Chakshudana or Opening the Eyes
Seeing South Asian Art Anew

Edited by Pika Ghosh and Pushkar Sohoni

2   Region, Style, Idiom, and Ritual in History
Michael W. Meister on the Study of Jain Art

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Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

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One of Michael Meister's first scholarly publications is a short, too-little-known article entitled 'A Plea for the Restoration of Aesthetics to the Consideration of Jaina Art'.[1] It appeared in the *Bulletin of Museums & Archaeology in U.P.* in 1972, and emerged from a paper he delivered in 1972 at a Seminar on Jaina Art held at the State Museum in Lucknow.[2] In it he advanced a programmatic argument for how to study Jain art, and art in South Asia more generally. In this essay I look at how in his scholarly career he has carried out this programmatic plea he made while still a graduate student. We also see that his programmatic suggestions have come to be a norm in the field of South Asian art history. I look primarily at his scholarship on Jain architecture, but my remarks, *mutatis mutandis*, can be applied to his scholarship on Hindu, Buddhist and Muslim art as well. I do not address directly his extensive contributions to the multi-volume *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture* project. I leave to others a fuller evaluation of Michael's long-standing relationship to and role in what we might call "the Banaras school of the study of Indian temple architecture". My comments, however, should indicate clearly the many ways in which Michael's scholarship and influence have extended far beyond the concerns of the *Encyclopaedia* project.

A Plea

Michael began his short essay by noting that Jainism had been "ill-treated by Western scholars who have found its philosophy too negating and its art too dry".[3] He went on to note that Jain art in particular came in for harsh judgments by scholars who "condemned [it] for a finicky 'dryness', 'stiffness', and 'lack of imagination'".[4] In some circles this continues to be the opinion of Jain art, especially, as I have discussed elsewhere, in response to the seeming iconographic sameness of the Jina image over two millennia.[5]

Michael enunciated two guiding principles for understanding Jain art. First, instead of studying Jain art in isolation, it must be placed within the settings of local and regional styles and history. He wrote, "To talk of commonality of Jaina art without full references to the fabric of local styles in which Jaina art was expressed is to negate history and destroy judgment".[6]

Second, any Jain art must be seen in terms of "the ritual and iconic demands" it is expected to fulfill.[7] In his short essay he did not address the ritual dimension of temples and images. Michael

did address a few of the ways that iconic demands have shaped Jain art. He wrote that within shared regional idioms, some qualities are better suited to Jain images than to Hindu ones. He acknowledged that Jain art is also "the expression . . . of a cultural and philosophic point of view", and as a result there are some Jain expressions, such as the use of the standing *kāyotsarga mūdra* for Jina images, that express qualities "beyond their iconic or ritual requirement".[8]

Michael expanded on these two guiding principles in a four-part methodology for an aesthetic evaluation of the Jain qualities of Jain art. The first two parts were, as we have seen, placing the object within local and historical styles, and understanding it within iconic and ritual requirements. Third, the qualities of the object must be evaluated in terms of both the degree to which its aesthetics met the contextualizing factors of regional style and ritual function, and the level of craftsmanship that went into its production. Finally, one must be sensitive to "those shades of quality and that special flavour which makes some of the best of Jaina art a rare and distinguished art distinct in subtle ways, and experienced differently, from non-Jaina art of the same style".[9]

Michael briefly presented four examples to illustrate his thesis and methodology. The first was the Pārśvanātha Jain Basti of 1133 CE at Halebid (Figure 2.1).

It shares the dynamic tension between profuse decoration and an architectural emphasis on elegant balance and precision that is typical of Hoyśala temples. He argued that the architects of this temple pursued a chaste avoidance of sculptural ornament "to a degree no other Hoyśala temple would attempt".[10] He did not, however, speculate if there is anything specifically Jain about "[t]he open *maṇḍapa* [hall; *sic*] in front with its thin, tall, elegantly spaced and proportioned pillars", which achieve "a chastity no other pillared structure in India achieves".[11] We see below that the ritual demands of Jain temples often call forth such large, open *maṇḍapa*s.
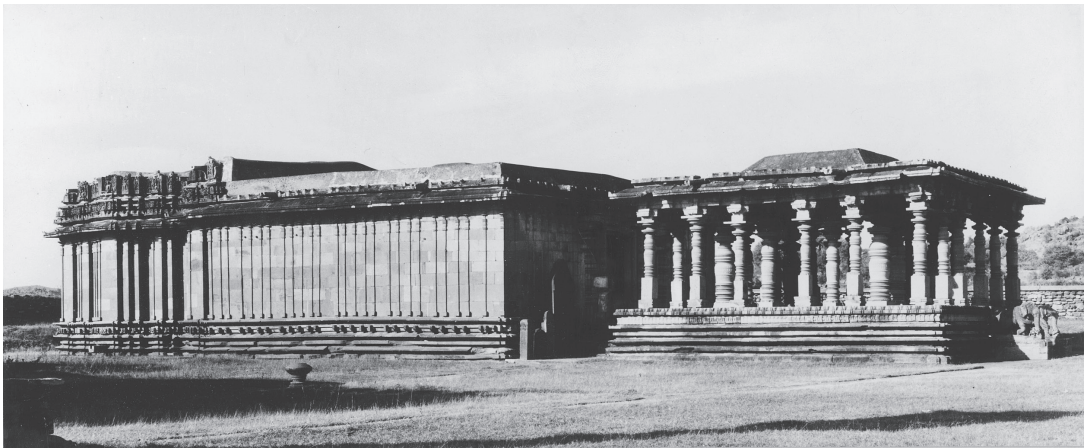

Figure 2.1 Pārśvanātha Jain Basti, Halebid (1133 CE).
Source: American Institute of Indian Studies.

His second example was the mid-fifteenth temple at Rāṇakpur, a temple of "high contrast, with its prolix decoration and proliferation of interior spaces".[12] He argued that this temple represents one of the few uniquely Jain architectural styles in India. In it "the requirements of Jaina community and ritual" resulted in a style that grew apart from the earlier Solaṅkī (or Mahā-Gurjara) style shared by Jains and Hindus.[13] In his positive evaluation of Rāṇakpur, Michael broke with his teacher M. A. Dhaky. In several conversations with me in the 1990s Dhaky said that he judged Rāṇakpur to be several centuries later than what he saw as the "golden era" of Māru-Gurjara architecture in the eleventh through thirteenth centuries. Dhaky viewed Rāṇakpur as the beginning of the period of sharp decline, whereas Michael saw it as exemplifying dynamic new stylistic developments.

