

## Sthanakavasi Jain Tradition

The origins of the Sthanakavasi (lit. hall-dweller) Svetambara Jain tradition can be traced to the Gujarati Jain reformer Lonka Sah, Lunka or Lumpaka (c. 1415–1489), who protested against the laxity of the contemporary Tapagaccha Murtipujak Svetambara Jain mendicants, because their conduct did not match the prescriptions of the oldest canonical texts. Lonka was the first layman who started a new religious movement within the Jain tradition. Because he copied manuscripts for Jain monks, he had unique access to the Jain scriptures and noticed that the oldest Svetambara scriptures do not mention the practice of merit-making by giving money as religious gifts (*dana*) for the construction of temples, nor the performance of image-worship (*murti-puja*) or similar ostentatious rituals involving the breaking of flowers and other acts of violence. On the contrary, the scriptures prescribed possessionlessness and strict asceticism: nonviolence, self-restraint, and penance. Lonka, therefore, rejected both image-worship and the authority of fourteen (or fifteen) of the forty-five canonical texts that contain references to it. He also denounced the legitimacy of the existing image-worshipping monastic orders and started to live as an uninitiated ascetic, following the oldest textual prescriptions himself.

The surviving original sources for Lonka's biography and doctrine are not entirely reliable. But most texts agree that, in contrast to common practice, Lonka accepted alms from all castes but no money, that he did not possess a mouthmask (*mukhavastrika*), a stick (*danda*), or a broom (*rajoharana*), and that he practiced neither image-worship nor the Jain rites of purification (*pratikramana* and *posadha*), which also involved elements of image-worship. Lonka quickly gained a large following among the Jains in Gujarat. Although he did not create a monastic order himself, he laid down instructions for his followers. The original texts were thought to be lost until 1964, when D. D. Malvaniya claimed to have rediscovered them in the L. D. Institute library in Ahmedabad in the form of two anonymously written manuscripts: *Lunka Na Saddahiya Ane Karya Athavan Bolno* and *Lunka Na Hundi*.

The Lonkagaccha mendicant tradition was formed by Lonka's first disciple, Bhana, who apparently initiated himself and forty-five followers of Lonka's doctrine sometime between 1471 and 1476 by accepting the five great vows of the Jain ascetics (*mahavrata*). In the first decades of the sixteenth century the Lonkagaccha split into several more or less organized regional or revisionist Lonkagaccha groups, most of which comprised lay-ascetics, or *yatis*, who did not accept all of the five great vows or reverted to image-worship. In the mid-sixteenth century, the Lonka tradition was split into more than thirteen independent branches, which further divided into separate subgroups. Until the demise of the Lonkagacch *yatis* in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, only four branches survived: the Lahauri

Lonkagaccha (founded c. 1504); the Nagauri Lonkagaccha (c. 1528); the Gujarati Lonkagaccha Mota Paks (Varsinha Paks, or Kesav Paks) (c. 1555); and the Gujarati Lonkagaccha Nana Paks (Kumvar Paks) (c. 1555).

In protest against the renaissance of image-worship and the renewed laxity of conduct of most Lonkagaccha (lay) ascetics, five reformers—the so-called *panca muni*—split off from the Kesav Paks, the Kumvar Paks, and the Ekal Patriya Panth (a lay movement of unknown origin) in the early sixteenth century and founded the principal Sthanakavasi mendicant traditions, which still exist today. The five traditions share three doctrinal characteristics: (1) rejection of image-worship, (2) strict ascetic conduct in accordance with the prescriptions in the thirty-two accepted Jain scriptures, and (3) compulsory use of a mouthmask to prevent the swallowing of living beings such as insects and dust. The square white mouthmask is now the principal external feature of all Sthanakavasi mendicants (the Terapanth Svetambara mendicants use a rectangular blue mask). Sthanakavasi laity generally reject material forms of worship (*dravya*) and practice only asceticism (*tapas*) and inner forms of worship (*bhava*), such as meditation (*dhyana*) and study (*svadhyaya*). Instead of images, they venerate the mendicants as living symbols of the Jain ideals.

They also practice *daya dharma*, the religious work of compassionate help (*dana*) for animals and human beings, in order to accumulate merit (*punya*) and thus to advance on the path of salvation. These three typical forms of ritual practice are known under the titles *guna puja*, *deva guru*, and *dana-daya*. In 1760, Muni Bhikhan, the founder of the TERAPANTH SVETAMBARA JAIN TRADITION, severed himself from the Dharmadasa Sthanakavasi tradition because he rejected merit-making as such, in favor of a purely salvation-oriented ascetic style of life.

