A Survey of Jain Buildings in England Project Number 7078

Prepared for Historic England by
Dr Caroline Starkey
Professor Emma Tomalin
The Centre for Religion and Public Life
University of Leeds
June 2018



Oshwal Centre and Jain Temple, Hertfordshire (photo, author's own)

Table of Contents

Executive Summary: A Survey of Jain Buildings in England	4
1 Building Jainism in England	6
1.3 Methodology	
1.3.1 Desk-based national mapping and information gathering	
1.3.2 Site visits and how the sites were chosen	
1.4 Mapping Jain Buildings in England	
2. What does Historic England want?	
2.1 Background	
2.2 Specific areas where knowledge is lacking and key areas of impact.	12 13
2.2.1 Impact that is achieved by this project:	
2.2.2 Impact that is enabled by this research:	
·	
3. Jainism in England	
3.1 Jainism: Key Beliefs and Teachings3.2 Jain Buildings in England	
3.3. Jains arrive in England and the first Jain buildings (1960s and 1970	
3.4 The Growth and Diversification of Jain Buildings (1980s and 1990s)	
3.5 Purpose-Building (post-2000)	
from the 1960s to the present day?4.2 If, as Banks (1992: 15) highlights, it is the achievement of moksha (liberation from rebirth) which is the most important thing to Jains, in w	/hat
ways are the buildings significant?	
4.2.1 As a focus for the Jain community/communities.	
4.2.2 As places of spiritual connection and significance.	
4.2.3 To help to spread the Jain message of ahimsa, or non-violence	
4.3 Are there Jain monastics in Britain, and if so, where do they live?	
4.4 Is using a Hindu mandir as a place of worship problematic for Jains	
5. Conclusions and Recommendations5.1 Introduction	
5.2 Conclusions and Recommendations	
6. Appendices	55
6.1 Appendix 1: Jain Building Mapping	
6.2 Appendix 2: Interview/Fieldwork Schedule	
6.3 Appendix 3: Interview Questions6.4 Appendix 4: Glossary	
6.5 Appendix 5: Suggested amendments to the National Heritage List for	or
England	
7. Bibliography	70

Box 1: The Jain Samaj, Leicester	. 19
Box 2: International Mahavir Jain Mission (Jain Ashram, Birmingham)	. 22
Box 3: The Oshwal Centre, Hertfordshire	. 24
Box 4: Oshwal Mahajanwadi, Croydon	. 28
Box 5: Mahavir Derasar, Kenton	. 31
Box 6: Yorkshire Jain Foundation: Mahāvīra in the Hyde Park Mandir	. 34
Box 7: Kailash Giri Temple, Hounslow	. 36
Box 8: Shree Mahāvīra Śwami Jain Temple (Shree Digamber Jain	
Association), Harrow	. 38
Box 9: Jain Samaj (Jain Community Centre), Manchester	. 41
Box 10: Jain Centre, London (108 Parshvanath Jinalay London,	
Colindale)	. 43

Executive Summary: A Survey of Jain Buildings in England

Overview

The aim of this research was to provide Historic England (HE) with information about buildings that Jains use in England so that HE can work with communities to enhance and protect those buildings now and in the future. It focused on three main questions:

- Where are Jain buildings and how many are there?
- What kinds of buildings do Jain communities use and what do they use them for?
- What is the value of these buildings to the communities and individuals?

Where are Jain buildings and how many are there?

Overall, we found 27 'Jain Buildings' from our desk-based mapping exercise and interviews (see Appendix 1). To the best of our knowledge, this is the total amount of buildings that are owned or rented long-term by Jain communities in England. We have not counted all the Jain social groups or *jati* ('caste') organisations in England that both Jains and non-Jains are part of (although this figure does include 3 'caste' groups which are of most interest to Jains, plus the Oshwal Centres which we considered as separate Jain buildings). The reason these have not been counted is that many do not have a permanent (or long-term rented) building, but instead rent public spaces such as schools or community halls for meeting. The numerous *jati* groups do include Jains, but not exclusively.

Appendix 1 gives a summary of the buildings according to three factors: 1) whether they are urban, suburban or rural; 2) the numbers of listed buildings they have; and 3) the use and type of building.

What kinds of buildings do Jain communities use and what do they use them for?

In England, Jain buildings appear to be of various styles and types, and have varied uses. Alongside shrines in personal homes (which are not included in the mapping) we identified the following:

- Offices (including Headquarters of Jain organisations, societies and social groups such as the Institute of Jainology). Sometimes these are in office blocks, sometimes in private houses;
- Community centres (which may include a temple) and also include jati (or 'caste') organisations that include Jains and non-Jains and those which are predominantly Jain;
- Jain idols (tīrthaṅkaras) in Hindu mandirs, some of which are fully consecrated.

- Dedicated Jain temples (some of which are open to Jains of all schools, some are specifically for one Jain school) – of which there are two broad types:
 - O Ghar derasar ('house temples' which do not have the traditional dome and spire external architecture, and are typically in homes or adapted houses. Most have internal marble architectural structures to house the idols, some of which are consecrated and have undergone pratistha ceremonies).
 - Śikhararbandi temples (with traditional dome and steeple), featuring marble pillars, an external flag and, typically, a Mānastambha – a stone pillar at the entrance to a temple which is said to foster the removal of pride amongst worshippers as they enter the sacred area.

What is the value of these buildings to the communities and individuals?

The answers to this question are discussed in detail in sections 3 and 4. Key points include:

- As a focus for the Jain community/communities
- As places of spiritual connection and significance
- To help to spread the Jain message of *ahimsa*, or non-violence
- For the promotion and maintenance of languages and culture

1 Building Jainism in England

1.1 Introduction

In 2012 Historic England (at that time known as English Heritage) held a series of consultations on minority heritages in order to develop a more inclusive approach to its National Heritage Protection Plan (NHPP). The findings presented in this report came about as a result of a consultation on faith groups and their history and heritage in England. It emerged that Historic England needed to increase its knowledge about the heritage of the buildings of other faith groups in Britain in order to help assess their significance and understand how they are used and valued. To begin to address this gap, an initial scoping project was carried out on Buddhist Buildings, which has been completed (Tomalin and Starkey 2016, 2017; Starkey and Tomalin 2016). This report comprises part of the second phase of the research, which focused on Hindu, Jain, Zoroastrian and Bahá'í buildings in England. Separate reports have been written for each of these four faith traditions.

1.2 Aims of the research

Specifically, the aim of the project on minority faith buildings has been to 'scope and assess current knowledge of the buildings and relevant practices' to different communities in England in order to:

- 'Enable HE and the sector to develop its expertise and protect [these buildings] appropriately'²
- To better understand the <u>heritage</u>, <u>nature and significance</u> of these buildings for their respective communities/users
- To better understand the ways in which building use reflects and enables religious practice and other activities.

For all the traditions studied, the research has involved two main parts: 1) a literature review and desk-based mapping of different buildings across England, linked to various minority faith traditions 2) a more detailed study involving qualitative research on a selection of these buildings, involving face to face interviews.

There are 20,288 Jains in England and Wales, according to the 2011 census³ and this is an increase of 15, 132 from the 2001 census⁴. The Jain

¹ This research lies within priority areas that HE is working in currently and is specifically mentioned under Measure 4 of the Action Plan for the NHPP (https://content.historicengland.org.uk/images-books/publications/nhpp-repmay11mar12/nhpp-year-end-1112-activity-programme.pdf, accessed 22 April 2016)
² National Heritage Protection Plan 2011-15, Publication Date: 26 Apr 2012,

Year-end report and Activity Programme, May 2011 - March 2012 (https://content.historicengland.org.uk/images-books/publications/nhpp-rep-may11mar12/nhpp-year-end-1112-activity-programme.pdf, accessed 22 April 2016)

communities in England and Wales are comprised of people from urban and rural India, East Africa, and those who were born in Britain and they comprise a diverse group, with linguistic, social, economic and religious differences. Appendix 1 provides a list of all the relevant Jain 'buildings' in England that will be discussed in this report.

1.3 Methodology

In this research, there were two principal phases, each involving different methods and each contributing to achieving the aims of the project outlined in section 1 and to fill the gaps in knowledge identified by HE in commissioning the project. The phases of the research were as follows:

- Desk-based national mapping and information gathering about Jain buildings and groups in England
- 2. Site visits to ten Jain buildings across England

1.3.1 Desk-based national mapping and information gathering

We began the desk-based mapping exercise with a broad Internet search for Jain buildings in England, focusing particularly on the lists of Jain buildings available on websites of 'umbrella' organisations such as the Institute of Jainology (http://www.jainology.org/resources/jain-temples-in-the-uk/). A search for each of the temples and centres on this website produced additional lists of buildings, groups and organisations and then additional internet searches were performed for each of the buildings listed. Different search terms were used such as 'Jain temple England', Jain *derasar* England' and 'Jain centre UK', as well as searches for 'Oshwal UK', or 'Digamber temple England'. In addition, we used published scholarship (such as Banks 1992) to identify additional sites. The results of this mapping were compiled into a table (see Appendix 1).

Alongside collecting the names of the buildings and the Jain tradition to which they belong, we also collected, where possible, information from the websites of different Jain groups about the following points:

- 1. Building location and whether it is rural/urban/suburban
- 2. Its use
- 3. Whether the building is listed
- 4. Additional notes of interest
- 5. Website address and physical address

nsus/2011-census/key-statistics-for-local-authorities-in-england-and-wales/sty-what-is-your-religion.html, accessed, 20.07.2016.

http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20160105160709/http://ons.gov.uk/ons/publications/re-reference-tables.html?edition=tcm%3A77-50856, accessed, 20.07.2016.

Some of this information was available on the Internet and within the directories. However, there are some gaps where we were not able to find the information we needed online. In addition to using the websites of different centres, we also made use of 'google maps' and 'google street view' to find out more about building types and the location of centres. In Appendix 1, we make a distinction between urban and suburban. By suburban, we mean locations that are largely residential and are not located within major shopping and business areas. By urban, we mean locations that are more central, near major railway stations, shopping and business areas. They are more likely to be areas with a greater 'footfall', whereas the suburban locations are more hidden away. There is a degree of subjectivity in designating a location urban or suburban, and it is not always clear from the desk-based research exactly where the buildings are located. Neither was it always easy to tell from the desk-based research whether any major extensions have been added to existing buildings or new buildings have been erected at the properties.

To deepen our findings from the desk-based mapping we also selected a number of significant sites to visit in the second phase of the research, in order to address a more detailed set of questions (see appendix 3 for a list of the research questions). The research received ethical approval from the University of Leeds Research Ethics Committee in August 2013.

1.3.2 Site visits and how the sites were chosen

We selected ten Jain buildings/sites to visit in the second phase of the research. In addition, we held a telephone interview with the Institute for Jainology (see Appendix for interview dates). We drew on the data gathered in the mapping exercise to identify a range of Jain traditions, building types and styles, across various geographical regions in England. We also included certain buildings because research participants recommended them to us. From our desk-based mapping, we ascertained that there were, to the best of our knowledge, 27 Jain buildings in Britain. We selected ten sites to offer as wide an overview of building styles, types and uses that was logistically possible in the time available for the research.

The site visits we undertook were:

- 1. Oshwal Centre, Potters Bar
- 2. Kenton Derasar
- 3. Mahavir Temple (SDJA), Harrow
- 4. Birmingham Jain Ashram
- 5. Leicester Jain Samaj
- 6. Manchester Jain Samai
- 7. Yorkshire Jain Foundation
- 8. Kailash Giri Jain Temple
- 9. Croydon Mahajanwadi (Oshwal Association)
- 10. Colindale Jain Centre

The rationale for the selection of these ten sites can be summarised as follows:

- 1. The most historically significant Jain buildings in England (e.g. the first buildings, or the largest)
- 2. Featuring a range of Jain traditions or schools
- 3. Geographic spread across England
- 4. The purpose-built centres, featuring good examples of Jain building practice
- 5. A range of building types, from house-temples, to Hindu *mandirs*, to large purpose-built temples.

The decisions we made about which sites to visit were also discussed with several of our interview participants to ensure that we had captured a robust range of building types and styles, to best represent the experiences of Jain groups in England.

During the site visits we used qualitative research methods, conducting semistructured interviews, taking detailed field notes and collecting 'grey' literature produced by Jain groups, as well as taking photographs of both the inside and outside of buildings, their fabric, fixtures, and fittings. The interviews, which we most often conducted with a senior member of the specific Jain group, usually lasted between one and two hours, and included a tour of each of the buildings in question. Each of the interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed in full.

Each of the interview transcripts (aside from the telephone interview with the Institute for Jainology) was analysed to draw out the key themes in line with the research questions, and the results of the site visits are presented in sections 3, 4 and 5 of this report.

1.4 Mapping Jain Buildings in England

Banks' (1992) research is one of the few dedicated published studies on Jainism in Britain. It focuses particularly on Leicester and concentrates on the relationships that developed in the city amongst Jains coming from India and East Africa from the 1960s onwards, making comparisons with Jain communities in India, specifically in Jamnagar, Gujarat. When he undertook his research in the 1980s, he noted that 'there were...only three pieces of property held by Jain groups in the country' and this included a house and a property in North London (which had, at the time, not received planning permission⁵); a house in Birmingham (which he states was no longer in use, although could be the Jain Ashram which we discuss further in this report); and the Leicester Jain Centre, which receives detailed attention in his work (Banks, 1992:154).