For his third example, Michael shifted from architecture to Jina images from the tenth and eleventh centuries in Central India. The carving of these images is highly refined and detailed, as the stone-carvers "utilize[d] the under-cutting and fine detail of the style to surround the *Tīrthaṅkara* with a vibrancy of detailed shadow which acts as the velvet casing for his crystal gem".[14] While Michael didn't say this explicitly, we can see that the carving of such images emphasizes the stillness of the enlightened Jina in his isolation from the world of the senses, in contrast to the world of dynamic activity that surrounds him. The image, therefore, conveys a Jain message of meditative spiritual equanimity in response to the changing world of material forms.

His final example was a small, ruined Jain shrine in the village of Indore (Indor) in Guna District in Madhya Pradesh (Figure 2.2). Michael noted that an early and successful Jain iconography involved the *caumukha pratimā* or four-faced image. The classic Jain four-faced image is actually four seated Jinas, with their backs to each other. They face the four cardinal directions and locate the Jina in the *samavasaraṇa*, the universal preaching assembly in which each Jina delivers his sermons. Jain ritual manuals have long instructed Jains to understand the Jina image in the temple as representing this very moment. As a result, a Jain worshiper imagines him or herself actually to be present in this cosmic event. According to the orthodox Jain theology of the image, the Jina is not "really present" in the image, nor is the Jina even present in this part of the universe during this period of time. Through the imagery of the four-face image, however, the Jain worshipper can spiritually transport him or herself into the presence of the Jina. The shrine at Indore expands the concept of the four-faced image into a square *sarvatobhadrikā* ("universally auspicious") shrine, "where the *chaumukha pratimā* has become a shrine itself, enshrined by a full four-faced web of filigree".[15] Michael wrote of this shrine that it "is one of the most highly decorative, yet most stable and balanced, products of Indian art".[16] Something he did not mention is that the Rāṇakpur temple is also a *caumukha* shrine, with the central altar facing in the four cardinal directions. Much of its impact derives from this *maṇḍalaic* symmetry.

I have summarized this short article from 1972 at such great length because we see in it significant questions and programmatic statements that have informed much of Michael's subsequent scholarship. In particular we see how his scholarship has involved working out his argument that the proper study of Jain (and Indian) art needs to locate any object along two interpretive axes: regional and historical style, and iconography and ritual.

Figure 2.2 Jain shrine in Indore, Guna District, Madhya Pradesh.
Source: American Institute of Indian Studies.

Michael reflected on his early training in a short essay from 2000. This retrospective look showed how the 1972 essay expressed a nascent discontent with the art history and archaeology of India as then practiced both in India and the United States. He wrote of that time, "I returned to Harvard [from his dissertation fieldwork in 1971–73] . . . with images of stone architecture in my mind, ready to make art history my means to re-enter South Asia over the years. Yet, anecdotally, I remember a photograph I took of five friends standing in front of one of the great temples at Khajuraho that I had annotated as 'five temples and a pile of stone'".[17] Michael acknowledged that in his early years he was aware that temples were deeply connected to "family deities, origin temples, lineages and clans", but he had to put these lines of inquiry aside. "I needed to know, and to train myself as an architectural historian, to see layers of history written in stones and to distinguish these as physical fabric. Questions of *jāti*, personal devotion, layered references to local knowledge, and ritual could stand in the way of acquiring that antiquarian requirement".[18] He recognized in 2000 that in order to establish his *bona fides* as a proper archaeologist and art historian of temples in the early 1970s, "it was more important that I prove myself by making plans and measuring moldings". But among the many temples he visited over the years, some were still alive with worshipers, patrons and priests. He wrote of one temple he occasionally visited in Jaipur, the Ganesh temple at Moti

Dungri. He said that it "was in many ways, more than the monuments I studied as artifacts, a model for how temples could have come into existence and served people, little as I could understand that then".[19]

Michael laid out the two interpretive axes in another early article devoted specifically to Jain temples, his 1976 'Jain Temples in Central India'.[20] In summarizing his analysis of the remains of the two oldest Jain temples at Deogarh, as examples of what he characterized in terms of dynasty as the Kacchapaghāta style, in comparison to the more or less contemporaneous temples further east at Khajuraho, under the Candella dynasty, he talked about the difficulties in distinguishing styles, especially at the boundaries between regions. He wrote, "The interaction of regional styles is perhaps the thorniest of art-historical problems facing the historian of Indian art, for even as food and language change in India every twenty miles so also regional art styles interact and overlap. Such considerations have got to be made, however, before any clear chronology governing all of India can be established".[21]

He then turned to a consideration of art and belief as embodied in the Deogarh Jain temples. While his discussion of region and style was quite assured, Michael in the mid-1970s was on thinner ground when discussing ritual and belief. He noted the presence of several images of *yakṣī*s, and

Figure 2.3 Sacciyā Mātā temple, Osian (1137–1138 CE).
Source: American Institute of Indian Studies.

followed the then normal interpretive model, as expressed in many places by U. P. Shah and M. A. Dhaky, that this iconographic elaboration "was first a response to a philosophic proliferation of gods and godlings within Hinduism. Secondly, it was an artistic response to visual material used to advertise the Hindu faith".[22] He went on to characterize Jain temple rituals as adapted by Jains "both from Hindu practice and from the magic underlay of popular belief".[23] He said that these practices and deities were fitted within a strong egalitarianism in Jainism, in contrast to the "divine hierarchy" of Hinduism.[24] Michael argued that these borrowings, however, were only of form, not "the essential spirit that lay behind the forms borrowed".[25] As long as the forms either contributed to the pursuit of the Jain three jewels of "right intuition, right knowledge, and right conduct", or at least did not lead the Jain devotee astray from these three, they could be incorporated into Jain art and ritual. He gave an example of such an adoption of form that could be transformed into a Jain spiritual essence: "Thus, for example, the bone-crunching noise of Saccikā-devī, the Goddess who ruled the hill at Osiāñ, became the noise of the Goddess crunching the sweet-meats after her conversion to Jainism" (Figure 2.3).[26]

Region, Style, Idiom

For much of the two decades after his 1972 "Plea", Michael developed the first of his main programmatic axes, as he paid close attention to matters of local and regional style, idiom and history. The identification of style as shaped by region was fundamental to the *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture* project. The basic framework of the *Encyclopaedia* was worked out in a series of publications in the 1960s by Moti Chandra and M. A. Dhaky, among others. The Jain architecture of western India, according to this approach, needed to be seen first within the broad north Indian Nāgara style, and then more regionally within the Mahā-Māru and Mahā-Gurjara variants of the Nāgara.

