

LOKESH CHANDRA

MORPHOLOGICAL TYPOLOGY IN BUDDHIST ICONOGRAPHY

*Pañca-buddhaṃ namasyāmi
saṃsāra-pāśa-chedakaṃ |
jñānājñāna-kṛtaṃ pāpaṃ
sarvaṃ nāśaya me vibho ||*

Indian art in its Buddhist idiom is a transcendent response to the immensity of human-cosmic unity. It is translated into a plurality of visual symbols. This symbolic art, born of ritual and liturgy as a compliment to transcendental meditation, came to reflect the constant evolution of philosophical ideas in mystical esoterism of mantrayāna, developing into vajrayāna, and later into abstruse and complex doctrines which may be generically termed *guhyayāna. This art became the frozen music of form in the vast expanses of Asia, from Siberia, Mongolia, Tibet, China, Korea, and Japan to Nepal, Ceylon, Thailand, Cambodia, