



Research Article

Comparison of Jain Architecture and Idols in India and England: From Antiquity to the Diaspora

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Abstract

This research explores how Jain sacred buildings and depictions of Tirthankaras have developed over time, tracing their journey from ancient India to communities settled in Britain. On the Indian subcontinent, Jain places of worship began as simple rock-cut caves before evolving into elaborate complexes such as Dilwara and Palitana — renowned for fine marble craftsmanship, layered symbolic meaning, and a gradual shift from abstract markers to anthropomorphic Tirthankara figures. Statues developed in parallel: moving from basic symbols to carefully standardised forms that give visible shape to the faith's core ethical **principles**: ahimsa (nonviolence), anekantavada (plural perspective), and aparigraha (non-possession).

In Britain, purpose-built Jain temples are a relatively recent development, shaped by post-war migration and the gradual establishment of settled diaspora communities. These buildings draw deeply on traditional Indian design principles, while also responding to UK planning regulations, limited urban space, and modern construction methods. Most sacred statues remain carved by skilled artisans in India and imported to Britain, preserving centuries-old iconographic conventions even in new cultural and spatial contexts.

Across both settings, this study argues that Jain architecture and sacred images function as living bridges: they safeguard core religious identity while adapting creatively to new circumstances. By examining how these material forms sustain continuity across geographic and cultural divides, the work contributes to scholarship on South Asian sacred architecture, diaspora cultural formation, and the material study of religion.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Originality and Authorial Contribution

This article advances a new analytical framework for understanding Jain sacred architecture and iconography, framing them as ethical technologies: physical systems designed to embed, communicate, and sustain Jain philosophical values across time and place. While existing scholarship has largely documented these sites and objects through art-historical classification, archaeological recording, or descriptive survey work, this project integrates architectural analysis, material religion theory, and diaspora studies in a single comparative investigation.¹ Its distinct contribution lies not in cataloguing new monuments or styles, but in demonstrating how spatial layout, material choice, ritual practice, and visual restraint collectively shape ethical conduct — both in India and within the British diaspora.²

All arguments presented derive from the author's interdisciplinary synthesis, direct cross-national site comparison, and critical engagement with community usage and interpretation. Original interpretations, conceptual frameworks, and comparative links are the author's own, unless explicitly attributed to other sources.

Background

Jainism is one of the world's oldest continuously practiced religious traditions, originating in ancient India and founded on a rigorous ethical framework and sophisticated philosophical system. Three principles lie at its core: *ahimsa* (complete avoidance of harm to all living beings), *anekantavada* (the multiplicity of truth and rejection of absolute claims), and *aparigraha* (voluntary restraint of material attachment and possession).³ These values are not confined to scripture: they are embodied in temple structures, carved into sacred statues, and enacted through movement and ritual within sacred spaces. Jain sacred sites are therefore not merely venues for worship — they are philosophy made tangible.⁴

Over two millennia, Jain communities across India constructed a diverse range of sacred spaces: from austere monastic caves to the intricately carved temple cities of Gujarat and Rajasthan. These buildings function as cosmic diagrams, pedagogical tools for spiritual progress, and focal points for communal life.⁵ Representations of Tirthankaras — liberated beings who show others the path — evolved correspondingly: from simple markers such as footprints or thrones to highly standardised statues governed by precise rules of posture, proportion, and iconography.⁶

From the mid-twentieth century onward, migration presented new challenges for translating these traditions into diasporic contexts. Most Jain temples in Britain have been built since the 1980s, reflecting efforts to maintain heritage while integrating into a multicultural society. Core symbolic functions are retained, but designs must also accommodate planning constraints, smaller urban plots, and modern construction methods.⁷

Research Problem and Rationale

While Jain architecture and iconography in India are well documented, diaspora sites — particularly in Britain — remain

under-examined. Existing scholarship typically treats British Jain temples in isolation, without situating them within broader debates on religious architectural adaptation, the role of material culture in identity formation, or the transmission of traditions across borders.⁸

This research addresses that gap through a sustained comparative analysis of Jain sacred spaces and images in both India and Britain. It investigates how core meanings are preserved, adjusted, or re-imagined when relocated from their historical homeland to a diasporic setting, proceeding from the premise that buildings and statues are not passive backdrops — they actively shape belief, practice, and communal relationships.⁹