However, our recent mapping shows that the number of Jain buildings in England has dramatically increased over the past 20 years, and we have identified **27 Jain buildings or sites in England**. This figure includes:

⁵ We believe he was referring to the Oshwal Association centre at Potters Bar, which has now been developed.

- 13 dedicated Jain buildings, temples and centres
- 5 Hindu *mandirs* that are used by Jains and which house consecrated and non-consecrated Jain *tīrthaṅkaras* ('idols')
- 2 'umbrella' Jain organisations (the Institute of Jainology and Young Jains)
- 1 school
- 3 *jati* or 'caste/class' organisations (which include both Jains and non-Jains)
- 3 buildings/groups which are no longer functioning, but which might be of historic interest

This total does not include small *jati* (caste) social groups, nor does it include the social groups and societies that give private residences as their contact addresses but meet communally in hired premises. These have not been included in the mapping as our aim was to identify public facing, dedicated Jain buildings, in accordance with the priorities of Historic England.

In England, Jain buildings appear to be of various styles and types, and have varied uses. Alongside shrines in personal homes (which are not included in the mapping) we identified the following:

- Offices (including Headquarters of Jain organisations, societies and social groups such as the Institute of Jainology). Sometimes these are in office blocks, sometimes in private houses;
- Community centres (which may include a temple) and also include *jati* (or 'caste') organisations that include Jains and non-Jains;
- Jain idols (*tīrthaṅkaras*) in Hindu *mandirs*, some of which are fully consecrated.
- Dedicated Jain temples (some of which are open to Jains of all schools, some are specifically for one Jain school) – of which there are two broad types:
 - Ghar derasar ('house temples' which do not have the traditional dome and spire external architecture, and are typically in homes or adapted houses. Most have internal marble architectural structures to house the idols, some of which are consecrated and have undergone pratistha ceremonies).
 - Śikhararbandi temples (with traditional dome and steeple), featuring marble pillars, an external flag and, typically, a Mānastambha – a stone pillar at the entrance to a temple which is said to foster the removal of pride amongst worshippers as they enter the sacred area.

It is important to bear in mind, when researching Jain buildings, that:

Jains do not have a tradition of large centralised spaces of worship like the Abrahamic faiths...It follows from this emphasis on austerity and introspection that Jains do not encourage mass worship. Rather, Jains pray, meditate, and enact rituals in the home, and many families have a dedicated room or small area within the home which contain images of tīrthaṅkaras to facilitate worship...Jains visit temples to renew their spiritual commitment and religious practice and 'seek blessing' during special occasions such as marriages and births (Shah 2011, p. 81).

From our internet mapping, there appears to be a wide variety of uses for Jain buildings in Britain, including:

- Religious rituals and ceremonies
- Festivals
- Marriages and rites of passage celebration
- To house the statues of the tīrthaṅkara
- To accommodate visiting teachers and priests
- · Cultural and community centres and associated activities
- Teaching about Jainism
- Yoga/health and fitness

2. What does Historic England want?

2.1 Background

In 2012, English Heritage (now Historic England) ran a series of consultations as part of a project considering 'under-represented heritage'. Two of these focused on faith buildings. Regarding religious heritages in England, the majority of HE's case work focused on Christian buildings, especially those in the guardianship of the Church of England, as these constitute a significant proportion of England's listed buildings.

At this time there was less knowledge about, or experience of, working with some minority faith groups. HE wishes to develop its expertise and build capacity to work with communities from any religious tradition to help support the protection of the historic environment. This is the case both as new heritage is created and becomes eligible for statutory protection and as faith groups adopt or inherit existing heritage assets and need to care for them. No national survey exists to say where buildings of many minority faiths are and what characterizes them. Furthermore, in order to advise local authorities on proposals for change to listed buildings Historic England would benefit from a clearer picture of what kinds of changes different communities might wish to carry out to make existing buildings suitable for their new function. Work on Jewish heritage has been ongoing for some years (and in addition to churches and chapels, synagogues are often buildings with historic fabric). However, there has been less focus on other faith traditions, whose buildings are generally not as old due to relatively recent patterns of migration to England.

Faith buildings commonly have a special value to the community that uses them and often to a wider community that lives and works around them or uses them for other community purposes. In order to provide consistent advice, it is important to appreciate both the individual history of a place of worship and the aspects that are important to a local community and to the wider heritage sector.

Historic England has a dual role of advising Government on which buildings might be added to the statutory list of heritage assets and in advising owners and local authorities in relation to existing listed buildings. To fulfill this it seeks, through this project and others, to provide a baseline of information on which to build in order to expand the knowledge of minority faith buildings and their significance.

C20th buildings have been a priority area for HE, and faith buildings are one element of this programme of work. Even amongst Church of England churches, which are relatively well covered by the List, it has been shown that 20th century ones are under designated and that they are more likely to be demolished (Monckton 2014: 129). This could apply to other C20th faith

buildings (that fit the designation criteria of being more than 30 years old), therefore it is important to scope the landscape of those buildings, with an aim to showing the histories of minority faiths in England and providing an opportunity to provide protection for those eligible.

There exists a general gap in scholarship in this area of the built environment generally, so that while there is a large academic literature on migration and diaspora in England, within this literature there is little on the buildings that illuminate aspects of these histories and most discussion has not been systematic nor carried out with respect to issues of heritage protection or architectural character.

2.2 Specific areas where knowledge is lacking and key areas of impact

Our conversations with HE have highlighted three main areas where knowledge is felt to be lacking and which this project aims to address:

- 1. Where are Jain buildings and how many are there?
- 2. What kinds of buildings do Jain communities use and what do they use them for?
- 3. What is the value of these buildings to the communities and individuals that use them?

The following areas of impact have been signaled as important for HE and have been drivers for this project.

2.2.1 Impact that is achieved by this project:

- 1. To suggest terms that can be added to the terminology that is already present in the 'Thesaurus of Monument Types' so that it reflects Jainism and Jain practice in England. There is a need to have a more comprehensive repository of terms so that people can access the information that they want, and also so that they can use the use appropriate terms when recommending buildings for listing. Our aim is to identify key terms, including those for key architectural features of Jain buildings (see Appendix 4 Glossary).
- 2. To make suggestions on new buildings that should be listed, or on currently listed buildings that should be upgraded.
- 3. To create a contact list for HE to connect with relevant Jain organisations (websites and addresses of Jain centres are provided for each entry in the tables on pages 13-21).
- 6. To develop a timeline of the history of Jain buildings in England (see section 3).
- 7. To add to the HE archive, including recent photographs and up-to-date information.

2.2.2 Impact that is enabled by this research:

- 1. To produce data that can be used to write an 'Introduction to Heritage Assets' resource on 'Jain Buildings in England'. These are potted histories of England's 'heritage assets' that are relevant for the general public and other non-academic stakeholders. This could include architects and town planners who increasingly encounter the buildings of diverse religious traditions in their work.
- 2. To contribute towards the compilation of 'principles of selection' for the listing of Jain buildings
- 3. To raise awareness of these buildings to the general public.

3. Jainism in England

3.1 Jainism: Key Beliefs and Teachings

Jains follow the teachings and example of twenty-four *tīrthaṅkaras* (enlightened teachers) also referred to as *Jina* ('spiritual victors'), the last of which was Mahāvīra, a contemporary of the Buddha who lived in Bihar, Northern India (Jaini, 1979: 2, Banks, 1992: 21). The philosophy and practice of the Jains is based around the three key principals of *ahimsa* (non-violence or non-harm), *anekantvada* (non-absolutism) and *aparigraha* (non-possessiveness) and the ultimate goal is to achieve liberation or enlightenment (*moksha*) from *samsara* or the cycle of birth, death and re-birth (Long 2009: 2). Jains share with Buddhists and Hindus ideas about *karma:* 'a universal principal of cause and effect' and this shapes Jain ideas about reincarnation (Long, 2009: 1).

What is useful to note in this regard, especially in a study concerned with the significance of Jain buildings in England, is the following:

At its most abstract, Jainism is nothing more than this – a system of practices for enlightenment; all other aspects (temples, idols, rituals, clothing and food customs, the extensive cosmology) are subsidiary (Banks, 1992: 15).

Indeed, as Long (2009: 20) states, 'The building of temples and monasteries [...] has not been uncontroversial in the Jain tradition'. On the one hand, there is the possibility that creatures might be harmed during the building process, and attachment to physical structures is something that ties a person into samsara, but on the other hand, there are argued to be benefits for lay people in regularly attending a temple to meditate and focus on the wisdom of the enlightened *tīrthaṅkaras* (Long 2009: 20). As Jaini (1979: 193) writes;

...building, consecrating, and regularly venerating images of *tīrthaṅkaras* today constitute the primary religious activities of lay Jains.

Notwithstanding this, temples are important sites for Jains in the UK, both locally as this report will attest and also in terms of international places of pilgrimage. Perhaps the most famous and sacred pilgrimage site for Jains is situated at Palitana in Gujarat, with over 900 temples nestled on a mountainside. Indeed, pictures and photographs of Palitana are frequently hung on the walls of Jain centres and temples in England. As Jaini (1979: 205) states:

Jainas place great value upon pilgrimage to such shrines; indeed the layman considers it an important goal of his life to make at least one visit, with family if possible, to one or more of the several areas that his faith holds sacred.

15

⁶ For a detailed discussion of Jaina philosophy and cosmology, including these three points, see Jaini 1979.

Interestingly, Jains in England also organise local pilgrimages and there is an annual coach trip that incorporates visits to a number of Jain centres and temples in England.⁷

In Jainism there is a strong monastic tradition although, unlike for Buddhists, Jain monks (and nuns from the Śvētāmbara school, see below) are not permitted to travel except on foot as this contravenes the principal of non-harm including to small organisms that might be destroyed by cars or aeroplanes (Banks 1992:28/29). Jain monastics are divided into different schools or traditions, the two main being Digambera ('Sky-clad') and Śvētāmbara ('White [cotton] clad') (Jaini 1979: 5). Digambera monks, in India, wear no clothes and own nothing, not even an alms bowl. As Digamberas do not permit women to practice ascetic nudity they cannot, therefore, attain *moksha*, but instead can practice faithfully until reincarnation in the male form (Long 2009: 17, Jaini 1979: 39). The Śvētāmbara are the largest school or sect (Long 2009: 17, 20), and this is certainly the case in the UK as well as globally. They wear white robes, are reliant on the laity for alms support.

The temples of the Digambera and Śvētāmbara in India, according to Banks, are separate (although often in close proximity) and there have been disputes between the followers of the two schools (Banks 1992: 29). Of note for this report there are further sub-divisions amongst Jain practitioners including the Sthānakavāsī ('dwellers in halls' - of the Śvētāmbara school, but who do not practice idol worship and can be contrasted with the other Śvētāmbara 'deravasi' – 'dwellers in temples') and the Terāpantha (a reformist sect of the Sthānakavāsī, who are mostly, although not entirely, Śvētāmbara) (Banks 1992: 31-32, Jaini 1979:314).

These monastic divisions have affected lay styles of religious practice (Banks 1992: 29) and the physical appearance of Jain idols (which we discuss further in the report). For example, those who practice within an idol-worshipping tradition participate in *puja* (acts of ritual worship) and *darsana* ('beholding' the idols, see Banks 1992:32). Śvētāmbara practices include dressing the idols with jewellery and clothes and anointing the idols with sandalwood paste, but this is not practiced within the Digambera tradition, although candles, incense and flowers are used (Banks 1992: 32, Long 2009: 20). For those Jains within idol-worshipping schools, once the statues have been interred properly (a ritual act known as prana pratisthā ('giving breath'), or añjana śalākā ('eye opening'), pujas (rituals) must be done daily and in the appropriate fashion, having washed one's body and donned clean clothes. Not all idols within Jain temples and centres in England have undergone this ceremony and therefore do not require such a level of ritual commitment but for those who have, the *pratisthā* ceremonies are typically very large affairs, with many attendees drawn from the UK and beyond.

_

⁷ We were not able to ascertain who the principal organising group for this annual pilgrimage was.

There are a number of key festivals that are celebrated by Jains, including Mahavir Jayanti (the birthday of Bhagvan, or Lord, Mahāvīra) in March/April, and Paryushana (Das Lakshana for Digambera Jains) in September. This festival involves eight to ten days of religious ritual and activity, including for some, a period of ascetic fasting. Jains are vegetarian (sometimes vegan), and typically, in an interred temple, consumption of food and drink is not permitted.

For Jains, both in India and elsewhere, caste and social groupings also unite and divide, although a deep analysis of this has not been the focus of this report. For those Jains in England, the largest social group are the Hilari Visa Oshwals, originating from 52 villages in Jamnagar, Gujarat, many of whom migrated to the UK from East Africa in the 1960s and 1970s (Shah et al 2011:81). As Long (2009: 16) explains:

Jain identity, like all identities, is criss-crossed with a variety of affiliations, such as class and profession...caste (distinct from class), gender and sectarian affiliation. Though Jainism, like Buddhism, arose partly in reaction to the caste system of Hinduism, Jains, like many other minority communities in India are organized into castes – hereditary communities that tend to practice a particular occupation and that determine whom one may marry.