Michael addressed several articles in the 1980–1990s specifically to the issue of regional differences within western India. In 'Art Regions and Modern Rajasthan' he argued that a key aspect to understanding the architectural history of the area we now broadly call "Rajasthan" is the deep connection between sub-regions and Rajput clans.[27] In some places these clans rose to become ruling "dynasties" for a while, in other places they remained subsidiary to more powerful clans. Regardless of the degree of their political power, however, many clans exerted great influence on sub-regional style.[28] He worked from the scholarship of Romila Thapar to describe temple building as "a nexus between lineage and territory".[29] In particular, temples can tell us much about regional identities within Rajasthan:

> A monument is a residue of patronage and available craftsmanship as well as of the social organization of its period. More than other aspects of clan identity, art remains tied to a region through its craft. The presence, distribution, and coherence of style in a region can suggest patterns of social organization available from few other sources. Because monuments are fixed, both physically and relatively well chronologically, they offer a grid, however shadowy, of practice and patronage through space and time that few other sources from ancient India can provide.[30]

In this essay he noted an important distinction between the regions of "Rajasthan" and "Gujarat" in the medieval period. M. A. Dhaky had defined Mahā-Māru and Mahā-Gurjara as variants of a

larger shared style he called Māru-Gurjara, the initial spread of which appears to have owed much to the rise to dominance of the Gurjara-Pratihāras in the wider region by the eighth century.[31] While Dhaky had adopted this hyphenated geographical term in preference to his earlier use of the dynastic term Solaṅkī,[32] Meister showed that there was still some usefulness in retaining the dynastic term, at least for Gujarat. He noted that in the period of the eleventh through the fourteen centuries, the temples from Rajasthan indicated a political system dominated by Rajput lineages, in which "sub-regional powers in this period seem still to have searched for independent, if also interlinking, artistic idioms by which to differentiate themselves".[33] The area of Gujarat, however, which was the heartland of the Solaṅkī dynasty ruling from Anahillavada Patan in north Gujarat, exhibited a style that seemed "expressive of a more broadly defined state".[34]

I return to his use of the term "idiom" below. Michael concluded this important article by saying of the region of western India we generally call Rajasthan, "As an art historian, I have been impressed both by the continuing cultural integrity of geographic sub-regions in Rajasthan—often, though not exclusively, tied to a single clan's patronage through many periods—and by the sense of a distinct identity the region as a whole has come to share".[35]

In 1985 Michael delivered a related conference paper entitled 'Regions and Indian Architecture'.[36] He continued to articulate an understanding of "style" that was moving away from some of the broader categories that he and others had developed for the ongoing *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture* project. He noted that the project had resulted in the identification of "smaller dynasties" and "sub-regional styles" within the broader categories such as Mahā-Māru and Mahā-Gurjara. But he had come to sense the limitations of the categories of region and dynasty:

> Neither dynasty nor region, I believe, has primacy, however, in defining the nature of "style" in India. In arguments that make a contrast of region and dynasty, a third category is often lost, that of the craftsmen themselves. It is they that the cultural, climatic, and technical limits of a region effect; only through their hands is the "style" of a region expressed; and from what they craft a dynasty may define its power.[37]

He turned to Osian for his primary example, saying,

> The consistency of "style" at a regional site like Osiāñ, in the region of Maru-deśa, is the result of a generation of craftsmen working on its monuments. Yet, if we are willing to look at sub sub-sets, the "style" of the contemporary "Mahā-Māru" temple at Lamba, 35 miles away, is not exactly that of the temples at Osiāñ, because the craftsmen who worked there were different.[38]

Here he turned to a concept he had also mentioned in his article 'Art Regions and Modern Rajasthan': idiom. He wrote, "I have increasingly begun to distinguish 'idiom' from 'style' in India, unwilling to use either 'substyle' or 'regional style' to distinguish the variations we see from site to site".[39] He referred to and quoted from his article 'Style and Idiom in the Art of Uparāmala'.[40]

In this article on the temples of Uparāmala (Upper Malwa), the border region of southeastern Rajasthan and western Madhya Pradesh, he extended his reservations about earlier models of

categorizing Indian temple architecture by dynasty, period and region. He said, "little has been said about the political circumstances within which art was produced or the social structures that made the continuous fabric of artistic production so striking".[41] Among the articles he cited as representative of this limited perspective was M. A. Dhaky's oft-cited 1975 article, 'The Genesis and Development of the Mahā-Gurjara Temple Architecture', which was very influential on Michael's early scholarship. Michael argued that certain continuities in architectural conventions indicated that while there might be changes in patronage, there were "continuit[ies] of craft within the local guild".[42] He concluded by making "a general statement about the relationship between idiom and style in India".[43] He wrote of India as "a culture not so much of center and periphery as of a continuity of habitation and craftsmanship, with local traditions shading from one geographically rooted community to another".[44] He continued with what he termed "a general statement about the relationship between idiom and style":

> Our concept of style in India as we currently apply it seems to me most often an "average"; however we relate it to patterns of patronage and political affiliation. Style can carry with it clear patterns of general convention . . . Idiom, in my experience, is site and guild related, rooted in a place or region through a local population and tradition. Thus many idioms make up the basis for styles; gradations are located in the continuum of local idioms. As political hegemony expands, as centers for conventional norms shift under such patronage, local idioms rooted in local craft can sway from affiliation with one style to affiliation with another.[45]

Michael raised similar questions in his 1982 article 'Bīṭhū: Individuality and Idiom'.[46] He began by accepting the utility of the broad distinction between Dhaky's "two broad stylistic groupings in western India" of Mahā-Māru and Mahā-Gurjara, which "generally coalesced as the result of political hegemony [and changed] with political power".[47] He again said that style represented an average of local idioms, but noted "it can also denote a generative force in art, one which affects and influences the craftsmen responsible for idioms".[48] Idiom, on the other hand, he described as "local traditions rooted in the work of local artisans, traditions which endure even as political authority shifts or declines".[49] Idioms, he argued, "may absorb the general characteristics of a style, [but] they remain essentially cumulative and self-defining".[50] He concluded this essay with a series of questions concerning how local idioms were related to surrounding idioms, and how idioms as a whole related to styles as regional but were no doubt influenced by dynastic factors.[51] Among the temples he mentioned as examples of ones that exhibited the influence of both regional style and local idiom were several at Osian, including the eighth-century Jain temple of Mahāvīra, a temple identified by Dhaky as the oldest extant Jain temple in western India, and long a temple of interest to Michael.[52]

Osian: Ritual and Iconography in History

In his scholarship on temples in western India Michael built upon the programmatic injunction in his 1972 'Plea' that the study of Jain temples (and, by extension, Indian art) should involve paying close attention to matters of local and regional style and history. He then elaborated on this point to include the important element of local idiom. Let me now turn to the second point of his

Figure 2.4 Mahāvīra temple, Osian (8th c. CE).
Source: American Institute of Indian Studies.

1972 'Plea': the study of Jain art should pay close attention to the demands of ritual and iconography. His geographical locus for this interest has consistently been Osian, especially the Sacciyā Mātā and Mahāvīra temples (Figure 2.4).