2. RESEARCH AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The central aim is to examine the historical development, symbolic meaning, and contemporary role of Jain architecture and iconography in both Indian and British contexts. Specific objectives are:

- To trace the evolution of Jain temple building and iconographic traditions in India;
- To unpack the philosophical and ethical principles embedded in architectural design and sacred statuary;
- To explore how these traditions have been adapted by British Jain communities;
- To identify consistent patterns of continuity and creative transformation across both contexts;
- To advance interdisciplinary scholarship on religious architecture, migration, and material culture.

Research Questions

- How have Jain temple design and Tirthankara iconography evolved in India from antiquity to the present?
- Which traditional elements are retained in British Jain temples and statues, and where are new approaches introduced?
- How do these material forms sustain cultural continuity and shape collective identity in the diaspora?
- What broader insights does this case offer regarding religion, migration, and the agency of objects and spaces?

Significance and Original Contribution

This study provides the first sustained comparison of Jain sacred material culture across homeland and diaspora contexts. It demonstrates that tradition is dynamic rather than static, preserving core purpose even as outward forms change. By integrating architectural history, iconography, and diaspora theory, it offers a nuanced account of how religious communities uphold values while responding to new realities.¹⁰

⁸ Kim Knott, *The Location of Religion: A Spatial Analysis* (London: Equinox, 2005), 124–26.

⁹ Vasudha Narayanan, *The Hindu Tradition: An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 25–27.

¹⁰ Steven Vertovec, *Transnationalism* (London: Routledge, 2009), 82–84.

3. LITERATURE REVIEW

This review situates the study within existing scholarship, assessing how different disciplinary fields have engaged with Jain sacred architecture and iconography — and identifying critical gaps. While temples and statues have been extensively documented

formally and historically, they have rarely been analysed as integrated systems of ethical practice, especially across Indian and British contexts.

Jain Architecture in India: Dominant Approaches

Foundational scholarship derives primarily from art history and archaeology, mapping styles, chronologies, and regional variations across India. Scholars have identified defining formal characteristics of Jain temples — especially in western India — and highlighted the craftsmanship of builders, often supported by merchant communities.¹¹ While essential, this work tends to prioritise aesthetic classification over functional or ethical purpose, rarely explicating how design actively shapes conduct or spiritual reflection.¹² The present study recentres ethical intent, asking not only what these buildings look like, but how layout and materiality cultivate restraint, mindfulness, and non-harm.

Jain Iconography and Statuary

Research on sacred images has similarly emphasised classification: identifying postures, attributes, and proportions that denote specific Tirthankaras, and tracing stylistic change over time.¹³ This provides an essential baseline, but typically detaches statues from their spatial and ritual environments, treating them as static art objects rather than active focal points that shape perception, movement, and spiritual understanding.¹⁴ Here, statues are analysed holistically: their meaning emerges from placement, approach, and ritual interaction within the wider temple complex.

Jainism in Diaspora Scholarship

In broader studies of South Asian diaspora religion, Jainism is frequently marginalised or conflated with Hindu traditions rather than analysed autonomously. Where British Jain temples are discussed, attention usually centres on planning disputes or heritage preservation, rather than how design encodes theology or constructs community identity.¹⁵ This works places Jain architecture at the centre, challenging the assumption that diaspora religious forms are necessarily simplified or diluted versions of original traditions.

Material Religion and Spatial Theory

Theoretical frameworks from material religion and spatial studies inform this analysis. Scholars argue that religion is enacted through embodied engagement with objects, spaces, and practices, rather than existing solely as belief or doctrine.¹⁶ This approach

shifts focus from representation to experience: how material forms discipline attention and action, rather than merely expressing identity or sentiment.

Research Gap and Intervention

Existing scholarship exhibits three key limitations: it separates architecture from ethics, isolates statues from their ritual contexts, and neglects Jainism in diaspora research. This article bridges these divides, uniting architectural analysis, iconography, and community practice across both settings. The concept of "ethical technologies" offers a new lens for understanding how material forms transmit values across time and space.

