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# Shades of Enlightenment

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# SHADES OF ENLIGHTENMENT
# A JAIN TANTRIC DIAGRAM AND THE COLOURS OF THE TĪRTHAṄKARAS

Ellen Gough[1]

Scholarship in recent years has convincingly established that Śaiva-Śākta traditions dominated much of the South Asian medieval landscape, significantly transforming the religious beliefs and practices on the subcontinent. The work of Alexis Sanderson, in particular, has provided a wealth of data to document this Śaiva influence, with his recent monograph, "The Śaiva Age: The Rise and Dominance of Śaivism During the Early Medieval Period," arguing that from the fifth to thirteenth centuries, all major religious traditions in India were either "absorbed by" Śaivism or "came to remodel themselves along Śaiva lines" (Sanderson 2009: 252). This remodeling meant the widespread acceptance of tantric practices such as the use of esoteric *mantra*s and elaborate ritual diagrams (*maṇḍala, yantra, cakra,* etc.). Jainism was certainly among the traditions influenced by these developments, yet little research has been done on Jains' appropriation of Śaiva-Śākta tantric practices. There have been some preliminary studies of Jain *mantra*s and *maṇḍala*s,[2] and scholars have examined aspects of medieval Jain-Śaiva interactions in philosophical, narrative, and ritual texts,[3] but much more research

1 An earlier version of this paper was presented at the University of Toronto Graduate Student Conference on South Asian Religions in 2011. I thank the conference participants for their helpful feedback. I also thank Phyllis Granoff for comments on several earlier drafts of the paper.

2 While there are more studies of Jain *mantraśāstra* in Indian languages, I focus here on scholarship in European languages. Dundas 1998 provides the most sophisticated analysis of Jain *mantraśāstra*, but focuses mostly on medieval Śvetāmbaras. Roth 1986 gives perhaps the most scholarly examination of the most popular Jain *mantra*, the *pañcanamaskāra mantra*. Jhavery 1944 has the most exhaustive descriptive overview of Jain *mantraśāstra* in a European language, but his analysis is limited. Sastri 1938, Shah 1941, Jain & Fischer 1978, Caillat & Kumar 1982, Andhare 1994, Pal 1995, Cohen 1997, Cort 2009 and Balbir 2010 have provided images of Jain ritual diagrams and some examination of their components and worship, but none of them have considered how these diagrams may have been influenced by other traditions.

3 For discussions of Śaiva-Jain interactions in narrative texts, see Granoff 1989a, Dundas 2000, Monius 2004, and Flügel 2010. Dundas 1998 and 2009 mention potential Śaiva influence in the formation of Jain

needs to be done.

To add some of this much-needed Jain data to tantric studies, this article will examine two components of Jain worship that seem to have been influenced by medieval Śākta understandings: the tantric diagram the *Ṛṣimaṇḍala* and the colours in which the twenty-four *tīrthaṅkara*s are portrayed. As is well known, images[4] of the different *tīrthaṅkara*s are often completely indistinguishable from one another, with even depictions of the nineteenth *tīrthaṅkara* Malli, whom Śvetāmbaras believe was female, portrayed as male in conformity with the other *tīrthaṅkara*s. However, quite a number of iconographical markers distinguish one *tīrthaṅkara* image from another, and the different colours of these teachers are one important identifying marker. Today, each of the twenty-four *tīrthaṅkara*s is associated with a particular colour, but Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras disagree on the hues of two *tīrthaṅkara*s, Supārśva and Malli.

As this article will show, the origins of this colour dispute may relate to Śākta influence on the representation of the *Ṛṣimaṇḍala*, a Jain ritual diagram that was developed in the medieval period and remains one of the most popular *maṇḍala*s for both Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras. My hypothesis is that the present-day colour schemes of the *tīrthaṅkara*s find their roots in Śvetāmbara - Digambara debates over the proper depiction of the multi-coloured seed syllable (*bījākṣara*) *hrīṃ* at the centre of the *Ṛṣimaṇḍala*. The twenty-four *tīrthaṅkara*s are mapped onto different coloured parts of this *hrīṃ*, and Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras disagree over their placement. It seems that Śvetāmbaras, adopting a popular Śākta notion that the "*ī*" of *hrīṃ* represents *śakti*, or female-gendered "power," placed Malli in the blue "*ī*" of the *Ṛṣimaṇḍala hrīṃ*, while Digambaras, insisting that Malli is male, refused to associate this *tīrthaṅkara* with *śakti* and thus positioned the seventh Jina, Supārśva, in place of Malli in the "*ī*." Through the popularity of this diagram, these different configurations of the *Ṛṣimaṇḍala hrīṃ* permanently established a sectarian rift over the colours of the *tīrthaṅkara*s.

As we will see, more research is needed to fully confirm my hypothesis and to flesh out the exact history of the *Ṛṣimaṇḍala* and the colours of the *tīrthaṅkara*s. While

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initiation and image consecration rituals. Qvarnström 1998 and 2000 discuss the influence of Kashmiri Śaivism on Śvetāmbara Jainism, and Kumar 1989 and Nagar 1999 highlight some Śaiva influence on Jain iconography.

4 In my use of the term "image" for three-dimensional figures of Jinas (*mūrti, bimba,* etc.), I follow Cort 2005a.

this article will not provide the definitive history of Jains' adoption of Śākta conceptions of *hrīṃ,* I hope it will contribute to both Jain tantric studies and to an ongoing dialogue between Jain specialists and scholars of other tantric traditions, especially those of Śaivism. For Jain studies, I hope it will encourage further Digambara-Śvetāmbara comparisons. To date, there has not been a detailed comparative study of a Jain *mantra* or *maṇḍala* that is shared by Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras, though many exist. Indeed, the majority of Jain *mantra*s and *maṇḍala*s are common to the two sects, and the slight Digambara-Śvetāmbara differences between their compositions can shed light on important ideological and historical developments. Texts and images suggest significant, lasting exchanges between Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras from the origins of the sectarian split onwards, so in order to understand the formation of contemporary beliefs and practices, we must look to classical and medieval interactions between competing Jains.

By contributing to the study of *mantraśāstra* in this way, Jain scholars can ensure that specialists of other traditions will consider Jain ideologies when discussing tantric beliefs and practices. To date, surveys of Tantra[5] have either overlooked Jains or seen Jain Tantra as derivative, underdeveloped,[6] and in stark contrast to Jain ideology.[7] Sanderson's (2009: 243-249) examination of "The Jains' Adoption of Śaiva Mantraśāstra" in "The Śaiva Age" is a recent example of this approach. Arguing that Śaivas exerted influence largely through royal patronage,[8] he notes that "Jainism too enjoyed royal support during this period, notably in western India under the Caulukyas and in Karṇāṭaka among the Gaṅgas of Talakād, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, and Hoyasalas," all of whom at some point promoted Śaivism (ib., p. 243). How these dynasties influenced medieval Jains is not always made clear, however, as the examples Sanderson provides of

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5 These studies include Bharati 1965, Gupta et al. 1979, White 2000 & 2003, and Samuel 2008.

6 As Dundas 1998:32 notes, André Padoux's 1989: 295 claim that "Jain *Mantraśāstra*, in fact, does not differ in its essentials from the Hindu version and is not very developed" succinctly conveys this understanding.

7 Bharati 1965: 16, for example, contends that "[w]e can omit Theravāda Buddhism and Jainism from the survey [of the philosophy of Tantra], because their axiomatic differences are too great on all levels from the subject-matter of this study."

8 While his argument focuses on royal patronage, Sanderson 2009: 252-303 outlines several elements of Śaiva dominance not entirely related to state support, including the consecration of temples, wells, etc. and acceptance of low-caste practitioners.

Jains worshiping "mantra-goddesses of the Śākta Śaivas" do not explicitly relate to this royal patronage (ib.). Most of the dynamics of these adoptions and the Jain motivations behind the worship of these goddesses and *mantra*s are left unexamined.

Thus, while more volumes could be written within the framework of "Śaiva" traditions influencing "non-Śaiva" traditions,[9] continuing this narrative could prove problematic, as it might encourage us to group a diverse range of traditions under the broad heading "Śaiva" without heeding the localized, sect-specific concerns that may have been decisive in particular formations of *mantra*s, *maṇḍala*s, etc. Apart from the general understanding that Śaivism was popular because of state support, *why*, exactly, might Jains and other non-Śaivite traditions have adopted certain ideas or practices? As Paul Dundas (1998: 46) argued in his important study of Jain *mantraśāstra*, "[i]t cannot be sufficient to assert that *mantras* or esoteric modes of ritual practice were merely grafted on to Jainism, as if it were little more than a passive adjunct to Śaivism." Jains did not remodel the entirety of Jainism along Śaiva lines; they adopted some ideas and left others. When, why and how were these ideas incorporated? Why were some ritual techniques and ideologies adopted, and others ignored? Which adoptions have exerted lasting changes on the tradition, and which have exhibited little influence?

This article will attempt to answer these questions with respect to the *Ṛṣimaṇḍala* and the colours of the *tīrthaṅkara*s. After outlining some textual accounts of the colours of the *tīrthaṅkara*s, I will consider how the formation of the *Ṛṣimaṇḍala* may relate to some discrepancies in these texts. I will give a detailed description of the medieval Sanskrit text on the *Ṛṣimaṇḍala*, the *Ṛṣimaṇḍalastotra*, investigating how some medieval Śākta texts may have influenced the colouring of the *tīrthaṅkara*s in this text. Examining these texts and various material representations of the *maṇḍala* will illustrate some historical developments of the debates over the colours of the *tīrthaṅkara*s, present a rare representation of a female Malli, and add a Jain perspective to scholarship on tantric practices.

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9 As evinced by his recent talks on "Tantric Saiva Sources and Models in Medieval Jain Practice" (University of Leiden, February 2011), and "The Śaiva Age: Further Evidence of the Buddhist and Jain Adaptation of Śaiva Models and Sources in Early Medieval India" (Columbia University, September 2011), Sanderson's *Śaiva Age* (Groningen Oriental Series, forthcoming) will likely develop this narrative further, focusing more on Jainism.

**The Colours of the *Tīrthaṅkara*s**

Scholarship on the colours of the *tīrthaṅkara*s is at times contradictory and never very thorough.[10] In the fold-out chart given in Jagmanderlal Jaini's (1940: 6) *Outlines of Jainism*, the *tīrthaṅkara*s' complexions are given as in Table I.

Table I: The Tīrthaṅkaras' Colours

| **Tīrthaṅkara** | **Colour** |
|---|---|
| 1. Ṛṣabha | Golden yellow |
| 2. Ajita | Golden yellow |
| 3. Saṃbhava | Golden yellow |
| 4. Abhinandana | Golden yellow |
| 5. Sumati | Golden yellow |
| 6. Padmaprabha | Red, like lotus |
| 7. Supārśva | Green |
| 8. Candraprabha | White |
| 9. Puṣpadanta | White |
| 10. Śītala | Golden yellow |
| 11. Śreyāṃsa | Golden yellow |
| 12. Vāsupūjya | Red |
| 13. Vimala | Golden yellow |
| 14. Ananta | Golden yellow |
| 15. Dharma | Golden yellow |
| 16. Śānti | Golden yellow |
| 17. Kunthu | Golden yellow |
| 18. Ara | Golden yellow |
| 19. Malli | Golden yellow [Blue] |
| 20. Munisuvrata | Black |
| 21. Nami | Golden yellow |
| 22. Nemi | Black with inner tinge of lotus-red |
| 23. Pārśva | Blue |
| 24. Mahāvīra | Golden yellow |

Jaini (1940: 6) notes that "the variations enclosed in square brackets," in this case the "blue" bracketed next to Malli, "represent mainly [the] Śvetāmbara tradition." He

10 Nagar 1999:68-70, for example, did not recognize the inconsistencies between the Sanskrit passages he provided of different lists of the colours of the *tīrthaṅkara*s. Other scholarship is also confused. U.P. Shah 1975:468-469 first claimed that Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras agree on the colourings of the Jinas. A decade later, without referencing his earlier study, he noted that the two sects do not agree on the complexions (Shah 1987:87).

unfortunately does not provide the sources for this list of colours, but it appears to be a conflation of various textual accounts. An overview of some of these texts will illustrate why scholars are not able to provide a single coherent list of the colours of the *tīrthaṅkara*s.