Jains are a small minority religious group in England and Wales (and even more in Britain as a whole, as I was not able to identify any dedicated Jain buildings in Scotland, Wales or Northern Ireland, for example) but they warrant increased attention for several reasons. Firstly, the number of their buildings has increased dramatically over the past twenty years; secondly, Jain leaders and communities engage in inter-faith activities and are beginning to look to provide services for non-Jains in their buildings (at the Oshwal Centre Potter's Bar, for example) and are taking a role in the contemporary British public sphere, and thirdly, they are beginning to purpose build places of worship and community centres, which might be suitable for listing in future.

3.2 Jain Buildings in England

The following section will detail the development of Jain buildings in England, drawing on existing scholarship, Internet and grey literature mapping as well as fieldwork research. The section is divided into three parts;

- Charting the establishment of the first Jain buildings, primarily focusing on those founded in the 1970s following the migration of Jains from India and East Africa;
- 2. The diversification of Jain buildings in England from the 1980s-1990s; and:
- 3. The development of purpose-built temples and centres, largely post-millennium.

The separation of these three phases is simply a heuristic device, as it is important to note that Jain building work is ongoing, rather than static. For example, a community might purchase a building and land in the 1970s or 1980s and make some renovations immediately, but then might purpose-build much later on (particularly of temples), when finances and planning permission are in place.

3.3. Jains arrive in England and the first Jain buildings (1960s and 1970s)

According to Banks (1992: 5, 153), the first Jain migrants to Britain arrived in the 1960s and were associated with the Halari Visa Oswal *jati*, sometimes referred to as 'caste'. However, there is some evidence that the earliest Jain presence in England can be traced back to a small number of high-profile white-collar professionals, such as the law student Champat Rai who moved from India to England in 1892 and remained until 1897, and Jugmandar Lal Jaini, who, following time spent as a law student at Oxford, founded the Jain Literature Society in 1909.⁸

However, it is clear that migration by Jains to Britain occurred in greater numbers in the 1960s and 1970s, particularly following Kenyan independence and the expulsion of Indians from Uganda in 1971 (Banks, 1991: 242). A number of Jains, or their families, living in Britain have therefore had the experience of being 'twice migrants' (Bhachu, 1985). Most of the Jains in the UK, however, have family roots in Gujarat (Banks, 1991: 242). In 1991, Banks estimated that there were around 25,000 Jains in Britain, most of whom live in large urban areas, such as London, Leicester and Birmingham (Banks, 1991: 242). Accurate data on religious affiliation suitable for comparison can be gleaned from the 2001 and 2011 census. In 2001, there were 15,132 people who registered their religion as Jain in England and Wales, and this increased to 20,288 in the 2011 census. Shah (2014: 518), however, notes that the Jain community estimates a larger number that this, of up to 30,000.

Of particular note for our study, Banks (1992: 167) charts the origins and development of the Jain Samaj (or Jain Centre) in Leicester - the first Jain building in England (and, indeed, Europe) occupying a former Congregational chapel. Whilst Banks states that, in terms of Jain philosophy, it is the achievement of enlightenment that takes precedence over the building or worship of idols, the purchase of buildings is of significance in Britain:

http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20160105160709/http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/census/2011-census/key-statistics-for-local-authorities-in-england-and-wales/sty-what-is-your-religion.html, accessed, 20.07.2016.

http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20160105160709/http://ons.gov.uk/ons/publications/re-reference-tables.html?edition=tcm%3A77-50856, accessed, 20.07.2016.

⁸ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jainism in the United Kingdom. Last Accessed: 20.02.2018.

⁹ Census data gathered from the ONS:

The importance of corporate property ownership for Asian, and particularly Hindu groups in Britain cannot be overstressed (Banks, 1992: 169).

Box 1: The Jain Samaj, Leicester

The Jain Samaj, Leicester

The first Jains began to arrive in Leicester in the mid-1960s, principally from Gujarat. The community grew substantially following the period of Africanisation in Kenya and Uganda in the early 1970s, when the Indian communities, amongst others, were forcibly ejected. Following this, an initially small community organisation, Jain Samaj (*samaj* meaning religious society or movement), was established in Leicester and, by 1973, had a formal constitution and the community had begun to collectively celebrate Jain festivals and events in local community centres and Hindu *mandir*. A detailed discussion of the early years and the establishment of the Jain Samaj can be found in Banks (1992).

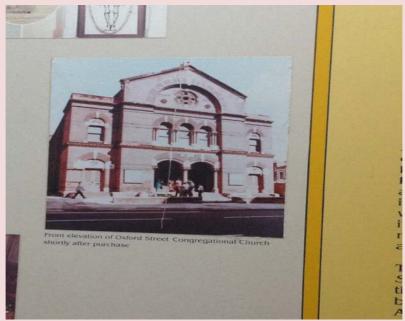


Photo taken of Jain Samaj display, author's own

In 1979, Jain Samaj purchased a former congregational chapel on Oxford Road (built in 1862), and began the process of establishing the first Jain Centre in Europe. Funding was raised from Jains resident in Leicester but also beyond, particularly from East Africa, India, and Antwerp. We were told that the trustees of the former chapel were 'very patient' with the Jain Samaj, as they were keen that their building was maintained as a place of worship rather than being adapted for secular use. The building, however, was in a derelict state when initially occupied by the Jain Samaj and required much volunteer effort to ensure its habitability. Our respondent informed us that young local Jains came straight from work 'with rollers' to paint the building themselves. During the early process of renovation, the community kept two of the former church pews, 'as a sign reminded us where we were once upon a time, and where we are now'. Significant building adaptation took place including removing the church balcony and organ and lowering the pulpit, and the challenges of this were noted by Banks (1992). A marble façade was cladded to the front of the Church in order to make the Centre much more like a traditional Jain temple in appearance.



Photo author's own

Initially, the Jain Centre was envisioned as a community centre, although they had a small Jain image for worship. However, by the early 1980s, they were successfully awarded a grant from the Manpower Services Commission to construct an upper hall to form a temple space, the downstairs still remaining a lower hall, used for gatherings, school visits and teaching. The upstairs main temple space has been crafted from mirrored walls as well as 52 pillars, domes and a ceiling all from sandstone, made in India and shipped to the UK. The original Church stained glass windows were replaced with stained glass in a similar style, designed and built in India but instead of Christian imagery, they depict stories from the life of Mahāvīra.



Photo, author's own

It is important to note that the Jain Samaj Leicester is designed to be open to members of all Jain traditions, and as a result whilst the main shrine hall is of the Śvētāmbara tradition, there is a Digamber shrine at the entrance and a separate room for Sthānakavāsī Jains (part of the Śvētāmbara tradition), who do not take part in the ritual worship of idols or statues. According to our informant, this was significant because, without this, the temple building 'would never have happened' both practically and financially. In 1985, the principal idols/images were transferred from India and in 1988, the idols were interred and the sixteen-day *prana pratiṣṭhā* ceremony was held in July with over 2000 attendees present from around the world.



Digamber shrine, photo author's own

Various periods of renovation and building adaptation have followed this, including completing the mosaic work within the temple and the building of downstairs museum cabinets depicting the story of the life of Mahāvīra, which are used for school visits and were completed after the millennium. In addition to the temple space and offices, there is also a room dedicated to Srimad Rajchandra, a Jain holy man who was also a spiritual advisor to Gandhi and who features in a number of Śvētāmbara Jain centres in England.



Jain Stained Glass Window, photo author's own

At present, the Jain Samaj is used for daily *puja*, and because the idols within the temple have been fully consecrated, people do travel from across the country to visit. There are religious classes and teachings, a Jain Youth project and school (both religious and Gujarati language), celebrations of festivals and important Jain family occasions. In addition, the Jain Samaj continues to be heavily involved in local inter-faith work, facilitates a regular number of school and university visits, and also has community events and classes, including keep-fit and a 'Ladies Group'. Although our interviewee highlighted that the up-keep of this building, particularly in terms of cleaning the marble façade and the management of parking issues is

an on-going issue for the centre, the building is important both for Jains and also for the wider community to learn about Jainism and the values of non-violence.

Although the Jain Samaj Leicester was the first official Jain Centre and Temple in England, at the same time Jains who had migrated to other parts of Britain were also beginning to establish other local groups, including in Manchester and Birmingham. While in Manchester, although the community were gathering in rented premises, the purchase and building of a Jain Centre did not happen until the late 1990s/early 2000s. In Birmingham, the Jain Ashram was operational in an adapted detached house from 1976.

It is important to note that at roughly this time, wider 'caste' based societies were also established in Britain, and these certainly included Jains. Some of these societies that continue to be operational now are listed in the mapping document as they have buildings, but others appear to be listed as charities from domestic houses and who meet in rented premises. Whilst these 'caste' based groups have not been included in the fieldwork, they still contribute to the picture of Jain buildings and spaces in Britain.

Box 2: International Mahavir Jain Mission (Jain Ashram, Birmingham)

International Mahavir Jain Mission (Jain Ashram, Birmingham)

In the 1960s, Jains living in the West Midlands (who were predominantly Hindi/Punjabi speakers and from the Sthānakavāsī tradition) gathered together to celebrate festivals and family occasions in people's houses, or supported the local Sikh *gurdwara* or Hindu temple, in the spirit of 'comradeship'. Yet, in 1976, with the support from Acharya Sushil Muniji Maharaj in India, five Jain families living around Birmingham joined together to purchase a semidetached house in Handsworth Wood to function as a community centre. The rationale for this decision was, according to our interviewee, for independence because when one owns community space;

'we can go anytime and worship as we like instead of compromising and being a part of something else when we can have our own identity'.



Photo, author's own

The house began simply as a meeting place and with small residential accommodation for visiting Jain nuns (and later Jain students from India), but as the Jain community became more established in the area, extensions and renovations have occurred. In 2000, various Jain statues were installed to make the front space function as a temple. Whilst many of the Jain families in the Birmingham area are part of the Sthānakavāsī tradition, where idol worship is not undertaken, there are others who are not and therefore the temple is designed to support a range of practices. However, unlike in Leicester, the *mūrti* (idols) have not had a *prana pratiṣṭhā* ceremony therefore do not require daily *puja*. This decision was taken because it was felt the small community might not be able to commit to the daily rituals necessary, which typically requires a live-in priest. The space that was constructed to hold the idols was made in India from marble and, like a traditional Jain temple, uses no steel. However, when the pieces arrived, English builders had no knowledge of how to put it together. By chance, at the same time a Hindu *mandir* in London was being built, using builders from India. The Jain Ashram 'borrowed' these builders for two weeks and they were able to construct the inner temple appropriately.



Photo, author's own

In 2006, a library and resource centre was installed and in 2010, a new kitchen extension and hall was built to accommodate family parties and gatherings, which can also be hired out for inter-faith work. All the funding for the development of the ashram and centre was drawn from local members, of which there are currently approximately 300 in the local area.



Jain Ashram resource centre (Photo author's own)

These examples of early building practice share commonalities. They are both in adapted buildings and also show evidence of wanting to appeal and support those who follow all Jain traditions. In the establishment of buildings, particularly in temple construction, strong links with India are crucial. In each case, buildings were bought and adapted due to existing communities wanting space to meet, gather and follow the religious traditions that they brought with them on migration to Britain.

3.4 The Growth and Diversification of Jain Buildings (1980s and 1990s)

As discussed previously, followers of the *Jaina-dharma* are usually divided into two principal traditions or schools- the Svētāmbara and the Digambera (Banks, 1992:29). The Śvētāmbara are further sub-divided into Sthānakavāsī (non-idol worshipping), and Murtipujaka (idol worshipping) as well as Terapanth (a reformist group). However, according to Banks (1992:153), in the early days of Jainism in Britain, the Jain use and ownership of buildings was typically divided along the lines of *jati*, with some buildings principally serving one jati (Banks, 1992:216):

...Jain temples and other specifically religious properties are, by and large, owned by jatis (Srimali or Oswal) and not by sect groups or Jains as a whole.

For example, although Banks explains that the Jain Samaj in Leicester was initially established in collaboration between the Oshwal and Srimali *jatis*, this was not retained (Banks, 1992:160). Indeed, the Oshwals have, since 2005, a large purpose-built temple in Potter's Bar and three centres in Croydon (1982), Kingsbury (2012) and Hounslow (2013) each occupying adapted buildings. The Oshwals form the largest Jain group currently residing in Britain. Oshwals have historic familial roots in and around Jamnagar in India, and many migrated away from Gujarat to East Africa, beginning to arrive in the UK in the 1950s and 1960s and then in larger numbers in the 1970s. 10 The Oshwal Association UK was formed in 1968, initially as a social group, but became a charitable association in 1972.

Box 3: The Oshwal Centre, Hertfordshire

The Oshwal Centre, Hertfordshire **Listing Number:** 1173884 (The Hook House)

The Oshwal Centre near Potters Bar is the only purpose-built Śikhararbandhi (meaning, traditional dome and steeple) Jain temple in Europe. The site where the temple is situated also has a Grade 2 listed mansion house ('The Hook House', an 'asymmetrical Tuscan Style villa' built in 1859)¹¹ and 75 acres of land, which at present includes a large car-park, a children's adventure park, two assembly halls and kitchen catering for large weddings and gatherings. Hook House was a family home originally, but prior to being purchased by the

¹⁰ http://www.oshwal.org.uk/oshwal-history/ accessed: 21.07.2016.

