years old, has had 3 chairmen: Artlal Mohental, Keshavnalal Lalubhai, Ataram Sutaria. The veterinarian showed the group around + later gave us his exact count of current animals he looks after, some 2506 today including healthy work animals. Dabla is very dry - sweet water is now ⁶⁰⁰1000 feet down. We saw some fairly nice cow sheds, then went around back to find some animals out grazing. We had noticed many vultures: out back was a pile of carcasses + skeletons with hundreds of vultures, also a few human scavengers. Ataram Sutaria admitted that poor people will save + consume what meat they can; people are hired to separate the skin + bones: the skin is an important financial support for the Panjrapole generating Rs 3-4 lakhs a year. Muskati Market contributes only Rs 2 lakhs a year. Buildings owned by the Panjrapole Trust generate Rs 4 lakhs a year in rents. Some

money is contributed by other mahajans, but the budget now Rs 20 lakhs a year; they run short about Rs 5 lakhs each year. Paripapols are not just a bin thing: on the board (and with us) were a Patel (a businessman) and a Vachhava Baria. The Patel who showed us the biogas arrangements said many villages have paripapols - most good sized ones do. (Sataria estimated that there are 100-200 paripapols in Gujarat. They are organized into a Federation, but so far it is really only a paper organization. During famine times, they apply to the government for subsidies to bring grain from the south.)

The vultures in any case were rather striking: they roost in trees, turning their top branches white with their excrement & apparently thus killing the branches. There were several pens of cattle & sheep at back, the fencing made of thorn-bush. We walked around to the other side of the buildings were the wards for the very ill & dying are. And then went to inspect the biogas generator: a drum 23' diameter & 6' high with 4500 cubic feet capacity is fed a cow dung & water mixture. It provides cooking gas, street lamps & power to run an 18 horsepower horizontal engine used to pump the water from 30-40' in a 4" pipe; also a little 5 horsepower vertical engine. The use of a horizontal engine is a new experiment: biogas has been used for vertical engines, but most farmers have horizontal ones. It has been using a mix of 80% biogas & 20% diesel fuel, but now they are experimenting with 100% biogas, also experimenting to run petrol engines (including a car) on it: they've had trials through a ^{rubber} pipe with a car; now they need to figure out how to compress the biogas or liquefy it & mount a tank on the car.

After producing biogas, the dung is dried in the sun & makes good fertilizer - the nitrogen content is even higher after the fermentation & there is no weed seeds.

We went to an adjacent village where there is more land & sheds, & pump (600'), & stored hay. Sataria says he keeps a 4 month supply of feed. Especially during the monsoon are can't get feed in. The months after the monsoon are easy - good natural pasture, but now all is parched.

Aside from the biogas experiments (they said this was the largest in Gujarat), they plan to start cattle breeding with Jerseys to improve milk production.

Cattle are brought to this paripapole from other paripapols all over Gujarat. We saw a truckload come in. Cattle are not brought from cities - city strays don't come here. (In this sense, Sataria's claim that farmers don't want their old animals to go to the slaughter house.)

The oldest records of paripapols here in A'bad are only 100-150 years, but the institution is much older: there is a mention in the time of Ashoka (?).

Current animal count:	cows - 1038	work buffaloes	121
	buffaloes - 195	bull buffaloes	12
	bullocks - 387	young stud bullocks	2
	young bullocks - 104	mare	3
	be buffalo calves - 327	goats	146
	cow calves - 4	sheep	273

Almost 300 employees; the agriculture here is not remunerative - barely get back what spend.

she goats	50
small goats	257
small sheep	479
he ewe	8

Also met Navinbhai K. Jhaveri (owns a dairy farm + a steel rolling mill) + seems to be Pres of this cow protection society with some sort of tie to Bhavnagar. (His wife is a social worker) He lives on Atira Rd opp Chandravihar Society (tel 440 847)

4 Mar (Mon). Evening with Arvindbhai + family for Gujarati music - 4 musicians - tabla, harmonium, electronic organ. Began with an invocation to god. Some folk songs - unrequited love. Song about how Sita was greater than Ram: her sacrifice is more than his being god. Arvindbhai's sister sang a song of similes about love: only the beloved can know.

Budi Sagar (Kailes Sagar, Kaligan Sagar + Subodh Sagar are all in his line) was a Patel named Becharadas, was ill-educated. Initially for Subodh Sagar gives people tips, tho he shouldn't - its against the rules.

Ramesh Sheth & 6 sisters + 1 bro & 4 daughters Lalbhai had 3 houses together; part of Kasturbhai's is rented out to Foreign PO.; part of Chirubhai's is rented out to Swastik School (where Arvindbhai's daughter teaches + where 1 of tonight's musicians also)

A muni who could remember + answer in sequence 100 questions [vs Navalkhai's Bk or Santalaji Ch 7]

5 Mar (Tue) An election day - most things closed. While at Shastri's in walked a sadhvi, young, pretty: Surekha Sri-ji Sadhvi. She just finished a PhD at Gujarat Univ. (in Hindi) + became a good friend of Sunanda Shastri. She's from Jaipur, from a wealthy family - they tried to dissuade her, but she was firm. She took diksha 10 years ago, age 20. She has written several books, including some poetry, + a biography of her guru Sadhvi Vichaksham Shri who had breast cancer, caught early but she decided against treatment: I can gain a few more years but will have to pay in a next life; better to complete my karma. She bore the disease as it grew, til incapacitated, yet remained conscious + firm to the end.

Sunanda also spoke of the Jain monk Anandji Maharaj who organized a conference in Jamnagar on logic (nyaya shastra) - his guru was a brahmin. He uses microphone. Just write them a letter saying he would be in A'bad shortly.

Evening we went with Sunanda to meet these sadhvis of the Karta Gaccha. There are 4 groups of Karta Gaccha sadhvis in A'bad, but most are in Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh + UP. This group is led by a 46-year old sadhvi, her sister + her niece (she is from a family of 4 brothers + 2 sisters, from Padra, near Baroda; one of her brothers was here tonight too; their father was a grain merchant; she took diksha 30 years ago at age 16 - she heard a sermon by a nun + within 2 months she took diksha - she laughed saying there was no study or testing or preparation such as we had discussed for others, viz below; her sister took diksha at age 19, five or six years after the elder sister.) Also in the group is a new sadhvi from Jodhpur who took diksha last April 20 (she had + showed us a picture taken of her just after the diksha). And, of course,

Sureyka Sri-ji sadhvi, 31, who just got her PhD, from Jaipur originally, and who wrote the biography of Sadhvi Vichaksana Shri. She had spent 9 years with the latter (4 years before diksha + 5 after), began the 150 page biography 15 days after her death, completing it within 2 months. (The 46-year old leader of the group had spent 17 years with Vichaksana, + said Vichaksana had 45 disciples, now split into 8 groups.) Aside from her own knowledge + talking to others Sureyka says there was a prior book on Vichaksana: Jain Kokila by Bahvarbhai Ramapuria. (She gave us a printed speech, + a booklet of poetry by Vichaksana.) Sureyka's own story is that she heard the present leader speak + was impressed by her (since she took diksha at age 21, + it took 4 years to get her family's permission, she must have been 17 at the time.) She was enrolled in a BA program. She was the 2nd of 6 sisters, daughters of a wealthy cloth merchant; after her 1st sister was married, the family started looking for a husband for her - she was good looking, they showed her picture around, brought eligible young men for her approval. But she wanted to study. The family was saying: you stop studying now + get married. Being un-married + studying is difficult in the north, + once married there is little time for study. So becoming a nun was a route to study. And Karta Gaccha is a progressive gaccha that encourages its nuns scholarship. In this respect it is quite different from Tappa Gaccha which does not allow its nuns to preach on the same platform as men + which does not encourage the nuns to study. The Karta Gaccha in contrast - sadhvis + sadhus preach from the same platform, a more learned sadhvi can teach a sadhu, and they are encouraged to study. Two of them this past year earned PhDs here in A'bad at U. of Gujarat via the LD Inst. Sureyka was the 1st sadhvi to get a PhD. Shortly after Mathurmidash Sri-ji defended her diss. (The latter is from Bharatpur where very few monks or nuns come. When some did, she was very impressed. Her mother was very opposed + tried black magic to prevent her from taking diksha, but whatever was put in her food or bed, she knew + got rid of it. Her diksha was held at a pilgrimage site - Kareda Parsvanath + paid for by the sangh - Rs 50,000. She has never returned to Bharatpur.) Sureyka's family was always religious + not so opposed to the diksha as this, but still they tested her for 4 years. They come to visit her at least once a year. She has edited two texts: Bhagvati Suri and Sri Palras.

The acharya of this group is Udai Sagar Suri. He was here last year for the consecration of the Muni Surat Swami Derasa, Naurangpura (across from Neebim's) - 2 domes are yet to come (are open holes) - at the entrance are domed guru shrines - the central figure is Jindatta Suri who established the Karta Gaccha. (The shrine is called Dada Guru Dev?)

The sadhvis will move on towards Rambag + Surat on 9 March, where they will spend chaturmas is not yet fixed - they need to find a place with enough Jains to support them, preferably access to a good library, and with a program of religious activities.

Sureyka says Tangavijayji, Kaliyan Sri, + Swarna Sri have all left personal diaries. The 1st is in the LD Inst library

Afterwards we went to Africawallah's - in Doteka, 40 km N a new

temple has just been dedicated with idols recently dug up. In Mehsana there is a Jain school — Yashovijayji Parshalla — that has produced many scholars like Sukhlaji Pandit.

Priamvada is going thru a series of jag ceremonies with Bhandrakandra, for which she must do 40 days ambiliya "fast". Eleven of these must be completed before the wadi diksha, but the rest can be done after. On Sunday (her wadi diksha) there will also be another diksha (Africawalla just got the invitation this past week — the girl herself came to the house; he put a tilak on her). We should meet Desai who writes on Jainism, also on sports, + is Jitu's wife's uncle.

Gujarati's + businessmen — never break relationships compromise + tolerate — never know when you may need someone's help. The man who runs into your scooter may be a doctor, + you may someday find yourself in his hospital. If you are being on a business deal, don't break the connection; you may earn much more from him in the future. [Taught by the stories told in serial connectivity + Vasudevahindi, bolstered by Karma theory that all acts have multiple ramifications; + taught by the gr stress on self-control]

6 Mar (Wed) — Suananda Shastri commented re the sadhvis we met yesterday who last yr lived in the flat below, + others. She was particularly sorry when the youngest/newest one took diksha last year. She's only 22, doesn't know much of life, her husband died but her in-laws said they would arrange another marriage for her, treat her like their own daughter. She was from a rich family from Jodhpur, resident now 30 years in Madras. But she came in contact w/ those sadhvis who began impressing on her that life in this world is just one of sin — a kind of brain washing. They (the sadhvis + sadhus) find a susceptible girl or boy + say come spend a few days with us + gradually they brainwash them. It is a gilded cage for these women — a wasted life — most of them do nothing — you should hear them when they quarrel — husbands + wives who love each other quarrel, imagine what it is like when people from very different backgrounds live together. The sadhus + sadhvis get disciples to serve them + to build up a following. A sadhu with disciples need not go out to beg alms — disciples will bring food; disciples will wash his clothes, he need do nothing. Suananda couldn't bear to go to the diksha of this 22 year old. She teaches sadhvis Sanskrit: when they ask her why don't you become a nun — she replies why don't you marry. The sadhvis are always talking about sin. Householders are the opposite — always talking about money: I built this temple, I purchased that land, + regretted that price.