For Śvetāmbaras, the earliest list of the *tīrthaṅkara*s' colours is found in the Prakrit text *Āvassayanijjutti* (Skt. *Āvaśyakaniryukti*), verses 376-377 (ca. first half of the first millennium CE).[11] According to this text, Padmaprabha and Vāsupūjya are red (*ratta*), Candraprabha and Puṣpadanta are white like the moon (*sasigora*), Munisuvrata and Nemi are black (*kāla*), Malli and Pārśva are green (the colour of the *priyaṅgu* plant), and the remaining sixteen *tīrthaṅkara*s are golden (*kaṇaga*). Despite using different terms for these pigments, the earliest Digambara list of colours, found in the Prakrit text *Tiloyapaṇṇattī* (Skt. *Trilokaprajñapti*), verses 4.588-589 (ca. fifth-seventh centuries CE),[12] is identical to its Śvetāmbara counterpart, with two differences. In this text, Malli, the nineteenth *tīrthaṅkara*, is not green but gold (*cāmīyara*), and Supārśva, the seventh *tīrthaṅkara*, is not gold but green (*harida*).[13] Later Digambara texts such as Raviṣeṇa's seventh-century *Padmapurāṇa*[14] and Āṣādhara's thirteenth-century *Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra*[15]

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11 Another Śvetāmbara text from the first half of the millennium, *Ṭhāṇaṃgasutta* (Skt. *Sthānaṅgasūtra*) 2.4.438-441, corresponds with *Āvassayanijjutti* but uses slightly different terms for the colours of the *tīrthaṅkara*s: Munisuvrata and Nemi are the colour of a blue lotus (*ṇīluppama*), Malli and Pārśva are the colour of the green *priaṅgu* plant (*piyaṃgu*), Padmaprabha and Vāsupūjya are the colour of a (red) lotus (*pauma*), Candraprabha and Puṣpandanta are the white like the moon (*caṃda*). The text does not mention that the remaining *tīrthaṅkara*s are golden.

12 Shah 1987: 238, among others, has noted that since passages from the eighth-century *Dhavalā* are included in the extant *Tiloyapaṇṇattī,* the text we currently possess must post-date the eighth century. We cannot be sure when, exactly, this particular list of colours arose, but since the biographical details (including the colours) of the *tīrthaṅkara*s in *Tiloyapaṇṇattī* are so similar to Śvetāmbara texts dated to the first few centuries CE, it does not seem unreasonable to suggest that this colour scheme could have existed before the eighth century.

13 According to *Tiloyapaṇṇattī* 4.588-589, Candraprabha and Puṣpadanta are white (the colour of a jasmine flower (*kuṃda*), snow (*tusāra*) or pearls (*hāra*), Supārśva and Pārśva are green (*harida*), Munisuvrata and Nemi are dark blue (*ṇīla*), Padmaprabha and Vāsupūjya are red like coral (*vihuma*), and the remaining sixteen are golden (*cāmīyara*).

14 *Padmapurāṇa* 20.63-66 lists the colours as follows: Candraprabha and Puṣpadanta are white like the moon (*candrasaṃkāśa*), Supārśva's colour is like the flower *priyaṅgu* (*priyaṅgumañjarī*), Pārśva is like an unripe grain (*apakvaśāli*), Padmaprabha is red like the inside of a lotus (*padmagarbha*), Vāsupūjya is red like the flower flame of the forest (*kiṃśuka*), Munisuvrata is dark (*nīla*) like the mountain *añjanagiri,* and Nemi is dark (*nīla*) like the neck of a peacock. The remaining sixteen *tīrthaṅkara*s are golden (*kāñcana*).

agree with this list.[16] Śvetāmbara texts from *Āvasayanijjutti* onwards are also essentially in agreement,[17] but from the mid-twelfth century onwards, Malli and Pārśva began to be listed as blue (*nīla*) instead of green (the colour of the *priyaṅgu* plant). The encyclopedia *Abhidhānacintāmaṇikośa* by the great Śvetāmbara *ācārya* Hemacandra (1089-1172) designates Malli and Pārśva as *nīla*,[18] as do the sixteenth-century Śvetāmbara texts on iconography *Dīpārṇava*[19] and *Rūpamaṇḍana*.[20] This shift may not be significant, as U.P. Shah has argued that the terms *nīla* ("blue") and *harita* ("green"), as well as the terms *nīla* ("blue") and *kāla, śyāma,* or *kṛṣṇa* ("black, dark") can be interchangeable.[21]

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15 *Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra* 1.80-81 lists Candraprabha and Suvidhi (Puṣpadanta) as white (*sita*), Nemi and Suvrata as black (*śyāma*), Padmaprabha and Vāsupūjya as red (*rakta*), Pārśva and Supārśva as green (*marakata*), and the remaining *tīrthaṅkara*s as golden (*svarṇa*).

16 Anne Monius (personal communication, May 1, 2012) kindly drew my attention to the only Tamil source of which she is aware to identify the colours of the *tīrthaṅkaras,* the invocation (*kāppu*) of Utīcitēvar's *Tirukkalampakam*, dated between the tenth and fifteenth centuries. According to Monius' translation, the verse reads: "Sixteen are golden-coloured; two are green | Another two are the colour of the moon; another two are red-coloured | Two are the colour of the sky ..." While the commentator Aṉantatēvar does not address this verse, the modern commentator outlines the Digambara colour scheme, designating Malli as gold and Supārśva as green.

17 Verses 381-382 of Nemicandra's early twelfth-century *Pravacanasāroddhāra* are identical to verses 376-377 of *Āvassayanijjutti.* Verses 1-23 of the section *Arhadādīnāṃ Varṇādikramavidhi* of the Śvetāmbara *Nirvāṇakalikā* also agree with *Āvassayanijjutti*, designating Malli and Pārśva not as *nīla* but as *priyaṅgu.* Sanderson 2011 has dated *Nirvāṇakalikā* to between the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

18 *Abhidhānacintāmaṇikośa* 1.49 designates Padmaprabha and Vāsupūjya as red (*rakta*), Candraprabha and Puspandanta as white (*śukla*), Nemi and Muni as black (*kṛṣṇa*), and Malli and Pārśva as blue (*vinīla*). The remaining Jinas are golden (*kanaka*).

19 *Dīpārṇava* 23.2-49, likely composed in the sixteenth century (see Sompura 1975: 48), agrees with later Śvetāmbara texts, using the term *nīla* for Malli and Pārśva and *kṛṣṇa* for Nemi and Muni.

20 *Rūpamaṇḍana* 6.4, a sixteenth-century Śvetāmbara text on iconography by Sūtradhāramaṇḍaṇa, provides the exact same verse as *Abhidhānacintāmaṇikośa.*

21 Shah 1975: 469 n. 1 explains: "[T]he dark-blue of the Āv-Nir. could be *harita* in the Digambara sect, or dark could be dark-blue…*[H]arita* was used for various shades and the terminology for various finer shades was not known." Shah 1987: 87 also notes that the Digambara "Vasunandi in his *Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra* (in mss.) says that Munisuvrata and Nemi have complexions like the *marakata* gem (emerald, i.e. green complexion)." As Munisuvrata and Nemi are more often designated as black, or dark, this suggests that terms for "green," "blue," and "dark" were interchangeable.

It appears that by at least the twelfth century, by the time of Hemacandra, Śvetāmbaras, if not Digambaras, were making three-dimensional figures of the Jinas in their respective colours. Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭiśalākapuruṣacarita* (TŚPC)*,* in describing the erection of a temple at the site of the first *tīrthaṅkara* Ṛṣabha's death on Mount Aṣṭāpada, likely projects the iconographic features of the medieval period onto this mythical past:

> "On the dais were shining jeweled statues of the twenty-four Arhats, beginning with Ṛṣabha Svāmin. The images, having the respective figures, size, and color, were like the Masters in person engaged in *śaileṣidhyāna* [meditation]. Sixteen of these were golden [*suvarṇa*], two were lapis lazuli [*rājavarta*], two of crystal [*sphaṭika*], two of cat's eye [*vaiḍūrya*], and two of ruby [*śoṇāśma*]" (TŚPC *Sarga* 6, 595-597 trans. Johnson 1931: 123).

These gemstones' colours correspond exactly to the list found in the *Āvassayanijjutti,* and one can still find Digambara and Śvetāmbara *mūrti*s depicted in these same colours. In paintings, the *tīrthaṅkara*s are even more commonly shown in their colours.[22] Thus, from at least the twelfth century to the present day, Jains have worshiped Jina figures painted in their respective colours or made out of the appropriately coloured precious stones. According to Jain texts, these Digambara and Śvetāmbara representations have differed only on the colours of two *tīrthaṅkara*s: Malli and Supārśva.

However, a non-Jain text, Bhuvanadeva's twelfth-century *Aparājitapṛcchā,* does not agree with these stock lists and, as we will see, may suggest that Digambara and Śvetāmbara colour schemes were not as unchanging as they now are presented in Jain texts. *Aparājitapṛcchā*, which deals with various Indian architectural forms and religious iconographies, is thought to have been composed in Gujarat during the rule of Kumārapāla (r. 1143-75), who, as is well known, was advised by Hemacandra.[23] Chapter 221 of *Aparājitapṛcchā*, dedicated to the iconography of Jain *mūrti*s*,* lists the colours of

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22 In Śvetāmbara paintings, this temple on Mount Aṣṭāpada is one of the more popularly depicted settings in which all of the Jinas are present in their respective colours. See *Victorious Ones* (Granoff 2009: 285) for an example of a nineteenth-century cloth painting (*paṭa*) of this type.

23 See Dubey 1987: 1-22 for a good summary of the scholarship on *Aparājitapṛcchā*.

the *tīrthaṅkara*s as follows: Candraprabha and Puṣpadanta are white (*śveta*), Padmaprabha and Dharma are red (*rakta*), Supārśva and Pārśva are green (*harita*), Nemi is black (*śyāma*), Malli is blue (*nīla*), and the remaining sixteen Jinas are golden (*kāñcana*) (*Aparājitapṛcchā* 221.5-7). Bhuvanadeva's list combines the Digambara texts that list Pārśva and Supārśva as green (*harita*) with later Śvetāmbara texts that have Malli as blue (*nīla*). Likely wanting to keep an even sixteen *tīrthaṅkara*s golden, Bhuvanadeva then deemed Munisuvrata not black but golden. He also inexplicably swapped the colours of Dharma and Vāsupūjya (see Table II).

Table II: Colours of the Tīrthaṅkaras

| **Tīrthaṅkara** | **Śvetāmbara** | **Digambara** | **Aparājitapṛcchā** |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Ṛṣabha | Gold | ------ | ------ |
| 2. Ajita | Gold | ------ | ------ |
| 3. Saṃbhava | Gold | ------ | ------ |
| 4. Abhinandana | Gold | ------ | ------ |
| 5. Sumati | Gold | ------ | ------ |
| 6. Padmaprabha | Red | ------ | ------ |
| 7. Supārśva | Gold | Green | Green |
| 8. Candraprabha | White | ------ | ------ |
| 9. Suvidhi/Puṣpadanta | White | ------ | ------ |
| 10. Śītala | Gold | ------ | ------ |
| 11. Śreyāṃsa | Gold | ------ | ------ |
| 12. Vāsupūjya | Red | ------ | Gold |
| 13. Vimala | Gold | ------ | ------ |
| 14. Ananta | Gold | ------ | ------ |
| 15. Dharma | Gold | ------ | Red |
| 16. Śānti | Gold | ------ | ------ |
| 17. Kunthu | Gold | ------ | ------ |
| 18. Ara | Gold | ------- | ------ |
| 19. Malli | Green/Blue | Gold | Blue |
| 20. Munisuvrata | Dark Blue/Black | ------ | Gold |
| 21. Nami | Gold | ------ | ------ |
| 22. Nemi | Dark Blue/Black | ------ | ------ |
| 23. Pārśva | Green/Blue | ------ | ------ |
| 24. Mahāvīra | Gold | ------ | ------ |

So what caused the inconsistencies between these texts? Why do Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras disagree on the colours of Malli and Supārśva? And why did Bhuvanadeva in twelfth-century Gujarat designate Malli as the sole blue *tīrthaṅkara*? It is not entirely surprising that Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras would disagree about the colouring of Malli, since, as noted above, Śvetāmbaras maintain that Malli was a female, while Digambaras, believing women cannot achieve enlightenment, insist that the *tīrthaṅkara* was male.[24] This disagreement could have spurred the debate over Malli's complexion, but how and why, exactly? And why was the colour of Supārśva, an uncontroversial Jina, contested? The answers to these questions may lie in a popular diagram common to both Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras, the *Ṛṣimaṇḍala.*

## The *Ṛṣimaṇḍala* and *Ṛṣimaṇḍalastotra*

After the Śvetāmbara *Siddhacakra*, the *Ṛṣimaṇḍala* is likely the most popularly depicted Jain *yantra* or *maṇḍala*,[25] meaning a ritual diagram outlining various honoured elements of Jainism. Representations of the *Ṛṣimaṇḍala* follow the structure of many *maṇḍala*s in that movement from the perimeter of the diagram to the centre marks a progression from praises to unenlightened, protector or boon-giving deities towards the adoration of more and more enlightened beings. The *Ṛṣimaṇḍala,* which is comprised of a series of concentric circles of *mantra*s, marks a path towards a progressively more purified soul, beginning at the outside ring with praises to the *dikpāla*s (guardians of the directions) and twenty-four goddesses, and culminating at the centre with a multi-coloured seed syllable (*bījākṣara*) *hrīṃ* onto which the twenty-four *tīrthaṅkaras* are mapped.[26]

The *Ṛṣimaṇḍala* is worshiped in various ways, usually for worldly benefits - to gain

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24 See Jaini 1991 for a lengthy discussion of these debates.