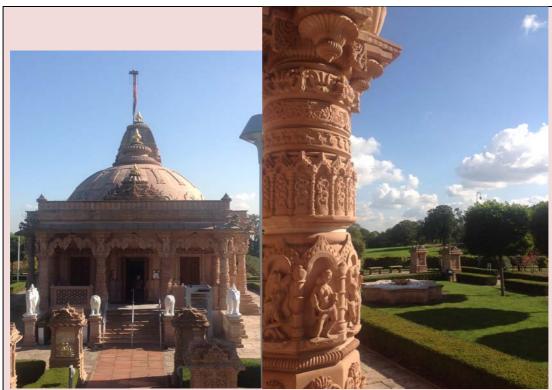
¹¹ https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1173884, accessed 22.07.2016

Oshwal Association in 1982, was owned by the Greyhound Racing Association, and still had the dog kennels intact. The house was in a reasonable condition when it was purchased by the Oshwal community, but also needed to undergo some renovation, and in addition to this, significant purpose building was completed in the grounds to construct the assembly halls (1989), car park, playground, and, latterly, the temple in the grounds (2005). Our interviewee told us that, when the site came up for sale, there was some opposition from the Oshwal community given that it is some distance from London where 85-90% of Oshwal members reside. A detailed description of the process of purchasing and developing The Hook House and its grounds can be found in Shah et al (2011) and includes a discussion of some of the Jain and non-Jain opposition to the planning permissions sought to construct this temple and associated buildings.



Hook House with temple column in foreground (Photo author's own)

Planning permission for the temple was originally granted in 1986, but this lapsed and had to be revived in 2002. Until then, a small temple (*ghar derasar*) was housed in Hook House, but the manor house is now used for office and community functions, including an older person's luncheon club, for which the Oshwal Association put on a bus to transport people from North London. Work on the purpose-built temple commenced in 2003 and was completed in 2005 at a cost of £5 million, with funding raised by members in the UK.



(photos, author's own)

Although most Jain temples in India are constructed from marble, the Oshwal temple is built of Indian pink sandstone, principally because marble was considered to be inappropriate for a UK environment and too porous in the rain. Marble is used inside the temple structure, in the main shrine room. The principal architect for the project was based in India but the Oshwal community also worked in conjunction with a British architecture firm, Ansell and Bailey, and they employed several hundred carvers to cut and construct the structure in accordance with traditional Jain temple building practices (Shah et al 2011: 77-78). When the temple was being constructed in the UK, after being shipped in pieces from India, they employed 8 or 9 carvers from India to complete the job. As our interviewee explained:

'Traditionally, in India, temples take five years to built because everything is done by hand, lifted by hand or on a manual pulley system. Here, we had industrial cranes lifting the stones up. The beauty about this temple, unlike a lot of the modern buildings, there is no steelworks in there. The whole thing is like a jigsaw puzzle, the whole stone works is actually designed and cut in India, shipped over here...then (the builders) fit the whole thing together...apart from the hinges on the door and the door handles, there is no metalwork anywhere in that building itself'.



(Photos, author's own)

In the form, space and place of the temple, as Shah et al (2011:79) explain, one can see 'the complex interrelationships between (Jain) beliefs, the work of Indian and White British architects, the setting of Hook House, and the path of the development through the local planning process'. This results in 'a distinctive hybrid architecture' (Shah et al 2011: 79) that had to be negotiated with planners, architects, and Jain religious hierarchies. Even the shape of the temple grounds is imbued with Jain symbolism and iconography, including 52 trees to represent the villages Oshwals originate from in Gujarat and the large *ahimsa* hand symbol at the entrance gateway, and 'when viewed from the air the garden forms the Jain symbol of 'Triloka' or the cosmos' (Shah et al 2011: 83, referencing an Oshwal Association publication). This, Shah et al argue has 'stamped Jain religious values on the English pastoral landscape' (Shah et al 2011: 83). Some adaptions needed to be made to the temple to ensure it fit within planning regulations, which Shah et al (2011) describe including building below ground to fit a washroom and to ensure that the height of the steeples and flag did not go beyond the height of the Grade 2 listed house.

In addition to the temple and Hook House, the Oshwal Association have also built a space housing two large assembly halls and catering facilities, to enable large functions to take place on the site. The hall building was built 25 years ago, but was refurbished entirely in 2014 at the cost of £2.5 million (and included shipping marble from Spain for the large assembly hall floor), and the final touches on the building (including the completion of the disabled access) were occurring at the time of our fieldwork visit. This large facility is, as our interviewee explained, extremely popular with local Jain and Hindu families for large weddings, and indeed many photographs of the use of this venue can be seen on the Internet.

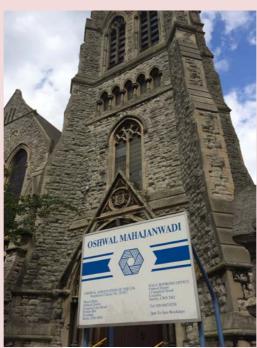


(Photos, author's own)

There are future plans for the development of this site, including the idea of building a sheltered housing, extra car parks, an animal sanctuary and a crematorium.

Box 4: Oshwal Mahajanwadi, Croydon

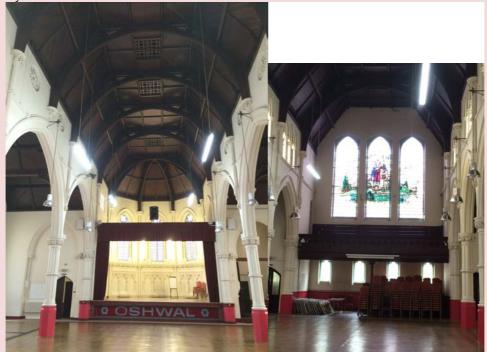
Oshwal Mahajanwadi, Croydon (photo, authors own)



(photo, authors own)

The Oshwal Association (OAUK) in Croydon have occupied a large former Congregational Chapel on Campbell Road, built in 1886, which immediately prior to use as a Jain centre was the West Croydon United Reformed Church¹². The OAUK purchased the church in 1982 for £135,000, although they had begun meeting as a community at private homes and hired halls from 1971, and there were at this time, just over 300 Oshwals in the Croydon area. When the church was purchased, it needed substantial renovation work and was likely to have been put on the market principally because the parish could not afford the necessary repairs. Whilst renovations started when the church was purchased, there was a large storm in 1987 which affected the building significantly and meant that the entire building had to be refurbished. Prior to the storm and major refurbishments, some of the previous fixtures such as the pews and the pulpit were still in situ, although most of these have now had to be removed.

The Oshwal Association spent in the region of £200,000 refurbishing the church to make it fit for purpose and the funding was raised, in the main, from local members. The building functions as a community centre, with social and religious activities (including a bridge club and lunch club and activities for older people), and also houses a Gujarati school on Saturdays.



(Photos, author's own)

In the early days, there were around 400 children who attended the school, and now this has reduced to around 130 per week. In addition, parts of the building are hired out, either on a temporary basis or more long-term. At the back of the building, part of the land is used by a nursery school for example and the building is used by several different church groups on Sunday mornings and as a polling station.

In 1991, a *ghar derasar* was opened at the centre and the Oshwal Mahajanwadi became licensed for marriages. The idols have not undergone the *pratistha* ceremony and the internal temple structure was donated by a member from his house. The current membership stands at around 500 households (approximately 1400 people) drawn from the local area. The vast majority of Oshwal members are Jain but not all. There are some Hindu Oshwals and, we were informed, at least one Muslim member.

³ Oshwal Association of UK – South Area, Silver Jubilee Souvenir Issue Newsletter (1997).

29

_

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Oshwal_Mahajanwadi,_Croydon_-_South_West.jpg, accessed 25.07.2016.



ghar derasar, photo author's own



close-up of ghar derasar, photo author's own

This building certainly holds sentimental value for many members of the community, and indeed, has taken a strong role in local Oshwal and non-Oshwal community life. For example, due to its central location, following the London riots in 2014 the Oshwal Mahajanwadi hosted a community meeting to begin a process of community re-building and reconstruction. However, at present, the OAUK are looking to sell the former church and purchase somewhere, still in the Croydon area, with more space for parking and perhaps something slightly smaller. Plans for this move are currently underway.

In the mid to late 1990s (following the period of Banks' research in Leicester, a time of growth and diversification in Jain buildings can be noted. Although there continue to be buildings owned by specific *jatis*, there are also those that emphasise that they are open to all Jain traditions, and those buildings that are owned and operated by different Jain sects or schools. This pattern of growth and diversification is evidenced by the increase, in this period, of buildings owned and operated for Digamber Jains. This pattern of change is

likely to be because as the first generation of Jains become firmly established in the UK, and also as new waves of migration occur (including students and IT workers from India), a wider range of buildings are needed and desired to support different communities. One of the findings from this research is that, whilst there is certainly evidence of Jain cooperation, it is vital not to assume that there is only one homogenous Jain community in England.

Whilst large community centres and consecrated temples are a feature of the Jain landscape, both in adapted and, later, purpose-built buildings, there are also more local temples within detached or semi-detached houses, referred to as *ghar derasar*. These are typically established in suburban areas, in close proximity to local Jain communities. There are a number of issues that these *ghar derasar* face, including lack of parking (and subsequent complaints from local residents or refusals of planning permission) and many do not (or are not permitted) to have tall flags or obvious advertising boards within the residential areas. One example of this type of Jain building is Mahavir Derasar in Kenton.

Box 5: Mahavir Derasar, Kenton

Mahavir Derasar, Kenton

The Mahavir *ghar derasar* is a Śvētāmbara temple based in a detached house in Kenton, Harrow, run by the Mahavir Foundation (www.mahavirfoundation.org). The Mahavir Foundation was established in 1987 and the community members first worshipped at home or hired halls for large festival occasions (a practice that continues today where Kingsbury School hall is typically hired). The property on 557 Kenton Road was purchased in the late 1990s, but a temple was not fully consecrated in 2011. This area was chosen as a number of Jains live within a five-mile radius and whilst many are able to attend the Oshwal Centre in Potters Bar, this is considered a more local facility where one can attend on the way to, or from, work, or if one does not have appropriate transport. We were informed that despite the temple being small, 'it's quite popular and...it's still a hub for the local people' and we were told that the Mahavir *derasar* does get 'more attendance than any other Jain temple in the UK'. As our interviewee explained,

This place is better because people are living around here. That's how they come, people come by bus, train. Even, say, if you are passing through you go, 'Okay, let me go for a couple of minutes in the temple and just worship for a minute or so'. That's how people come.



(Photo, author's own)

The majority of members of the temple are Jains who have migrated to Britain via East Africa, and who arrived in the 60s and 70s. However, they have also had members who have come from India over the past decade and for whom the temple has provided a useful focus for community support and advice. The temple itself is open every morning and evening for *puja*, and is open all weekend. The community run other activities from the temple, including a youth group and a ladies group. They also contribute to a number of charitable works, including for the local hospice.

Whilst the temple, from the outside, looks like an ordinary detached house similar in style to a number surrounding it, inside it has been transformed into a white-marble clad temple space, complete with internal dome and steeple and aluminium doors and features (all brought from India), that accommodates 60-70 people. The house has been extended to facilitate this and a kitchen space, as well as a garden outside. There are living quarters upstairs for the priest, who conducts the daily *pujas*. The idols at the *Mahavir derasar* have been interred fully (for which a priest was brought from India) and the community had 1500 people attending for the ceremony over 3 days, at Harrow Leisure Centre. Our interviewee explained:

Consecration has got its own religious value. We observe certain rules and regulations, how we enter and what we do...

At present, the decoration outside is minimal, partly as a result of planning restrictions but we were told that some further decoration might be possible in future.



(photo, author's own)

When we asked why the temple was important to the local community, our interviewee explained:

There are many reasons, really. One is the age old reason that people do believe in God...and they do like to go into any temple and worship...Myself, years ago, I thought temples were perhaps not necessary, but I know the importance now that once we built the temple and once we attracted a lot of people...we can (conduct) educational activities, humanitarian activities.



(photo, author's own)

As well as the *derasar*, the Foundation also own two additional buildings – a house next door and a similar one opposite. As food cannot be consumed in a consecrated Jain temple, the community use the opposite building as a place for communal meals. The building next door came up for sale recently and was purchased, and is now rented out as a domestic house. Parking was an issue, but with these additional sites, the lack of facility has been alleviated somewhat. In future, the Mahavir Foundation and the trustees would hope to have a larger temple but at present the *derasar* is a very locally rooted place of worship, in the heart of one North London Jain community.

A further feature of this period of diversification is the interment of Jain idols within Hindu *mandirs*. In our mapping, we found evidence of this occurring in three places (Leeds, Wembley and Feltham) but it certainly may have happened elsewhere too. As we describe in our discussion of the Yorkshire Jain Foundation (below), this occurs to provide a focus for worship for small Jain communities who might not be able to build or consecrate their own sacred space or indeed feel able to commit to the daily rituals needed to care for Jain idols when they have been consecrated. This practice is also an example of some local Jain and Hindu communities working in close connection with each other whilst in the diaspora.