[Africawalla last night spoke of a munni who can remember 100 things — couldn't remember who. Did not know of Santabaji — confused him with ^{tho} Sukhlaji]

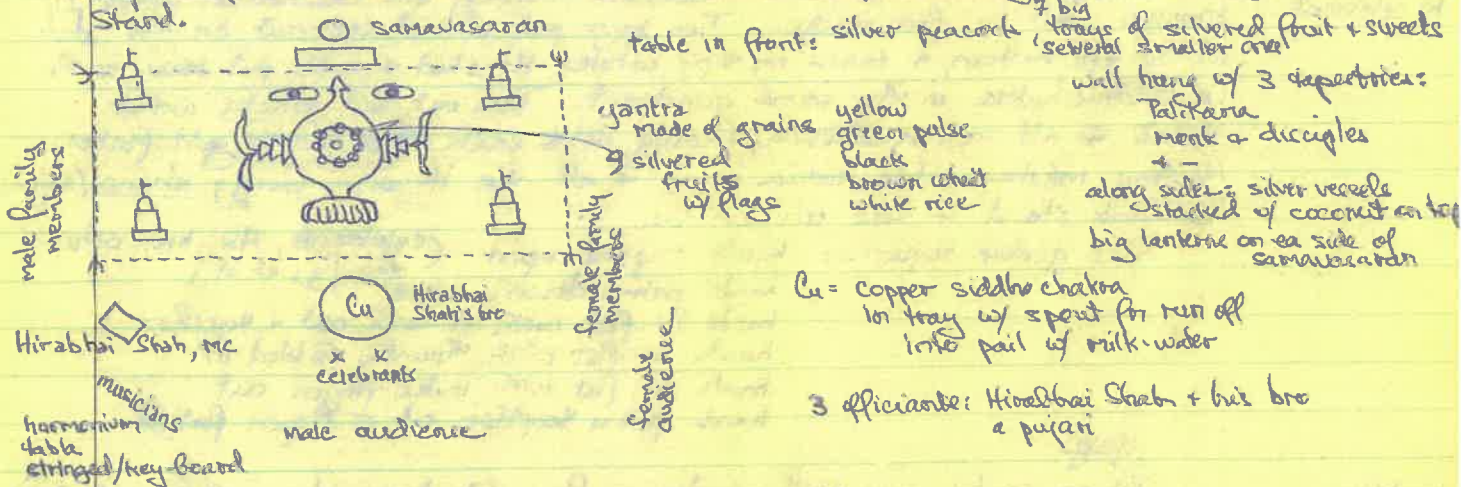
Cloth Mkt slow today: yesterday a holiday, tomorrow one; people (bosses) are home watching the cricket semi-finals (the finals on Sunday will be India — Pakistan; India beat NZ yesterday + Pakistan beat West Indies today); the elections + the student

business
ethics

agitations (Anil says - our class is opposed to these reservations). Holi - Kantibhai says the laboring class may begin celebrating today, the rest tomorrow. Holi - did see some colored powder on the street, on shirts + hair of college kids at the Collegium Restaurant corner. In the evening fires were lighted along the streets

7 Mar (Thurs) Holi. David + Kette Trater showed up, as did some friends of Darsnak - all covered in colour to see Sushai - David + Kette let themselves be daubed with stuff.

SIDHI CHAKRA PUJA at Mayank Bungalow nr Punjabi Hall, Navrangpura, at the home of Harshad Chaurhal Shahi (shop # 70 New Cloth Mkt). It was for his 90 year old father, Chaurhal Kesharal Shahi (who started the shop). I talked first to a son also in the shop, + then a brother in law (married to Harshad's sister, + claiming to call Rameesh Shroff's wife maai, maternal aunt), Arvind C Shahi (C 3 Archista Apts nr AG School, Navrangpura - tel 443685). He was very nice, sat with me + translated during the early part of the puja - but then had to go + participate. The tirthankara came from the temple nearby at Navrangpura Bus Stand.



Openings: anoint mauti + Cu with sandal-paste
 HS bows to picture of his guru, Bhadrakar Vijayji [didn't look w Bhadrakar Suri]
 invocation song c siddhi chakra
 long speech a why this puja (?)
 mantra recitation: omnis... + expl. "mantra halo" was mantra...

At this point Arvind C. Shahi came to sit with me + translated H.S' discourse: thru bhakti (devotion) of the siddhi (enlightened ones) we become like them
atman (being, soul) is essentially thinking - thinking is actions if you think about hurting someone, that already is doing hurt
 this puja is 5 hours - for 5 hours one is not thinking of worldly affairs one is not doing harm by act or thought if one is focused on the example of the enlightened ones
 so also no karmas are being attached to one's soul

If one does not know the tirthankaras, one does not know one's soul;
 if one does not know one's soul, one cannot achieve salvation;
 everything one does is known by one's soul
 beg with respect to parents because it is they who 1st show you Jain relig

HS' discourse now interspersed with ritual gestures + mantras:
 the ground of the yantra was made clean, but it might not be absolutely so:
 So now we make it clean with mantras + apologies if it was not absolutely cleaned yesterday
 pujari walks around the ritual area (yantra, samavasaran, celebrants) with a little brush, symbolically sweeping before him
 wind god invoked +
 now rain god invoked - pujari goes around pitcher, flicking water to ground w it with little stick/brush
 mother earth (Dhriti "kad" Mata) invoked

We have taken bath, but to be fully clean, mentally clear,
 gesture of hands over face & back, on sides of head to ears - wash
 This puja is not just for ourselves but for all the people of the earth
 If you see someone unhappy & you do not feel something in
 your heart, you won't be following true dharma


Think about the tirthankara

gesture: → knees, hands & belly (navel), chest, throat & forehead
 & back down & up again — rotate hand over head:
 arhanta = head acharya = shoulders [pt + chest]
 siddhi = face upadhi = hands [pt w/ → belly?]
 sadhu = legs [knees]

If you're all S via bhakti (devotion), karman are removed
 gong [end 1st maj puja]

Arvind abandoned me at this point — saying he that there were either
 29 or 30 pujas.

1st celebrant

Harshad & his wife as 1st celebrants wearing little cardboard silver
 crown, put on face masks. Two boys put silvered coconut on the 
 at the left bottom, & roses on top; while Harshad & wife put roses on the
 Cu siddhichakra in the same quadrant. Pass out red rakha wrist
 threads to all incl. audience; family daks each other with gold flakes.
 Mantras: rakha, rakha, rakha ... , & all tie it on. Gong; stavan (hymn).
 Celebrants stand & take rice on Cu.

Sit: gesture sequence: hands cupped open (celebrants, HS, bro, other
 family, 'et al')
 hands palms down, wave
 hands in fist with thumb out & together
 hands in fist with thumb folded in
 hands in fist with index fingers out
 hands palms together at 5 fingers flat

gong

repetitive
 unit

Put on masks, pour milk-water on Cu; put brass charm (letters in Hindi)
 on Cu; count woolly beads.

2nd celebrant

Change celebrants: Harshad's son & his wife: ^{put on masks & garlands, wash hands}
 together they held little
 pitcher of navan (milk-water) & pour it on Cu (then HS bro pours it); then
 repeat with pitcher of water (& HS bro repeat). Put sandalwood paste
 on Cu; put flour, white & red on; wave tray with coconut & brass
 (Hindi word) charm, coins & rice over Cu; put charm & money on Cu &
 count jap (woolly beads) while musicians sing stavan (hymn) [face mask off for jap]

* n gress

3rd celebrant

Change celebrants: couple with little daughter (repeat above unit)
 [at this point there were only about 10 men in the audience — more
 had been present at the beginning but left after the 1st long puja; now
 it was mostly family. Later the audience would grow again]

1-10th set of
 celebrants


6 more changes of celebrants: Harshad's bro? & wife; Harshad's wife &
 daughter? (wave tray of silvered sugar cane); — ; my friend Arvind &
 his wife = Harshad's sister; — later other fruits

Enter group of sadhus: all stand. Were 15 of them mainly young
 & bald, 1/2 wearing glasses, led by a guy with a guitar; 1 other guy had
 short white hair & a goatee. The leader took a book & led the mantra
 chanting as long as they stayed. According to the invitation, there were
 to be 2 or 3 gurus & 16 sadhus — ditrendra Vijayji, disciple of
 Bhuvan Bhanu Sani Shivanji; and a second disciple Guna Rtna Vijayji,
 said to be the leader of young monks (guna = virtue, rtna = gem).

Now the pujari began putting the fruits from the trays waved over

11th celebrant
12th
13th
14th
15th

Cu on the yantra [the noble seems to be, the pujari begins many proceedings as a kind of started/demonstration]. Then as celebrant at the Cu changed, a young couple, guided by the pujari put fruit, grapes + cane on the yantra. [In this + following parts, the wife or the younger puts a piece of fruit first, then the husband or older person] + then they bow to the tirthankara. Change celebrant: 2 women, or a pair of women lay sweets on yantra [ie - above procedure of blessings cont, simulate w with laying of fruit]. Celebrant change (no longer tie on crown on their head): celebrant put rice on Cu, in little pile of rice; + 2 or feed yantra sweets. Celebrant change - Harshad asks 2 pairs of women to take the honors - these at the yantra throw rice at the samaksharans. Monks leave.

Change celebrant. All sit with hands cupped up; then hands palms down; thumbs of feet out, hit chest; feet with thumbs in; 1st fingers out; palms together. Couple at the yantra each place a coconut on the top , and together they put the 4th coconut on the right bottom one. Pujari lays 3 betel leaves on top right side around yantra edge with a silvered betel on each. Then she says: he two leaves, + she 2 nuts; the total was 9 leaves on each side - the invocations were to Shanti Devi, Lakshmi Devi, Padmavati, etc.

Change celebrant (2 pairs of women): 1 pair put rice on Cu, one pair put oranges on yantra + Kinnow rice.