I suspect that in part this has been because many of the other temples Michael studied were either ruins or in a state of extreme ritual decline. Much of his fieldwork was as an archaeologist. In these two temples at Osian, however, he found medieval structures of stone that were still very much alive.[53]

Michael referenced the goddess Sacciyā for the first time in his 1976 article 'Jain Temples in Central India'. He further enunciated the need to understand the ritual life of temples in papers he delivered at the first two Rajasthan Studies conferences, in Jaipur in 1987 and in Udaipur in 1991.[54] In 'Temples, Tīrthas, and Pilgrimage' he acknowledged what he called an "unsteady balance between archaeology and the life of a temple".[55] He mentioned three temples as examples of this "uneasy balance": the Ekliṅgjī temple in Mewar, the Raṇchoḍ temple at Khed, and the Mahāvīra temple at Osian. He then proceeded to describe the situation at Osian in greater detail, noting that there were three active temples there, the third being a small Śiva temple.[56] He said, with perhaps a wistful tone, "The phenomenon of the resurgence of patronage of the Saciyamata

shrine and the increase in the number of pilgrims who have come there over the last thirty years is worth an anthropologist's study".[57]

He expanded upon this theme in 'Style Lines, Pilgrims and Patronage in Early Rajasthan'. The 1991 conference at which he presented this paper coincided with the public release of the fourth set of volumes of the *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*. He used the occasion to reflect on what the *Encyclopaedia* project had been successful at analysing and what it had omitted. He said that the project left work to be done: "to set the temple, both as art and institution, into its social and ethnohistorical context".[58] He wrote that the study of any temple required "plural viewpoints" (a phrase he borrowed from Susanne Rudolph). In words strongly reminiscent of his 1972 essay, he wrote,

> The art historian often has emphasized the finished object and the process leading to its creation as his text, ignoring the life of the object and its transformations. This we no longer can do nor should do if we wish to understand the functionality of the object. A temple functions as it interacts with both patrons and worshippers through time. That is part of its art and part of its history.[59]

The *Encyclopaedia*, he said, had allowed scholars "clearly to differentiate changes and developments in style—and to distinguish craft-links between regions".[60] He observed, however, that the intellectual program of the *Encyclopaedia* had meant that "we have given little sense of these temples' use and reuse".[61] He pointed to the Dadhimatī and Raṇchoḍ temples as examples of ninth-century temples that had prominent places in the *Encyclopaedia*, but whose continued life was largely absent from its pages. He called for an ethnohistorical approach to these and other temples—he again mentioned the Mahāvīra and Sacciyā Mātā temples at Osian—to allow the scholar an "understanding of how temples function now as well as how they functioned in the past".[62] He noted, "What they were is often still embedded in what they are". In particular, he called for studies that looked at both continuities and discontinuities of use, patronage and occupation. He concluded by again borrowing a phrase from Susanne Rudolph, and called for a "transdisciplinary" approach to the study of temples.

Michael also advanced this methodological argument in one of his better-known articles, 'De- and Re-Constructing the Indian Temple'.[63] He noted that an emerging trend in the study of South Asian temples was to situate them "into place-and-time-specific contexts, exploring the sociology of their use". This meant that the full study of any Indian temple required "ethnographic as well as art-historical explications".[64] Whereas studies such as those in the *Encyclopaedia* focused on the "original" form of a temple, in practice temples "exist in space-time".[65] Temples exhibit changes in patronage, ritual use, and images, and the fuller study of temples needed to take these factors into consideration.

As we have seen, Michael has frequently used conference presentations both to present his scholarship and to advocate for certain theoretical and methodological approaches. At a 1990 workshop on Jain Studies at the Center for the Study of World Religions at Harvard University, Michael gave a presentation on the changes at Osian over the twenty-five years he had been visiting the site. In his presentation he reported, "There has been extensive renovation of both the ancient Jain temple

of Mahāvīra and the temple of Saciyā Mātā, caste goddess of the largely Jain Osval caste. These renovations have been closely linked with an increase in the number of pilgrims visiting Osian. At the same time, Osian is the site of an important Jain secondary boarding school". He concluded with a now familiar proposal "that scholars pool their efforts to try to study Osian from a multidisciplinary perspective involving art history, religion, and anthropology".[66] This presentation was part of the genesis of the later Getty-funded project.

Michael himself wrote the first extensive ethno-art-historical article on Osian in his article 'Sweetmeats or Corpses? Community, Conversion, and Sacred Places', which appeared eventually in three versions.[67] He spelled out clearly his methodological argument concerning temples. In the 1995 *Res* version, he articulated this within the frameworks of reception theory and ethnohistory. The "life after its making" of an object, and the ways that an object "can interact with its users over time in ways significant beyond the intention of the artist", were where the inquiries of ethnohistory needed to be added to those of art history.[68] He argued that the application of the ethnohistorical approach to an object like a temple "must start with the ethnographic evidence in the present and traces of similar evidence from the past (including previous ethnography and historical data) and work back through time's transforming patterns to represent or illuminate a past reality". This approach, he said, allows one to see "each slice in time, between an object's making and its present use, as an equal reality ready to be studied".[69] He reflected on how this approach extended his earlier scholarship—and, I would add, involved a return to the fuller agenda of his 1972 article: "If I have documented India's temples initially as an archaeologist,[70] I have also tried to point out that it is the institution and its changing cultural consensuses and conventions that constitute the monument, going beyond its architectural forms".[71] He took issue with privileging origins over later developments:

> As an art historian, I would argue that the courses of renovation and expansion in these two temple compounds are integral to our understanding of these structures as social and ritual as well as archaeological monuments—not simply a matter of chronology—and also that the renovations of recent decades are of an importance equal to the archaeological layering of earlier periods.[72]

In the 2008 version of this article, he explicitly referenced his 1972 'Plea' with which I started this essay. In a slightly later essay he said that in his publications on Osian and related temples he had been "struggling with what I perceived as the relationship of the static nature of the artistic object in art history and its dynamic role in practice".[73] I am reminded of a comment he has made to me on several occasions: one can tell if a temple is well-loved by whether or not one hears the steady "chink chink chink" of stone-carvers.