25 I use the term "*yantra*" and "*maṇḍala"* interchangeably, since the diagram is termed both a "*maṇḍala"* and a "*yantra*." Cort's 2009: 149 claim that in the context of contemporary Digambara ritual, "a *maṇḍal* is a larger cosmogram, constructed of cloth, paper, or dry foodstuffs [while] [a] *yantra* is smaller and made of metal" is mostly accurate, yet representations of both Digambara and Śvetāmbara *Ṛṣimaṇḍalas* on paper are also termed "*yantra."* Gudrun Bühnemann 2003: 15 notes that "later Sanskrit texts often use '*maṇḍala'* and '*yantra'* rather loosely as synonyms;" this seems to be the case for contemporary Jains as well.

26 I have given a brief overview of the components of the present-day Digambara *Ṛṣimaṇḍala*, along with a translation of the diagram, in Gough 2009.

prosperity or health, to dispel misfortune or malignant spirits, etc. Both Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras often install this diagram, usually on paper, on cloth, or engraved on metal, in their homes or in store shrines. These diagrams are found hanging on the walls of temples and worship halls (*upāśraya*) (Fig. 1), and, at least for Digambaras, metal versions are found in temple shrines installed along with *mūrti*s of Jinas.[27]



Figure 1: A Śvetāmbara *Ṛṣimaṇḍala*. Watercolour on paper. Kharataragaccha *upāśraya*, Vicakṣaṇ Bhavan, Jaipur 2011.

Practitioners can individually worship these images, alone or in small groups, in temples or at home, using vernacular worship booklets.[28] Less frequently, ritual specialists (*pratiṣṭhācārya*, *vidhividhānācārya vidhikāra*, etc.), if commissioned by a

[27] Śvetāmbaras also worship metal versions of the *Ṛṣimaṇḍala* individually or as part of the larger worship ceremony of the *Ṛṣimaṇḍala* made of coloured powder, but I have never seen them installed in temple shrines along with Jina images in the manner that is very popular with Digambaras.

[28] For a Digambara Hindi version of this booklet, see *Ṛṣimaṇḍala Pūjā Vidhāna* (Jñānamatī 1981/2004).

wealthy patron, will officiate a more elaborate, lengthy worship ceremony (*vidhāna*) of a large representation of the *Ṛṣimaṇḍala* made with coloured powder on cloth.[29]

The *Ṛṣimaṇḍalastotra,* a medieval Sanskrit hymn of praise (*stotra*) common to Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras, outlines and honors the components of the *Ṛṣimaṇḍala*. There are various recensions of this text, and I have access to five different published versions, though more exist.[30] A *Ṛṣimaṇḍalastotra* of 83 verses is included in the *Vidyānuśāsana*,[31] a compendium of Digambara tantric treatises attributed to Bhaṭṭāraka Matisāgara (ca. thirteenth-to-sixteenth centuries).[32] Digambara versions of 90[33] (Jñānamatī 1981/2004) and 82 (Śāstrī n.d.) verses have also been published. The twentieth-century Śvetāmbara monk Ācārya Yaśodevasūri (1985) published a *Laghu Ṛṣimaṇḍalastotra* of 63 verses and a *Bṛhat Ṛṣimaṇḍalastotra* of 98 verses along with an extended commentary on the worship and construction of the *Ṛṣimaṇḍala*. A Śvetāmbara version of 86 verses (Nawab 1938: 509-519) has also been published. In manuscript form, H.R. Kapadia (1957: 72) found *Ṛṣimaṇḍalastotra*s whose verses number 63, 80,

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29 I met one Digambara woman in Mumbai, for example, who had arranged for a large *Ṛṣimaṇḍala Vidhāna* in her newly purchased home in order to bless the house and dispel the malignant spirits (*bhūta*) believed to reside there. For a Digambara Sanskrit/Pre-modern Hindi text of this more elaborate worship ceremony composed by Ācārya Guṇanandi (Jhavery 1944: 265 places him in the sixteenth century Vikram Saṃvat), see *Śri Ṛṣimaṇḍala Bṛhat Vidhāna* (Suprakāśamati 2005). For a Śvetāmbara equivalent, see *Ṛṣimaṇḍala Pūjā*, composed by Jinaharṣasūri in 1814 (Vikram Saṃvat 1871) and published in Sūryamalla 1941.

30 Kapadia 1957: 72 lists a few editions I have not examined.

31 See Guṇadharanandī 1990: 354-74 for this version.

32 The *Vidyānuśāsana* is traditionally attributed to the eleventh-century Digambara tantric Mallisẹṇa. However, since the text contains such a vast amount of tantric treatises - some, like *Bhairavapadmāvatīkalpa*, composed by Mallisẹṇa himself, and others from a diverse range of authors, including the thirteenth-century Paṇḍita Āśādhara - it is likely that the text was not composed by Mallisẹṇa in the eleventh century, but instead compiled much later by Matisāgara, who is mentioned in the colophon of the text. Little is known of Matisāgara. U.P. Shah 1987: 64 places him in the sixteenth century, while in the introduction to his publication of *Vidyānuśāsana*, Muni Guṇadharanandī 1990: xiv places him in the thirteenth century. See Jhavery 1944: 301-304 for more on the authorship of the *Vidyānuśāsana*.

33 This length of 90 verses seems to be the most commonly used by Digambaras today. See also *Ṛṣimaṇḍala Stotram* (Jain 2006). The *Ṛṣimaṇḍalastotra* in Suprakāśamati 2005 does not include the final verse extolling the greatness of the *stotra* and thus is only 89 verses long.

82, 86, 93 and 102, and Yaśodevasūri (1985: 31) found versions as short as 40 verses and as long as 116.[34]

Despite the divergent lengths of the *Ṛṣimaṇḍalastotra*s, all the published recensions maintain a basic format that can be outlined as follows:

1. Opening verses on the seed syllable *arhaṃ*
2. Outline of root *mantra* (*mūla-mantra*)
3. Description of Jambūdvīpa and the *arhat*
4. Description of the seed syllable *hrīṃ,* said to represent the *arhat*
5. Pleas for protection from malignant spirits
6. Praises to gods, advanced ascetics and goddesses
7. Examples of the worldly and soteriological benefits of reciting and remembering the *Ṛṣimaṇḍalastotra*

The text reads much like a medieval Śaiva treatise, outlining potent *mantra*s with esoteric code language. The first two verses of the *stotra*, common to Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras, praise the seed syllable "*arhaṃ*" (*arhat,* enlightened being), a ubiquitous syllable in Jain tantric texts:

*ādyaṃtākṣarasaṃlakṣyamakṣaraṃ vyāpya yatsthitaṃ* ।
*agnijvālāsamaṃ nādaṃ bindurekhāsamanvitaṃ* ॥
*agnijvālāsamākrāntaṃ manomalaviśodhanaṃ* ।
*dedīpyamānaṃ hṛtpadme tatpadaṃ naumi nirmalaṃ* ॥
(*Ṛṣimaṇḍalastotra* 1- 2)[35]

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34 See also Velankar 1944: 59-61 for a listing of other manuscripts.

35 References to the Digambara *Ṛṣimaṇḍalastotra* come from the version given in *Ṛṣimaṇḍala Pūjā Vidhāna* (Jñānamatī 2006). References to the Śvetāmbara *Ṛṣimaṇḍalastotra* come from the *Laghu Ṛṣimaṇḍalastotra* in Yaśodevasūri 1985. To facilitate comparison between the two versions, the verse numbers here do not correspond to the numberings in the published texts, but to the order in which they are found in the *stotra* itself. Since the numbering in the Digambara version starts over after verse nine, to find the correct verses in the published text, readers should subtract that number from Digambara verses ten and higher referenced in this article. Despite the confusion caused by their numbering systems, I chose these two editions because they were the ones Jains most often gave me during my intermittent fieldwork in India from 2007-2011, primarily in Delhi, Hastinapur, Jaipur, Pune, and Mumbai. I know very little of the use of the *Ṛṣimaṇḍalastotra* in South India.

I bow in reverence to that pure utterance which, having pervaded everywhere, is endowed with the alphabet's first and last phonemes (*a* & *ha*), a "*ra*,"[36] a dot (*ṃ*), and a half-moon (*nādaṃ*).[37] [This utterance], filled with a blazing fire, shining in the lotus heart,[38] cleanses the impurities of the mind.

All published versions of the Śvetāmbara *Ṛṣimaṇḍalastotra* then include a third verse on *arhaṃ* not found in Digambara versions. This third verse reads:

*arhamityakṣaraṃ brahma vācakaṃ parameṣṭhinaḥ* ।
*siddhacakrasya sadbījaṃ sarvataḥ praṇidadhmahe* ॥
(Śvetāmbara *Ṛṣimaṇḍalastotra* 3)

"*Arham*" is the imperishable Brahman. Its meaning is the Supreme Lord (*parameṣṭhin*).[39] It is the true seed source of the *siddhacakra*.[40] We concentrate on it entirely.

This exact same verse opens Hemacandra's grammar book, *Dvyāśrayamahākāvya*,[41] completed between 1140 and 1172.[42] It is also the eleventh verse

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36 Yaśodevasūri 1985: 2 explains that "blazing fire" (*agnijvāla*) in the first verse indicates the syllable "*ra*." The term "*agni"* is a common indication of "*ra*" in tantric literature.

37 *a* + *ha* + *ra* + bindu (*ṃ*) + half-moon= "*arhaṃ."* The Sanskrit seed syllable "*arhaṃ,"* "enlightened one," became a popular *bīja mantra* for Jains in the medieval period in part because of its connection with the alphabet as described in this verse: it begins with the first letter of the alphabet and ends with the last, thus encapsulating all of reality. See Qvarnström 2000: 603f. Analysis of this *mantra* in many ways parallels the Śaivite *mantra* "*ahaṃ."* See Yelle 2003: 34 and Muller-Ortega 1989: 158-164 for Abhinavagupta's discussions of *ahaṃ*. See also Swearer 2004: 71 on Thai Buddhists' use of the *mantra arahan***.**

38 See Muller-Ortega 1989: 157-158 for Abhinavagupta's discussion of the "lotus heart" (*hṛtpadma*), a common term in tantric literature.

39 "*Parameṣṭhin,*" "Supreme Lord," here refers to the enlightened being, *arhat*.

40 It is not likely that this *siddhacakra* refers to the popular Śvetāmbara *yantra* of the same name, which does not seem to have found its present form until the fourteenth-century Prakrit text *Sirivālakahā* by Ratnaśekhara. See Vinayasāgara 2002.

41 See *Namaskāra Svādhyāya* 1962: 38 for this verse.

of the praise poem *Samādhi Bhakti* attributed to the great Digambara philosopher Pūjyapāda (ca. seventh century).[43] Very little research has been done on the *Samādhi Bhakti*, so scholars cannot be sure whether or not Pūjyapāda actually composed some or any of its twenty verses.[44] In any case, the text is Digambara, so it is not clear why Digambaras have excluded this verse on *arhaṃ* from their versions of the *Ṛṣimaṇḍalastotra*.