3 changes of celebrant (latter two laying of 25 betel nuts ea around outside) Change celebrant - new pour milk-water on 4 sides of rice pile on Cu then water, sandalwood paste, roses, wave tray with 4 oranges silvered, 4 coins + 3 sweets

Change celebrant do as above (2 boys) Change celebrant - the boys from above move to the yantra

Change celebrant - 2 girls lay fruit from large tray on yantra Harshad + Wife are celebrant - pour milk-water around the bottom of rice pile on Cu then betel sandalwood, put roses, wave tray 2 boys fill the "teeth" at the bottom of the yantra with 2 items each: grapes-chiku, cane-orange etc

Old Chundal Neshar Lal Singh is brought down + placed on a chair at celebrant - is helped to pour rice on Cu crown is put on him, + family crowned all sit around Cu 5 women on one side + 5 men on other the Cu is cleared off + each given pitcher of milk-water

[From #21 above, pujari puts perfume in silver water jar; mixes curd + water thru cloth into a pail, prepares 11 little pitchers of milk-water; pail with water with perfume, pail with sandalwood + water, pail of water?; tray with coconut + red waist strings; tray with sandalwood paste - by this time there are 100 men in the audience. - end all these are placed bottom of yantra.]

All pour milk-water on Cu; pujari pours perfumed water not the Cu is cleaned - everyone smears sandalwood paste on it, puts roses on; tray with incense + lamp is waved over Cu; tray of rice; tray of sweets; tray of fruits + coconuts these trays are taken by the pujari + put on the table before the samaksharans - he first lays down rice piles + divides into 4: 

All take rice + throw it on Cu, fold hands in prayer HS speech - stand all, bow, sit with arm over left knee All stand for arti with 108 flames which all family touch [old Chundal has been pushed back]. Then single flame: Harshad's son or wife; then Harshad + Wife; then Harshad alone, to lively joyous music + even

16th
17-19th
20th
21st
22nd
23rd
24th
25th

clapping to the beat.

^{white} Red strings are banded out.

A final shanti puja: pujari smears sandalwood on palms of the family; they put on garlands; then 2 small pitchers used to pour milk/water into the silver jar with perfumed water. Then betel leaves are placed on the top, a coconut on top, cover with green cloth, tie with red string, put silver paper over it all, kunkum on top, a flower garland, + sprinkle sandalwood.

A young woman (Harshad's son's wife) put on a head carrier, + the jar was placed on it [This looked now somewhat like a lingam] + she + the family circumambulated the ritual setting three times led by pujari Gangajyoti gong. It was then set on a pile of rice below the top left coconut of the yantra to the right of the gong.

(Pujari pick up flags + brass charma from the yantra)

According to the invitation which Ramesh Shroff had, the siddhi chakra was for both Old Chavulal and his wife (deceased) - for his long life, and for her peace. Ramesh says siddhi (achievement) chakra (life cycle) is giving by a wealthy man as a way of bidding his family farewell. Each member of the family will be given Rs 1000 or so. The full program was 8:30 am procession to receive sadhus; 9-10 address by sadhu at upashraya [address = Nyakhyar]; 11:30-4 siddhi chakra maha puja with Hiralal Manilal Shah + his troupe of musicians for the stavan (hymns). Afterwards food was served.

Evening: dinner at Ramesh Shroff's. Marcus + C. Humphrey are coming for a quick trip to Jaipur. A Leicester group originally from Jamnagar via Kenya are having a whole marble temple built in Bombay to be transported by ship to England. Rashiibhai Jesinghbhai Sabaria stepped by (#65 New Cloth Mkt - Aaram's FBs - calls Aaram elder bro, cousin-brother) - sells all over India outside A'bad. You fix your margins according to credit time: charge more interest for 6 mo than for 4% at chopdi puja, Ramesh reminded, you write on the books Shri Shayara (25%) - 25% is the ideal rate of return. Rashiibhai says that is, over the year all one's transactions should increase your money 25% - what you lose on 1 transaction you make up on another. Nishiklal Modi + Bros #55 - like Rashiibhai was at the siddhi chakra puja. He says this Chaturmas Padma Sagar will be at Osmanpura; Vikram Suri Maharaj will be at Santinagar; Kailas Sagar will be at Devi Karandari.

Re wedding - Ramesh: you kiss, we feed each other sweets, Gypsy wedding he saw - they spit betel juice in each other's mouths.

Used to be a custom that newly weds could not sleep together unless they could untie knot in the white marriage cloth — done difficultly, could take 4 nights. Is another net in it which stays tied til death. Used to be white knot of white cloth a wedding sari at the temple of the caste mother goddess (Asapuri in his case — main temple near Borda, he & his wife did this.) Did the 1st custom above in son's wedding — Rupal untied the knot (sign of her dominance [but he found the coin in the pan of murky water]). Old days weddings took 4 days — gave Bride 4 saris from groom's side — See good ch. on wedding in Rapsara's Divine Man & Family MB brings bride, FZ also important. At door when Rupal brought to the house, 3 girls demanded money, Ramesh's 2 daughters + his brother's da — each given Rs 101. (+ a fourth little girl — his 2 da?)

8 Mar (Fri) PC's mother died last night. Brother DC is in Bombay for a wedding, so the funeral will be held up til tomorrow. The body was washed today, put on ice. Tomorrow people will go to pay respects, & the men will take the body to the cremation ground. On Sunday there will be condolences: PC will dress in white & sit & receive people who will come in, namaste & sit for 5 minutes silently & then leave. In Sush's sub caste people take water when they leave & spit it out, as a cleansing (like washing hands when left graveyard at Deffi's); but this custom is not observed by PC's family. Daughters should give something in her memory — she gave engraved tiffin when her mother died. In a month & a half the soul will have a puja. Sush is opposed to paying brahmins (when her mother died, they gave the money to endow a scholarship in the mother's name instead) — Brahmins earn too much.

Took David & Keiko around today. She is from the zabutsu family that was in banking & so lost everything during the American occupation, her first cousin is Yoko Cho. They had dinner last night at a Patel doctor's — whole extended family which said they made all decisions collectively + all had to reach consensus — eq on marriage both males & fem. A doctor costs Rs 90,000.

9 Mar (Sat) Funeral. 9 am. Viewing of the body on stretcher shrouded completely with rice & marigold garlands, & small pot of fire on a cow dung patty. The head is toward the north (when a person sleeps it should never be pointed north). People stood around outside, the women sat & quietly sang. Then DC + PC, ^{elder son of DC +} ~~DC's son-in-law~~ carried the body to a waiting van: the body travels to the cremation ground feet first, with the head toward the world to receive farewells. Only men go to the cremation ground. There the body is taken head first (towards its new life). There are several cremation grounds, on both sides of the river (Hindu bodies are not supposed to be carried across a river) (Jains have their own, tho they let Vaisnavas use it). This one was between the Medical College & ^{electric} crematorium: a corrugated iron shed open to the River on 2 sides — 5 hearths of parallel metal tubes supported by 3 struts each, in which wood is piled ~~xxx~~. The pot of fire, incense, sandalwood on cow dung patty was brought along + set on the side. 3 cows were shooed out. The body was unwrapped: the garlands taken off, red strings around the shroud untied + shroud removed, + tie on 2 big toes taken off — it still was modest in PJ's & a top. ~~It~~ It was placed on the pyre. PC, ^{father} son of DC, + DC ^(the elder son of DC) then in turn daubed it with ghee & sandalwood's forehead, eyes, mouth, cheeks, last arms. Prior to doing this PC washed his feet. The little pot of fire

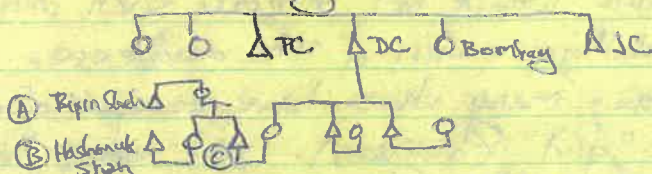
was dumped out on the cow dung patty, + kirralung added. Logs were piled up around the body. Some Tulsi wood kindling brought in a paper bag was put on top. TC was led around the ~~the~~ pyre holding the torch 3 times clockwise, then lit the pyre at the feet (the feet stick out, + fall at one point - not clear why, then put into the fire) + then all around clockwise. The little fire on the cow dung patty was added to the pyre under it, + the bamboo stretcher was broken up + added to the pyre. Then there was an hour - hour + 1/2 wait. All burned down, cold water poured on the ashes so a few fragments of white bone could be collected by the cremation ground attendant in a ghee can - these will be taken to the Ganges to be thrown in (it is arranged for you, you don't have to go). Then final step: an earthen pot of water w/ saucer lid is placed where the head was + TC as eldest son broke it with a sharp blow with a brick fragment. All then returned to the house of death, were received by the women folk with a pail of water: wash hands, rinse mouth, pour over feet, last rite to the chief mourner.

~~There is a Brahmin~~ ^{friend of the family who knows the rites,} officiated - an older man, a young guy we knew from the marriage, ^{DC's son-in-law} + Mahesh (Sakti...) in red trousers + pink kurse with necklace + Rajreesh picture. ^{son-in-law} ~~the younger~~ ^{brother-in-law} took me to him to "explain" the ceremonial details. He started by asking about my project + talking about how Maharashtra didn't know about plastic shoes, yet his sadhus go barefoot; he didn't know about paved roads - sadhus wrap cloth around their swollen feet but won't wear shoes. This isn't what Maharashtra meant. I tried to shift the conversation to the funeral - there is no mourning to all these acts, Brahmins have corrupted + frightened people for commercial gain. The pot of fire from the house was only because fires once were hard to come by - just a practical thing. After one must take a bath (once one did it at the funeral grounds in the river) - he denied it was to cleanse away pollution - is because one gets emotional, the blood vessels are agitated, a Bath especially a cold one, refreshes you. All religion is psychic conditioning - we are conditioned by society - true relig gets rid of this conditioning - developing of human awareness. Rajreesh says we should not be his followers but our own - devel our own selves. He is a Brahmin - wear sacred thread only when each year the family gathers + puts on new threads, just as a family thing. After 3 days he does not wear it. Laughed about the custom of wrapping it around one's ear when one goes to the bathroom - was when one squatted in the jungle, to keep it out of the dirt; now there are nice clolets, yet people still wrap it around their sons. Relig is so full of these funny things. Religion constantly decays/is corrupted into commercial practice; and has to be renewed. He heard Rajreesh speak in Bombay 14 years ago, began to read his lectures -

you should read his devastating lectures on Jainism - but they are in Hindi. His lectures on Buddhism + the Gita are in English. There is a video club here; every Sunday morning 9-11 they show the latest lecture from Oregon. [Interesting: in the Indian context, Rajneesh appears to be a demystifying force; in the American context, a mystifying one.] He became a "sanyasi" - that does not mean renouncing the world: on the contrary one must face up to one's duties in the world. There is no distinction between ordinary followers + sanyasis - Sanyasi is like a card carrying member of a club. You become a Sanyasi in a ceremony invested by the acharya for India - he gives you a tilak, a new name (Mahesh was named Shakti...), a mala(?) necklace with Rajneesh's picture to be worn outside (to reduce timidity, + to be able to answer questions + spread the word), + clothes of approved color shades (apparently esp shades of red + pink, representing fire - fire is always itself, pure). ie 4 things: clothes, name, necklace, tilak. (During the period we were just sitting + talking he had denied the skull-cracking ceremony, tho I used Indira's cremation ceremony as example. After the pot-cracking, the young Brahmin laughed + said that is what he was asking you. He said - originally before the pyre was lit the son was to crack the skull + give the reason as telling the soul that its place was no longer in this world - even he who is closest says go away. [This is only one traditional reason.]