Whereas Michael's papers and articles at the Rajasthan Studies conferences were fairly short, giving a taste of the rich material available at Osian, in 'Sweetmeats and Corpses?' he set himself the task of pulling together all the then available data on the two temples. He combined his own fieldwork, stretching over several decades, with field reports of earlier archaeologists and art historians, in particular D. R. Bhandarkar in the early twentieth century and M. A. Dhaky in the 1950s.[74] He employed a few fieldnotes I shared with him from my own short visit to Osian

in 1986, as well as my notes on relevant Gujarati literary sources. He used the emerging scholarship by Alan Babb based on his 1990–1991 fieldwork on the Osvāl Jains of Rajasthan.[75] He included the inscriptional evidence from the site, and A. F. Rudolf Hoernle's 1890 English translation of a late-medieval linage text of the Upakeśa Gaccha, the Śvetāmbara Mūrtipūjaka lineage that claims its origin to have been at Osian, and which has long had a special affiliation with both the Mahāvīra and Sacciyā Mātā temples and images.[76] Michael was able to trace multiple narratives of the origins and subsequent lives of the two temples. He was able to juxtapose some of the changes recorded in inscriptions and texts to the transformations he could document as an art historian; others he could not. The richer body of information from the twentieth century allowed him a better sense of ways that the two temples have been maintained, restored, and re-visioned by monastic and lay patrons from both near and far, and by others such as the local priests.

'Sweetmeats and Corpses?' in many ways served as a position paper for the Getty-funded project 'Continuities of Community Patronage' that Michael, Alan Babb and I conducted between 1996 and 1998. Michael engaged in a thorough re-mapping of the temples in Osian and Goth-Manglod, while Alan and I devoted our energies to documenting the uses of and interactions with the temples by pilgrims from afar and local worshipers. All three of us documented the many narrative understandings of the temples as found in written materials and in interviews with trustees, patrons, priests, pilgrims, government officials, artisans and community activists. We worked on the research separately and together for the next decade, presenting our materials at several conferences and symposia, and publishing separately many of the chapters that eventually appeared in the 2008 *Desert Temples: Sacred Centers of Rajasthan in Historical, Art-Historical, and Social Contexts*.[77]

I do not want to rehearse here the arguments of *Desert Temples*, except to say that our understandings of what a temple "is" and "has been" were greatly expanded.[78] Michael wrote of our findings,

> A temple is not simply a structure, nor of one period or even one community. It moves through time, collecting social lightning and resources. It must be repositioned constantly to survive. If it serves one king it may die with that king. Let each tell its long story: both temples and the communities they serve continually redefine their pasts and renegotiate the present. That is what they are.[79]

Our understandings of the complex social, ritual, cultural and iconographic fluidities that constitute a structure seemingly just of stone have enriched Michael's subsequent research on temples of the Salt Range and elsewhere.[80] He has written of his "changing experience" of the temples as a result of the joint research.[81]

In the Field with Michael

Several vignettes from the joint fieldwork of the Getty project allow us to see how this interdisciplinary project was a realization of what Michael had first proposed nearly a quarter of a century earlier: that in addition to the location of temple architecture within historical and regional traditions of style, a fuller understanding of Indian temples calls for consideration of both ritual and iconographic functions.

In the summer of 1996, Michael and I spent several weeks together in Gujarat. We had identified the Āṇandjī Kalyāṇjī Trust as an important player in the recent life of the Mahāvīra temple at Osian. What had once been at best a marginal Jain temple in a town devoid of any Jain population became better known in post-independence India. Dhaky's scholarship, and then the *Encyclopaedia* project, played no small part in this process. The trustees of the temple had turned to the Āṇandjī Kalyāṇjī Trust, which oversees the renovation of major Jain temples throughout Rajasthan and Gujarat, for technical assistance in the extensive renovations of the temple. We were interested to understand better what it was that the trustees and architects of Āṇandjī Kalyāṇjī had in mind as they paid for and supervised the renovations. We assumed from the extensive nature of the changes that these actors must have in mind some sort of ideal temple for which they were striving. Conversations with the head trustee of Āṇandjī Kalyāṇjī allowed us to see the role of M. A. Dhaky, who served as an advisor to Āṇandjī Kalyāṇjī, and put into practice his particular antiquarian preferences. We also saw the role of the *Encyclopaedia*, which more than once trustees and employees cited to us, in defining the medieval target at which the renovations at the Mahāvīra temple aimed.

Another aim was to understand better the ritual imperatives that informed both the renovation of older Jain temples, and the forms of the many new temples being built in the suburbs of the increasingly prosperous Ahmedabad. Both Michael and Dhaky, with whom we met several times that summer, commented on the spate of new temples in what can be described as a nouveau-Solaṅkī style (and here I intentionally use the dynastic label in preference to the regional label Mahā-Gurjara).

Michael and I spent two mornings in Ahmedabad looking at a number of older temples in the old city and newer temples in the western suburbs. We also spent a morning on a similar expedition in Patan. We chose the temples with an eye toward helping us better understand the iconographic and especially ritual imperatives that were at play in their architecture. We chose several different examples of "renovation" in order to help us get a better sense of how the ideals of this practice worked in terms of contemporary Jain temples.

We found that there are several factors at play in a modern temple, or the renovation of an old temple. One is ritual. As Michael recognized in his 1972 article, Jain temples in part reflect Jain ritual needs. In the daily worship of a Jina icon, every worshiper, regardless of gender, who so desires and is in a state of appropriate ritual purity can enter the main sanctum (Gujarati *gabhāro*) to lustrate the icons, dab sandalwood paste on nine spots on them, and place flowers on them. People move through the *gabhāro* fairly quickly as they perform this part of the ritual. In contrast to the fairly small and constricted *gabhāro*s in older Jain temples, medieval and modern Jain temples tend to have wide *gabhāro*s to accommodate multiple people worshiping at altars with multiple icons at any one time. Many *gabhāro*s have three doors to help facilitate this flow. Worshipers exit the *gabhāro* and perform the remaining, and much longer, part of the worship while seated in the enclosed pavilion (*raṅg maṇḍap*). The *raṅg maṇḍap*, therefore, needs to be larger than the *gabhāro*, to accommodate this longer, more extensive part of the ritual. A Jain temple is also the site of occasional congregational rituals, to which as many as a hundred or more people may come. While sometimes these may be held in the *raṅg maṇḍap*, some temples have

added a covered but unwalled outer pavilion (*sabhā maṇḍap*) in which people can sit for larger rituals.

A second factor is the desire of modern patrons for a temple to be as grand as possible. Patrons usually want to have a temple that is recognizably within the Solaṅkī style, and so has the authenticating stamp of tradition. At the same time they want a temple that is distinctively new, that is recognizably *this* particular patron's temple. Many medieval temples are known by the names of the patrons who paid for them; this is a level of renown and prestige to which modern patrons aspire. They also want that the money spent on the temple, and therefore their economic (and by extension socio-moral) wealth, should be evident for all to see. This is usually signaled by the height of the *śikhara*, the extensive use of white marble, and a profusion of decorative figures on the temple both outside and inside.

A third factor in an urban area is the availability—or not—of space. Most older temples in Gujarati cities are quite modest in size, and fill their urban plots. Modern suburban patrons and congregations tend to want larger temples.