¹¹ R. Champakalakshmi, *The Hindu Temple* (New Delhi: Roli Books, 2001), 147–49.

¹² Julia A. B. Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India: The Development of a Distinct Language in Space and Ritual* (Berlin: G+H Verlag, 2009), 18–20.

¹³ U. P. Shah, *Jaina Iconography* (New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1987), 12–15.

¹⁴ Diana L. Eck, *Darśan: Seeing the Divine Image in India*, 3rd ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 42–44.

¹⁵ Peter Flügel, ed., *Studies in Jaina History and Culture: Disputes and Dialogues* (London: Routledge, 2006), 285–87.

¹⁶ Marcus Banks and Howard Morphy, *Rethinking Visual Anthropology* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 34–36.

4. METHODOLOGY

This cross-disciplinary study draws on architectural history, religious studies, art history, and migration research, employing a qualitative, interpretive design to examine physical attributes, symbolic meaning, ritual function, and lived community experience.¹ Its core premise is that sacred buildings and icons are not neutral backdrops — they actively mediate understandings of faith and belonging. Consequently, depth of insight and contextual validity take precedence over statistical generalisation.²

Approach and Scope

The study combines four complementary perspectives:

- Architectural history examines form, materials, layout, orientation, and scale, together with the design principles and practical constraints that shape them.
- Religious studies interpret the sacred symbolism, ritual requirements, and theological ideas expressed in each site.
- Art history analyses iconography, craftsmanship, and the ways images and decoration carry religious meaning across time and place.
- Migration and diaspora studies situate the English temples within their social, economic, and legal context, examining how faith and tradition are adapted when communities settle in a new country.

Rather than measuring large numbers of sites or seeking broad statistical patterns, this research compares six carefully chosen cases — three ancient, three moderns — to understand in depth how sacred space is conceived, built, and experienced in two very different settings. The aim is not to claim that all Jain temples follow these patterns, but to reveal the underlying principles, tensions, and adaptations that become visible when tradition travels.

Interpretation Over Measurement

A qualitative, interpretive approach is particularly appropriate here because the subject matter — sacred meaning, ritual function, and community belonging — cannot be reduced to numbers alone. What matters is not how large a temple is in metres, but what its size represents; not what material it is made of, but what that material signifies; not how many people visit it, but how they understand and use the space.

The core argument — that sacred meaning persists while outward form adapts — is therefore established through detailed description, contextual comparison, and careful interpretation, rather than through statistics or generalisation. Where ancient sites derive their authority from scripture, tradition, and the sanctity of the land, modern diaspora temples derive their sacredness from the images installed, the rituals performed, and the community gathered. This distinction emerges clearly through close comparison, and is best understood through depth of analysis rather than breadth of data.

¹ James Laidlaw, *The Riches of Thatched Temples: Jains in India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 12–15.

² Steven Vertovec, *Transnationalism* (London: Routledge, 2009), 89–94.

Research Paradigm

The study adopts an interpretivist framework, holding that sacred meaning is not fixed or universal, but constructed through social interaction, cultural tradition, and personal experience.¹⁷ Positivist methods seeking singular objective truths are ill-suited to religious inquiry, where symbols carry multiple meanings and practice varies across individuals and groups. Ontologically, sacred spaces exist simultaneously as physical structures, theological symbols, sites of memory, and spaces of everyday life. Epistemologically, knowledge is generated through dialogue, observation, and interpretation, integrating perspectives from temple leaders, architects, artisans, and lay worshippers.

Comparative Qualitative Design

A qualitative approach enables rich exploration of symbolic systems and lived practice. Rather than testing pre-specified hypotheses, the study develops a nuanced understanding of how Jain sacred spaces operate across contrasting contexts. Comparison is used not to rank or evaluate, but to identify shared principles and context-specific adaptations — revealing which traditions are prioritised under altered conditions.

Data Collection Methods

- **Literature Review:** Analysis draws on primary sources including ancient texts, inscriptions, and historical design prescriptions, alongside secondary sources such as monographs, journal articles, archaeological reports, and doctoral research.
- **Site Visits and Architectural Observation:** First-hand fieldwork was conducted at major pilgrimage sites and regional variants in India, plus purpose-built and adapted temples across Britain. Observations documented layout,

circulation, materials, ornamentation, icon placement, and ritual performance.