After the description of the seed syllable *arhaṃ,* the formation of the *Ṛṣimaṇḍala*'s root *mantra* (*mūla-mantra*) is outlined.[45] The *stotra* explains how this *mantra* is used in the performance of *nyāsa*, the ritual technique in which practitioners place divinities on themselves, touching the prescribed parts of the body and visualizing or reciting the divinities' respective seed syllables.[46] Proper and repeated recitation of this

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42 See Bhattacharya & Sarkar 2004: 423-7 for the dating of this text.

43 See Shah 1999 for Pūjyapāda's dates.

44 Upadhye 1935: xxvi-xxix in his introduction to Kundakunda's *Pravacanasāra* provides a brief overview of the ten Prakrit *bhakti*s attribute to Pūjyapāda and the ten Sanskrit *bhakti*s attributed to Kundakunda, devotional poems that are recited by Digambaras for a variety of rituals.

45 The Śvetāmbara *mūla-mantra* reads: *oṃ hraṃ hrīṃ hruṃ hrūṃ hreṃ hraiṃ hrauṃ hraḥ asiāusā (samyag) jñāna-darśana-cāritrebho namaḥ* (vv. 9-10). The Digambara version places "*darśana*" before "*jñāna*," and thus reads: *oṃ hrāṃ hrīṃ hruṃ hrūṃ hreṃ hraiṃ hrauṃ hraḥ asiāusā* (*samyag) darśana-jñāna-caritrebhyo namaḥ* (vv. 8-9). Muni Yaśodevasūri 1985: 13 devotes a lengthy discussion to whether or not *"samyak"* should be included in the *mantra*, as some manuscripts include it, while others do not. He eventually concludes that it not an essential part of the *mantra*. *"Samyak"* is not included in the description of the *mantra* in either of the Digambara or Śvetāmbara published versions of the *stotra*, but it is commonly found as part of the *mantra* as inscribed on *Ṛṣimaṇḍala* diagrams, both Digambara and Śvetāmbara. "*Hrīṃ*" is also sometimes placed before "*namaḥ,"* though Yaśodevasūri 1985:13 emphasizes that it is improper, as the *stotra* does not recommend it.

46 See Yaśodevasūri 1985:5: 45-52, on the proper performance of *nyāsa* in accordance with verses Švet. 7-8 & Dig. 6-7, which utilise the eight components of the *mūla-mantra*.

> *ādyaṃ padaṃ śiro rakṣet paraṃ rakṣatu mastakaṃ । tṛtīyaṃ rakṣennetre dve turyaṃ rakṣecca nāsikāṃ ॥ pañcamaṃ tu mukhaṃ rakṣet ṣaṣṭhaṃ rakṣatu ghaṭikāṃ । saptamaṃ rakṣennābhyaṃ taṃ pādāṃtaṃ cāṣṭamaṃ punaḥ ॥*
>
> "May the first [*arhat*] protect one's head, the next [*siddha*] protect one's forehead, the third [*ācārya*] one's eyes, and the fourth [*upādhyāya*] protect one's nose. May the fifth [*sādhu*] protect one's mouth, the sixth [Dig.: *darśana* Švet.: *jñāna*] one's throat, the seventh [Dig: *jñāna,* Švet.: *darśana*] one's naval, and the eighth [*cāritra*] one's feet."

*mantra* is key to manipulating the environment in such a way to achieve the desired worldly and soteriological goals of worshiping the *Ṛṣimaṇḍala.* This *mantra* is also often inscribed at the centre of the diagram (see Fig. 3).

After the description of the *mūla-mantra,* without explicitly dictating the proper construction of the *maṇḍala*, the *Ṛṣimaṇḍalastotra* assumes the existence of a type of diagram very similar to the earliest known examples of the *Ṛṣimaṇḍala*. The text envisions the *Ṛṣimaṇḍala* as an idealized representation of the cosmos, with the Jina seated at the centre. It describes the area of the cosmos where humans reside, Jambūdvīpa, which in Jain art is typically represented as a series of concentric circles. Mount Meru, the text explains, is situated at the centre of this island, and is surrounded by an ocean, mountain peaks (*kūṭa*),[47] and eight "*pada*," or ideals, of Jainism: the five supreme lords (*pañcaparameṣṭhī*) - enlightened being (*arhat*), liberated being (*siddha*), mendicant leader (*ācārya*), mendicant teacher (*upādhyāya*), and mendicant (*sādhu)* - along with the three jewels (*ratnatraya*) of right faith (*darśana*), knowledge (*jñāna*), and conduct (*cāritra*) (Śvet. vv. 11-12; Dig. vv. 10-11). Above this mountain sits the *arhat* (Śvet. v. 13; Dig. v. 12), which later in the text (Śvet. v. 17; Dig. v. 18) is equated with the seed syllable *hrīṃ*, on which the twenty-four *tīrthaṅkara*s, each endowed with its own colour, are situated. This description explicitly relates to *Ṛṣimaṇḍala* diagrams known today, with the seed syllable *hrīṃ* situated at the centre of a series of concentric circles and surrounded by groupings of syllables representing mountain peaks,[48] a ring representing water, and praises to the eight *pada* (see Fig. 3). Later in the text, the twenty-four goddesses that outline the circumference of extant *Ṛṣimaṇḍala*s are also enumerated (Śvet. vv. 45-46; Dig. vv. 63-64).

After outlining the components of the *hrīṃ* in detail, the *stotra* devotes a large section to a list of pleas for protection from various harmful spirits and unwanted fates (Dig. vv. 27-59; Śvet. vv. 28-41). The specific destructive forces mentioned differ slightly between Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras. The final part of the hymn describes the

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47 *tanmadhye saṃgato meruḥ kūṭalakṣairalaṃkṛtaḥ | uccairuccaistarastārastārāmaṇḍala maṃḍitaḥ ||* (Śvet. v. 12; Dig. v. 11).

"In the middle of [Jambūdvīpa] sits Mount Meru, ornamented with the marks of peaks (*kūṭa*) and adorned from high above with circles of heavenly bodies."

48 The editors of *Ṛṣimaṇḍalastavayantrālekhanam* in *Namskāra Svādhyāya* 1962: 49 understand *kūṭa* ("peak") as *kūṭākṣara*, or *saṃyuktākṣara,* "consonant peak" or "consonant cluster."

proper worship of the *stotra* and the benefits of remembering it. It recommends inscribing the *stotra* on birch bark (*bhūrjapaṭa*)[49] or types of metal (Dig. v. 71; Śvet. v. 53). It also emphasizes the many worldly and soteriological benefits of keeping engravings of the *stotra* or reciting its words along with performing austerities.[50] This *stotra*, it claims, can protect one from wild animals, malignant spirits, and enemies in battle; it can provide one with a wife and children, impart rulers their lost kingdoms, and bestow wealth, good health, and eventual liberation after seven births (Dig. vv. 68-79; Śvet. vv. 50-61).

The majority of the verses that describe the components of the diagram and its benefits are identical among all published versions of the hymn, except for Digambara-Śvetāmbara disagreements over the third verse, the *mūla-mantra* outlined above, and the layout of the *hrīṃ,* which will be outlined below. The texts' lengths primarily differ because of added or deleted verses to the section asking for protection from malevolent spirits. Composers of the different versions seem to have felt free to add or delete forces they saw as particularly powerful or weak (see Yaśodevasūri 1985: 32).

Today, lay and mendicant Jains recite the *Ṛṣimaṇḍalastotra* as part of the worship of the *Ṛṣimaṇḍala* diagram and as an act of worship in and of itself. The *Ṛṣimaṇḍalastotra* it is not, however, one of the most popular Jain hymns. Unlike, say, the

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49 *bhūrjapatre likhitvedaṃ galake mūrdhni vā bhuje*।
*dhāritaṃ sarvadā divyaṃ sarvabhītivināśakaṃ* ॥ (Dig. v. 72; Śvet. v. 54).

"Having been written on birch bark, put on one's throat, head, or arm,
and kept there always, this divine [*stotra*] destroys all fears."

This verse may help locate the composition of the text in North India. As Sanderson 2004: 280 explains, birch bark was "the standard writing material only in Kashmir and adjacent areas of the northwest." Medieval Jain thinkers in the south were certainly familiar with Kashmiri tantric speculations, however, and could have incorporated them into the *Ṛṣimaṇḍalastotra* without necessarily composing the text in North India.

50 The *stotra* mentions *ācāmla* specifically, a fast in which practitioners eat plain boiled grains only once a day:

*ācāmlāditapaḥ kṛtvā pūjayitvā jināvaliṃ* ।
*aṣṭasāhasriko jāpyaḥ kāryastatsiddhihetave* ॥ (Dig. v. 76; Śvet. v. 58).

"Having done the *ācāmla* fast and other types of austerities, having worshiped a row of Jinas,
[the *stotra*] is to be repeated 8,000 times in order to accomplish the desired goal."

*Bhaktāmarastotra* or *Uvasaggarahastotra*,[51] few Jains recite the *Ṛṣimaṇḍalastotra* daily. Even so, a handful of laypeople to whom I have spoken, both Digambara and Śvetāmbara, are fiercely committed to regularly reciting the *stotra* in order to achieve various worldly goals, and the dozens of Digambara and Śvetāmbara ascetics to whom I have spoken about the *Ṛṣimaṇḍala* are all familiar with this hymn, attesting to its great power. While most mendicants with whom I have spoken do not include the recitation of *Ṛṣimaṇḍalastotra* in their daily routines, one Śvetāmbara nun of the Kharatara Gaccha did emphasize that she recites this hymn every morning before eating in order to gain protection throughout the day from the deities invoked in the hymn.

**Dating the *Ṛṣimaṇḍala* and the Colours of the *Tīrthaṅkara*s**

Since their earliest renderings were made on perishable materials like cloth, no known Jain *maṇḍala*s pre-date the fourteenth century (Andhare 1994: 77). As will be discussed in detail below, the oldest known *Ṛṣimaṇḍala,* a cloth painting (*citrapaṭa*) from Gujarat, dates to 1514 CE and was published by Hirananda Sastri (1938).



Figure 2: Śvetāmbara representation of a *Ṛṣimaṇḍala hrīṃ*, a preaching assembly (*samavasaraṇa*), and an *oṃ*. Watercolour and gold on paper. From Rajasthan or Gujarat, 15th century. Private collection.

51 For information on the *Bhaktāmarastotra* and *Uvasaggarahastotra*, see Cort 2005a and 2006, respectively. Kapashi 2007 has also outlined these *stotra*s as part of his discussion of the "nine recitations" (*navasmaraṇa*), nine popularly recited hymns.

Another sixteenth-century *Ṛṣimaṇḍala paṭa* from Gujarat housed in the Calico Museum of Textiles in Ahmedabad (SF.KE 12)[52] looks remarkably similar to the *paṭa* published by Sastri.[53] In addition, an even earlier painting, a watercolour on paper dated to the fifteenth century, does not represent the entire *maṇḍala* but does depict the centre *hrīṃ* along with depictions of the Jina's preaching assembly (*samavasaraṇa*) and an "*oṃ"* (Fig. 2). This *hrīṃ* seems to be the earliest known depiction of any part of the *Ṛṣimaṇḍala*.

This lack of early material evidence requires us to use texts to find the provenance of the *Ṛṣimaṇḍala*. The earliest datable text on the diagram, the Sanskrit *Ṛṣimaṇḍalastavayantrālekhanam* (RṣiĀ),[54] was composed in the thirteenth century by the Śvetāmbara *ācārya* Siṃhatilakasūri and outlines the formation of the diagram. For Digambaras, the earliest dated texts on the *Ṛṣimaṇḍala* of which I am aware have been placed in the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries. Both texts are manuals on the worship of the diagram. The late-fifteenth-century Bhaṭṭāraka Jñānabhūṣaṇa is said to have composed a Sanskrit *Ṛṣimaṇḍala Pūjā*,[55] but I do not have access to this text. I do have access to Ācārya Guṇanandi's Sanskrit/Pre-modern Hindi *Ṛṣimaṇḍala Bṛhat Vidhāna (*Suprakāśamati 2005*),* which has also been dated to the sixteenth century Vikram Saṃvat by M. B. Jhavery (1944: 265). Since *Ṛṣimaṇḍala Bṛhat Vidhāna* includes the *Ṛṣimaṇḍalastotra*, and *Ṛṣimaṇḍalastavayantrālekhanam* is closely modeled on this hymn of praise, the real question is the date of the *Ṛṣimaṇḍalastotra*. Both Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras ascribe the *Ṛṣimaṇḍalastotra* to Mahāvīra's disciple Gautama Svāmī, but the contents and language of the text suggest a much later dating.