My fieldnotes record some of Michael's responses to these temples. He commented on the range in the quality of carvings; it was usually quite easy to distinguish between a temple on which the wealthier trustees had paid for higher quality detail work, and one that might look decently finished from a distance, but which upon closer inspection betrayed the low quality (and cost) of the carving.

Several of the temples were clearly too large in scale for the available plots, and space for worship was maximized at the expense of proportion. In one modern temple that prioritized worship space, the outer *sabhā maṇḍap* was larger than the *raṅg maṇḍap*. Since the domes over the two *maṇḍap*s were in proportion to their footprints, the outer dome was taller than the inner dome, and neither was in proportion to the rather low and squat *śikhara*. Evidently the congregation had preferred to spend its resources on horizontal ritual space rather than vertical symbolic space, and was not very concerned about proportions.

At the end of one of the mornings in Ahmedabad, we decided to visit the Haṭhīsiṅg temple. This temple from 1847 combines echoes of older Mahā-Gurjara styles with features that clearly come from vernacular Gujarati Sultanate and imperial Mughal architecture. One also sees the influence of the sixteenth-to-nineteenth-century wooden architecture of Gujarat. In its grand size and design, this temple is quite distinctive.

As we traveled there, Michael admitted that he had never had an overly positive response to the temple. However, after several hours of viewing the more recent temples, he expressed a somewhat surprised appreciation for it. According to my fieldnotes, Michael "commented that the temple as a whole is well-proportioned. The line from the wide *saṃvaraṇa* over the *maṇḍap* to the triple *śekharī śikhar* he thought worked well, as did the effect of the entire complex in surrounding the temple".

My notes go on, however, to indicate one of the lessons from our looking at temples while paying attention to the ritual requirements. To quote my fieldnotes again, "One thing struck him as

unusual compared to most Hindu temples. The central public space of the temple forms a square. In a Hindu temple the *gabhāro* would form another equal or proportional square. Here it is a rectangle, probably just half as deep as the square. Michael was surprised by these proportions". In other words, the Jain need for larger spaces in front of the *gabhāro* for individual and congregational rituals than inside the *gabhāro* itself altered the proportions of the temple.

In his 1972 article, Michael argued that one should judge whether a temple is an aesthetic success only after one has taken into account its iconographic and ritual requirements. In looking at temples in Ahmedabad and Patan—a shared focused looking that we would later do together in Osian, Goth-Manglod, Khed, Nakora and Jodhpur—we were, in retrospect, following his injunction from two-and-a-half decades earlier. But this does not reduce a temple to a utilitarian structure. Cosmology and ritual do not trump other concerns. In Michael's analysis, a temple is successful to the extent that it successfully balances all of these agendas.

A final fieldwork vignette involves one of the other temples we studied in Rajasthan. Among the art-historical treasures of the ninth-century temple of Dadhimatī is a clockwise set of Rāmāyaṇa narratives set in a recessed necking beneath the *śikhara*.[82] While Michael has written that the carvings on the temple "proclaimed an established orthodoxy for local praxis . . . under Pratīhāra hegemony",[83] he had long been puzzled by the presence of the carvings of the Rāmāyaṇa on a temple devoted to a local goddess who otherwise has born no relationship to Vaiṣṇava theology or practice. He hoped that fieldwork would shed light on the matter.

Michael, Alan and I visited the temple on February 3–4, 1998, to observe the activities on the occasion of the vernal Gupt Navarātrī. On the first day, Michael documented all of the sub-shrines to which the *pujārī* took a tray of offerings from the afternoon *abhiṣek*. These included several sub-shrines of Bherū, and others dedicated to Dadhīci Ṛṣi, Bālājī and Gaṇeśa. The Rāmāyaṇa figures were ignored. Michael asked the *pujārī* if anyone paid attention to the Rāmāyaṇa narrative frieze, and was told that people came only for *darśan* of the goddess. He wrote in his fieldnotes that this indeed appeared to be true: "I observed only one young boy leading a still younger one (ca. 6–8?) around pointing up at the images". I recall Michael being disappointed that what for him was one of the special features of the temple played no active role in its ritual or even iconographic life. The Rāmāyaṇa scenes clearly are part of the broader public understanding of why the Dadhimatī temple is important. For example, an article in the Jodhpur edition of the daily newspaper *Rājasthān Patrikā* for March 31, 1998, included the Rāmāyaṇa carvings among the artistic and historical attractions of the temple.[84] More prominently discussed in the article, however, were the annual fair (*melā*), pilgrimage to the temple at the time of marriage and tonsure of a newborn, and the daily vegetarian milk-lustration (*dugdhābhiṣek*). The carvings do not play a role in the contemporary ritual or iconographic life of the temple, and this may well have been the case for many centuries. A multi-disciplinary approach to studying a temple can still leave many questions unanswered.

Concluding Comments: The Study of Jain Art

The short programmatic essay from 1972 with which I started my comments is not widely known. It would be a mistake to emphasize its influence unduly. Nonetheless, Michael presciently

predicted the agenda of most studies of Jain art in the subsequent five decades. The two principal axes of study that he laid out—regional and historical style and idiom, and ritual and iconographic function—inform most studies of Jain (and South Asian) art and architecture.

There is one important way, however, that Michael's scholarship on Jain (and other) temples goes beyond the work of most other scholars. Rarely do we see such close attention to how a single temple, such as the Mahāvīra and Sacciyā temples at Osian, bears within its current structure a fluid history of multiple reformulations. Visiting an active, living temple multiple times over the course of a long scholarly career provides an invaluable temporal perspective. But Michael's analysis of the temples at Osian is also evidence of his skills at looking. In the words of the title of this volume in his honor, he has taught all of us "to open our eyes".