Box 6: Yorkshire Jain Foundation: Mahāvīra in the Hyde Park Mandir

The Yorkshire Jain Foundation (YJF) was set up in April 1987 with the purpose of providing focus for the small Jain communities in Yorkshire and the Humber and to enable these families to regularly come together in religious and community activity. In the 1980s, there were approximately seven or eight Jain families in the Leeds and Bradford areas, a combination of **Śvētāmbara and Digambera** followers and the majority were Hindi speaking, and most had been travelling to Leicester to use the Jain Samaj there. The YJF began in the house of a Jain academic (the interviewee) and they had monthly *satsang* meetings (a term used typically within Hinduism, meaning spiritual gathering), rotating around private houses for prayers. The prayers were translated into English and published by the YJF in 1992. There were also discussions about Jain philosophy, and a communal meal. This pattern of meeting in local private houses continued successfully for some time.

However, in 2000, the local Hindu *mandir* in Hyde Park, Leeds, was undergoing expansion and the Chairman at the time was keen to broaden the scope of the temple. At the same time, he had incorporated a South Indian Hindu *puja* into the daily schedule and he asked the local Jain community whether they would be interested in having a Jain *tīrthaṅkara* installed in the mandir. The YJF raised £15,000 to facilitate this, and an idol (of Lord Mahāvīra, carved in India) was installed in October 2001 in front of around 500 guests, including the former Indian High Commissioner who offered the inauguration speech. The priest who undertook the ritual ceremony travelled from Leicester Jain Samaj, which had offered a great deal of support to the YJF in their endeavour. A formal foundation was laid for the *tīrthaṅkara* (which is situated to the left of the main shrine room in the *mandir*), including placing silver 'coins' underground, following Jain building tradition. One of the approaches of the YJF that set them apart from other Jain groups in the UK is the drive to translate every prayer and ritual ceremony into English. This is seen as very important by the founding members so that all participants are fully informed as to what is going on, even when they do not understand Sanskrit.

At present, the YJF meet annually at the *mandir*, but also are beginning again to meet somewhat more regularly in private homes. They are a small community of Jains (although some travel from Bolton for the annual flag ceremony) and many of the children of the original founding members have left the Yorkshire area for University or employment. There are long-standing and continuing links with Jains in Bolton and Leicester. The daily rituals necessary for a consecrated Jain idol are undertaken by the Hindu *pandit* employed by the *mandir*, and the YJF pay a monthly donation. Whilst the YJF are very pleased to have a *tīrthaṅkara* installed and ritually cared for, there are issues with this arrangement. Our interviewee explained:

The mandir is good but the Jain mandir is a small subset of the Mandir, not that it hinders but sometimes there is an overlap with other activities at the temple which we welcome as people participate in our activities as well. However some of our Jains find that we are not concentrating fully on ourselves and also the social aspect gets curtailed, whereas we could stay longer at someone's home, not as pre-planned as we have to do it at the mandir.

However, having the idol installed at the *mandir* has been a great focus for the Yorkshire Jains, including more recently, for students coming from India and who wanted to attend a temple to connect them with familial ritual practices from home.

One of the most important features of the period that we have identified as 'diversification' can be found not simply in the development of different 'types' of temples (house temples, or idols in Hindu mandirs) but also in the development of buildings associated with different Jain schools, seen particularly in the increase in the number of *Digamber* temples. Although Banks (1992) highlighted that at the time of his fieldwork, there were no Jain buildings that were owned by particular sects or Jains as one group (the buildings typically favouring *jati* ownership) this is no longer the case. In our

mapping, we discovered three *Digamber* temples (Shree Mahavir Swami in Harrow, Shree Parsvanath in Hendon and Kailash Giri in Hounslow), in addition, of course, to the *Digamber* shrine at the Jain Samaj Leicester. This important development showcases a diversification in religious identity amongst the Jains in Britain in the decades after the initial establishment of communities.

Box 7: Kailash Giri Temple, Hounslow

Kailash Giri Temple, Hounslow

Occupying a small terrace on a quiet Hounslow street is the Kailash Giri *Digamber* temple. From the outside, it is difficult to separate this *ghar derasar* from the other domestic houses that surround it. However, inside is a consecrated *Digamber* temple, established by Jain Mahila Sant Guru Maa Satyavati Ji in 1993. Guru Maa Satyavatiji first came to England from India on a visit in the 1980s, and felt strongly that she wanted to open a *Digamber* temple to 'spread non-violence' Although the terraced house that she bought, with financial support from Jains in India, Canada and the USA was in a dilapidated condition, it was renovated over subsequent decades. The *Digamber* community in this area had been worshipping at home prior to this temple being established but according to our interviewee:

"...the best thing is a temple, the temple is the best place to worship because, especially in Jainism, it is a tradition that you should come to the temple to pray, to do the puja...because this is a more pure and pious place as compared to a house".



Kailash Giri temple, external, photo author's own

Whilst there is now a traditional marble structure to house the Jain *tīrthaṅkaras*, initially this wasn't available, and the idols were placed on a table in the centre of the room. However, there was a Hindu mandir being built locally, and Guru Maa managed to arrange to purchase

-

¹⁴ Quotation taken from poster in Kailash Giri temple, visited on 9th May 2016.

the marble architectural frame from them and set it up in the house. Whilst the main shrine room floor was initially covered with carpet, this was not considered appropriate for a Jain temple with the central philosophy of non-harm as it is 'not considered pure because it holds a lot of germs' so this was removed and replaced with tiles. In Jain temples, it is traditional that nothing should be placed over the top of the idols, which is why they are typically housed within marble architectural frames with domes and steeples. At Kailash Giri, as well as the marble structure they have also created a sky-light in the roof immediately above the idols and ask building contractors not to walk on the roof over this area. One of the planning restrictions that they have been asked to abide by is not to display an advertising board outside, which they comply with.

According to our interviewee, one of the Jain traditions is to keep either three or five or seven idols and therefore five (in different stages) were brought from India, with the rituals having taken place prior to their relocation to the UK. There are differences in the ways that *Digamber* and Śvētāmbara Jains conduct puja and ritual, and also notable differences in the look of the idols. *Digamber* ('sky-clad') idols are not clothed or given jewellery or decoration as it is perceived that when Lord Mahāvīra attained liberation, he shed all bonds and attachments, including to clothing and material possessions. In India, *Digamber* monks do not wear clothes. Furthermore, *Digamber* idols are represented with their eyes half-closed, looking down, whereas Śvētāmbara idols have large, open painted eyes. In *Svetamabara* pujas, the idols are permitted to be touched (by those who have washed and wear ritual puja clothes) but we were told that the *Digamber* tradition will not permit touching of the idols during *puja*.



photos of shrine and rear extension, author's own

In addition to the renovation of the shrine hall, an extension was built more recently at the back of the house where men can wash prior to conducting ritual *puja*. The temple itself is open every day, and most of the community members associated with it have copies of keys, although there is a caretaker who lives in close proximity. This location was chosen principally because there the Jain community in and around Hounslow are predominantly *Digamber* and are primarily Hindi speaking. There are approximately 100 people who currently use the temple on a regular or semi-regular basis and most live nearby, although some travel from Milton Keynes and Cambridge. Some of the same individuals also go to the Harrow *Digamber* temple, although at Harrow, many of the attendees are Gujarati speakers and followers of Gurudevshree Kandiswami and who conduct rituals predominantly in silence which is has not been the practice of those who routinely attend the Hounslow Digamber

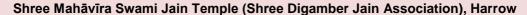
temple.

The temple was seen as highly significant to this local community for, as our interviewee explained:

It's the only place for us Jains living nearby to go to worship and we are actually privileged to have this place, we can come and worship, you can see the peacefulness here, which you can find here, you can never find in a house. Actually when you sit and meditate here, it's 100% concentration, when we do the puja, we're all together, it's like a big family.

In addition to the Kailash Giri Temple, another *Digamber* temple run by the Shree Digamber Jain Association was also established in the 1990s (see below).

Box 8: Shree Mahāvīra Swami Jain Temple (Shree Digamber Jain Association), Harrow





(photo, author's own)

In 1993, a small *Digamber* Jain community, centred around Harrow and numbering around 600 established a community centre. This particular *Digamber* group are followers of Gurudevshree Kanjiswami, a 20th century monk and Jain scholar. ¹⁵ Prior to 1993, the community gathered at private residences, but when membership grew, a more permanent community centre was sought. The building that they now occupy was a former health centre, chosen due to the available space and proximity to many of the community members in Harrow. The property needed significant repairs to make it fit for purpose, and this was completed with financial support from members. The centre opened to the public in May 1993, after three months of building work. ¹⁶ At this time, activities included religious lectures and gatherings on special festival days.

¹⁶ A history of the development of the centre and temple can be found on the SDJA website: http://www.sdja.co.uk/Mandir/mandir history 1.html, accessed 26.07.2016.

¹⁵ For the life-story of Gurudev Kanjiswami see: http://www.sdja.co.uk/resources/Education/gurudev1.htm, accessed 26.07.2016.

After a year, the community decided to initiate the process of building an official temple inside the building and after detailed planning, fundraising and applications for planning permission were granted, the building work began in 1999, with the temple opening a year later. The temple itself is marble, complete with underfloor heating and a large gold-leaf idol of Mahāvīra (the largest sitting statue of Mahāvīra outside of India). This idol was carved in Jaipur and given the *pratistha* ceremony in India before being transported to the UK. When the idol was interred in 2006 there was a large ceremony with nearly 2,000 people in attendance, using hired spaces as well as the centre.



(photo, author's own)

Following the installation of the idol, the community decided to upgrade the front elevation of the centre. They installed a *Mānastambha* (a tall column, identifying a Jain centre and acting as a symbolic 'ego-blocker' before devotees enter the temple), three main *Śikharars* (domes) and several smaller ones, and a flag.



(photo, author's own)

At present, the centre and temple are open daily, with religious classes and lectures each morning and three days a week in the evening, and all day Saturday. There is also a Jain school once a week and celebrations for religious festivals and special events. Whilst the majority of the membership are older, there has been effort made by the SDJA to encourage and support families to bring their children.

In the establishment of this centre, the SDJA have encountered some issues. At least initially, there was some dissatisfaction from local residents that a Jain temple had moved into the health centre and there were some racist incidents, although, according to our interviewee, these appear to have lessened over the years. Parking continues to be a difficult problem, and whilst the community would perhaps like to move to a better location, it is prohibitively expensive. They have also encountered some issues with obtaining planning permission, particularly when renovating the outside of the temple. Ideally, the Śikhara (domes) should have been larger and immediately above the idols outside giving them protection, but this was not possible. Furthermore, they should be made of granite, but this was too heavy for the existing roof structure, so they were constructed of fibreglass. Ideally, too, the Manastambha would have been taller (in India, these can be as large as 90-100 feet), but this was not permitted. The community would also have liked to have had more intricate carvings on the outside of the temple, but this was not within their budget. Lastly, the traditional Jain building style includes construction without steel, but this is not possible to follow with an adapted building. So, although the outside is modelled on a traditional temple and retains the aesthetic, the physical structure is not currently meeting the purpose it is meant to.

Whilst the SDJA would like to occupy a new, purpose-built space that could be closely tailored to their requirements, this is currently not possible. They are a small community, numbering about 400-450 and keeping close to where members live continues to be important, but this comes with budgetary restrictions as property is expensive in this area.

It is important to note that at the same time as this diversification, there has also been a proliferation of Jain groups and associations established in order to unite Jains of all traditions, such as The Institute of Jainology (IOJ) and their 'One Jain' campaign. The primary purpose of the IOJ, established in 1983, according to their website is to:

Provide a platform for interaction between different Jain communities and organisations, where all sectarian traditions jointly promote the faith and engage in discussions amongst themselves, encouraging Jain unity.¹⁷

The IOJ have an office in Middlesex (linked with India), a comprehensive website (www.jainology.org) and they co-ordinate a range of different activities in order to support UK Jains, and raise awareness of Jain teachings in an inter-faith setting, including arranging exhibitions (the notable Victoria and Albert Museum Jain permanent collection) 18, celebrating Ahimsa Day at the House of Commons and publishing material on Jainism, including on a website and forum for Jains, *Jain*Spirit: http://spirit.jainpedia.org/home.html. 19

http://www.jainology.org/projects/, accessed 25.06.2016

¹⁷ http://www.jainology.org/about/, accessed 25.07.2016

http://www.vam.ac.uk/page/j/jainism/, accessed 25.07.2016

In addition in this period, a number of locality-based Jain social and community groups were established to serve and support Jains in a particular local area. One example of this is the Jain Sangh East London and Essex, established in 1991 and that now has a membership of 700 people. This group has not been included in the mapping table as they do not appear to have a permanent public-facing building, but instead hire local facilities (such as Ilford Sports Club and an Oaks Park school). Toroups such as this provide community activities (such as family fun days) and also the celebration of religious festivals. It is possible that, in line with the development pattern seen amongst other Jain groups in England, that these organisations will have a dedicated building at some point in future.