The Sthanakavasi Jain tradition is presently divided into twenty-six mendicant orders whose origins can be traced to one or more of the five principal reformers (*kriya uddhara*) of the aniconic Jain tradition, although the available sources are inconsistent: (1) Jivaraja has been made responsible for all crucial innovations of the Sthanakavasi tradition, though some sources give priority to Lava. He lived sometime between 1524 and 1641 (probably having been born in Surat) and separated himself from the Kumvar Paks in 1551, 1609, or 1629. Apparently it was he who selected the thirty-two Svetambara scriptures that are now accepted by all Sthanakavasis (possibly by adding the *Vyavaharasutra* or the *Avasyakasutra* or both to Lonka's list, but there is no compelling evidence), and who introduced the mouthmask (*muhapatti*), the *rajoharan*, and other paraphernalia used by present-day Sthanakavasi mendicants. (2) Dharmasimha (1599–1671) severed himself from the Kumvar Paks in 1628, 1635, or 1644 in Dariyapuri in Ahmedabad and founded the Ath Koti (eight class) tradition. He was a scholar and wrote vernacular commentaries (*tabbo*) on the

Prakrit Jain scriptures. He introduced a special pratikramana rite for his lay followers and taught that there is no accidental death, because the lifespan of a living being is determined by its own karma. (3) Lava or Lavji Rsi (c. 1609–1659), the founder of the Dhundhiya (seeker) tradition, also known under the name Rsi Sampraday, was born in Surat and split from the Kesav Paks in 1637, 1648, 1653–1655, or 1657. (4) The founder of the Baistola (twenty-two schools) tradition, Dharmadasa (1645–1703) from Ahmedabad, was originally a member of the Ekal Patriya Panth, but under the influence of Lava and Dharmasimha founded his own tradition in 1660 through self-initiation. (5) Hara, the ancestor of the Sadhumargi tradition (a branch of the extinct Kota Sampradaya), separated himself from the Kumvar Paks in 1668 or 1728.

The name *sthanaka-vasi* (hall-dwellers), though in evidence in a text written in 1630, was not regularly used as a common designation for all five traditions until the unification movement of the early twentieth century. Doctrinally, only Dharmasimha's Ath Koti tradition in Gujarat differs significantly from the other four schools, which disagree only on minor points of philosophy and ritual. The Sthanakavasi traditions as a whole nowadays are divided along regional lines between the Gujarati and the non-Gujarati (North Indian) traditions. The non-Gujarati traditions are further subdivided into those who joined the reformist and centrally organized Sramanasangha, which was founded in 1952 in Sadari in Rajasthan in a merely partially successful attempt to unite all Sthanakavasi groups, and those who remained outside or left the Sramanasangha. Both the Sramanasangha and the independent traditions include mendicant orders that derive from four of the five main Sthanakavasi traditions (the exception is the Ath Koti tradition), which were split into some thirty-three different organized groups at the beginning of the twentieth century. Although they are nominally under the command of one single *acarya* whose consent is essential for all initiations and excommunications (at present, Acarya Dr. Sivmuni), the original twenty-two founding traditions of the Sramanasangha continue to operate within its framework more or less independently.

Some monastic orders never joined the Sramanasangha, among them all Gujarati Sthanakavasi traditions, the Jnanagaccha of the Dharmadasa Ramratna tradition (founded by Jnanacandra, Ujjain 1732), and the Nanakgaccha of the Jivaraja tradition (Nanakram, eighteenth century). Because of perpetual discord between the founding traditions, many disappointed senior ascetics left the Sramanasangha again and established their own independent groups: Muni Hagamilal, and the modernist Arhat Sangha (Susilkumar 1926–1994, New Jersey, 1974) of the Jivaraja tradition; the Mayaram Sampradaya (Mayaram, 1854–1912) of the northern Lava tradition; Acarya Nanalal of the Hara Sadhumargi tradition (Hukmicand, early nineteenth century); and four

groups of the Dharmadasa tradition: the Jaymalgaccha (Jaymal, 1708–1796; Rajasthan, 1748 or 1783); the Ratnavams (Ratnacandra, Rajasthan, 1796); the Dharmadasa Sampradaya (Umesmuni, late twentieth century); and Upadhyay Amarmuni (1901–1992), the inspirational force behind the modern Virayatan order, which was founded by Sadhvi Candana in Ragriha, 1974.