- **Semi-Structured Interviews:** Interviews were conducted with temple trustees, religious teachers, architects, carvers, and regular worshippers, covering design decision-making, tradition, and adaptation.
- **Visual Documentation:** Photographs and sketches were recorded with permission, treated as analytical tools for cross-site comparison.

Data Analysis

Data were coded thematically, identifying recurring constructs including symbolic restraint, spatial hierarchy, authenticity, ritual precision, and communal purpose. Indian and British datasets were then compared systematically to reveal continuities and adaptations.

Reflexivity and Ethics

The researcher acknowledges that interpretive frameworks are shaped by personal and academic background; reflexivity is employed to maintain analytical transparency. All fieldwork adhered to temple protocols and ethical research standards, with informed consent and anonymity where requested.

Limitations

Access to protected heritage sites and private records was restricted, and photography was prohibited in some locations. The British Jain community and its infrastructure remain emergent, so practices may evolve over time. These constraints are mitigated through triangulation across multiple methods and sources.

¹⁷ Torkel Brekke, *Religious Motivation and the Origins of Buddhism* (London: Routledge, 2002), 22–24.

Jain Architecture in India: History, Symbolism, and Ethical Spatiality

Jain temples are best understood as ethical specialities: environments intentionally structured to foster self-discipline, mindfulness, and spiritual clarity. Unlike traditions deploying architecture for narrative or monumental display, Jain design prioritises order, symmetry, and restraint as instruments of ethical formation.¹⁸

Ascetic Origins and Renunciatory Space

The earliest Jain sacred spaces emerged from monastic life. Caves such as Udayagiri and Khandagiri are deliberately austere, providing shelter without superfluous ornament. Their enclosed form encourages introspection and detachment from worldly distraction — epitomising early Jain ascetic values.¹⁹

Temple Institutionalisation and Communal Ethics

As monastic and lay communities expanded, purpose-built temples accommodated collective worship. Assembly halls, processional routes, and courtyards were integrated, but the principle of disciplined space persisted. Progress from entrance to sanctum mirrors spiritual purification: each stage separates

the practitioner from mundane concerns toward focused awareness.²⁰

Medieval Elaboration and Disciplined Ornament

Later medieval complexes such as Ranakpur and Palitana exhibit extraordinary intricacy, yet this richness is not mere ostentation. Repetitive geometric patterns, symmetrical columns, and coffered ceilings direct attention inward rather than outward, supporting sustained contemplation. Even the most elaborate decoration adheres to strict proportional and symbolic constraints.²¹

Sacred Geometry and Moral Order

Temple plans follow precise geometric principles mirroring Jain cosmology. Balance and proportion embody moderation and self-mastery, while the central sanctum represents the still point of liberation.²²

Pilgrimage as Ethical Practice

Major pilgrimage sites extend this logic beyond individual structures. Ascents to Palitana or Śravaṇabelāgoḷa transform physical exertion into ethical discipline, cultivating perseverance and humility.²³

Materiality and Craft Ethics

Stone and marble are selected for durability and purity, and carving is regarded as devotional labour. Artisans work within established conventions, aligning craft practice with religious values.²⁴

¹⁸ Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*, 25–27.

¹⁹ A. Ghosh, ed., *Jaina Art and Architecture*, 3 vols. (New Delhi: Bharatiya Jnanpith, 1974–1975), Vol. 1, 21–23.

²⁰ George Michell, *The Hindu Temple: An Introduction to Its Meaning and Forms* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 78–80.

²¹ Krishna Deva, *Temples of India*, 2 vols. (New Delhi: Aryan Books International, 2015), 154–56.

²² Michell, *The Hindu Temple*, 51–53.

²³ Phyllis Granoff and Koichi Shinohara, eds., *Pilgrims, Patrons, and Place: Localizing Sanctity in Asian Religions* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2003), 112–14.

²⁴ U. P. Shah, *Jaina-Rūpa-Manḍana: Jaina Iconography*, Vol. 1 (New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1987), 19–21.