3.5 Purpose-Building (post-2000)

From the fieldwork that we have done, it is apparent that the main examples of Jain 'purpose-building' occurred principally after the Millennium. Although the Oshwal Association purchased Hook House and the surrounding land in 1982 (see earlier in this report for full discussion), it was not until 2003 that purpose building for the temple was begun. A further example of this building approach can be drawn from the experience of the Jain Samaj, Manchester (see box below).

Box 9: Jain Samaj (Jain Community Centre), Manchester

Jain Samaj (Jain Community Centre), Manchester

As our interviewee explained, the first Jains to settle in the North West of England arrived in the late 1950s and had migrated to engage in textile work or business. The pattern of migration increased in the ensuing twenty years, although in these early days the number of Jain families in, or near Manchester, stood at about fifteen. Following migrations from Africa, this increased to around fifty. With some co-ordination, these families began to meet to celebrate major Jain festivals, and in 1972, Jain Samaj Manchester was established as a community group. For a number of years, Jain families in the North West met at in school and church halls as well as in domestic homes, but as the community grew and became more established and financially solvent they were able to save reserve funds from donations with the aim of buying a property.

-

²⁰ http://sjs-uk.com/, accessed 28.07.2016.

There also appear to be several Jain Social Groups operating in England (such as Jain Social Group Middlesex: https://jsgmiddlesexv1.wordpress.com/ and Jain Social Group London North West: https://www.jsglondon.com/index.html). We were not able to ascertain when these groups began using internet mapping, and they do not appear to have permanent public-facing premises (instead they operate from private houses and run events in hired premises).



(photo, author's own)

The Jain Samaj Manchester found a former British Legion club and after successfully being awarded a Lottery Grant, loans and donations from members, they were able to purchase it in 1998. Whilst the club provided a great deal of space, there was significant work needed as 'the walls were crumbling, there was dampness, there was a lot of work required'. A new centre was built on the site and opened in 2002 costing £1.2 million pounds, with a large part of this raised by the members themselves. The centre includes office space, kitchens and a hall, which doubles up as a multi-purpose sports centre for indoor football, volleyball, badminton, netball, table-tennis and zumba. The space has also been hired out to other local groups, including a Pentecostal Christian group from Malawi. Some of the decoration and information about Jainism that adorn the walls were provided by the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, following their exhibition on Jainism. These pictures sit alongside photographs of historic Manchester mills, situating Jainism within its new local industrial heritage.

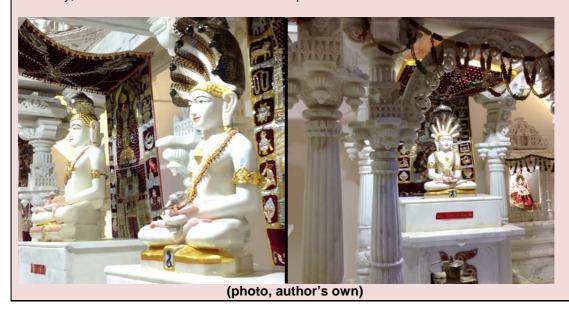


(photo, author's own)

In addition to the hall and sports centre, a marble Jain temple was opened in 2003. The architect of the temple was based in the UK, although builders from India were used to construct the shrine, after the carved marble was shipped from India in large containers. In accordance with Jaina practice, there is no steel used in the construction of the temple.

Funding for the temple was given by donation, from both India and England. The Jain tradition of the Manchester community linked to the Samaj is Śvētāmbara, with an equal number of *deravasi* and *Sthānakavāsī* adherents.

The space is used by Jain (and non-Jain) communities in various ways, including as a sports centre, for religious and family gatherings each week, as a Jain school, for teachings by visiting scholars and nuns. They typically have 100-200 people attending each Sunday for religious services and a community meal. There are approximately 560-570 Jain members based around Manchester (although people travel from Stoke, Cheadle and Bolton) and a number of young Jains from India who have more recently migrated to take up jobs in IT have, according to our interviewee, 'given this place a bit of new blood'. The future plans for the centre are extensive and include building a child-care facility, supported by the Local Authority, in the land next to the centre. This is planned for 2017.



Purpose building a place of worship or community centre requires a significant investment of capital and expertise, which is only possible when communities have become more established and financially solvent. Whilst several of the smaller Jain groups mentioned in this report (such as the SDJA in Harrow) would very much like to purpose-build a temple in future rather than occupy an adapted building that does not meet their exact needs, this is unlikely until greater capital is collected, particularly for communities near London where land and property is prohibitively expensive. However, there is a future purpose-built Jain development, currently underway in Colindale, North London (see box below).

Box 10: Jain Centre, London (108 Parshvanath Jinalay London, Colindale)

Jain Centre, London (108 Parshvanath Jinalay London, Colindale)

The Jain Centre Colindale is likely to be the newest purpose-built Jain building in England following its planned completion in 2018. The current building, bought in 2010, was a former aluminium factory and planning permission was acquired in order to turn the former industrial site into a place of worship/community centre. Between 2010 and 2016, the building operated as a temporary community centre, including a small temple, seminar rooms,

assembly hall and office space, but the demolition of the site was given permission in January 2013 and this began in 2016.



(photo, author's own)

At present, there are activities going on at the site (although part of the building has now been demolished), including daily *puja*, yoga, educational activities and youth groups but the new centre will offer a significantly enhanced and expanded service to Jains and non-Jains in the local area. The plan for the new three-floor centre include a community centre (1st floor) and white marble temples for all Jain traditions, including a Śvētāmbara and a *Digamber* temple and, and a *Sthānakavāsī/terapanthi* religious centre (2nd floor). There are plans to include a restaurant, open to the public, and also 'sustainable community services' such as advocacy and space for social enterprises and charities.²² As our interviewee explained:

Our mission is a simple mission, improvement to spiritual and physical community of life, of Jains and wider community.



(model of proposed centre, photo author's own)

Funds for the centre have, and will continue to be, raised from around the world. The Jain Network, who oversee the Centre as trustees, have commissioned temple carvings from India and have been working both with Indian architects and builders – ten of whom will be coming from India for ten months to complete the centre. The full plans, and pictures of the proposed development can be found online: http://www.jainnetwork.com/jaincentrelondon.php Our interviewee explained that whilst there were other Jain temples and centres within a reasonable distance from Colindale, this Jain Centre was designed to be different – firstly, to include all Jain sects and secondly, as it is envisioned to be open to all people, Jain and non-Jains, 'to bring awareness of Jainism in the wider world'.

_

²² 108 Parsvanath Jinalaya London Brochure (no date).

4. Thematic discussion and key questions to consider from fieldwork

4.1 How has Jainism in Britain developed in terms of the built environment from the 1960s to the present day?

It is clear, both from our Internet mapping and fieldwork research that the number, type and style of Jain buildings in England have significantly grown and diversified since the 1960s. In research on Jainism in England in the 1980s, Banks (1992) acknowledged three Jain buildings (of which, two were either closed or not fully operational). Following our mapping and fieldwork, we have identified at least 13 dedicated Jain buildings in England, but this number would be greater if caste organisations (such as the Aden Vanik Association, for example) were also included. In addition, we found there were at least 5 Hindu temples that housed Jain idols (some of which were fully consecrated) and a number of other social and community groups operating from offices, hired spaces or domestic residences. As different Jain groups and communities become more established, this affects the variety of buildings, and we particularly note the increase in the number of *Digamber* Jain temples in England from the 1990s onwards. Although Banks (1992) notes that in the 1980s Jain buildings were principally owned by jati groups (such as Oshwal or Shrimali) rather than religious sects, this pattern of ownership now appears to have diversified.

Whilst there are certainly still buildings that are managed by and for particular jati groups (such as the Oshwal centres), through the growth of temples specifically for *Digamber* Jains (who may also, in the example of the SJDA in Harrow, have Oshwal members), school or tradition ownership and direction appears to have become a feature of Jain building practice in England. Furthermore, taking the example of the newest purpose-built centre in Colindale, there are also buildings designed to be used by all Jain practitioners (although, of course, their ownership might be dominated by members from within a particular school or *jati*). This represents a further deepening of the picture noted by Banks in the 80s. Many of our interviewees were at pains to highlight that division along caste or class lines was not something that they felt was significant or wished to discuss in any detail, perhaps due to recent legislation in England and Wales to tackle caste discrimination. As a result, whilst we can confidently say that Jain buildings have undergone a growth and diversification and this appears to be influenced by a heightened Jain school identity, firm conclusions about the role of caste ownership of buildings in contemporary England requires further research.

Although not the focus of this research, Jains in Britain also have a presence on the Internet through Facebook groups and forums such as *Jain Spirit* and *Young Jains*. Although still a small minority religion in England and Wales, numbering fewer than 30,000 people, Jains have begun to make their mark on the religious landscape and through the increase of purpose-built temples and centres post-2000 this has become even more apparent. In future, it is

likely that additional purpose-building of centres and temples will occur as communities become more financially solvent.

Buildings are currently used by the Jain communities for a wide range of different activities, including daily religious worship including puja and contemplative meditation, celebration of annual festivals and family occasions, health activities such as yoga, classes - including language classes for children and adults (typically Gujarati), teaching about Jainism to non-Jains (particularly school or university visits), religious lectures and teachings, community occasions, meals and classes. How the buildings are used depends on what type of building it is, where it is located, and the needs of the local community. We particularly note the increasing use of Jain buildings for engagement with wider (including non-Jain) English society. Inter-faith activity and school visits occurred in several of the buildings we visited during our fieldwork (Birmingham Jain Ashram, Leicester Jain Samai, and the planned Colindale Jain Centre to name but three examples) and at least two of the sites planned to use their buildings in future to provide services in conjunction with Local Authorities (such as the planned childcare centre at Manchester Jain Samaj, and the proposed sheltered housing/crematorium at Oshwal Centre, Potters Bar). Indeed, the Oshwal Mahajanwadi in Croydon offered their building for community reconciliation following the 2014 London riots, and also acts as a polling station during election times. Whilst Jain buildings, as we discuss below, are important as a focus of religious and cultural activity, they also play a wider role in the contemporary British public sphere.

4.2 If, as Banks (1992: 15) highlights, it is the achievement of *moksha* (liberation from rebirth) which is the most important thing to Jains, in what ways are the buildings significant?

For our interviewees, the buildings that they inhabited and managed as community spaces were of deep significance for the following reasons:

4.2.1 As a focus for the Jain community/communities.

For a minority religious group, owning or occupying a dedicated space within which to hold community activities, to practice religious rituals and to celebrate religious festivals and family occasions is important. Dedicated buildings enable Jains to get together to practice their religious traditions in the way that they wish to, thus connecting individuals with other like-minded people and providing cultural and religious connections. Particularly for new arrivals to the UK, the Jain centres provide a place of support (and advice) and a connection to 'home'. For those Jains who have been living in the UK for several decades, and indeed, second and third generation British Jains, the centres and temples provide a space to learn about religious traditions and uphold them, and a place of family and community gathering. Thus, Jain buildings provide a connection to the past, but also a focus for the future. However, one of the difficulties facing some of the Jain communities in England was being able to employ the appropriate priests and caretakers for their buildings and to conduct the appropriate rituals for the idols. These are typically low-paid roles, but which require linguistic and ritual knowledge and

whilst several had employed individuals directly from India in the past, visa restrictions were making this difficult. This impacts on existing buildings and activities, but also on whether communities might plan to purpose build sites or to fully consecrate idols in future.

Whilst we have certainly found that Jain buildings enable particular schools or followers of specific teachers and traditions to practice their religion in the ways that they want, buildings were also seen as significant in order to bring Jains of all schools together. In the proposed Colindale Centre, the 'One Jain' ethos was strong and a key purpose of the building was to reach out to all Jains and enable different practices to take place under one roof with the aim of uniting individuals and communities.

4.2.2 As places of spiritual connection and significance.

Jain buildings are places within which one can hear philosophical teachings and also undertake religious practices, and the physical environment of the temple rooms with idols (particularly, although not exclusively, those which have undergone prana pratisthā ceremonies) remain highly significant spiritual places for Jain practitioners in England, as elsewhere around the globe. Although indeed, achieving moksha may well be an aim for British Jains, visiting, meditating and practicing within a temple environment is a support along the path to this ultimate goal. Furthermore, providing a contribution to the building of temples and centres (either through donations or through practical help) is an important merit making activity for Jains, and many of the buildings we visited in England were almost entirely funded from within local Jain communities. Raising enough capital to buy large buildings to adapt or to purpose-build is not possible for all Jain communities in England, however, and there were examples of groups not being able to access the spaces they required (particularly in prohibitively expensive locations such as North London, where a number of Jains live) or needing grants, bank loans and international financial support. Furthermore, having the ongoing capital needed in order to maintain buildings, particularly those communities operating from larger, adapted premises (such as the Oshwal Mahajanwadi, or the Leicester Jain Samaj) is a significant financial commitment.

4.2.3 To help to spread the Jain message of ahimsa, or non-violence.

Whilst all of our interviewees highlighted that they did not seek to engage in any form of religious proselytising, several identified that in contemporary Britain, spreading a message of peace and non-harm was an important activity.