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52 For a black-and-white photo of this diagram, see *Calico Museum of Textiles* 1999: 11.

53 Chandramani 1980 has published a *Ṛṣimaṇḍala paṭa* housed in Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi (Pl. XI), which he dates to the mid-fifteenth century, "as it has the palette of that period - blue, green, yellow, red and crimson" (Chadramani 1980: 51). The diagram does look similar to the earliest known *Ṛṣimaṇḍala*s, so it could be the earliest extant *Ṛṣimaṇḍala*. However, *Ṛṣimaṇḍala*s of all time periods have these colours, so the painting's colour scheme is not sufficient enough of a reason to date the *paṭa* to the fifteenth century.

54 See *Namaskāra Svādhyāya* 1962: 41-67 for the *Ṛṣimaṇḍalastavayantrālekhanam*. The same text has also been published, with a Gujarati introduction, by Dhuraṃdharavijaya 1961.

55 See Kastūrcand 1997: 458 for a list of the available works by the North Indian Bhaṭṭāraka Jñānabhūṣaṇa, who in this same study is dated 1530-1557 Vikram Saṃvat. It is not clear whether these are the dates of his mendicant career or entire life.

A key difference between the sects' recensions of the *stotra* - their slightly divergent descriptions of the *hrīṃ* at the centre of the *Ṛṣimaṇḍala* - may shed some light on the provenance of the *Ṛṣimaṇḍalastotra* and the questions about the colours of the *tīrthaṅkara*s posed earlier. Let us look first at the Digambara description of the *hrīṃ.* As noted earlier, the *Ṛṣimaṇḍala hrīṃ* represents an enlightened being (*arhat*) seated above Mount Meru at the centre of Jambūdvīpa:

*arhadākhyaḥ savarṇāntaḥ sarepho bindumaṇḍitaḥ* ।
*turyasvarasamāyukto bahudhyānādimālitaḥ* ॥
*ekavarṇaṃ dvivarṇaṃ ca trivarṇaṃ turyavarṇakaṃ* ॥
*paṃcavarṇaṃ mahāvarṇaṃ saparaṃ ca parāparaṃ*[56] ॥

That which is called "*arhat*" is made up of a "*ha"* and a *"ra"* and adorned with a dot (*bindu*). It is conjoined with the fourth vowel (*ī*) and is fit for many forms of meditation. These are with the first colour, the second, the third, the fourth, and the great colour, the fifth.[57]

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56 The meaning of "*saparaṃ ca parāparaṃ,"* perhaps two types of meditation, is obscure. Present-day lay and mendicant commentators seem to have lost the original meaning. The Gujarati translation in Nawab 1938: 625 understands *sapara* to mean the phoneme "*ha*" and *parāpara* to mean "extremely superior" (*atyant utkṛṣṭ*). S*apara*, like *sāṃta,* does often indicate "*ha"* in tantric texts (see *Dictionaries of Tantraśāstra* 1978: 153), but the translation is still not clear.

57 Much more research needs to be done on the use of these five colours - red, white, blue/green, black, and yellow - in Jain meditation. In Jain tantric texts, meditation on these five colours is often linked to versions of the "six rites" (*ṣaṭkarmāṇi*) of (1) appeasement (*śānti*), (2) subjugation (*vaśya* or *vaśīkaraṇa),* (3) immobilization (*stambhana*), (4) generation of enmity (*vidveṣaṇa),* 5) eradication (*uccāṭana*), and (6) liquidation (*māraṇa*). With respect to meditation on a multi-coloured *hrīṃ,* verses 14-16 of Jinaprabhasūri's *Māyābīja (hrīṃkara) kalpa* claim that meditation on the colour white is for destroying demerit (*pāpa*), on red is for deluding (*sammohana*), attracting (*ākarṣaṇa*), subjugating (*vaśīkaraṇa*), and imperturbability (*ākṣobha*), on yellow is for binding enemies and immobilization (*staṃbhana*), on blue is for generating enmity (*vidveṣaṇa*) and eradication (*uccāṭana*), and on black is for liquidation (*māraṇa*) (See *Namaskāra Svādhyāya* 1962: 10). Jains also associate each of the five supreme beings (*pañcaparameṣṭhī*), and different parts of the *oṃ* lexigram, with one of these colours (see Fig. 2**).** Hemacandra's *Yogaśāstra* 8.31, in describing meditation on a coloured *oṃ,* associates meditation on white with destroying karma, on yellow with immobilization (*staṃbhana*), on red with subjugation (*vaśya*), on green with agitation (*kṣobhana*), and on black with generating enmity (*vidveṣaṇa*) (see Qvarnström 2002: 155). Digambaras seem to have had similar understandings of the colours' relationships with *hrīṃ, oṃ,* and the "six rites." Verses 4-7 of the hymn *Hrīṃkāravidyāstavana* and verses 7-8 of the hymn *Oṃkāravidyāstavana* also associate these colours with versions of "six rites" (see *Namaskāra Svādhyāya* 1962: 14, 6). Both of these hymns are found in the text *Paṃcanamaskṛtidīpaka* attributed to, yet not likely composed by, the ca. seventh-century Digambara

*asmin bīje sthitāḥ sarveṛṣabhādyā jinottamāḥ* ।
*varṇairnijairnijairyuktā dhyātavyāstra saṃgatāḥ* ॥
(Digambara *Ṛṣimaṇḍalastotra* 18-20).

All the excellent Jinas (Ṛṣabha, etc.) reside in this seed syllable. There they should be meditated upon together, each endowed with its own colour.

The next two verses divide the *hrīṃ* into five different components: a "*hra,"* an "*ī,"* and a stylized *anusvāra* (*ṃ*) composed of three parts: a half-moon (*nāda*), a dot (*bindu*), and a crescent moon (*kalā*).[58] Each component is then given one of the five different colours obscurely referenced in verse nineteen:

*nādaścandrasamākāro bindurnīlasamaprabhaḥ* ।
*kalāruṇasamāsāntaḥ svarṇābhaḥ sarvatomukhaḥ* ॥

The half-moon has the appearance of the moon (white), the dot has the luster of black (*nīla*), the crescent moon (*kalā*) is red, and the "*ha"* and "*ra*"[59] have the luster of gold.

*śiraḥsaṃlīna īkāro vinīlo varṇataḥ smṛtaḥ*।
*varṇānusārisaṃlīnaṃ tīrthakṛnmaṇḍalaṃ namaḥ* ॥
(Digambara *Ṛṣimaṇḍalastotra* 21-22).

The *"ī"* that is connected to the top [of the "*hra"*] is remembered as a dark blue (*vinīla*) colour. Praise to that *maṇḍala* in which the *tīrthaṅkaras* are situated according to their colours.

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*ācārya* Pūjyapāda. Hindu tantric texts also pair these "six rites" with these same colours (see Bühnemann 2000). Indeed, Jain, Hindu, and Buddhist tantric texts often depict sacred elements in these five colours, though the colour system was certainly in use in earlier, non-tantric texts. See Goodriaan 1978: 192-205 for more on the uses of these five colours in Indic traditions.

58 The twentieth-century editors of *Namaskāra Svādhyāya* 1962: 52, 54 understand *kalā* as *candrakalā,* or crescent moon. Yaśodevasūri 1985: 14 seems to agree.

59 Yaśodevasūri 1985: 15 explains that *sarvatomukha*, an epithet of fire (*agni*), signifies the syllable "*ra.*"

The following verses situate the Jinas in the five different components of the *hrīṃ* according to their colours as agreed upon in Digambara texts (see Table 2). Thus, as *Trilokaprajñapti, Padmapurāṇa*, etc. designate Candraprabha and Puṣpadanta as white, these two Jinas are placed in the white half-moon. Since Padmaprabha and Vāsupūjya are red in these texts, they are placed in the red crescent-moon. Nemi and Muniuvrata, the black/blue Jinas, are situated in the dark (*nīla*) dot, while the blue/green Jinas, Supārśva and Pārśva, are fixed in the blue (*vinīla*) "*ī.*" All the remaining Jinas are mapped onto the golden "*hra:"*

*candraprabhapuṣpadaṃtau nādasthitisamāśritau* ।
*biṃdumadhyagatau nemisuvratau jinasattamau* ॥

Candraprabha and Puṣpadanta reside in the half-moon. The venerable Jinas Nemi and Munisuvrata reside in the middle of the dot.

*padmaprabhavāsupūjyau kalāpadamadhiśritau* ।
*śira īsthitasaṃlīnau supārśvapārśvau jinottamau* ॥

Padmaprabha and Vāsupūjya reside at the foot of the crescent moon and the great Jinas Supārśva and Pārśva are situated in the *"ī"* at the head [of the "*hra"*].

*śeṣastīrthaṃkarāḥ sarve harasthāne niyojitāḥ* ।
*māyābījākṣaraṃ prāptāścaturviṃśatirarhatām* ॥
(Digambara *Ṛṣimaṇḍalastotra* 23-25).

All the remaining *tīrthaṅkara*s are placed in the "*hra.*" The twenty-four *arhat*s are obtained in this seed syllable *hrīṃ* (*māyābījākṣara*).

The Śvetāmbara version diagrams the *tīrthaṅkara*s onto the *hrīṃ* slightly differently, swapping the places of Malli and Supārśva. It places Malli not in the golden "*hra*," but in the blue "*ī,*" and Supārśva not in the blue "*ī*" but in the golden "*hra.*" The corresponding verse of the Śvetāmbara version thus reads:

*padmaprabhavāsupūjyau kalāpadamadhiṣṭhitau* ।
*śira īsthitisaṃlīnau pārśvamalli jinottamau* ॥
(Śvetāmbara *Ṛṣimaṇḍalastotra* 25)

Padmaprabha and Vāsupūjya reside at the foot of the crescent moon and the great Jinas Malli and Pārśva are situated in the *"ī"* at the head [of the "*hra"*].

It is possible that this discrepancy arose from Digambaras' and Śvetāmbaras' earlier established disagreement on the colours of these two *tīrthaṅkara*s. One could imagine that Digambaras formulated the *hrīṃ* according to their colour scheme in the *Tiloyapaṇṇattī*, and Śvetāmbaras did so according to their colour scheme in the *Āvassayanijjutti.*

However, without the existence of this *hrīṃ*, there does not seem to be any reason for Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras to disagree on the colours of Malli and Supārśva. There does, on the other hand, seem to be a reason for Śvetāmbaras to want to situate Malli in the "*ī*" of the *hrīṃ*. In his description of the early sixteenth-century Śvetāmbara *Ṛṣimaṇḍala paṭa* mentioned above, Sastri (1938: 427) hints at this incentive, noting that "[the "*ī*" of the *hrīṃ*] is painted blue which is the colour of the 19th Tīrthaṅkara Mallinātha and Pārśvanātha. Its connection with Mallinātha is significant for it represents Śakti and Mallinātha is believed to have been a woman." While Sastri unfortunately does not elaborate any further, his comment is significant: it seems that a Śvetāmbara author positioned Malli in the blue "*ī*" because of this phoneme's connection to *śakti*, female-gendered "power" associated with forms of the Goddess that became increasingly popular throughout the medieval period. The foundational text of the Śrīvidyā tradition, *Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava Tantra* 1.8, dated to before the ninth century,[60] reads:

*tāmīkārākṣaroddhārāṃ sārātsārāṃ parātparām* ।
*praṇamāmi mahādevīṃ paramānandarūpiṇīm* ॥

60 See Dviveda 1968: 8-9 and Granoff 1989b: 312-313 on the date of the *Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava Tantra,* the first chapter of the *Vāmakeśvara Tantra*.