Notes

1 Michael W. Meister, 'A Plea for the Restoration of Aesthetics to the Consideration of Jaina Art', *Bulletin of Museums & Archaeology in U.P.* no. 9 (1972): 19–22.
2 Whenever possible, I indicate both the date when Michael delivered a paper and the date of the eventual publication of an article derived from the conference paper. Often many years, and as much as a decade, intervened between the two, so the dates of the original conference papers are important in tracing the development of his ideas.
3 Meister, 'A Plea', 19.
4 Meister, 'A Plea', 19.
5 John E. Cort, *Framing the Jina: Narratives of Icons and Iconoclasm in Jain History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 54–66.
6 Meister, 'A Plea', 20.
7 Meister, 'A Plea', 20.
8 Meister, 'A Plea', 20.
9 Meister, 'A Plea', 21.
10 Meister, 'A Plea', 21.
11 Meister, 'A Plea', 21.
12 Meister, 'A Plea', 21.
13 Meister, 'A Plea', 21.
14 Meister, 'A Plea', 22.
15 Meister, 'A Plea', 22.
16 Meister, 'A Plea', 22.
17 Michael W. Meister, 'Preface: Ethnography, Personality, and the Multiplicity of Truth', in *Ethnography and Personhood: Notes from the Field*, ed. Michael W. Meister (Jaipur: Rawat, 2000), 11.
18 Meister, 'Preface', 12.
19 Meister, 'Preface', 12.
20 Michael delivered this as a paper at a conference on Jain art and architecture held at the L. D. Institute of Indology in 1975 as part of the celebrations of the 2,500th anniversary of the *nirvāṇa* of Mahāvīra. The conference was organized by U. P. Shah and M. A. Dhaky, and many of the essays, including Michael's, presented some of the early findings from the *Encyclopaedia* project. The proceedings, along with several additional articles, were published as *Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture* in 1976.
21 Michael W. Meister, 'Jain Temples in Central India', in *Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture*, ed. U. P. Shah and M. A. Dhaky (Ahmedabad: L. D. Institute of Indology, 1976), 233–234.

22 Meister, 'Jain Temples in Central India', 234.

23 Meister, 'Jain Temples in Central India', 234.

24 Michael did not cite this concept from the title of Lawrence A. Babb's first book, also published in 1975, but it is appropriate to Michael's argument.

25 Meister, 'Jain Temples in Central India', 234.

26 Meister, 'Jain Temples in Central India', 234–235.

27 Michael W. Meister, 'Art Regions and Rajasthan', *The Idea of Rajasthan: Explorations in Regional Identity*, ed. Karine Schomer, Joan Erdman, Deryck O. Lodrick and Lloyd Rudolph (New Delhi: Manohar, 1994), Vol. 1, 143–176. This was originally delivered as a paper on a panel devoted to 'Rajasthani Regionalism' at the 1983 meeting of the Association of Asian Studies in San Francisco. It was published in 1994 in *The Idea of Rajasthan*, the first of what was a series of volumes coming out of the multidisciplinary work of the Rajasthan Studies Group.

28 Meister, 'Art Regions and Rajasthan', 147.

29 Meister, 'Art Regions and Rajasthan', 149, citing Romila Thapar, *From Lineage to State* (Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1984).

30 Meister, 'Art Regions and Rajasthan', 150.

31 M. A. Dhaky, 'The Genesis and Development of Māru-Gurjara Temple Architecture', in *Studies in Indian Temple Architecture*, ed. Pramod Chandra (New Delhi: American Institute of Indian Studies, 1975), 114–165.

32 Dhaky used the dynastic term in one of his earliest articles, 'The Chronology of the Solaṅkī Temples of Gujarat', in *Journal of the Madhya Pradesh Itihasa Parishad* no. 3 (1961): 1–83. He changed to using the regional terms in his important 1975 article 'The Genesis and Development of Māru-Gurjara Temple Architecture'. He said that he made this change in response to the comments made by A. Ghosh at a seminar on Indian art held at Bhārat Kalā Bhavan in Banaras on March 11–13, 1962 (see Dhaky, 'Genesis and Development', 115–116). Ghosh argued that the use of dynastic appellations tied terminology to political factors that often had little to do with the specifics of the art under investigation. See Moti Chandra (ed.), *Seminar on Indian Art History, 1962* (New Delhi: Lalit Kalā Akademi, n.d.), 9–13, and see also the ensuing discussion as reported by Chandra, 13–15.

33 Meister, 'Art Regions and Rajasthan', 166.

34 Meister, 'Art Regions and Rajasthan', 161.

35 Meister, 'Art Regions and Rajasthan', 170.

36 This was part of a panel titled 'Regionalism: Confines of Style in South Asian Art', at the 1985 Annual Meeting of the College Art Association in Los Angeles. It was published a decade later: 'Regions and Indian Architecture', in *Nirgrantha* vol. 2 (1996): 87–91.

37 Meister, 'Regions and Indian Architecture', 88.

38 Meister, 'Regions and Indian Architecture', 88–89.

39 Meister, 'Regions and Indian Architecture', 89.

40 Michael W. Meister, 'Style and Idiom in the Art of Uparāmala', in *Muqarnas* vol. 10 (1993): 344–354. Michael originally delivered this paper at the annual South Asia Conference at the University of Wisconsin in 1981. It was supposed to have appeared in a special issue of the *Bulletin of the Museum and Picture Gallery* in felicitation of U. P. Shah. This volume never appeared, so Michael eventually published the article, with a suitable new introduction, in the 1993 issue of *Muqarnas* in honor of Oleg Grabar.

41 Meister, 'Style and Idiom in the Art of Uparamāla', 349.

42 Meister, 'Style and Idiom in the Art of Uparamāla', 349.

43 Meister, 'Style and Idiom in the Art of Uparamāla', 351.

44 Meister, 'Style and Idiom in the Art of Uparamāla', 351.

45 Meister, 'Style and Idiom in the Art of Uparamāla', 351. He also cites this passage in 'Regions and Indian Architecture', 89.

46 Michael W. Meister, 'Bīṭhū: Individuality and Idiom', in *Ars Orientalis* vol. 13 (1982): 169–186.

47 Meister, 'Bīṭhū', 169.

48 Meister, 'Bīṭhū', 169.

49 Meister, 'Bīṭhū', 169.

50 Meister, 'Bīṭhū', 169.

51 I leave aside a fuller discussion of his thesis concerning the long continuity of local idioms. This thesis needs to be queried in light of the evidence concerning the mobility of artisans (and most other populations, whether they were gentry, Brahmins, merchants or peasants) in medieval western India.

     For discussions of the importance of local craftsmen in the development of mosque architecture in South Asia, see Michael W. Meister, 'The "Two-and-a-Half-Day" Mosque', in *Oriental Art* (N.S.) vol. 18 (1972): 57–63; and especially Michael W. Meister, 'Indian Islam's Lotus Throne: Kaman and Khatu Kalan', in Anna Libera Dallapiccola and Stephanie Zingel-Avé Lallemant (eds.), *Islam and Indian Religions*, Vol. 1 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag. 1993), 445–452.

52 M. A. Dhaky, 'Some Early Jain Temples in Western India', in *Śrī Mahāvīr Jain Vidyālay Suvarṇ Mahotsav Granth* (Bombay: Shri Mahavira Jaina Vidyalaya, 1968), English section, 290–347.

53 This was also true of the other two temples that featured in the Getty project, the temple of Dadhimatī between the villages of Goth and Manglod east of Nagaur, and the temple of Raṇchoḍ at Khed, near Balotra.