Afternoon, there was Gita reading in PC's house in Skr + Gujarati translation. Two of the 18 chapters were done today in 1 hour. For the next 7 days he will recite. Actually it should be a bit for 9 days until the puja of 10-13th day. Today is actually day 3. PC memorized the Gita at age 10 - he, his sister + a 3rd - they performed before a Pune Gita inspector who would say chapter 2 or the 1st words of a verse, + they would recite. For 3 days the soul hovers around the house where it lives: a ghee lamp is placed outside from dusk to dawn to show it the way; and some milk next to it.* PC must not drink milk for these 10 days. PC says on 10-13 there will be a puja in which the purpose is to impress upon the living that the soul is a spirit (preta) + not a person: thus the word preta is recited over + over. The puja setting is simple + symbolic: flour balls like lady as food, a string - cloth, a bit of grass - shelter. The puja is to the spirit, not the ~~living~~ person.

[Suchi says Rajneesh guy used to beat his wife - but now quieted since Rajneesh]



* both here at PC's + at his sister's where she lived.

A, B + C - construction firm that owns Chimbhai Tower w/ Tabang Revolving Restaurant
Bipin Shah was at Africawalla's Z'son's wedding - friend of Africawalla.


There is a custom of giving brahmins the deceased's bed, chapels, umbrella etc. to aid the spirit on her journey.


2: pm wedding of Africawalla's sister's son. Both groom + bride's mothers are widows + so could not participate (Africawalla's brother also did not come). The bride was given away by an uncle + auntie. The auntie explained that the ceremony expresses the fact that it is a gift of a daughter, not an exchange. And indeed there was no role for the platform for the groom's ~~the~~ elder brother, not even the token amount in Ramesh Shroff's son's marriage. The elder brother did preside over the gift exchange before + after the ceremony (Africawalla in inviting us to sit with them in the exchange after the ceremony, once again stressed that all these gifts were voluntary, not a dowry — not fixed amounts as in communities like the Tatars.)


Once again, as at Kartibhai's wedding, we were impressed by the dirt + chaos, the utter lack of decorum surrounding the main rite. Both Jains + Hindus always say that Jain weddings are quick affairs, pale imitations of the Hindu rite; one pays the brahmin to get it over with quickly. This is not strictly true — most of the elements of the Hindu wedding are present; Hindus too are condensing + cutting. What is true is that there is a sense in which Jains wish to devalue the marriage rite. One might blame the new technology of cameras + video cameras — photographers crowd around the edge of the stage blocking everyone else's view (hence we play photographer). In many parts of the 3rd world this intrusion of especially video is tolerated — we saw this in Brazil too — it is as if the record is more important than the event. And, of course, there is a logic to it — people can re-view + re-experience over + over now. Susann asked Rupal, Ramesh's new daughter-in-law, as we watched the video of her marriage if she would have remembered much of the ceremony without the video, + she said no. Still for events felt to be sacred + in themselves important, the new technology can be controlled, can be used without being overly intrusive. As Susann observed, were this a real religious ceremony, Jains would not tolerate such intrusion, not especially the talking + dirt of the audience. Many monks disallow cameras; many Jains have scruples about taking pictures of the "god" (Shagran). Yet many hire photographers for dikshas, Siddhichakra pujas, etc. They may step in front of the audience for a shot, but then they step back; they don't interfere, stage direct, hold up the action, or totally block audience view.

9 Mar (Sat cont) wedding


Receiving the groom at the marriage hall by bride's auntie: he carrying a silver coconut. Bride comes + garlands groom. Bride's auntie puts tilak on groom with rice (after she was tilak-ed by brahmin), she throws short sticks, then long sticks, red stones in all directions; groom crushes clay saucers tied together. Enter hall.

Groom's side on left, women in front; Bride's side on right 
Bag of sugar cubes brought by bride's uncle to groom's elder brother, who returns it with Rs 5 = invitation to groom to come to the mandap. Then the men of the groom's side get up + cross over, + women of bride's side cross, so now bride's side + groom's side are mixed, but the sexes are segregated.

Chap  ceremony: gifts of groom's side are displayed (chap = basket) in circle of men (A): gold necklace, earrings etc set, rings, earrings, at least 3 saris, etc. Bride's auntie takes the gifts + the coconut on the chap tray as a way of accepting the gifts.

Mandap: chairs face each other (Bride's chair with back to audience). Preliminary ceremony with bride's auntie + uncle + 2 brahmins on left side on floor  - tilak, water spooned on hands, rice put into hands... Groom then is seated. Uncle + Auntie both betel nuts, put on betel leaf, put on flowers, rice, water, wave towards selves. They hold a green, then give it to groom. Groom stands, gives green to brahmin's side. Uncle (w/ wife holding his arm) gives bowl of water to groom who now has placed his feet in Kali tray. Groom pours water on own feet, while uncle rubs it over feet. Throws rice, marigold. Uncle + auntie hold green, give to groom who puts tied leaves on ground + puts feet on it. Uncle + auntie give bowl of water to groom, who pours it into tray; Uncle + auntie give covered sugar bowl to groom; he opens it, spoons sugar into tray + eats some. Uncle + Auntie spoon water into cupped palms of groom. Groom in turn spoons water into palm of uncle. Uncle gives rice to groom, put into tray. Uncle gives money to groom (gives to his side). White sheet held over groom's lap. Mantras to invite the gods.

Bride is brought by her mother's brother. She puts her feet in a tray; auntie spoons water on them. Bride + groom stand + garland each other. [Hastamulab:] Sit, hold ^{right} hands out towards each other. Uncle + auntie place betel leaf on each hand, rice, marigold flower, betel nut, money + 2nd marigold. Mantras. Now rice then bride's hand turned into groom's with all the stuff inside. White cloth tied to bride's sari + put over groom's shoulder. Uncle tilak's groom + puts gold necklace on him. Auntie tilak's bride + puts gold ring on her left hand. Rice thrown. Red string put around couple. Uncle throws rice. Second (mother's brother) ^{+ wife} presents bride with diamond necklace set after tilaking both Bride + groom; tilak them again after; they then leave. Two young women tilak bride + groom. Bride and groom open hands - stuff removed. Stand.

Chairs now set side by side  bride groom with papa tray + fire tray set in front. Fire lighted - ghee added (someone explained: we pray in the presence of fire that we are married). Couple cup palms, water spooned into them, empty in tray. Marigold put in. Repeat: rice, marigold, water, marigold, water, marigold. Bride's brother (?) tilak couple. Couple stands; young brother throws rice. Circumambulation of the fire: bride crosses over +

leads groom around fire 3 times; then he leads once. Each time they go around women place a stainless steel plate + bowl at the front right corner; they also touch a green packet with their toe as go around that corner: red string tied per leaf around betel nuts (= Ganpati = Ganesh). Each time they go around they get a new betel leaf + rice to hold (but don't sit). Auntie explains to us that touching Ganpati is to ensure a permanent marriage, + that 4 = the 4 gods invoked (fire, earth, air + water). Then a row of 7 betel nuts laid out (7 = 7 rules she said: that wife follow husband, that husband care for wife, that husband not play around, etc - she couldn't remember)

Clean tray placed before couple; feed fire. Feed each other sweets: 5 bits he to her. A bit of humor - in revenge for feeding her too fast; she tries to shove a whole huge square of sweet down him - he turns his head away, she keeps trying + he refusing, auntie tries to help her; finally she breaks off a third - still a large bit which he accepts. Then 4 small bits.

Auntie puts ring on groom, wearing red cloth on shoulder; couple given ice cream - feed each other. Married women, 5 from each side, come to whisper in bride's right ear "have a long married life" - they put grain or sandalwood (+) in her cupped hands; whisper; + are given a stainless steel round box; each puts on red shoulder cloth + 7 red head tiara. Then bride stands + dumps the grain/sandalwood on the groom's head.

Bride + groom left briefly (by car). Return shortly for display of ~~of~~ bride's side gifts (purat): jewelry (incl diamond necklace), pearl necklace, silver coconut, silver kunkum set, saris, wood Royal folding chairs, keys to a dresser, big kitchen tin, kitchenware, etc. Groom's elder brother's wife accepts gifts by putting kunkum on several. Takes the silver coconut held by groom in her sari. Bride + groom now take blessings from their elders - [tearful parting from bride's family - going to groom's house - sisters block way - game with corns + untying knots].

Jetu, Africawalla's son, says one goes to the family goddess (kul-devi) to worship + untie the white marriage cloth from the sari before may actually sleep together. Is the 1st night they did not sleep together. Next morning they went to Tenaka, their ancestral village, + then to Mahudi, his father's favourite gd. This family's village is Jakasra, so their kul-devi is different. Evening - reception + dinner for about 1200.

Jetu says his wedding cost Rs 50,000, not counting the gifts - just the wedding, food + procession; that this wedding is a smaller copy of his wedding.

(Sushie says they fed 100 for 3 days before Anang's wedding, then 600 on the wedding day - cut costs by cooking themselves - still

Sit-down dinner ^{Rs} 20/head.)

10 Mar (Sun) DIKSHA - WADI-DIKSHA: 7:30 am procession: band lead with a singer at a microphone on a push cart; followed by men folk, one with tambourine + 2nd singer; 2 horse-drawn silver carriages with big picture of Rudi Sugar + the diksha girl, a pretty 28 year old in red sari smiling + throwing coins + rice; followed by women carrying basket of her new clothing. If this was the only procession, as it seems, then this is a small affair compared to Purnima's. This girl, Sonita, is the daughter of Panalal Shah; her brother Niranjan Shah now runs the family business making machinery parts. Her guru is Jaiaranda Sri ti. Three monks presided: Bhadrantker Suri in the center, Hemendra Suri to his left (a peer + co-disciple of their guru), + a 2nd. There were only a half dozen other monks, but perhaps a hundred nuns. Triamvada's wadi-diksha was done at the same time.

Neither this diksha, nor the wadi-diksha, were as elegant as the previous examples we've seen (Triamvada's diksha; the wadi-diksha at Parkaj Society). It all began with the most undignified pushing + scrambling by the women for seats; the organizers couldn't make up their minds about the spaces for the sexes, so there was much scrambling back + forth.

Triamvada + the nun who had been singled out at the Parkaj wadi-diksha were together; they + Sonita stood, went around the samasvaran sweeping before themselves + bowing to the samasvaran on each side; Sonita held a coconut instead of a broom, was dressed in red marriage sari. She put the coconut at the base of the samasvaran (There were coconuts on all 4 sides + in the center under the samasvaran, + lamps at all 4 corners.)