Jain Architecture in England: Diaspora, Negotiation, and Ethical Continuity

British Jain temples demonstrate how tradition can be re-contextualised without compromising ethical foundations. Where Indian sites evolve gradually within established cultural landscapes, British projects require deliberate prioritisation of principles over inherited form.²⁵

Migration and Institutional Formation

Initial Jain gatherings in Britain occurred in private homes and hired venues, sustaining ritual life while permanent infrastructure was planned.²⁶

Adaptive Reuse and Spatial Compromise

Many early temples repurposed existing buildings — chapels, warehouses, community halls. Despite spatial irregularity, communities preserved the hierarchical progression from outer to sacred zones, establishing a clear symbolic core.

Regulation and Civic Engagement

UK planning constraints significantly influence scale, siting, and external form. Communities engage constructively with authorities, reflecting Jain commitments to cooperation and mutual respect while advocating for religious needs.

Interior Symbolism and Ritual Fidelity

Where external form is often simplified or adapted, interior design preserves iconographic and ritual conventions: statue placement, circulation paths, and orientation follow traditional norms closely.²⁷

Community Hubs and Cultural Transmission

British temples fulfil expanded roles as centres for education, language instruction, and youth engagement. Design balances these social functions with the sanctity of ritual space, supporting intergenerational transmission of values.²⁸

²⁵ Peter Flügel, ed., *Studies in Jaina History and Culture: Disputes and Dialogues* (London: Routledge, 2006), 298–300.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 287–89.

²⁷ U. P. Shah, *Jaina-Rūpa-Manḍana: Jaina Iconography*, Vol. 1 (New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1987), 42–44.

²⁸ Steven Vertovec, *Transnationalism* (London: Routledge, 2009), 91–93.

Jain Idols: Iconography, Philosophy, and Material Religion

Sacred statues form the spiritual and visual heart of the temple, their morphology shaped by centuries of reflection on the nature of liberation.²⁹

Historical Development

Early devotional practice employed symbolic markers such as footprints or *chaitya* trees. Anthropomorphic images emerged in the early centuries CE, with the Mathura school central to their standardisation.³⁰

Canonical Form and Ethical Significance

Tirthankaras are almost universally depicted in meditative postures: seated in *padmasana* or standing in *kayotsarga*, with serene features and minimal adornment. This simplicity signifies freedom from attachment, while each Tirthankara's distinctive animal emblem identifies their lineage.³¹

Materiality and Devotional Craft

Statues are carved from marble, stone, or metal according to precise specifications. Technical exactitude is itself a form of discipline, while polished surfaces invite reverent observation.³²

Ritual Interaction and Embodied Ethics

Ceremonies such as *abhisheka* (ritual bathing) and offerings are oriented toward purifying the devotee's mind rather than

supplicating a deity. Prostration and circumambulation enact humility and attentiveness.³³

Diaspora Significance

In Britain, the installation of a statue marks a pivotal communal milestone, instantiating continuity with ancestral tradition and anchoring collective identity in a new setting.

²⁹ John E. Cort, *Framing the Jina: Narratives of Icons and Idolatry in Jain History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 71–73.

³⁰ U. P. Shah, *Jaina-Rūpa-Manḍana: Jaina Iconography*, Vol. 1 (New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1987), 27–29.

³¹ Paul Dundas, *The Jains*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2002), 157–59.

³² A. Ghosh, ed., *Jaina Art and Architecture*, 3 vols. (New Delhi: Bharatiya Jnanpith, 1974–1975), Vol. 1, 61–63.

³³ Diana L. Eck, *Darśan: Seeing the Divine Image in India*, 3rd ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 51–53.

Comparative Analysis

Comparative examination reveals that tradition operates as a framework of principles rather than fixed forms. Five key dimensions emerge:

Spatial Organisation and Hierarchy

Indian temples often occupy extensive sacred landscapes capable of large-scale pilgrimage. British sites are typically compact, situated within urban or suburban environments. Nevertheless, both retain the fundamental logic of progressive separation from the profane toward the sacred, with the statue at the symbolic centre.³⁴

Symbolism and Transmission

In India, symbolic meaning is reinforced through long-term cultural immersion. In Britain, communities more explicitly articulate and explain these meanings to sustain intergenerational understanding and external recognition. Restraint and clarity remain universal priorities.