> I bow to that great goddess whose form is supreme bliss, who - more essential than the quintessence, more supreme than the supreme - is extracted from the phoneme "*ī.*"[61]

By the twelfth century, the connection between *śakti* and "*ī"* had become common in descriptions of *mantra*s in Śrīvidyā texts[62] and those of other Śākta traditions.[63] For example, in the fourth Ṣaṭka of *Jayadrathayāmala*, the principal text of the Kālīkula cult of the goddess Kālī/Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī,[64] a list of code terms for the phoneme "*ī*" includes the term "*śakti.*"[65] Though direct lines of influence are impossible at this point to trace, it is likely that Śvetāmbara Jains, aware of this understanding, placed their sole female *tīrthaṅkara*, Malli, in the "*ī"* of the *hrīṃ* to emphasize her gender and to distinguish themselves from Digambaras.

If this hypothesis is correct, and the formation of this *Ṛṣimaṇḍala hrīṃ* preceded the Digambara-Śvetāmbara disagreement over the *tīrthaṅkara*s' complexions, could this date the *hrīṃ* to as early as the fifth century, when, with the composition of *Tiloyapaṇṇattī,* the sects' different colour schemes are first apparent in texts? This seems to me to be unlikely. Jain *mantraśāstra* had not been well established at this point, nor had the link between *śakti* and the phoneme "*ī."* It is more likely that the lists of colours found in earlier texts have been modified from their original composition. All manuscripts that discuss the colours of the Jinas post-date the thirteenth century, when the *Ṛṣimaṇḍala hrīṃ* is definitively known to have existed; thus, extant texts could represent this later development rather than the initial colour schemes. Since Supārśva and Pārśva are typically associated with one another, having similar names,

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61 I thank Eric Steinschneider for directing me to this verse. I have used his translation.

62 Eric Steinschneider and Meera Kachroo, personal communication, September 24, 2011.

63 Somadeva Vasudeva, personal communication, March 16, 2011.

64 Alexis Sanderson has written extensively on this text. See Sanderson 2004 for the date and provenance of the *Jayadrathayāmala*.

65 *Jayadrathayāmala* 4, *Varṇanāmapaṭala* 6 cited by Vasudeva (personal communication, March 16, 2011): *pañcabindu mahāmāyā śaktir mohanaśīlinī* | *caturthaṃ varṇam (varṇam] em., cānum cod.) ākhyātam īkāraṃ surasundari* ||

iconographical features, and biographical details,[66] my guess is that Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras initially agreed that Pārśva and Supārśva were green, and Śvetāmbaras changed their position after the formulation of the *hrīṃ.* Therefore, it may actually be significant that earlier Śvetāmbara texts list Pārśva and Malli as green (the colour of the *priyaṅgu* plant) and texts from the twelfth century onwards indicate they are blue (*nīla*). This shift might provide evidence for the existence of the Śvetāmbara *Ṛṣimaṇḍala hrīṃ,* which designates Malli and Pārśva as blue (*vinīla*). When Bhūvanadeva in *Aparājitapṛcchā*, composed in Gujarat in the twelfth century, claimed that Pārśva and Supārśva are green and Malli is blue, he may in fact have documented the time and place of this transitional phase.

But did Śvetāmbaras modify their list of colours on their own, or were they impelled to do so because of an existing Digambara *hrīṃ*? The few manuscripts I have been able to consult indicate that Śvetāmbaras first created the *hrīṃ,* with Digambaras later modifying it. I have collected four different manuscripts of the *Ṛṣimaṇḍalastotra* from the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute in Pune, two presumably Digambara[67] and two presumably Śvetāmbara.[68] One of the Digambara versions is part of a manuscript of the *Kalyāṇamandirastotra* (BORI No. 571/1875-76), while the other version, entitled *Ṛṣimaṇḍalastava*, is found in a manuscript of the previously mentioned Digambara tantric treatise *Vidyānuśāsana* (BORI No. 1206/1891-95: 77-78). While neither of these texts includes the third verse on *arhaṃ* outlined above, they do include the Śvetāmbara version of the *mūla-mantra* and, importantly for the discussion at hand, the Śvetāmbara version of the *hrīṃ*: they both place Malli in the blue "*ī.*" These Digambara manuscripts read as if a Digambara omitted the first three verses of the Śvetāmbara version, modified the list of pleas for protection from malignant spirits, and otherwise copied the

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66 Supārśva and Pārśva are the only Jinas depicted with snake hoods and they were both born in Varanasi, among other similarities. See Shah 1987: 139-42, 170-87 on the lives and iconographies of these Jinas.

67 BORI No. 1206/1891-95: 77-78, attributed to the eleventh-century Digambara Mallisẹṇa, and BORI No. 571/1875-76, attributed to Siddhasena Divākara's alias Kumudacandra. It is not likely that Kumudacandra or Mallisẹṇa composed these texts.

68 BORI No. 649/1892-95 (dated to Saṃvat 1804) and BORI No. 273/1871-72 (dated to Saṃvat 1901). These manuscripts, which are authorless and attributed to Gautamasvāmī, respectively, appear to be Śvetāmbara because they include the third verse on *arhaṃ* outlined above, place Malli in the "*ī*" of the *hrīṃ,* and provide the Śvetāmbara version of *mūla-mantra*.

Śvetāmbara version word-for-word. Interestingly, in the *Ṛṣimaṇḍalastotra* in the published *Vidyānuśāsana* edited by the Digambara monk Guṇadharanandī from a manuscript he obtained in Jaipur,[69] Supārśva, Pārśva, *and* Malli are situated in the "*ī*" of the *hrīṃ*.[70] This *hrīṃ*, like the list of colours in *Aparājitapṛcchā*, could document the transition as Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras cemented their stances on the placement of Malli in the *hrīṃ.*

It was perhaps around the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries, when Ācārya Guṇanandi composed the *Ṛṣimaṇḍala Bṛhat Vidhāna*, that Digambaras first began placing Malli in the "*hra"* of the *hrīṃ* in protest of the Śvetāmbara interpretation of Malli as *śakti*. The published version of this text (Suprakāśamati 2005) does place Supārśva instead of Malli in the "*ī,*" and the verses (*doha*) to be recited during the worship of the diagram suggest some Śvetāmbara-Digambara tension over the proper representation of Malli. In the section of the worship ceremony dedicated to the *hrīṃ* (Suprakāśamati 2005: 57-124), biographical verses of praise to each of the twenty-four *tīrthaṅkara*s are to be recited as worshipers offer eight different substances to the seed syllable.[71] While the verses praising the other *tīrthaṅkara*s mention nothing of the form of their bodies, the first verse to be recited in praise of Malli emphatically declares that this Jina does *not* have a woman's body, but instead looks like a celibate boy.[72]

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69 See Guṇadharanandī 1990: xv on the provenance of the manuscript on which he relied for his publication of *Vidyānuśāsana*.

70 Verse 24 of this *Ṛṣimaṇḍalastotra* reads: *padmaprabha vāsu pūjyo kalā padma madhiśritau* । *śiraḥ īsthiti saṃlīnau supārśva pārśvajinottamau* । *śiraḥ īsthiti saṃlīnau pārśva malli jinottamau* ॥
My transliteration has maintained the nonstandard spacing of the published text. One of the final two lines has clearly been added to the original verse, likely by the scribe of the manuscript, as the editor of the published text, the Digambara Guṇadharanandī, does not recognize the inconsistency and strangely outlines the Śvetāmbara version of the seed syllable (with Malli in the "*ī*") in his Hindi gloss (Guṇadharanandī 1990: 355).

71 See Williams 1963: 219-221 on the Digambara eight-fold *pūjā.*

72 As part of the *Hrīṃ Bījākṣar Sthit Caubīs Tīrthaṅkar Pūjā,* the first line of the section of the *pūjā* dedicated to Malli reads: *tanakā rūp asār malin sab jānā, kī nahi nāri svikār hey sab jānā* । *aise malli jinendra bāl brahmacārī, āy virājo pūjā karūṃ tihārī* ॥ (Suprakāśamati 2005:107). The half-verse that worshipers are to repeat after offering each of the eight substances reminds worshipers that Malli is a boy, reading: *haiṃ malli jinendra bāl brahmacārī, prajāvati ke putra, mukti adhikārī* (Suprakāśamati 2005: 107-108).

This hypothesis that Śvetāmbaras formulated the Ṛṣimaṇḍala *hrīṃ* by the twelfth century and Digambaras followed sometime later is of course tentative. The many different lengths of the *stotra* listed above suggest that present-day Digambara and Śvetāmbara forms of the *Ṛṣimaṇḍalastotra* are not the result of a one-sided appropriation of an entire *stotra* from one sect to another on an exact date, but are instead the products of centuries of developments. I cannot definitively determine the sectarian origins or the earliest date of the description of the *Ṛṣimaṇḍala hrīm*. I also cannot at this point determine the exact history of Jains' understanding of the "*ī*" of *hrīṃ* as *śakti*, and following Sanderson's model of linking royal patronage to non-Śaiva adoption of Śaiva-Śākta concepts provides little help. Jain mendicants did receive patronage from Śaiva kings, most famously Hemacandra, who was patronized by the Chaulukya king Kumārapāla around the time I am proposing for the Śvetāmbara embrace of the Ṛṣimaṇḍala *hrīṃ.*[73] It is well known that Hemacandra's texts, perhaps due to the influence of Kumārapāla, often drew upon aspects of the Kashmirian non-dualist Trika system.[74] However, there is no direct evidence that Kumārapāla's Śaiva background, or the Śaiva background of any king, influenced the formation of the *Ṛṣimaṇḍala*. It is more likely that by the twelfth century, the notion that "*ī*" represents *śakti*, well established in the Śrīvidyā tradition, had become so widespread that incorporating the notion into a Jain diagram was almost intuitive. By examining various material representations of the *Ṛṣimaṇḍala hrīṃ*, some ideas about these historical developments can be established.

## Representations of the *Ṛṣimaṇḍala* and *Ṛṣimaṇḍala Hrīṃ*

Every system of Tantra has incorporated the *bījākṣara* "*hrīṃ*" in a variety of ways, and Jain Tantra is no exception. Just as there is no single understanding of a "Buddhist *hrīṃ*" or "Śaivite *hrīṃ,*" different Jain representations of the syllable conform to distinct texts and practices. This article's examination of Jain *hrīṃ*s is limited to depictions of the seed syllable arranged into five parts onto which the images, names, or numbers of the twenty-four *tīrthaṅkara*s are mapped. Often, the five different parts of the syllable, or the images

73 On the relationship between Kumārapāla and Hemacandra, see Bühler 1936.

74 Chapters 7.8-10.4 of his *Yogaśāstra* seem to draw heavily from the tradition (Dundas 1998; Qvarnström 2000), and his *Kāvyānuśāsana* quotes at length from the great Kashmiri philosopher Abhinavagupta (ca. 950 – 1020) (Qvarnström 1998: 41).

of the *tīrthaṅkara*s themselves, will be coloured according to the *Ṛṣimaṇḍalastotra*. Since this type of *hrīṃ* is outlined in the *Ṛṣimaṇḍalastotra,* I use the term "*Ṛṣimaṇḍala hrīṃ*"[75] to distinguish these types of depictions from other Jain representations of the seed syllable such as an unornamented *hrīṃ* at the centre of a variety of *maṇḍala*s,[76] *hrīṃ*s associated with the *tīrthaṅkara* Pārśva,[77] or *hrīṃ*s at the centre of two or more intersecting triangles.[78]

Not all representations of the *Ṛṣimaṇḍala hrīṃ* represent the instructions of the *Ṛṣimaṇḍalastotra* uniformly, and examining the differences between these depictions can highlight some shifting concerns throughout the centuries. The only known pre-modern representations of the *Ṛṣimaṇḍala* are Śvetāmbara, and they seem to be modeled on Siṃhatilakasūri's thirteenth-century *Ṛṣimaṇḍalastavayantrālekhanam* (RṣiĀ). As noted above, Sastri (1938) published the oldest known example of a *Ṛṣimaṇḍala*, a cloth representation dating from the early sixteenth century. In his analysis of the *paṭa,* Sastri (1938: 427) references a Jain treatise named *Hrīṃkārakalpa*, likely referring to the text of the same name by the influential fourteenth-century Śvetāmbara *ācārya* Jinaprabhasūri.[79]

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75 The term "*Ṛṣimaṇḍala hrīṃ*" is certainly not perfect. Some Jain texts not necessarily related to the *Ṛṣimaṇḍala* describe the same multi-coloured *hrīṃ* onto which *tīrthaṅkara*s have been installed. *Namskāra Svādhyāya* 1962: 53 gives a portion of *Mantravidhirājakalpa* that outlines a *Ṛṣimandala hrīṃ.* These texts do post-date the *Ṛṣimaṇḍalastotra*, but it is still not clear whether this type of *hrīṃ* was fashioned for the *stotra* itself or was developed separately and then later inserted into the text. This *hrīṃ* is also often represented separately from the *Ṛṣimaṇḍala* diagram. The combination of images found in Fig. 2 - *hrīṃ*, *oṃ*, *pañcaparameṣṭhī* and *samavasaraṇa* - seems to have been quite popular. Watercolours nearly identical in size and representation to Fig. 2 can be found at the Calico Museum of Textiles, Ahmedabad, and in *Namaskāra Svādhyāya* 1962: 16.