54 The Jaipur paper was published twice, first in 1989 in a festschrift for R. C. Agrawala, and then in 1995 in one of the edited volumes of papers from the first three Rajasthan Studies conferences. Michael W. Meister, 'Temples, Tīrthas, and Pilgrimage: The Case of Osian', in *Ratna-Chandrika: Panorama of Oriental Studies (Shri R. C. Agrawala Frestschrift)*, ed. D. Handa and A. Agrawal (New Delhi: Harman, 1989), 275–281; and Michael W. Meister, 'Temples, Tīrthas, and Pilgrimage: The Case of Osian', in *Folk, Faith & Feudalism: Rajasthan Studies*, ed. N. K. Singhi and Rajendra Joshi (Jaipur: Rawat, 1995), 67–75. The Udaipur paper was published in 1999 in another edited volume from the first three Rajasthan Studies conferences: Michael W. Meister, 'Style Lines, Pilgrims and Patronage in Early Rajasthan', in *Religion, Ritual and Royalty*, ed. N. K. and Rajendra Joshi (Jaipur: Rawat, 1999), 185–196.

55 Meister, 'Temples, Tīrthas, and Pilgrimage' (1989), 277; 'Temples, Tīrthas, and Pilgrimage' (1995), 70.

56 When we conducted our fieldwork there a decade later, the number of temples with some degree of active worship had increased. John E. Cort, 'Pilgrimage and Identity in Rajasthan', in Lawrence A. Babb, John E. Cort and Michael W. Meister, *Desert Temples: Sacred Centers of Rajasthan in Historical, Art-Historical, and Social Contexts* (Jaipur: Rawat, 2008), 93–114.

57 Meister, 'Temples, Tīrthas, and Pilgrimage' (1989), 280; 'Temples, Tīrthas, and Pilgrimage' (1995), 73.

58 Meister, 'Style Lines', 186.

59 Meister, 'Style Lines', 186.

60 Meister, 'Style Lines', 191.

61 Meister, 'Style Lines', 193.

62 Meister, 'Style Lines', 193.

63 Michael W. Meister, 'De- and Re-Constructing the Indian Temple', in *Art Journal* vol. 49 (1990): 395–400. This essay was originally written for a conference on 'Time' held at the Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts in New Delhi in 1990. He published a slightly different version of the article in the 1996 proceedings of that conference: Michael W. Meister, 'Ritual and Real Time: De- and Re-Constructing the Indian Temple', in *Concepts of Time: Ancient and Modern*, ed. Kapila Vatsyayan (New Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts; and Sterling Publishers Private Limited, 1996), 373–387.

64 Meister, 'De- and Re-Constructing the Temple', p. 395; Meister, 'Ritual and Real Time', 376.

65 Meister, 'De- and Re-Constructing the Temple', p. 398; Meister, 'Ritual and Real Time', 379.

66 John E. Cort, 'Report: Jain Studies Workshop', in *Bulletin of the Center for the Study of World Religions* vol. 16 no. 2 (1989/90): 80.

67 The first iteration of this article was as a presentation at a workshop in June 1993 at Amherst College. The workshop resulted in an edited volume, in which Michael's essay appeared: Michael W. Meister, 'Sweetmeats or Corpses? Community, Conversion, and Sacred Places', in *Open Boundaries: Jain Communities and Cultures in Indian History*, ed. John E. Cort (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998), 111–138. A slightly shorter version, with a somewhat different theoretical agenda, appeared as Michael W. Meister, 'Sweetmeats or Corpses? Art History and Ethnohistory', in *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, vol. 27 (1995): 118–132. The final revised version of the article appeared as a chapter in *Desert Temples*: Michael W. Meister, 'Sweetmeats or Corpses? Community, Conversion, and Sacred Places', in Lawrence A. Babb, John E. Cort and Michael W. Meister, *Desert Temples: Sacred Centers of Rajasthan in Historical, Art-Historical, and Social Contexts* (Jaipur: Rawat, 2008), 23–41.

68 Michael W. Meister, 'Sweetmeats or Corpses' (1995), 119.

69 Michael W. Meister, 'Sweetmeats or Corpses' (1995), 120.

70 Citing Michael W. Meister and M. A. Dhaky (eds.), *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*, 2 vols., 4 pts (Delhi: Oxford University Press and American Institute of Indian Studies, 1983–1991).

71 Michael W. Meister, 'Sweetmeats or Corpses' (1995), 121. He repeated this statement, almost verbatim, at Michael W. Meister, 'Ethnography, Art History, and the Life of Temples', in *Ethnography & Personhood: Notes from the Field*, ed. Michael W. Meister (Jaipur: Rawat, 2000), 23.

72 Michael W. Meister, 'Sweetmeats or Corpses' (1998), p. 113; cf. Michael W. Meister, 'Sweetmeats or Corpses' (1995), 122–124.

73 Michael W. Meister, 'Ethnography, Art History, and the Life of Temples', in *Ethnography & Personhood: Notes from the Field*, ed. Michael W. Meister (Jaipur: Rawat, 2000), 17.

74 D. R. Bhandarkar, 'Osia', in *Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, Progress Report, 1906-07* (1907): 36–38; D. R. Bhandarkar, 'The Temples of Osia', in *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1908–1909* (1912): 100–115; M. A. Dhaky, 'The Chronology of the Solaṅkī Temples of Gujarat'.

75 At the time of the first two publications of 'Sweetmeats or Corpses?', this consisted just of Lawrence A. Babb, 'Monks and Miracles: Religious Symbols and Images of Origin Among Osvāl Jains', in *Journal of Asian* Studies vol. 52 (1993): 3–21. By the time of the 2008 publication of "Sweetmeats and Corpses", Babb's material had appeared in book form: Lawrence A. Babb, *Absent Lord: Ascetics and Kings in a Jain Ritual Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).

76 A. Rudolf Hoernle, 'The Pattavali or List of Pontiffs of the Upakesa-Gachchha', in *Indian Antiquary* vol. 19 (1890): 233–242.

77 See Lawrence A. Babb, John E. Cort and Michael W. Meister, *Desert Temples*, viii, for a full list of the prior presentations and appearances of the chapters.

78 See especially Lawrence A. Babb, John E. Cort and Michael W. Meister, *Desert Temples*, 1–19.

79 Michael W. Meister, 'Building a Temple', 40.

80 Michael W. Meister, *Temples of the Indus: Studies in the Hindu Architecture of Ancient Pakistan* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 63–72.

81 Michael W. Meister, 'Building a Temple', 40.

82 Michael W. Meister, 'Building a Temple', 65.

83 I have rearranged the order of the original sentence.

84 Śaṅkarlāl Caturvedī, 'Pūjan jahāṃ dugdhābhiṣek ke sāth kiyā jātā hai', in *Rājasthān Patrikā* (Jodhpur edition), March 31, 1998, supplement 'Śīkṣā evaṃ saṃskṛti': 1.

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