~~The girl of the broom who had been singled out at the Parkaj wadi-diksha~~ Sonita then took an ordinary broom, bows to guru, smiling broadly, bows to samasvaran. While Hemendra Suri recited the girls bowed down three times, then squatted, stood, bowed down. Then all three went to get blessed with sandalwood powder thrown by the guru; they bowed down 2x, squat, bow down ...

(Bow-down" - ie go down on all fours, brush selves off with broom front + back.) Series of prayers in which gurus + audience sit with hands on knees held open, alternately silent or with recitations by one of the gurus (at least 4x). Girls sit, all put hands palm together to forehead.

Cover samasvaran - girls turn to guru, bow down, stand, bow down as Hemendra Suri recites; uncover the god; girls stand, bow head while Bhadrantker Suri recites; bow down; stand, bow head; all hands on knees silent prayer while girls repeated bow head; girls repeat line after Bhadrantker

Sonita goes to be blessed with sandalwood powder - repeats lines. Giving of the broom: her family (5 women + 3 men) come up with nun's broom - give it to Bhadrantker who tosses it to Sonita; she spins around with it + walks around the samasvara smiling. She then spins for head shaving.

Boli (auction) for donating clothes to her - this again went quickly + undramatically (at Purnima's each item was held up dramatically - here they were not). Items went for just over Rs 1000 each: 1151, 1501, etc. A man next to me took two of these for women folk in his family. He did not go up, but his women folk did to be blessed by the guru. With the beating of the gong, the basket of clothes + implements went out. (At Purnima's the items were flourished, given to those who bid for the right to present them, + put into the basket; none of this here.)

Now the wadi-diksha girls stand + bow to samasvaran; god is covered; they bow down; god is uncovered; bow, bow down; with broom circumbulate samasvaran. Meanwhile the women have set up a din of chatter. Silence is demanded. Girls bow to gd + chant. Bhadrantker now speaks to Triamvada + she nods at his words. She sits. Gd covered.

Bhadrankar delivers a lecture. He refuses to use a mic, so he can't be heard. The men folk pretend to pay attention (Surenabhai, sitting next to one at this point, comments that it is impossible to hear. He occasionally seems to meditate.) The women folk hum with chatter.

Smita returns before Bhadrankar has finished speaking. The gang announces. He tries to continue — but people now really have begun to talk — he temporarily wraps up (hands up in *namaste* gesture). Smita enters with all her gear on her back; this is lifted off her. She sits. Bhadrankar finishes his lecture.

God is uncovered; 3 girls stand while audience hands open on knees; girls bow. Cover god; Smita stands alone. Uncover god: Hair plucking ceremony. Women sing "Diksha is the real life, not the life we lead; we lead a life of drudgery & unhappiness." (Surenabhai's rendition). Triamvada + 2nd nun are blessed with sandalwood. Prayer. Smita is blessed with sandalwood.

Rice throwing ceremony. Rice mixed with sandalwood is handed out to all, & as the 3 girls go around the samevaran people throw the rice (3x circumambulation) a shout "Jina s'asan dev ki jai" (Jainism's reign, may it be victorious). * Mantras recited; Triamvada + 2nd nun bow down 3x, repeat some lines, bow.

New name given to Smita: Saptam-vada Sri Ji (Sapt = truth; vada = ~~truth~~ speak). God covered, uncovered.

Triamvada's family (dentist, dity, Africa-wella, Malti, Bharat Shah, Ramesh Sheth) — some give cloth to guru; stand at exit + tilak people leaving, give each Rs1 + a sweet.

Smita - Saptamvada's brother invites us to lunch; he studied at Utah U, worked in Detroit; says an auntie (mother's sister) had previously taken diksha; says his sister has been preparing for this for 5 years. (* Rice throwing. Surenabhai offers explanation that the rice should be coins, but since all are not rich enough to throw away coins, rice is substituted; it symbolizes a token renunciation, until such time as a full renunciation can be taken. A respect to the diksha.)

Afternoon: India wins the world cricket match. The afternoon Gita reading has to wait til 5:45. Today only the sisters + DC's wife have come. A ~~photo~~ picture of the deceased, with a marigold garland, has been set up next to the TV.

Ken: This past fortnight was one of the 3 ^{very} long pratikramanas during the year, which mark seasonal changes for monks; the other two are at the beginning + end of Chaturmas. Among the dietary + rule changes is the rule of how long a monk can keep boiled water: 9 hours during monsoon, then 12, then 15 — has to do with the amount of time organisms on the water take to regenerate (faster in monsoon). Tappa Gaccha do the fortnightly long pratikramanas on the 14th instead of the 15th (i.e. there's a day difference in calculation).

Siddhi chakra puja — 2 celebrants = Indra - Indrani.

11 Mar (Mon) Tripathi. Deposit system different in Abad mills from either Bombay or Manchester — in the latter only pd interest on deposit, here both interest + dividends. Wholesalers had both deposit + shares in the mills. Production of cloth previously was a putting out system, where the shopkeeper then sold the cloth to the wholesaler; with the mills, production then replaced the putting out system. Marketing-distribution: 1931 Arvind Mills pioneered appointing its exclusive wholesalers + retailers up country. This was because until then Calico Mill was the only one producing four count cloth; when Arvind Mills went into this kind of cloth, Calico told wholesalers not to deal in Arvind cloth on pain of losing Calico Business. The distribution system set up by Arvind later was used to sell Atul dyes + chemicals. Shri Ram + DEM did the same in the 1940s — wholesaling was little developed in Delhi, so a whole marketing system including the up country distribution was established, + later was used to sell other products, like their fans. New PhD disc by Suryata Patel on the Mill Owners Assoc — see article in Ec + Polit Weekly; she teaches in the School of Planning.

12 Mar (Tues). Shyamra Shodhan: Visa Forward Meshri Banya caste used to have an annual feast until 30-40 years ago; it would be given by 3-4 families appointed each year in turn. The caste organization still exists, but today primarily handles education funds + relief funds — there are not so well off members. It's been 50 years or so since there's been concern with out-of-caste marriage — the pattern is clear in the genealogy that in the last generation there has been free marriage out of caste. He does not really remember any incidents of out-casting or marriage lines; but for going abroad there were several castes around 1910-11. Two of his uncles went abroad, + were thrown out of the caste. The reason has to do with food + water — eating food cooked by unknown persons/ways, + especially drinking non local well water. His father, an orthodox Vallabhacharya Vairava, never ate or drank outside the house, + would always bathe before eating or drinking — he would go to the mills, whatever the weather + not take anything. His brother is still the same way. In fact, he too, Shyamra, rarely drinks or eats outside. The two uncles who went abroad were later taken back into the caste. The purification ceremony involved going to the religious head (descendant of Vallabhacharya), reporting, fasting, + going to bathe in the waters of the Ganges (at Benares) + Yamuna (at Mathura). The caste had a hereditary head (nath sheth) — the family today is merely a middle class family, no longer powerful or influential. Vallabhacharya had one son + eight grandsons: there are 8 gadi or seats of the sect; one of them is Ahmedabad. It is located in Doshiwada's Pole (Natolaji's Temple) near Ratampol. There are 84 bataks in India, one of which is in Naroda: Vallabhacharya travelled around India three times — batak are where he stopped, stayed, + read Bhagata. Unlike him, there is no public spending on temples + the like; merchants make offerings (bet) but there are no plaques, announcements, auctions. The kriyas at the temple are very elaborate, and one can donate jewelry for ornaments — the temple is very rich in jewelry. Several times a day for 1/2 an hour or 15 minutes at a time, there is darshan in the temple.

Vallabhacharya is only concerned with Krishna until his adolescence. The reason for this Shyama did not know - maybe youth is pure. So the 7 timings of darshan are constructed around his daily routine as a cowherd: mangala (getting up at 6-7am depending on the season), Sangar (getting ready), raj bak (lunch 11:30-12), siesta, bog (afternoon rising), evening return with the herd, sleep. Aside from rules about not drinking water from non-local pure wells & eating outside the house; the 11th day of the Hindu month is a "fast" which means not eating cereals (wheat, rice), but one can eat fruits, flour from sweet potato, etc.

Merchant class & the Visa Torward Meshri Banya caste were all Vallabhacharya Vaishnavas. Yes Swami Narayan is also Vaishnava, but they are mainly Patels, from agricultural castes, etc.

Visa Torward Meshri Banya caste traditionally were located in two Poles: 1/2 were in Raj Mehta's Pole, & the other 1/2 in Sankri-sheri. Shyama lived as a child in the Pole - Sankrisheri - they came out in 1943-44. Harsh's family came out earlier but made an intermediate stop in the Big house by the Sidi Sayyid Mosque before coming across the river: they're from Raj Mehta's Pole; the big house was built in 1917-18, and the present houses in 1946-47 - war time profits.

Three major crises in the mill industry: 1935-36 - 1936-39 many mills changed hands; 1961; 1978-80.

Gotra - Shyama says this means clan & essentially is the caste: gotra endogamy (?). Pratilom (forbidden) lagna (m) is like 3rd cousin; anulom (allowed) lagna (m). He says he belongs to Kashab gotra. Note he says 3 Mangaldas daughters married into Shadhans, but no Shadhan women went the other way. He was confused about gotra - said he'd check.

Until 1955 people went to England & Europe for education; but since then they've been going to the States.

Dini's family - a Jain family from Tatan: Boglal Loharchand was a spice/dry grain? (karigata) merchant, then came to A'bad & moved on to Bombay in the jewelry trade; in 1932 he bought the Edward Sassoon Mills, renaming it Sriniram Mills, & then the BattiBoy trading Co. Boglal had only a 4th standard education, had 2 sons & 6 daughters (2 other sons died) all of whom received university education - the 3 elder daughters got BAs & married businessmen, the 3 younger ones became M.D.s or PhD chemist (Dini). Boglal who died 4 years ago, aged 96, still maintained the ancestral home in Tatan. This is not uncommon - many houses in Tatan & Talarpur, the centers of the old Jain commercial communities - one maintained & kept empty & locked.

Shyamji's grandfather, Balabhai Damaldas, was in the share-market & like Mangaldas sold mill shares, & worked with Ranehchall. It was the period 1870-75 or that they get experience with mills, so that in 1892 they started Aroyda Spinning & Weaving; later with Isadi & Mehta Mangaldas started Victoria & Jubilee Mills in Bombay.

Evening dinner at Harsh Mangaldas.

Shastri: Muni Arun Vijayji (coming to town, they met him in Jamnagar where he held a conference on logic) was expelled by his guru or left him (?); has only 2 disciples; is revolutionary in running youth camps, eye camps (last year in Baroda gave out eye-glasses); is young: 35-36. He will be taking the exam set by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavara (in Bombay) for the degree of "acharya" Jain Nyaya (logic) Chowpaty.