Materiality and Production

Indian temples draw on local stone and established artisan networks. British projects often import sacred statuary and marble while utilising indigenous construction materials, creating hybrid forms that preserve symbolic integrity.

Ritual Practice

In India, worship is integrated into daily and seasonal rhythms, with substantial ascetic and pilgrim participation. In Britain, practice is adapted to work patterns and smaller congregations, yet ritual precision and intentionality remain unchanged. Efficacy resides in intent rather than scale.³⁵

Community Function

Indian temples are embedded within long-standing religious and economic networks. British temples assume broader roles as cultural anchors and educational resources, while maintaining the sanctity of ritual space.

Continuity and Transformation

Across all dimensions, core ethical commitments are sustained while outward forms adapt to context. Diaspora conditions often prompt deeper reflection on essential principles, reinforcing rather than diluting tradition.

³⁴ Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*, 105–7.

³⁵ Caroline Humphrey and James Laidlaw, *The Archetypal Actions of Ritual: A Theory of Ritual Illustrated by the Jain Rite of Worship* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 109–11.

5. CONCLUSION

This study demonstrates that Jain sacred architecture and iconography are far more than historical artefacts or cultural decoration. They form active, living systems that carry spiritual values across oceans, across borders, and across generations. The concept of "ethical technologies" helps explain this: the very shape, materials, layout, and images of a temple are not neutral — they are purpose-built tools that guide, shape, and sustain spiritual life.

Through this comparison of ancient Indian sites and modern temples in England, four key findings emerge clearly:

- First, Jain sacred design is driven above all by ethics and spiritual principle, not by appearance or style. Size, material, orientation, and proportion are chosen not for beauty alone, but because they express core values: purity, detachment, harmony, and respect for all life. The temple is a physical expression of Jain belief, not just a building that houses it.
- Second, adaptation in the diaspora does not mean weakening or diluting the faith. When Jain communities build temples in England — working within limited space, tighter budgets, and different laws — they are not compromising their tradition. They are practicing creative continuity: the sacred core remains unchanged, while the outer form adapts to new circumstances. What shifts is the container; what stays the same is the faith it holds.
- Third, architecture and iconography work together as a single, unified system. The layout guides movement and worship; the images focus devotion and meditation; the materials evoke purity and permanence. Every part reinforces the whole. Together, they shape how people pray, how they understand their faith, and how they sustain their identity — even far from home.
- Fourth, material culture — the physical things people build and cherish — is central to religious resilience through migration. When communities move, they carry their sacred world with them in stone, marble, wood, and ritual. The building itself becomes a way of remaining connected to ancient roots, while creating a new home in a new land. Sacredness travels not just in words or memories, but in what people build and how they build it.

Contributions to Knowledge

This study makes three distinct contributions to scholarship; across the different fields it brings together:

1. Contribution to Architectural History

Most studies of temple design focus on style, structure, or historical development. This research goes further: it shows that Jain sacred architecture is not just about how buildings look — it is built on moral and spiritual principles. Every choice of shape, direction, material, and layout expresses an ethical intent — the pursuit of purity, detachment, and harmony with the cosmos. By making these spiritual values visible as active design principles, the study demonstrates that religious architecture carries moral purpose, not just aesthetic or practical function.

2. Contribution to Material Religion

In the study of religion and material culture, this article shows how religious discipline and practice are literally built into the physical fabric of a temple. The rules of orientation, the qualities of marble, the proportions of images, and the arrangement of space are not decorative — they are material expressions of spiritual discipline. Even when the building is adapted to new constraints in England, the core ritual and symbolic rules remain unchanged. This demonstrates that religious discipline is encoded in material form, and endures even when outward circumstances change.

3. Contribution to Diaspora Studies

Studies of migrant communities often emphasise either loss or total change. This research reveals a more nuanced pattern: adaptive continuity. The community does not abandon tradition, nor does it simply copy old designs in new places. Instead, the sacred core remains intact, while the outer form adapts to laws, costs, and space. The temples of England are not "lesser" versions of Indian temples — they are new expressions of the same faith, shaped by migration. This detailed comparison shows how religious tradition travels: what stays, what changes, and why.

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