76 A *hrīṃ* will often stand alone at the centre of a Jain *maṇḍala.* See Cort 2009: 147 for one such diagram, the Digambara Śāntināth Vidhān Maṇḍal.

77 As Ananda Coomaraswamy 2003: 50 has noted, "[t]he *Hrīṃkāra* is a monogram symbol associated with Pārśvanātha and according to Jaina interpretation is composed of the letters *ha* (meaning Pārśvanātha), *ra* (meaning Dharaṇendra [Pārśva's *yakṣa*]) and *ī* (meaning Padmāvatī [Pārśva's *yakṣī*])." Further research needs to be done to discover the origins of this "Jaina interpretation." See *Namaskāra Svādhyāya* 1962: 74 and Figure 18 in Kapashi 2007 for representations of Pārśva seated within a *hrīṃ*, a common depiction in Jain art.

78 See Knoke 2004: 96 for an example of this type of Jain *hrīṃ*, painted on cloth, from Gujarat, ca. 1450. Jain & Fischer 1978: 32 have termed these sorts of *hrīṃ*s "*śrī yantra."*

79 For *Māyābīja*(*hrīṃkāra*)*kalpa*, see *Namaskāra Svādhyāya* 1962: 8-12.

This diagram does not directly relate to *Hrīṃkārakalpa*, however, as the text does not explicitly outline the components of the *Ṛṣimaṇḍala*. Rather, the *paṭa* corresponds to the *Ṛṣimaṇḍalastavayantrālekhanam*.

In both the text and Sastri's *paṭa*, the *Ṛṣimaṇḍala hrīṃ* is established at the centre of the diagram and encircled by different groupings of syllables, each beginning with a different letter of the *nāgarī* alphabet and ending with the consonant cluster "*pmlvrvyūm*" (RṣiĀ v. 11). A thin blue ring surrounding these syllable clusters represents the salty ocean (*kṣārābdhi*) mentioned in the third verse of the text.[80] A lotus of eight petals surrounds the ocean. In each of the eight petals, one of the eight *pada*s (five supreme lords + three jewels) is represented, along with praises to one of the planets, one of the guardians of the directions (*dikpāla*), and three goddesses, all outlined explicitly in *Ṛṣimaṇḍalastavayantrālekhanam* (RṣiĀ vv. 7, 8, 9, 25).

These elements - the *hrīṃ,* consonant clusters, eight *pada*, eight planets, eight *dikpāla*, and twenty-four goddesses (see Fig. 3) - are the key components of the earliest extant *Ṛṣimaṇḍala*s. At some point after the sixteenth century, an additional ring including four types of gods (*bhāvana*, *vyantara*, *jyotiṣa* and *kalpa*), eight types of supernatural powers (*ṛddhi*), and four types of clairvoyant knowledge (*avadhi*)[81] became commonplace for both Śvetāmbara and Digambara representations (see Gough 2009).[82] These components seem to have become so standard that they are outlined in the Śvetāmbara version of the *Ṛṣimaṇḍalastotra* published by Nawab (1938: 516 vv. 66-67), but they are not included in the earliest versions of the *Ṛṣimaṇḍalastotra*.[83]

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80 The *Ṛṣimaṇḍalastotra* (Dig. v. 11; Śvet. v. 12) also references the salty ocean and perhaps these groupings of syllables (see footnote 36). The number of these groupings of syllables differs from diagram to diagram. All Digambara diagrams I have encountered depict eight, but Śvetāmbara representations have no accepted number. RṣiĀ 11 affirms that there are thirty-two, Yaśodevasūri's 1985 version has thirty-four, Sastri 1938: 428 notes his *Ṛṣimaṇḍala* has twenty-three, and Fig. 4 has at least forty-one.

81 Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras agree on these four *avadhi*: *śrutāvadhi deśāvadhi, paramāvadhi,* and *sarvāvadhi,* and these eight *ṛddhi*: *buddhi ṛddhi, sarvauṣadhi ṛddhi, anantabala ṛddhi, tapta ṛddhi, rasa ṛddhi, vikriya ṛddhi, ḳsetra ṛddhi,* and *akṣīṇa mahānasa ṛddhi* (Sastri n.d.: 185, Yaśodevasūri 1985: 22).

82 I have also encountered more elaborate *Ṛṣimaṇḍala*s, such as a *Ṛṣimaṇḍala Brhadyantra* with ten rings surrounding the central *hrīṃ* hung on the wall of the *upāśraya* below the Śvetāmbara Śrīmāloṃ kā Mandir, Ghī Vāloṃ kā Rāstā, Jaipur. I do not know the textual tradition related to these expanded diagrams.

83 There is an oblique reference to these components in the *Ṛṣimaṇḍalastotra* itself:

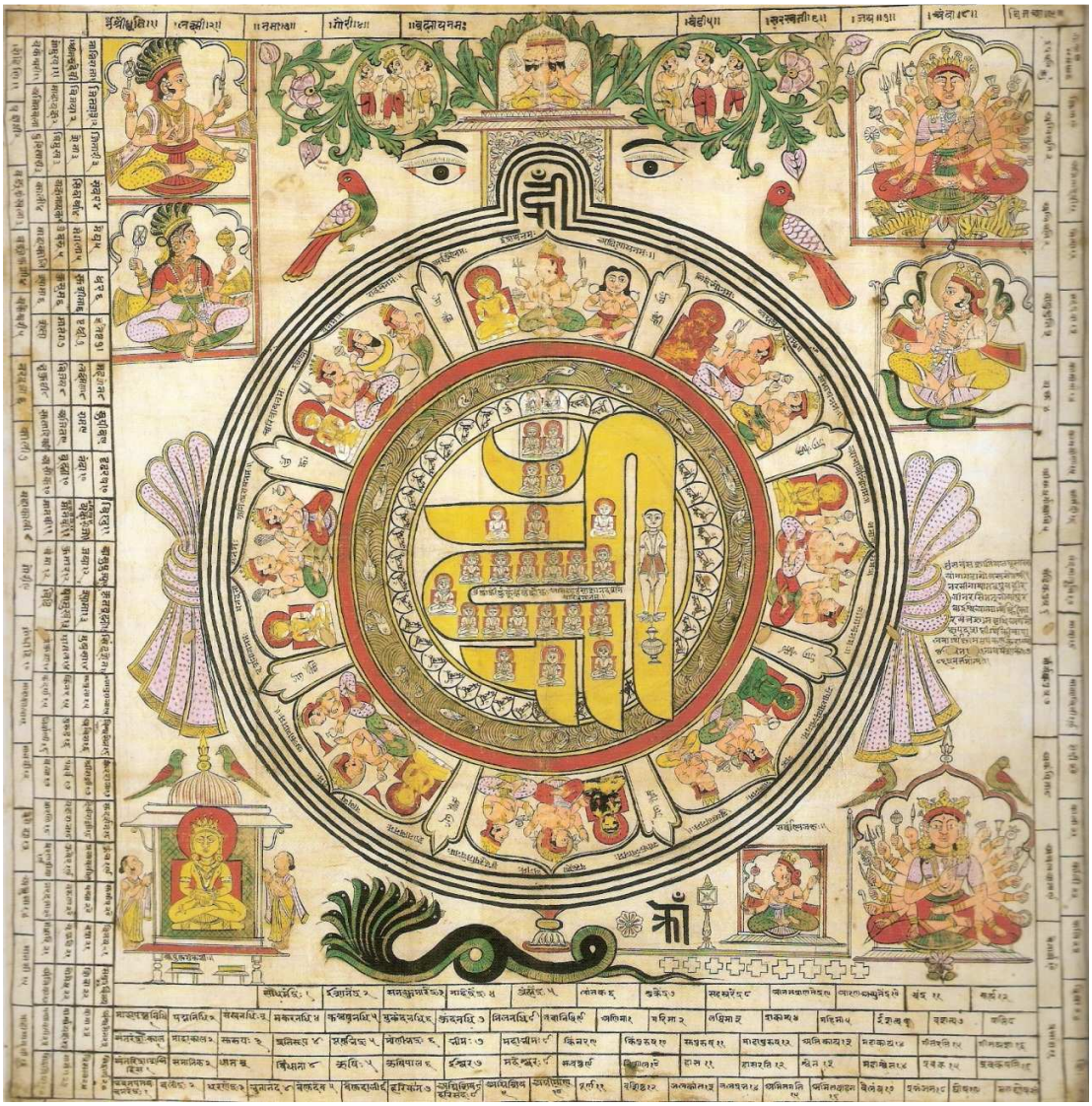


Figure 3: Watercolour and gold Śvetāmbara *Ṛṣimaṇḍala paṭa*, 18th century. Private collection.

The composition of the *hrīṃ* at the centre of the *paṭa* published by Sastri corresponds closely to other Śvetāmbara representations from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Fig. 2, *Namaskāra Svādhyāya* 1962: 16 and Calico Museum of Textiles SF. KE 12). In these early formations, the "*ī*" of the syllable not only extends to the right of the "*hra,*" but continues to the left, over the "*hra"* and below the crescent moon. The

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*ye 'vadhilabdhayo ye tu paramāvadhilabdhayaḥ |*
*te sarve munayo divyā māṃ saṃrakṣantu sarvataḥ ||* (Śvet. v. 44; Dig. v. 62).

"May those superhuman mendicants who have obtained clairvoyant knowledge and supreme clairvoyant knowledge protect me completely."

artists thus had room to present one of the two *tīrthaṅkara*s of the "*ī*" standing to the right of the "*hra,*" placing the other below the crescent moon. Three layers - a red crescent moon, a dark blue *bindu*, and a white half-moon - float above the "*hrī.*"

Representations of the *Ṛṣimaṇḍala* from about the eighteenth century onwards began to stretch the "*ī*" only to the right of the *"hra,*" understanding the line stretching above the *"hra*" as the red crescent-moon. Only two layers, then, the *bindu* and the half-moon, began to be situated over the red line (see Fig. 1, Fig. 5, Fig. 7). With some exceptions,[84] most Digambara and Śvetāmbara *Ṛṣimaṇḍala hrīṃ*s from the past three hundred years correspond to this layout. An eighteenth-century Śvetāmbara *Ṛṣimaṇḍala*, a watercolour from Western India (Fig. 3), illustrates both this confusion over the representation of the *anusvāra* and the understanding of "*ī*" as *śakti* by featuring a rare female Malli standing alone in the "*ī.*" As a noted above, Śvetāmbaras typically represent Malli as a male in uniformity with the other *tīrthaṅkara*s. According to Vijayaśīlacandrasūri (2003), up to this point, only four images of Malli as a female have been identified: a two-inch-tall stone statue published in the newspaper *Hindustān* (July 4 2002), a headless *tīrthaṅkara* statue with breasts now housed in the State Museum in Lucknow,[85] a small female *tīrthaṅkara mūrti* found in Madhya Pradesh (see Vijayaśīlacandrasūri 2003: 71), and another found in Rajasthan and published on the cover of *Anusaṃdhān* 23 (2003).

Examining this eighteenth-century *hrīṃ*, we can see how the depiction of the *anusvāra* relates to this *paṭa*'s representation of a *tīrthaṅkara* we can add to this list of female Mallis. It appears that at the top of this diagram, two *tīrthaṇkara*s - presumably the white Candraprabha and Puṣpadanta situated in the crescent moon - have been erased so that the diagram would be consistent with other *Ṛṣimaṇḍala*s of that period. Before these two *tīrthaṇkara*s were deleted, this eighteenth-century depiction corresponded to earlier representations of the *Ṛṣimaṇḍala* in which the "*ī*" stretched above the "*hra"* (see Fig. 2). The commissioners of this diagram seem to have initially opted for this "retro"

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84 Ācārya Yaśodevasūri renounced this formatting of the *hrīṃ,* publishing his version of the diagram with the *anusvāra* split into three different parts above the "*hrī*" (Yaśodevasūri 1985). This model seems to have become quite popular and is often found in Śvetāmbara temples.