4.2.4 For the promotion, and maintenance, of languages and culture.

For a number of our interviewees, a concern was raised that the subsequent generations of Jains are at risk of losing the 'mother-tongue', typically Gujarati. In response to this concern, there are language schools within or attached to several Jain buildings in England, for example the Oshwal Gujerati School in Croydon. Buildings are used as places for education for Jain young people, and house physical resources for young people to learn

about Jainism, including books (such as at the Birmingham Ashram and the Shree Digamber Jain Association).

4.3 Are there Jain monastics in Britain, and if so, where do they live?

At the time of our research, we were not aware of any Jain monastics living permanently in communal public buildings (such as ashrams or monasteries) in England. Whilst there are certainly some visiting monastics (particularly Śvētāmbara nuns, for example at the Birmingham Jain Ashram, and students) who might stay for weeks or months in one place to conduct teaching and give spiritual guidance, there are no Jain monasteries in the UK. This is because fully ordained monastics, of any Jain school, are not permitted to travel in aeroplanes lest they break the vow of non-harm. In Britain, Jainism is predominantly a lay movement and this is reflected in the function and form of the built environment. British Jain organisations, however, typically maintain strong links to India, including to teachers and monastics. In fact, these teachers and organisations in India have frequently acted as points of advice and support (financial and spiritual) when establishing temples and centres in England. Transnational links in relation to Jain buildings in England are vital. Jain communities in England have used Indian architects (sometimes in collaboration with British firms), craftsmen and builders in order to construct their centres and temples, and they also source items (such as the idols and ritual objects) from India. In a large number of Jain temples in England there are pictures of famous Jain temples and pilgrimage sites (such as Palitana), keeping the visual connection ever-present. Finally, when large ceremonial events occur, such as the opening of Jain buildings or the prana pratisthā ceremonies, these are typically attended by large numbers of devotees from the UK and Europe but particularly from India.

4.4 Is using a Hindu mandir as a place of worship problematic for Jains?

The use of a Hindu *mandir* to house a Jain idol might seem unusual given some of the differences in religious practice and philosophy. However, the decisions taken to install an idol in these locations are typically pragmatic and also reflect close relationships between some Jains and Hindus in local areas. For small Jain communities, in Yorkshire for example, building or adapting and maintaining an entire temple or centre would be, in financial and practical terms, very difficult and therefore having a tīrthankara interred and looked after by the Hindu temple was seen as a positive option. Close working between Hindu and Jain communities in the establishment of buildings can also be seen in other ways. For example, at the Kailash Giri temple in Hounslow, the main architectural structure to house the idols (*garbha grha*) was sourced from a Hindu *mandir* nearby, and at the Birmingham ashram, when they had difficulty finding English builders who were able to construct the garbha grha, they 'borrowed' builders for a short time from a Hindu mandir in London. However, at the same time, having separate space that could be used when and how a Jain community wished was considered, by those that we spoke to, the preferred option.

5. Conclusions and Recommendations

5.1 Introduction

In this section, we summarise our conclusions and provide some recommendations for Historic England according to the discussion in section 2 of this report - 'what does Historic England want?' The key points of interest on which our research focused are summarised as follows:

- Where are Jain buildings in England and how many are there?
- What kinds of buildings do communities use and what do they use them for?
- What is the value of these buildings to the communities and individuals?

5.2 Conclusions and Recommendations

Jains are part of a minority religious community in Britain, numbering just over 20,000, according to the most recent census. In our research, we found 13 dedicated Jain buildings in England and 5 Hindu *mandirs* housing Jain idols and used for Jain ritual purposes. Through our investigation into the built environment, we found that Jains belong to diverse community groups and it is important not to assume that all Jains share one linguistic, cultural, geographic and religious heritage. Within Jain buildings and as part of Jain religious ceremonies multiple languages are spoken including Gujarati, Hindi, Punjabi, and English.

Over the past twenty-years, the number of Jain buildings in England has grown and building function and ownership has correspondingly diversified, including an increase in sect or tradition-based ownership and use (such as with the increase in Digamber buildings) as well as those buildings purported to be open to all Jain traditions. There are a range of Jain approaches to building in England, including house-temples (ghar derasar), purpose-built Śikhararbandi temples, community centres and offices, alongside Jain idols housed within Hindu mandirs. Although not the focus of this report, Jains also have shrines at home and hire out community spaces (such as schools, halls, University buildings and commercial centres) to host large events. Jains also have a communal presence on the Internet, and maintain varying transnational, national, and local connections both physically and virtually with other adherents, teachers, communities and sacred pilgrimage spaces. Whilst adapting existing buildings for temples and centres, particularly semidetached houses, is popular amongst Jain communities in England, post-2000 there has been an increase in purpose-building, and this is likely to continue as some Jain communities become more financially solvent and require a place of worship that is tailored to their specific needs and aesthetics. Some Jain organisations that were included in this study had faced issues in terms of obtaining planning permission for adaptations to existing buildings, for example in being unable to build at required heights (for

example, domes and steeples and flags) or using overt external signage in residential areas.

Jain buildings in England act as a focus for Jain cultural and religious activity (including the maintenance of traditions and languages across generations), are places of spiritual connection and significance for Jain practitioners, and can be used to promote Jain messages of non-violence and peace through school visits and inter-faith activities. Most of the Jains that we spoke to had strong transnational connections, particularly to India, and these were significant in establishing new and adapted buildings where expertise, spiritual and practical guidance, funding and material things were transported typically from India to the UK. Building in traditional Jain style without steel and from marble requires significant expertise, typically drawn from India, in both the construction and carving of structures. The carvings at the Oshwal Centre temple in Hertfordshire, in Indian pink sandstone, are a particularly exquisite example of Jain craftsmanship.

In response to and adding to the discussion in section 2, where we outlined the anticipated impact of this project based on what HE told us it wanted from the research, we make the following recommendations:

- 1. The glossary in appendix 4 includes terms that can be added to the terminology that is present in the Thesaurus of Monument Types so that it reflects Jainism in England.
- 2. Only one Jain group in England currently owns a listed building (Hook House, Oshwal Centre at Potters Bar). It is important that the National Heritage List for England is updated to reflect the current use in order to ensure that minority faith traditions begin to be reflected in the recording of the heritage of England. Detailed suggestions for amendments to the NHLE are made in Section 6. Whilst there are currently no Jain buildings that are old enough to be listed, this is likely to be an issue in future (particularly for the purpose-built temple at Potter's Bar, built in 2005, as the only purpose-built *Śikhararbandhi* temple in Europe).
- 3. One of our aims was to make suggestions for relevant 'principles of selection' for the listing of Jain buildings, as well as guidance for how to protect and treat buildings that are already listed but are now occupied by Jain groups.

Historic England divides its listing criteria into Architectural Interest and Historic Interest, where:

Architectural Interest. To be of special architectural interest a building
must be of importance in its architectural design, decoration or
craftsmanship; special interest may also apply to nationally important
examples of particular building types and techniques (e.g. buildings
displaying technological innovation or virtuosity) and significant plan
forms;

 Historic Interest. To be of special historic interest a building must illustrate important aspects of the nation's social, economic, cultural, or military history and/or have close historical associations with nationally important people. There should normally be some quality of interest in the physical fabric of the building itself to justify the statutory protection afforded by listing (DCMS 2010: 4).

Historic England has also produced a 'designation listing guide' for places of worship (2011) but this document mainly focuses on Christian Churches, with only brief discussion of the buildings of minority traditions towards the end of the document. The document tells us that:

So far, relatively few non-Christian places of worship have been designated. Of those that have, by far the highest number comprises synagogues. Listing is a way of capturing architectural and historic interest: while it's principal aim is to inform the planning system of where special significance lies, it is also a barometer of those buildings, structures and sites which are deemed to be of 'special interest'. As different faith groups establish themselves ever more firmly in England, the claims to the status of special interest of their places of worship become ever more valid. Early sites of a faith's worship may warrant special consideration, as well as examples manifesting high design values. This is an area in which our heritage of places of worship is set to expand (2011: 21, emphasis added).

The 'designation listing guide' (2011) puts forward a number of considerations to take on board when considering places of worship for designation. We have selected the ones most relevant for Buddhist buildings as a starting point:

- **Character:** How does the character of the place of worship differ from those in other denominations within the same tradition?
- **Intactness:** How intact is the building and its fixtures and fittings?
- Alteration: What alterations have taken place?
- **Fixtures, fittings and decorations:** Are these of any special interest?
- **Historic Interest:** Does the particular place of worship have a special significance for the tradition, and for its emergence in England?
- **Grading:** Is the place of worship in a listed building and what challenges does this present?
- Local considerations: What is the local significance of the building?
- **Group value:** What value does the place of worship have to the community who uses it?

Jain communities in England are diverse, although have shared religious roots, and are comprised of individuals with some geographic, cultural and linguistic differences. The buildings that they use, and how they build and decorate them (and the idols within them), do reflect these differences. There are buildings that are set up to support all Jain traditions and styles of religious practice, but there are also buildings designed and used by people

who follow particular schools or teachers, or who have roots in specific geographic areas (including India and East Africa) and who have particular caste connections.

It is not only the structure of the building that is significant to Buddhist communities but also the fittings and iconography. Some buildings contain idols brought from India with significant historical pedigree and which are now important for British Jain ritual practice.

- 4. It is important that HE knows whom to contact about Jain buildings and traditions in England. The mapping tables in section include websites for most of the buildings mapped and contact details can also be found there for each of the centres.
 - 6. Timeline: we have presented a detailed discussion of the development of Jainism in England, including key dates, in Section 3.
 - 7. We have collected a large number of photographs that can be added to the HE archive. These will be put on a disk and sent to Linda Monckton.
 - 8. The material in this report will enable the production of an 'Introduction to Heritage Assets' resource on 'Jain Buildings in England'. The author of this report would be interested in producing this as a further piece of work under guidance from HE.

6. Appendices

6.1 Appendix 1: Jain Building Mapping

		Jain Buildings in England							
	Name	Traditi on	Addres s	Use	Туре	Rural/ Urba n	List ed or Not	Additional Notes	Website/Email
1	Institute of Jainolo gy	All Jain traditio ns	Unit 18, Silicon Busine ss Centre 28 Wadsw orth Road Perival e Greenf ord Middles ex UB6 7JZ	Office, charity, Interfaith activity, multi- sectarian use.	Office in Busine ss Centre	Subur ban	No	Objectives of the loJ (taken from their website): Provide a platform for interaction between different Jain communities and organisationsPromote interfaith relationshipsCreate an awareness of the history, art, philosophy, and practices of Jain faithProvide opportunities for study of the faithFacilitate scholarly research on JainismUndertake the cataloguing and digitisation of Jain manuscripts and artefacts (http://www.jainology.org/about/)	http://www.jainology.org/

2	Jain Ashram (Internat ional Mahavir Jain Mission)	Śvētā mbara Jain	322 Hamste ad Road, Birming ham, Hands worth Wood B20 2RA	Detached house temple (with idols, not interred), yoga and meditation, teaching.	Detach ed house	Urban	No	Ashram (not a retreat community, but a community centre), in detached house, link with Jain Nuns for teaching.	http://www.jainashram.org.uk/aboutUs.htm
3	Jain Centre London	All Jain traditio ns (and	64-68 Colinda le Avenue	Religious ceremonies, plus community events; services for local people	Curren tly in an adapte d	Subu rban	No	Bought in 2010, in process of developing new centre (had some refurbishment), planned opening 2018, some objections to planning proposals (see	http://www.jainnetwork.com/whatwedo.php

		beyon d)	London NW95 DR		buildin g which will be demoli shed to make purpos e built centre			newspaper article) - costing £7 million pounds.	
4	Jain Samaj Manche ster	All Jain Sects	Jain Comm unity Centre, 667/66 9 Stockp ort Rd, Manch ester M12 4QE	Jain Centre, religious ceremonies, community and cultural events	Adapt ed	Suburban	No	Association formed in 1974, hired places before, wanting to have own centre, bought with funding from National Lottery and members: history on website; building is former British Legion club and includes a temple and sports centre.	http://www.jainsamajmanchest er.org/AboutUs.aspx
5	Jain Literatur e Society	?	London	Founded in 1909 but now closed.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
6	Jain Samaj/C entre Leiceste r	All Jain Sects	32 Oxford St, Leicest er LE1 5XU	Derasar (consecrated temple)		Urban	No	Part of Jain Samaj Europe, Jain Samaj Leicester founded in 1973, later registered as a charity, bought former Church building in 1979, first 'fully consecrated Jain temple in the West' - http://www.jaincentreleicester.com/our-history.asp (history and timeline on website), completed in	http://www.jaincentreleicester. com/

								1988, statues from India, donations from India and UK.	
7	Jain Vishva Bharati	Unkno wn	c/o Hilton Internat ional Eyewe ar Ltd, 21 Sapcot e Centre, 374 High Rd, London	Courses - yoga, meditation, cooking, Jainism, family matters, children's classes/Sunday School (4-14). Linked with three other centres in USA, and also India	Adapt ed	Suburban	No	International organisation, founded in India in 1970s to spread Jaina dharma.	http://www.jvblondon.org/contactus.htm
8	Jalaram Mandir in Feltham	Hindu temple , but Jain tīrthaṅ karas	497A Barrack Road, Hounsl ow	Jain Tīrthaṅkara in Hindu mandir	Adapt ed	Subur ban	No	Hindu Mandir with Jain idols	http://www.shreejalaramsevatr ust.org/
9	Kailash Giri Jain Temple	Digam ber	99 Myrtle Road, Hounsl ow East,	Temple	Adapt ed (terrac ehouse)	Subu rban)	No	Digamber Jain temple in terraced house.	http://www.kailashgiri.co.uk/