13 Mar (Wed) Evening went to see Navabhai Shastri. To get more information on Santabhai, including diaries etc, see Manubhai Pardi at Hattibhai Vadi, "Vishnavatsalya" or Dehu Darvazeh. Re Digambaras of whom there are 1000 in A'bad, call Mitale Gohitari (res: 66668; off: 385154) - he edits a magazine & runs a school, coaching kids. Navabhai did but spiel again on how all Hindu gods are shown holding a weapon; they are gods - they create the world, do things for you, etc. Whereas Jain tirthankaras are not gods, they are not even individuals - you cannot tell one tirthankara from another except by the symbol at the base. They are a representation of yoga, of concentration - they are always shown in the seated meditation position (he demonstrated) - asana. (Only Bahubali is represented standing, he is not a tirthankara). There are 14 stages of spiritual development; after the 4th of gnana guna (?) there is no need to visit temples. He never goes to temples. I asked again why he & Santabhai split - after 23 years of service Santabhai asked him to leave. It was a dispute over Indira Gandhi (1961-62 ?) - Navabhai said working for her in the elections would bring dictatorship & he refuse; Santabhai said we must support her (time of split of Congress). Santabhai said take 3 days to think over & you'll come to understand; Navabhai said, I've read Marx et al, you haven't, I understand political science, I'm as intelligent as you what is to think over. He was asked to resign from the editorship of Vishnavatsalya as well, of course. Still he says their disagreement was a minor thing. Santabhai did great service. People have asked him to finish his memoir of Santabhai, but he's not got the proper mood. Also recommended Dr. Soneji to us. Re the student agitation - the students are right, only he disagrees with the means of burning buses & so on; still when the government won't listen or talk to you, you have to throw stones. He too argues that it is wrong the number of medical seats has not been increased for years. When he was Education Minister, for 5 years there were no strikes, because whenever things came up - & a major strike was threatened at the beginning of his tenure - he called in the students & talked to them. The current government has not published the Rani report because it's policy doesn't agree with it; prefer to play politics & get votes from the "disadvantaged" communities is wrong for a Harijan's son who has made it to get privileges when a poor person can't get it; it's wrong for people with 80% on their exams not

14 Mar (Thurs). Went to Matti + Bhavrat Shah's — he's just come back from Kairav-ji near Udaipur, his 1st ever visit. It is claimed by both Svetambar + Digambar (1 of 3 temples so disputed in court, the others being Antrikshji in Maharashtra, + Marikshji in MP), but here also the Advaitis (Bhule, etc) come in, just walk up to the idol + put on sandalwood, without mouth cover, puja clothes, bath, nothing. Also odd to have pictures of Krishna in a Jain temple. Today was the annual celebration — anniversary of the installation of the temple. He went with an old man who goes from Bombay every year — the old man actually fell ill when he got to A'bad + did not continue, but he went with the grandson. The papers there have you write down who you've come with, address + signature + date + show you your ancestors who've been there. Most people know their lineage 7 generations back. He didn't check out ancestors, figuring these guys were after money — they persisted, he gave them a couple of rupees, + wrote his name etc. He is the secretary of his 35 village community group (Tatris gam Visa Srimali) from Kera district (he's from Tadgel village). They still have a house in the village — a cousin lives in it. The community has a building in Shapur, with a temple on the 2nd floor, a hostel for boys, + a hall for marriages. There is a governing Board of 30 elected + 2 appointed (roughly 1 representative per village — 35 was that too large —?) The "main donor", Shankarlal Chaterlal, a cloth merchant, now deceased, was on it + his sons have the right to appoint someone to the Board. He contributed most of the funds for the building; it was inaugurated by Kester Bhai. He gave me the last community register — it includes everyone, not just those in A'bad — Rs 100 gets you a life membership, plus Rs 5/year. His uncle donated funds for this book (those who donated more than a certain amount got their picture printed — the book thus paid for itself; a couple of years later, someone put out an updated telephone register in honor of his father. A new update is in process.) This uncle was also a past president. They raised money recently for a welfare fund (1 1/2 lakhs?) — there are poor members — a senior person estimates what they need + has a shopkeeper send grain, etc. — no money; done in a way to preserve the dignity. Or a rich family may adopt a poor one + help them indirectly. (What Africa wells is trying to set up for his community) (It's like the recent government sponsored Village Adoption Scheme, where industrial houses are encouraged to help with irrigation, etc — submit a proposal + the government matches with a subsidy.) They're talking about doing joint marriages to reduce the cost burden, but so far it hasn't happened. They decided they needed at least 4 couples; they got one married one, but people milled out.

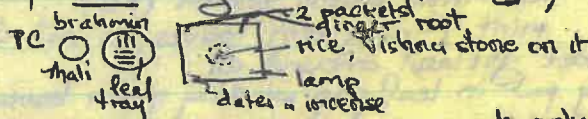
There is still fear that others will think you can't afford a marriage + people don't want to be so exposed even if they have to go into debt. At minimum a marriage of a daughter will cost Rs 20,000 in velas (gold ornaments), 10,000 for dinner + 5,000 misc (invitations etc.). One cannot buy such gold all at once; a father will start putting gold aside whenever he can. By the time Malti was 20 their father had gold all set aside. Traditionally families in trading castes put aside 20% of profits each year in fixed assets - gold or land (agricultural, urban). Tals invest much more in gold than dairies - not only do they have high coercive dowries, but they will have lakhs of rupees in their women's gold jewelry figuring it as reserve funds, always immediately convertible (stocks may take a week to get cash), + usually increasing in value. Two generations ago marriage within the community was enforced: his FFB married out + paid a stiff penalty to the community to do so. Such penalties were to discourage such marriages, but if paid you remained a member in good standing. If you didn't pay, you were outcasted - no one had relations with you, didn't invite you to functions, didn't help with yours - an intolerable situation in traditional settings. His parents are both from the community, but he married a Visa Oswal ("Kasturbhai's group"). All the sons of the main donor have "married out." He thinks joint families are breaking apart rapidly, but admits in the cloth market, much of the economic activity is not in cloth - the father may run the cloth shop + have sons trading in other things. His father lived in Dar-es-Salaam, had a provision store which he sold + worked for a big co. Before returning back to India some 20 years ago. It was only after the return that he suddenly became very religious. Also Bhand who returned a bit earlier than his father became religious only after coming to India - he says if he'd gone to the States things might have turned out differently. Malti seems the least religious of the family, chafes under her brother's conservative control, seems to have refused marriage, he won't let her go out, travel alone. She did do an 8 day fast during Purnima together with her father + brother a few years ago - they did a Siddi chakra puja to celebrate. Her father did this fast 6 years running. Her brother won't eat after dark, won't have a TV in the house. Purnima's 1st group - young man jealous of her, insisted she be her chela. Know quite a no. who have left the neighborhood - 1 woman got married after 20 years of being a neer. Malti says Purnima made her take a vow never to eat ice cream on the grounds that it is made with ground up bones! Her brother won't let them have a TV in the house.

15 Mar (Fri) Morning at Vidyarthi with Jennifer + her 4 students. Failure again to get books wrapped + mailed. Tried to check out ways to get to Palitana. Evening Chekov anniversary with Vijay at Alliance Francaise: a superb adaptation of one piece into Hindi, with rhythmic reading + much play with sound. Another play read in English, nicely done.

16 Mar (Sat) PALITANA. We took Punjabi Travels to Bhavnagar + a taxi from there. Along the way we saw 2 major temples under construction — at Songest (presumably the new Kanji Swami temple) and a bit further near a village on the open desert, a large temple (Kirtidan) where a boy from Bombay was killed on his way to Palitana, an auto-truck accident. His father is a Bombay diamond merchant. Bhavnagar seemed like a relatively nice town with a number of old grand buildings from the 17th - 18th century. Palitana seems considerably more run-down — also some once grand buildings — local conveyance are horse carriages with lovely little British lions on the back doors, the horses garlanded. Towards Shatrughaj hill side of town are a slew of dharamshalas in various states of repair. A very nice large one was filled, several luxury buses outside; other run ones were half built, but used. There were old ones as well. We found a place in one (one gives a donation — Rs 21 was suggested), but there were too many mosquitoes + we moved to the new Hotel Swastik (there is also a gut Hotel Sumera). Shatrughaj is a striking flat topped single hill rising above the plain. At the bottom several new temples are being built, esp. a somasvarasan dedicated to 108 Parsvarath (aside from the 4-faced ones inside + on top, there is a line of 108 idols around the inside of the bottom. Below this is an Adinath temple; and the agama mandir (the scriptures inscribed in marble — an old-style temple still painted in bright colours). One climbs the hill above — many series of stairs, foot hill above foothill — one cannot see Shatrughaj until one gets to the top (from far away on the plain one sees one tall temple). Suddenly the hill comes into full view looking like a Walt Disney Wizard of Oz set — a walled city of temples. Two paths lead up, the one to the left leads around to the main Adinath Temple, which appears to be the primary place people do puja — there are sellers of roses, a place to change into puja clothes, there are even solar panels (to heat bath water?). After climbing up in the heat of the afternoon we only had time to view this main taka (walled set of temples) — repairs are being made, there's a large marble somasvarasan in one corner. Next morning we went up again + started on the right path + highest taka (with the tall tower that can be seen from the plain). In the valley between the two ridges is a sparkling white taka with some colorful elephants, chaakidars + other carvings. Above there are also some evidences of paint in the past — a shift towards white + marble facing seems to be in process. There are a slew of wiry guys who carry people up + down on dholis (polaris/side).

Met a banker with Baroda Bank who has lived in Sidney + Fiji. Says there was a bankruptcy recently of a big A'bad shroff worth crores — Reserve Bank is investigating — shroffs are licensed + have an Assam Work where there is little secured — cotton esp. where much capital is needed. Banks can't lend repeated amounts with no security.

18 Mar (Mon) Final funeral puja for P.C.'s mother. We mixed the rice yesterday: P.C. went to the Sabarmati River (near Gandhi Ashram) to bathe (symbolically: a bucket, near the K) + perform 3 pujas: to the gods, to fire (a dung patty fire + ghee), and the rite with cotton string etc. (see above). This morning while Brahmins cook prepare lunch for 100-150, another Brahmin leads P.C., dressed in dhoti, thru the puja in the house. All the implements which P.C.'s mother used are to be given to help her along her journey to the next world: her bed & pillow + cover (actually new ones) were put at the landing by the door; grains, fruits + vegetables she used to eat are part of the puja settings; a stove, lantern, rope, + cheppals are on one side for the panthi (guide along the path). The Brahmin gets the bed + food; a 1st man passing by is supposed to be the panthi + get the stove, lantern, rope + chapati-maker (rope to draw water for her, chapati-maker to make food for her, lantern to light her way, stove to cook, walking stick, lots mud to drink from U) - people don't like to perform this function.