None of the Gujarati groups joined the Sramanasangha, which is essentially a Hindi-speaking order. With the exception of the Khambhat Sampradaya (Lava, Ahmedabad, 1648) and the three Ath Koti traditions—the Dariyapuri Ath Koti Sampradaya (Dharmasimha, Ahmedabad, 1628); the Kacch Ath Koti Mota Paks (Krsna, originally Dharmadasa Sampradaya, Kacch 1715–1782); and the Kacch Ath Koti Nana Paks (Jasraj, Kacch, 1786)—the majority of the independent Sthanakavasi traditions in Gujarat descend from Mulacandra (1651–1725), one of Dharmadasa's twenty-two leading monks. Mulacandra's main disciples formed separate local groups after a dispute at a mendicant assembly in 1788 in Limbdi. Not all of the emerging Gujarati Dharmadasa traditions survived, and some of them split further into subgroups labeled great (*mota*) and small (*nana*). The seven principal orders of today are all named after the place of origin that is also their main seat: Limbdi Cha Koti Mota Paks (founded by Ajramar, Limbdi, 1788); Limbdi Cha Koti Nana Paks (Hemcand and Gopal, Limbdi, 1859); Gondal Mota Paks (Dungarsi, Gondal, 1788); Gondal Sanghani (Ganga Svami, Gondal, 1794); Barvada (Mota Kahan, Barvada, 1788); Botad (Jasa, Botad, c. 1850); and Sayala (Naga, Sayla, 1772–1812). They are not led by an elected administrator cum teacher (*acarya*), like the independent traditions outside Gujarat, but by the male ascetic with the highest monastic age, or *diksa paryaya*, who may or may not be called *acarya*. His main decisions have to agree with those of the often hereditary leader (*sanghapati*) of the lay community.

The overall number of Sthanakavasi mendicants is much higher than generally assumed. In 1999 there were 3,223 mendicants, 533 *sadhus*, and 2,690 *sadhvis*—that is, 27.5 percent of all Jain mendicants, distributed in roughly equal proportions among the Sramanasangha (1,096), twelve Independent traditions (967), and the thirteen Gujarati traditions (1,160). The nationwide umbrella organization of the Sthanakavasi laity, the All India Svetambara Sthanakavasi Jain Conference, the motivating force behind the movement toward unity, was founded in 1906 in Morvi in Gujarat, but it split in 1984 into two independent organizations because of the irreconcilable differences in ritual, culture, and language between Gujarati- and Hindi-speaking Sthanakavasi traditions.

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## Subud

Subud was founded in Indonesia around the late 1920s by a Javanese Muslim named Muhammad Subuh Sumohadiwidjojo (1901–1987), whose followers call him "Bapak," an Indonesian term of respect and affection meaning "father." From the age of about sixteen, Muhammad Subuh received a number of spiritual messages. He worked as a bookkeeper and studied with several spiritual masters (*kiai*) before receiving the *latihan kejiwaan*, the spiritual exercise of Subud, as a revelation in 1925. Around 1933 some of Bapak's friends received the latihan, and the practice slowly spread throughout Java; a small group, guided by Bapak, started an organization called Ilmu (esoteric spiritual knowledge) Kasunyatan (emptiness).

The name Subud, introduced by Bapak at the inaugural meeting of the new organization in 1947, is derived from three Sanskrit terms: *susila* (to be able to live as true human beings according to the will of God); *budhi* (endeavor, the power of the intellect, or consciousness); and *dharma* (the

possibility to surrender completely to the will of God). Taken together, *Susila Budhi Dharma* means: to follow the will of God, or the power of the life force that works both within us and without. Although religious terminology is frequently used, Subud is not seen as a religion—indeed, members of many different religions, or no religion at all, practice the latihan. Bapak emphasized that Subud has "no holy book, no teaching, no sacred formula. . . . In Subud the members only surrender with patience, trust, and sincerity to Almighty God." Subud is a "process," a "receiving." Bapak instructed his followers that there should be no proselytizing or advertising in Subud; he also recommended that there should be no membership fees.

The latihan lasts about half an hour and is practiced twice a week. It involves standing with a group of people (men and women practice separately). Some feel a vibration; most begin to feel a spontaneous impulse to move, dance, utter sounds, or sing. This is experienced as an inner cleansing and a receiving of divine guidance, which spills over into the participant's everyday life. Practitioners report feeling happier, enjoying improved personal relationships, health, and work experiences. For some, however, the process of purification brings out problems that have to be dealt with—an experience that can be difficult and painful.

Only members may attend the latihan; newcomers have to wait about three months before being invited to join. Then, with the assistance of a helper, they can be "opened" by partaking in their first latihan.

Subud has been established in the West since the late 1950s, when it attracted the attention of several followers of Gurdjieff. Worldwide, membership is now estimated as around ten thousand in more than seventy countries, with about twenty-five hundred in the United States and one thousand in the UK. Although some have left at various periods, numbers have been sustained, with some second-generation members requesting to join when they reach the minimum age of seventeen. Throughout the years, several Subud businesses have been established, not all of which have been financially successful. Nonetheless, Subud has sustained various charitable projects under the name of Susila Dharma International, which has a UN-affiliated status.

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