85 A photograph of this image is reproduced in Shah 1987 Plate LVII, among other sources. Many scholars doubt the statue depicts Malli, as the image is naked, with a braid, and bears no inscription. "No Jaina sect…allows a nun to be naked or permits her to retain braided hair," Jaini 1991: 191 n. 38 explains.

look in order to place Malli alone in the portion of the "*ī*" that falls to the side of the "*hra*." Rather than having both Pārśva and Malli seated in this section of the "*ī,*" as was common at the time (see Fig. 1),[86] shifting Pārśva to the side and presenting Malli as the most prominent Jina of the diagram seems to be an intentional Śvetāmbara move to distinguish this diagram from its Digambara counterparts by emphasizing Malli's connection to the "*ī*."

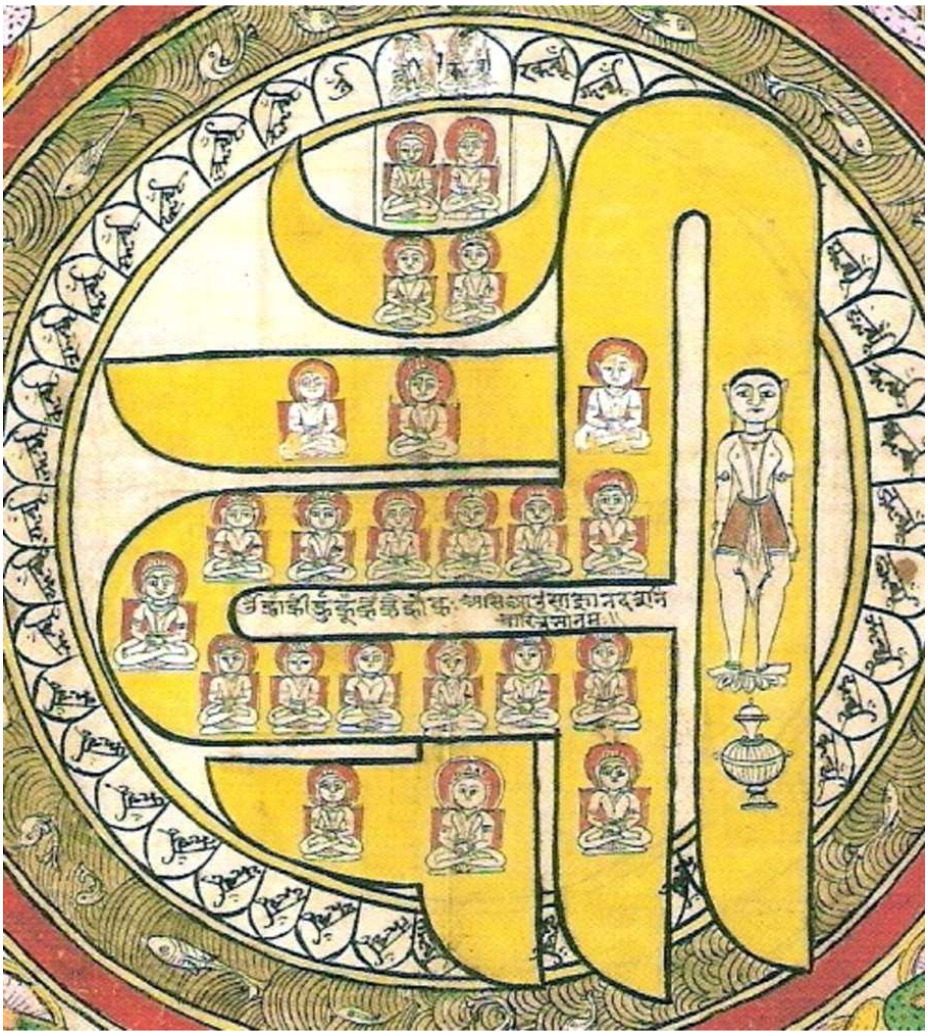


Figure 4: Detail of Figure 3.

86 For Śvetāmbara *Ṛṣimaṇḍala*s from the nineteenth century from Gujarat, Kashmir/Kangra, and Bikaner, see Talwar & Krishna 1979 plates 97B, 97A, & 96.

Looking closely, we can see that the artist/s or commissioner/s of this *Ṛṣimaṇḍala*, most likely knowledgeable of the Śvetāmbara-Digambara debates over who inhabits the *"ī*," took special care to emphasize that this standing Jina is, indeed, a female Malli. Malli is the only Jina of the twenty-four to have her symbol, a pot (*ghaṭa*), depicted below her, and she has a female figure, with breasts, a thin waist, and wide hips. Malli also wears a short skirt that is not typically shown on images of male Jinas. This eighteenth-century *Ṛṣimaṇḍala paṭa*, then, published in John Cort's (2009: 142) contribution to the catalogue *Victorious Ones: Jain Images of Perfection,* is one of the few known images of Malli with breasts, and the first known published painting of a female Malli. Further examinations of Jain tantric diagrams may yield other examples.



Figure 5: Jina *mūrti* with Śvetāmbara *Ṛṣimaṇḍala hrīṃ* printed below.
Ahiṃsā Paryāvaraṇ Sādhanā Mandir, Delhi, 2009.

With this image, we can presume that by the eighteenth century, the Digambara-Śvetāmbara rift over the placement of Malli and Supārśva in the *hrīṃ* and the *tīrthaṅkara*s' colours was firmly established. This image also suggests that at least some Śvetāmbaras used the *Ṛṣimaṇḍala* as an implicit, if not explicit, assertion of Malli's female gender. On the other hand, other representations, for example the only other eighteenth-century Śvetāmbara *hrīṃ* I have found onto which the Jinas have been mapped, a cloth representation from Gujarat (Jain & Fischer 1978 Plate VIIb), take no notice of the proper placement of the *tīrthaṅkara*s on the seed syllable. Assuming these sorts of figures were inspired by the *Ṛṣimaṇḍala*, and by not another text or tradition, it appears that while some commissioners of these diagrams took great care to represent the embedded ideology of the diagram (i.e. Malli is *śakti*), others did not.

This also seems to be the case for *Ṛṣimaṇḍala hrīṃ*s made today. In the past few decades, installing paintings, inlays, or statues of *Ṛṣimaṇḍala hrīṃ*s has become increasingly commonplace in temple building. The Sthānakavāsī Ācārya Suśīla Kumāra (1926-1994), for example, popularized the *Ṛsimaṇḍala hrīṃ*. Developing a system of yoga and meditation he termed "Arhum Yoga," he authored an English-language text on this philosophy, *Song of the Soul* (1987), that draws upon Jain *mantraśāstra* and often cites the Śvetāmbara *Ṛṣimaṇḍalastotra*. Jain *mantra*s, including the *Ṛṣimaṇḍala hrīṃ*, are found throughout the places of worship associated with this monk, including the site of his cremation and headquarters of his movement in Delhi, Ahiṃsā Paryāvaraṇ Sādhanā Mandir, inaugurated in 2007 (Fig. 5). Among Digambaras, it has become popular to install free-standing statues of the *Ṛṣimaṇḍala hrīṃ.* One of the most innovative living Digambara mendicants, Jñānamatī Mātā (b. 1934), who has authored a manual on the worship of the *Ṛṣimaṇḍala* (Jñānamatī 1981/2004), claims that she was the first to commission a *hrīṃ* statue of this type. This statue is enshrined in the Dhyān Mandir, completed in 1997, at the pilgrimage site Jambūdvīp in Hastinapur (Fig. 6).



Figure 6: Three-foot-tall Digambara *Ṛṣimaṇḍala hrīṃ* in the Dhyān Mandir.
Jambūdvīp temple complex, Hastinapur. Photo: Nitin H.P., www.jainheritagecentres.com.

The iconography of these twentieth and twenty-first-century representations of the *Ṛṣimaṇḍala hrīṃ*, like their predecessors, depends on the knowledge of the mendicant or ritual expert who has commissioned the image. On the one hand, access to knowledge of the layout of the *Ṛṣimaṇḍala* is easy to obtain, as the *Ṛṣimaṇḍalastotra* has been translated into Hindi and Gujarati, and vernacular worship manuals provide detailed explanations of how to properly construct the diagram. With these sources available, it is no surprise that the *hrīṃ*s commissioned by knowledgeable mendicants such as Ācārya Suśīla Kumāra and Jñānamatī Mātā follow the *Ṛṣimaṇḍalastotra* to perfection, with Śvetāmbaras placing Malli in the "*ī*", Digambaras situating him in the "*hra*", and both sects strictly following the colour scheme of the syllable as outlined in the stotra. On the other hand, other representations are completely unconcerned with the positioning of the *tīrthaṅkara*s. The Digambara *hrīṃ* statue established at Pisanhariki Mariya in Maharashtra documented by Julia Hegewald (2009: 124), for example, places six *tīrthaṅkara*s in the "*ī*" of the syllable.

Among Śvetāmbaras, the importance of Malli's connection with the "*ī*" seems to have been mostly forgotten. I have not found any discussions of this sectarian dispute in contemporary literature on the *Ṛṣimaṇḍala,* and none of the Śvetāmbara mendicants to whom I spoke noted the importance of this *tīrthaṅkara's* placement. During one visit to the Motī Ḍūṃgarī Śvetāmbara Dādā Bāḍī temple in Jaipur, a nun who recites the *Ṛṣimaṇḍalastotra* daily directed me to a *hrīṃ* displayed on the wall of the temple (Fig. 7). While the nun termed this painting a "*Ṛṣimaṇḍala hrīṃ,"* we can see that it does not directly correspond to the *stotra,* as the parts of the *hrīṃ* and the *tīrthaṅkara*s themselves match the colours described in the text, but the *tīrthaṅkara*s are strewn almost haphazardly across the syllable. Malli here is blue, but her placement at the bottom of the *"hra"* says nothing of her gender. The nun knew nothing of Malli's association with *"ī"* or *śakti* in this seed syllable.




Figure 7: Śvetāmbara *hrīṃ,* Motī Ḍūṃgarī Dādā Bāḍī temple, Jaipur 2010.

**Concluding Remarks**

At the outset of the article, I encouraged students of Jainism to examine which specific Śaiva-Śākta concepts medieval Jains adopted and how these adoptions have influenced contemporary Jain beliefs and practices. This article has attempted to implement this methodology by examining the historical development of the *Ṛṣimaṇḍala* and its relationship to the colours in which images of the *tīrthaṅkara*s are portrayed. I would argue that today, Śvetāmbaras worship images of blue Mallis and Digambaras apply sandalwood paste to metal *Ṛṣimaṇḍala*s because of medieval tantric developments shaped by competing Digambara-Śvetāmbara ideologies and Śākta influence. While most present-day Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras are not aware that the two sects disagree over the Jinas' colours and placements in the *Ṛṣimaṇḍala*, this history is still present in every Jain temple, home, or shop where a *Ṛṣimaṇḍala* or a coloured Supārśva or Malli is portrayed.

My introduction also encouraged scholars to fill a gap in existing scholarship on Tantra by examining how Jain concerns have shaped the adoption of particular tantric invocations and diagrams. This article can be a small contribution to that project. Rather than simply accepting that Jains adopted Śaiva or Śākta practices simply because these traditions dominated in the medieval period, this article has looked at the specific Jain motivations – in this case the Digambara-Śvetāmbara debate over the gender of the *tīrthaṅkara* Malli – behind the implementation of ideas more popular in Śākta literature, especially that of the Śrīvidyā tradition, than in Jain. While I have not been able to outline the precise history of Śvetāmbaras' understanding of "*ī*" as *śakti*, I have been able to contribute some Jain perspective to the dynamics of this adoption. By appropriating a common notion of Śākta texts, Śvetāmbaras, with every representation of this *hrīṃ,* could represent an implicit ontological claim: Malli was female; women can become liberated. With hope, future research will unearth more localized, sect-specific motivations behind this adoption (i.e. which Śāktas influenced which Śvetāmbaras).

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