PC had straw tied around 3rd finger of right hand; in dhoti + kurta

Install Vishnu (dark stone on leaf):

Spoon water onto stone 4x; hold rice in hand one cuffed over other + dump into thali; spoon water 2x into glass, put some rice in, rose petals dipped in water + white powder + put in cup, place hand over glass-cup
 pour water from glass → little cup - put bit on head several times
 dip petal into + place on table
 held rose petals, dump into tray/thali, spoon water onto them
 put water into a leaf cup, annoint fr thus onto Vishnu-stone, put milk on + petal mint leaf, spoon water on
 pick up stone, wash it, put it on leaf, red string on it, white string on it
 put white string around PC's neck; rice, petals, green leaf, white powder
 light lamp, + put Vishnu on rice pile on table, wave hand toward stone = offering → get
 arti + brahmin rings w/ spoon on cup; spoon water on Vishnu, petals, namaste do, put lamp on table

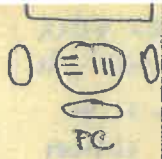
is only ceremony we do not beg of Ganesh (end with Ganesh)

All thali w/ water, take out leaf, add milk

Sesame, rice + unhusked rice given → PC to put grain by grain into thali
 brahmin lays straw across; PC stirs thali with straw, does namaste → diff direct.
 put water on top of head, hold spoon of water, place storer straw on leaf tray
 hold straw which had been laid on thali with thumbs + dip hands in water
 hold string around neck thru both thumbs + cont. dipping w/ grass/straw " "
 double the straw + cont, turn hands so most water thru it hand
 put right hand through string (address gods) - tap some water fr thali → ground
 set tray aside (clear)
 dry leaf put on thali: put rice on it, straw on it, petals on it; hold it; repeat action
 dump all onto the 2 straws on the leaf tray repres F + FF; add rice + water

PC Mo's mo-in-law, her mo-in-law, her mo-in-law

shift neck string - put left hand thru (address ancestors); put straw stirrer back in thali
 put water + milk alternatively on F, FF, M
 put water on straw stirrer
 take leaf cups; put in sesame + rose petals, + dump onto M straw
 put water, then milk, then water again on 3 straws repres the 3 gen of mo's in law
 take leaf cup - put in grass, unhusked rice, rose petals, rice, and put on ↑
 then pour water fr this cup on the straw repres Mo
 shift neck string - put right hand thru - set thali aside



put 3 betel leaves on 3 sides of leaf tray with jaggery on ea.
 3 pieces of jaggery on leaf to left, 2 pieces on leaf to right
 + 1 on leaf in front
 put milk on these, then rose petals
 brahmin requests ginger root to be chopped up - puts 3, 2 + 1
 pieces on the leaves as above

[call ancestors, feed them rice + milk, felicitate them, + send them back]
 red powder + water smeared in circle on ground [where thali was]
 lay a straw across top, on 2 straws in T inside bottom
 put rice on T and above the straw at top, rose petals too
 place thumb of right hand on straw at top + rest of hand on T
 do namaste; spoon water on T; namaste

shift neck string - left hand through } take pind rice balls +
 also sit with left leg folded under } place on circle
 3 balls + 1 lingam - rice w/ dal in it
 place "lingam" 1st
 represents Mo

return -> cross-legged position
 spoon water, milk, turmeric onto the pind, red kankun
 lay white string across (= clothes) the 3 balls
 red string across lingam (Mo)
 mint (tiny green) leaves on all 3
 place garland around all
 jaggery put in leaf cup w/ tiny green leaves - hold thumb on
 spoon water on pind, rose petals on, white powder (bhil)
 + red powder (kula), add a Rs 1 coin to left
 wave namaste hands

shift neck string - put right hand through
 PC gets up from his seat - the seat is in turn taken by
 the daughters-in-law + daughters put white bhil, red kula + rice
 on the pind, namaste, add rose petals

PC returns: uses string + straw to cut through the "lingam" into 1/3 s
 draw straw thru + out
 take 1st ball + top 1/3 of "lingam" + press them into a single ball
 = pin to ancestor

shift neck string - put left hand thru
 merge 2nd half w/ 2nd piece + 3rd ball w/ 3rd

[no tears now, but she return]
 water each pind (spoon water), put kankun on each, rice, grass
 hold jaggery in leaf cup - spoon water on
 hold hands over upside down w/ thumbs crossed
 turn hands over; namaste; spoon water on
 hold pind to nose (face?) + place in tray w/ garland
 use straw stirrer to push together the 2 sets of 3 straws +
 place rose petals on them

PC stands, puts right hand thru neck string
 leaves to go sit + smoke his pipe

[The stone Vishnu is installed, but Siva + Brahman are also invoked
 pray for all relatives, teachers, friends, peons, etc.
 yesterday's ritual were 5, 11 + 15 pind

Tom: cotton prices at Diwali time set in terms of a futures market (tho
 technically illegal). Patidar-Patel are squeezing Jains out by doing their
 own marketing - have land, get loans thru coops, etc; get help -> them.

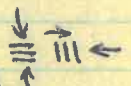
The above was the 12th day ceremony; after 1/2 hr we began
 the 13th day purification ceremony -

3 bells represent
 the 3 sons of
 Mo-in-law

saying
 good-bye

merging with
 the ancestors

words: "Noti Ben,
 you are going, go
 away, go in peace,
 we've called your
 ancestors"



19 Mar (Tues). Yesterday's bandh against the reservation policy turned violent last night - at least 3 persons died. Police opened fire in Dariapur - 8 rounds were fired to disperse people in Dabgarwad mohalla. Police said 3 persons only were injured but Civil Hospital reported 6 people brought in of which 2 died, + the other 4 were serious; VS Hospital reported 5 admissions of whom 1 died + 4 were serious. One report said an acid bulb thrown at a police inspector prompted police to fire. There seems to have been a pitched battle for an hour in Dabgarwad, Nagira Tol, Vadigam areas. Curfew was imposed from Dariapur gate + Swamurangan Temple to Kalapur, Vadigam, Dariapur crossing + Prem Darwaja. Houses + shops were set afire in Chholealki Tol, Badealki Tol, Nagira Tol, Charan Talawadi; post offices at Naranpura + Bapuragar. Tear gas used to disperse mobs in Gomtipur, Haveli + Khadi area. Police have detained 400 involved in stone throwing in Raktual, Naranpura, Sarapur, Navrangpura + Taldi. (Swarat too had stone throwing + arson.) 8 buses set on fire. (Times of India)

Bhacker Bhatt, a leader of the agitation, was attacked in labor-dominated Ambarwadi area. A'bad Bar Assoc put out call to support the agitation + stay away from all courts; A'bad Medical Assoc who is supporting the demand for abolishing reservations, claimed that majority of 1400 medical practitioners kept their dispensaries closed. Junior Doctors Assoc called for token strike - but Civil Hosp reported that most junior doctors reported for work. Banks closed at noon as agitation went around forcing them to close. Reserve Bank main door glass panels stored + broken. Parived Natl Bank in Navrangpura - furniture + records burned (pulled out); Dena bank at Gomtipur + Bank of India at Naranpura attacked. By after noon 148 buses = targets of stone throwing; 2 buses burnt (total of 8 since agitations began). Students put bundles on many roads (rocks etc) to prevent vehicles from moving on bandh day. Was Police Inspector B.L. Parmar who opened fire when he was attacked with acid bulb as he tried to intervene in a clash. Gautham Ranchhod Patel, 43, of Kalapur Chhipa Tol killed in a private firing. At least 8 houses burned in Dariapur. Bus burned in Taldi. Post office in Naranpura + Bapuragar also set on fire (Indian Express)

Both papers carry stories on Rane Commission which recommended that family income + occupation be sole criteria of social backwardness for reservations in jobs + education; and that the list of backward classes prepared by the Baki Commission be scrapped. Rane Commission (under retired judge of Gujarat High Court C.V. Rane) aptd April 20, 1981. Rec. Rs 10,000 annual income be the criterion for reservation. Government did not accept the criteria of occupation + income; raised reservation seats on Jan 11. Agitation now 5 weeks old. Rane Commission - dissenting note by G.L. Bhagat in favor of keeping caste criterion. (Indian Express)

On Saturday the Government had declared it would not implement the new reservation policy for 1 year, + would review the policy during that time. The anti-reservation groups however called a bandh to completely abolish reservations.

Today curfew was imposed in the old city. When we went to our Gujarati lesson with Regional Parmar, he indicated that things were now moving into a communal hot stage, and that was a note we heard repeated throughout the rest of the day. In fact, he suggested, there is a complex interplay between the reservations issue + the communal tensions. Every 4 or 5 years there has been a Hindu-Muslim conflict, the worst being at independence and in 1969. After 1969 the

Dalit Panthers (harijans) [Dalit = down-trodden] warned that in the next riots they were likely to ally themselves with the Muslims rather than with the Hindus as they had in the past [a class alignment]. Muslims were the big losers in 1969. The current communal clashes have been going on since Jan. 14. (kite-flying day) — a clash in Dariuspur. It is not beyond the politicians to use the communal clash (encourage a little riot) to cool the anti-reservation agitation (frighten the high caste Hindus). ~~the~~ Nor, given the monopoly on power by the Congress, is it beyond the opposition to encourage a little riot to suggest Congress is not in control or able to lead. The key political opposition force behind the scenes is the BJP (the old Jan Singh, supported by RSS + upper caste Hindus).

Zubade yesterday went into a diatribe about the reservation policy & how the government is doing everything to destroy the middle class — forcing its members down or up (the intelligent & able ones are forced into corruption). A brahmin lady who claims to support reservations (her children are opposed) said the state Congress party was mischievous to announce the new policy before the elections — they would have won without this. Many people have been saying students always come up with some bandh or strike at the time of exams. But there are many frustrated students anxiously worried whether they can take exams (a) before they forget what they've been studying (b) in time for applications to schools elsewhere (in Delhi, abroad).

Raymond Turner also commented about the hypocrisy of A'badis always talking about ahimsa, yet as these periodic communal riots show, violence is very much present inside. He claims to challenge his NID students on this, & they get very upset. I asked if there were any gods (projective figures) like Durga-Kali in Bengal dealing with violence: on Mt. Parasur near Baroda there is Kar Kamata (a Kali figure); in A'bad there is the Bhadra Kali. The latter is in fact quite interesting: Bhadra fort is a Muslim fort placed on top of a Hindu temple; then when the Marathas came, they installed the current Kali Mandir in the side of the Bhadra Gate.

In the evening we were supposed to have dinner with the American students at Vidyapith. As this side of the river was supposed to be calm, we went there by rickshaw. Along the way we passed a place where students had put stones across the road; and across

from Vidya-pith we saw roaring flames in a compound - 4 shops seem to have been set on fire. The young men at the Vidya-pith were gathered at the gate, were concerned we not go out (the police would beat us, as the area was under curfew - there were no police in evidence), and we did indeed have some difficulty finding a rickshaw to take us home - 3 turned us down before one agreed. Nelan's restaurant + Vijay Corner were all closed up, so we went home + had noodles for dinner.

PC says he'd heard 7 stores had been burnt - a Bata shoe store (Muslim) and a Bhagata store (Hindu). The army has been called in to help restore order. A'bad made the national news.