			Middles ex TW3 1QE						
10	Mahavir Foundat ion	Śvētā mbara	557 Kenton Rd, Harrow HA3 9RS	House Temple (Ghar Derasar) and community association	Adapte d detach ed house	Subur ban	No	Established 1987; Many photographs online: http://www.mahavirfoundation.org /photogallery.html#.VGCYTfmsXT o	http://www.mahavirfoundation. org/about.html#.VGCX4_msX To
11	Navnat Vanik Associa tion	Navna t associ ation, Vanik caste - not just Jains	Printing House Lane, Hayes, Middles ex UB31A R	Community centre, Badminton club, yoga, meals, festivals	Adapt ed commu nity centre	Subur ban	No	Association founded in early 1970s, initially occupied a hall/centre in Harrow, current centre purchased in mid-1990s.	http://www.navnat.com/pages. php?page=history
12	Oshwal Associa tion of the UK	Śvētā mbara Jain (Halari Visa - Rajast han, via Kenya)	Oshwal Centre/ Cooper s Lane Rd, Potters Bar EN6 4DG	First traditional, purpose built Śikhararbandh Jain Derasar (Temple with steeple and dome) in UK	Purpos e built temple, alongsi de commu nity centre/ hall and manor house/ ground s	Subur ban	Yes (Hoo k Hou se is liste d, tem ple is not)	"First Shikharbandhi temple", built 2005.	http://www.oshwal.co.uabout- us

13	Oshwal	Śvētā	366A	Community Centre (D2	Adapt	Subu	No	All about the centre and photos:	http://www.oshwal.org.uk/oshw
	Ekta Centre	mbara (Oshw al)	Stag Ln, London NW9 9AA	use - D1 planning permission refused) - Bought 2012 (details: http://www.oshwal.co.u k/sites/default/files/081 2-OAUK-Press- release.pdf) EKTA means Unity.	ed buildin g	rban		http://www.oshwal.co.uk/sites/def ault/files/Ekta-Details-ENG.pdf	al-ekta-centre/

14	Oshwal Mahanja nwadi	Śvētā mbara (Oshw al)	1 Campb ell Road, Croydo n, Surrey, CR0 2SQ	Religious ceremonies, births, marriages, deaths, also a 'day nursery' (renting space), 'social and cultural activities'	Adapte d former church	Suburban	No	Bought in 1982; former church.	http://www.oshwal.org.uk/oshwal-mahajanwadi/
15	Oshwal Shakti Centre	Śvētā mbara (Oshw al)	Inwood Rd, Hounsl ow TW31U X	Unknown	Adapte d	Subu rban	No		http://www.oshwal.org.uk/oshwal-shakti-centre/
16	Shree Parshw anath Digamb er Jain Temple	Digam bera	25 Sunny Garden s Rd, Hendo n, London NW41S L	Temple	Unkno wn	Unkn own	Unk now n	I was not able to find out any futher information.	
17	Rishabh Jain Lending Library	Unkno wn	North London (differe nt location	Established in 1909, moved around until 1946 (now closed)					None available

			s)						
18	Shree Digamb er Jain Associa tion	Digam bera	1, The Broadw ay Wealds tone, Harrow HS37E H	Derasar	Adapte d Health Centre	Subu rban	No	First Digamber temple outside India, consecrated in 1980 - full history on website: http://www.sdja.co.uk/Mandir/mandir_history_1.html	http://www.sdja.co.uk/
19	Sri Chanda na Vidyape eth/Veer yatan U.K	All Jain traditio ns/non - sectari an	Kingsb ury High School, Princes Avenue , Kingsb ury NW9 9JR	School	Kingsb ury High School (rentin g space)	Urban	No	First Jain school in the UK (Friday evening classes for children, and also adult classes), linked to Indian NGO, opened in 1997. Events take place at Kingsbury High School.	http://www.scvp.org.uk/about- us/history
20	The World Jaina Mission	Unkno wn	Unkno wn	Founded 1949, unsure if still operational as no website.	Unkno wn	Unkn own	Unk now n	N/A	None available

21	Young Jains	Non- Sectari an	?	Organisation for Jaina youth, formed in 1987	Unkno wn	Unkn own	Unk now n	? Do they have a building – it is unclear from the website.	http://youngjains.org.uk/
22	National Council of Vanik Organis ations	Organi sation for Vaniks (not all Jain)	79 Headst one Garden s Harrow HA2 6PJ	Founded in 1978; umbrella organisation which includes Oshwals and Shrimalis, provides support and Jain Chaplaincy services	Unkno wn	Unkn	Unk now n	Umbrella organisation for Vanik groups, including a number of Jain organisations listed here.	http://www.ncva.co.uk/about- us
23	Aden Vanik Associa tion of the UK	Organi sation for Aden Vaniks	6 Kelvin Avenue , Palmer s Green, London	Community/social events (in hired premises)	Unkno wn	Unkn	No		No website
24	Hindu Mandir Leeds	Hindu temple , but Jain tīrthaṅ kara	36 Alexan dra Rd, Leeds LS6 1RF	Jain tīrthaṅkara in Hindu Mandir - linked to Yorkshire Jain Foundation	Adapte d	Urba n	No		http://www.yjf.org.uk/

25	Welling borough Hindu Mandir	Hindu temple , but Jain tīrthaṅ kara	133 Highfiel d Road, Welling boroug h	Jain tīrthaṅkara in a Hindu mandir	Purpos e-built?	Subur ban	No	According to Banks (1992:154) this is an unconsecrated idol.	
26	Gurjar Hindu Union	Hindu temple , but Jain tīrthaṅ kara	Apple Tree Centre, Ifield Ave, Crawle y RH11 0AF	Jain tīrthaṅkara in Hindu Mandir	Purpos e-built	Subur ban	No	Opened in 2010	http://crawleyhindu.com
27	Shri Sanatan Hindu Mandir Wemble y	Hindu temple , but Jain tīrthaṅ kara	Ealing Road, Wembl ey HA04T A	Jain tīrthaṅkara in Hindu Mandir	Adapte d	Urba n	No	Opened in 2010	http://www.svnuk.org/our- temples/wembley-temple/

6.2 Appendix 2: Interview/Fieldwork Schedule

Organisation	Date of Interview
Oshwal Centre Potters Bar	13.09.15
Kenton Derasar	13.09.15 10.11.15
Mahavir Temple SDJA, Harrow	10.11.15
Birmingham Jain Ashram	20.11.15
Leicester Jain Samaj	13.10.15
Manchester Jain Samaj	17.12.15
Yorkshire Jain Foundation	22.05.2016
Institute of Jainology	Telephone interview 17.02.2016
Kailash Giri	09.05.2016
Croydon Mahajanwadi	23.05.2016
Colindale Jain Centre	29.04.2016

6.3 Appendix 3: Interview Questions

- 1. Can you give us a brief history of this building and your presence here?
 - Have you occupied other places in the past?
 - Why did you choose this place?
- 2. What activities is the building currently used for?
- 3. How do your community use this building? (regular, drop in, festivals?)
- 4. Demography
 - What ages use the building?
 - How far do they travel?
 - Ethnic origin/gender of participants?
- 5. Who owns the building? Who has responsibility for upkeep?
- 6. Type of building
 - Is your temple purpose built, or adapted, or a mixture of both?
 - What factors influence the type of building that is chosen?
 - How important is the appearance of the building to the identity and aspirations of the local community?
 - How important are traditions styles of building and adornment? How is this implemented?
 - What language is used to talk about Jain buildings? What words do you use to describe the building? What words do other people use? Does it matter?
 - Is it listed? Does being 'listed' concern you? What do you think about your building being 'listed'?
- 7. What is the significance of buildings for Jains in England?
 - What role do they play? e.g. space for community activities, for religious practice etc... What do people use them for?
- 8. Funding
 - How is your centre financed?
 - What are the biggest issues faced with regards to upkeep?
- 9. Architects, builders and and planning
 - How do organizations navigate building regulations etc? Was it challenging?
 - Who designed the buildings/renovations?
 - Where did the fixtures/fittings, decorating and idols come from? How were they transported?
 - 9. Do you have spaces that you rent out to the public?
- 10. Have you seen the built landscape of Jainism in Britain change over the years? How?

Questions for Yorkshire Jain Foundation.²³

...

²³ We designed separate questions for the YJF as this is an example of a Jain idol in a Hindu *mandir*, rather than a dedicated building.

- 1. Can you give me a brief history of the Yorkshire Jain Foundation (YJF)? How, when, and why, was the Yorkshire Jain Foundation established?
- 2. Can you tell me a little about the history of Jain families in Yorkshire? Are they Śvētāmbara/Digambera?
- 3. Prior to the idol being installed in the Hyde Park mandir, where did Jain families in Yorkshire gather for community occasions?
- 4. Can you tell me about the history of the YJF relationship with the mandir and the Leeds Hindu community? Why did the YJF decide to install an idol at the mandir?
- 5. Can you tell me about the process of installing the idol at the Hyde Park mandir? How was its installation funded? How was it designed, chosen, and built?
- 6. How is the mandir currently used by Jain families? What are the demographics of those Jain families who use the mandir? (e.g. age, how far do they travel etc).
- 7. Who has the responsibility to look after the Jain idol at the mandir on a day-to-day basis?
- 8. Why is having a Jain idol at the mandir important?
- 9. What changes have occurred to the Jain communities in Yorkshire over the past few decades?

6.4 Appendix 4: Glossary

Abhishek: ritual offerings of milk, honey or yoghurt to idols

Darshan: spiritual experience of seeing the image of the divine, diety,

tirthankara.

Derasar/ghar derasar: Temple/house temple

Garbha gṛha: The principal internal architectural feature of a Jain temple,

where the idol is kept.

Jinalaya: a temple; accommodation for Jain idols

Mandir: temple, used typically in Hinduism

Mānastambha: tall column, 'ego-blocker' used to identify Jain temple

Murti: idol

Prana pratisthā: ceremony where the idol is consecrated (literally, 'given

breath')

Puja: rituals

Samavasaran: a teaching hall for *tīrthaṅkara*s

Śikharars: domes on the top of the temple structure

Śikhararbandhi – traditional dome and steeple temple

Tīrthaṅkara:

Upashray: a religious centre where monastics are able to stay

Vedi: Platform on which to place the idol

6.5 Appendix 5: Suggested amendments to the National Heritage List for England

Oshwal Centre Hertfordshire

Coopers Lane Road, Northaw, Hertfordshire, EN6 4DG

List Entry Number: 1173884

https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1173884

Suggested amendment:

Add to name: Oshwal Centre (Oshwal Association of the UK), former The Hook House.

This building is now used as the Head Quarters for the Oshwal Association of the UK, the largest Jain organisation in England. In the grounds of The Hook House is the first purpose-built *Śikhararbandhi* (meaning, traditional dome and steeple) Jain temple in Europe (built, 2005).

http://www.oshwal.org.uk/

7. Bibliography

Bhachu, P. (1985), *Twice Migrants. East African Sikh Settlers in Britain*. London: Tavistock.

Banks, M. (1992). *Organising Jainism in India and England.* Oxford University Press: Oxford.

Banks, M. (1995) 'Jain ways of being', In R. Ballard (ed) *Desh Pardesh: the South Asian presence in Britain*, C. Hurst and Co.: London, 1995, pp. 231-50.

DCMS (2010) *Principles of Selection for Listing Buildings* (https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/137695/Principles Selection Listing 1 .pdf, Accessed 20.02.2018).

Historic England (2011). *Designation Listing Selection Guide Places of Worship* (https://content.historicengland.org.uk/images-books/publications/dlsg-places-worship/places of worship final.pdf/, accessed 24 April 2016).

Jaini, P. S (1979) The Jaina Path of Purification. Motilal Banarsidas, Delhi.

Long, J. D (2009) Jainism: An Introduction. I.B Tauris, London.

Monckton, L. (2014) "An Age of Destruction?": Anglican church closure past and present in *Ecclesiology Today*, April 2014 (issues 47 & 48 for December 2012 & July 2013), pp. 121-132.

Peach, C (2006). South Asian migration and settlement in Great Britain, 1951–2001, *Contemporary South Asia*, Volume 15, Issue 2, 2006

Shah, B., Dwyer, C., and Gilbert, D. (2011) Landscapes of Diasporic religious belonging in the edge-city: The Jain temple at Potters Bar, outer London. *South Asian Diaspora*, 4:1 77-94.

Starkey, C. and Tomalin, E. 2016: 'Building Buddhism in England: The Flourishing of a Minority Faith Heritage', *Journal of Contemporary Buddhism*. 17(2): 326-356

Tomalin, Emma and Starkey, Caroline 2016: A Survey of Buddhist Buildings in England. Swindon: Historic England. https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/publications/survey-of-buddhist-buildings-in-england/ (accessed 26/16/2016)

Tomalin, E. and Starkey, C. 2017: 'Buddhist Buildings in England: The Construction of Under-Represented Faith Heritages in a multicultural and post-Christian setting'. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 23(2): 156-172.