Raymond Parmar's neighbor was beat up last night as he came home on his scooter - he was asked if he was Hindu or Muslim - answered Hindu + was beaten. Mrs Parth claimed to have been caught in a mob + escorted to safety by a retired police officer.

We also stopped by Vijay + Roopa's in the afternoon - Lalbhai, ^{deliberate} strategy to maintain good relations with their traders (distribution network) is paying off now in hard-times. Other traders are switching to power loom producers. (DCM is disinvesting in textiles; Calico did not have good relations with distributors - 10 years ago, c. 1976 they tried to cut off their traditional dealers + set up their own system, it did not work + returned to the old dealers who now gave them hard terms. The Vaishnava network of Milk (Mangaldas, Shyamra) had a rule that technicians from one mill could not be hired by another of this group.

20 Mar (Wed) Times of India - no. of injured now = 45, ²⁰ rival groups clashed w/ sticks, iron pipes, acid baths, etc. Curfew in entire old city + army called in. Police have fired 40 rounds - 32 (2 more by stabbings). Early morning burning spree: 30 shops gutted btw Teen Darweja + Patasa - ni Tot on Gandhi rd; 3 shops + Big Bldg gutted at Dhalgerhward; ~~3 shops~~ 2 houses Kalapur Tanch Patti; 3 shops Gol Linda nr municipal corp. Police fired > 260 tear gas shells. Worst affected areas: Harek Chawk, Relief Rd, Gandhi Rd, Naginewadi/Wadwade Pol in Shahpu Darapur, Zakaria Masjid + Dhalgerhward. Big fire in evening in Lathi Bazar Gita Mandir 30 shops burned Fernandes Bridge. 800 detained. Student leaders Karu Patel, Vata Sutraja, + Pradipsinh Rawal condemned the violence, reiterated determination to carry on their agitation. (Feb 27 incident at Nadiad - ST Bus set afire + 3 killed, Mar 10 " Rajkot - ST bus conductor burnt alive) agitation started Feb 6 at Morvi engineering college

State legis - charges 3 opposition parties instigating - Ashok Bhatt (BJP) commented 3 finances of agitation were sitting on treasury benches + named Congress party members. Agitation group: All Gujarat Education Reforms Agitation Committee, now called Akhil Gujarat Navrachana Samiti. Violence 1st vs public property, then casti/communal overtones. Baxi Rept had categorized 82 groups as backward. Mandal Report called for 27% reservations country-wide - tabled 3 yrs ago

Calcutta: natl exec of Bharatiya Janata Party decides not to revive Jana Sangh - party now broader based, even have a Muslim legislator, want to free BJP of stigma of being a Hindu party. Vajpayee says party has no truck with Vishwa Hindu Tarishad, the various members sympathize with. 1st time tried to meet in W. Bengal.

Express - death toll now 8, looting of shops, police fired c 100 rounds + 380 tear gas shells. 2 rickshaws burned nr Vijay cross-rds Nadrangpura; furniture shop burned nr Netraj cinema on Ashram Rd, timber store at Gita Mandir.

Lunch at Atmaram Sutar's. As we drove across Gandhi Bridge to the north of the walled city, we could look into the deserted - under curfew streets. Atmaram says everyone passively supports the anti-gvt

agitation; the gut won the elections only because there was no viable alternative. Yes once Panjrapols had rooms for insects; he tried once to start a dairy with Australian cows - it failed: too costly to feed cows in the city. Some other Board members did initially have qualms about biogas, but now it's a very popular idea. The Panjrapal here was started c. 100 years ago with a donation from the Nagarsheth. He Sataria is Deea Sironeli. His grandchildren (teens, early 20s) are all very stylish. Liquor & Beer allowed.

Evening saw Arvindbhai's.

21 Mar (Thurs) Stopped by H.N. Vora's office at 1104 - Harvard PhD, from a Jain trading family. Described a bit about the cloth market study: was at a time when almost all the cloth was mill cloth - just before power loom beg - & when the Government was making noises about cutting out middle men. Politicians et al. don't understand problems of trade. Mahajans were interested in the study. Some philosophical differences between south - credit on higher margins even if lower volume - and north: high volume even if lower margins: esp. Sindhis who have made a big impact here in textile trade. Is some networking around India by community ties. Difference between mfg & trade - traders who start small industries oft don't understand that there is a long lead period before you make money; often year 2, 3, when the business is just about to make it, a father or uncle says it's not profitable, lets close & sell. Vice-versa Calico Milk tried to open its own retail shops (129 around the country) - failed - retailer on average sells cloth from 16 mills; single mill outlet can't offer the variety. Earlier conference on distribution: Dhilakia, Nikhilesh & Rakesh Khurana - Public Distribution Systems 1979 Oxford - IBN

Sataria: the "borywalla" in both New Cloth Mkt and grain trade are Rajasthanis.

18 Mar continued

13th day Purification Ceremony -

setting was a bed with all the things
the departed would need

P = picture of departed
Gita w/ japa (wooly beads)
+ 2nd set of tulsi beads

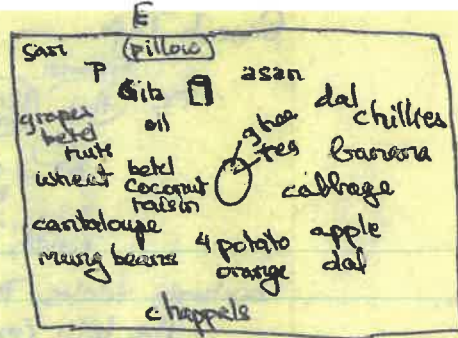
2 bars □ - tin of sweets
water pot under the bed

thali in center w/: tea, ghee, flour, sugar, salt, jaggery, rice, a Rs 5, dhal

head of the bed is towards the east (normal sleeping is E-W)
off to the side were placed the lantern, stove, chapati maker, walking stick, rope

lotsa mug
ghee lamps at all four feet of the bed
in front, at the foot of the beds a coconut

little earthen pitcher on a rice pile on betel leaf
little boat, ladder + cow
to right - earthen saucer with straw
tumeric paste
pot of water + straw



spoon water → cupped hand - drink it
put petals on spoon + put in pitcher
put water on grass
namaste; throw rice in all directions (Indra-Indrani, Brahma)

petals + rice held (Lakshmi, Vishnu) - give → brahmin, puts them on Gita

spoon water → pitcher, 3 grains (sesame, unhusked rice, rice) → pitcher

fill pitcher with water, put earthen saucer w/ straw on top; add rice

left hand through neck string - put in more rice grains on saucer

put kunkum on straw 2x, rice, straw, petals, leaf, white + red powder

spoon water on thali, namaste
brahmin pours two glasses of water into thali, put big straw on

PC put rice in, then hold straw in right hand + cup it in the water
then hold straw with both thumbs + dip in water

switch neck thread: right hand thru
tilak brahmin with tumeric, kunkum, rice; spoon water into brahmin's hand,

red, yellow, rice, petals, leaf, betel, rice, water

spoon water on cow, ladder + boat - kunkum each, rice, petals, mint

switch thread → left hand - spoon water → saucer
" " → right " - " " on ladder, cow, boat

hold rice in left hand + spoon of water in right
dump both in saucer

repeat but throw rice on the bed (repeat 4 more times)

namaste; 7th time rice + spoon of water → saucer
8-10th times like 2-6th

put leaf under each ghee lamp at each bed post - light lamps

put water, rice + petals on each leg
kunkum → picture of Mo + on Gita - rice, petals

PC sit again: spoon water 2x to tray
again rice in left hand + spoon of water in right

water → tray, rice → items on bed (4x)
namaste - long silence - 5th time throw rice at lantern/stove/d

wash hands, move bed a bit to E

PC take off kurta → bare chested
carry pitcher on right shoulder away ft house (down walk

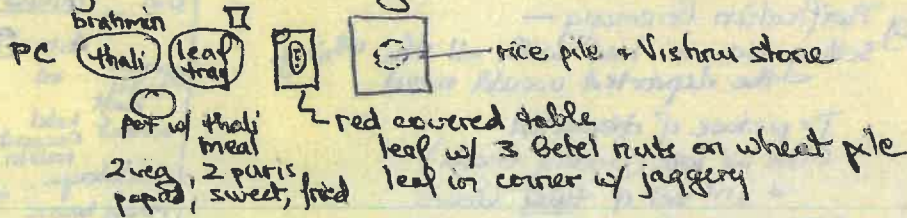
a few steps)

= purification of the house - til now in old days people would not

drink water in the house (was 1 person who still observed
this)

invoke Vishnu
Lakshmi
Brahma

Ganesh Puja - PC changed to street clothes



brahmin tilaks PC, ties red thread on his right hand, and around the lota (mug, II), putting the latter on the leaf tray

spoons water → PC's cupped hand: drink; namaste

spoon water w/ petal → thali

put petals on the 3 betel nuts - flick turmeric, rice, red string across, straw across, petals, white + red powder, wave toward god

spoon water → thali; namaste; wave toward god

put a betel nut on a leaf with rice + place on the row of 3 betel nuts, namaste

put kunkur on 4 sides of lota, spoon water into it, rice into it

take 2 betel leaves with betel nut, rice + rose petals + place on the lota; put coconut on top; amount of kunkur, petals, rice

PC holds out hands, brahmin puts in kunkur, rice, + petals hold to coconut, put rice, petals on, namaste

put lota + coconut on wheat pile

leaf with string wick - ball soaked in ghee lighted on tray

do arti with - brahmin rings on cup w/ spoon

brahmin spoons water around, petals on wheat pile - wave toward self flame on leaf

PC puts petals on wheat pile - wave namaste over bread
Spoon water → thali 2x

spoons water → palm → tray; namaste

spoons water c thali, wave toward self

spoon water → thali

2 spoon water → thali

flick turmeric on betel nuts on wheat, add leaf w/ betel + coin

take bit of jaggery + eat

brahmin blesses him

DC tilaked w/ kunkur + rice, puts petals + rice on Ganesh setting

Sushi, DC's wife, the daughters, maid, DC's da + da-in-law

[thali meal is blessing of food → be served today]

[Ganesh: small eyes - view things miraculously

long trunk - smells coming events in advance

big belly - conceal confidence

long ears - capacity to hear all

small head - no swell head

mouse/rat vehicle - so light, burden not felt by anyone]

final Gita portion read by 2nd brahmin

his table set w/ grapes, milk, cloth, thalis of fruit + veg
grains, jaggery, dal, g

end of arti over setting w/ ghee wick on leaf

put rose petals on Gita, take flame c + each wave → self
goddess presented → brahmin - done by DC's wife + 2 ft Surat

lunch - 12 brahmins fed 1st - chaste before + after, ea given token Rs 5
+ tilaked by women of family

Gita not read Tue + Wed - not auspicious

no lamp → be lit til Fri; then also wash hair again

Akashi - fast on 11th of each fortnight - 24 in year
celebration when complete 51, 101 - ♀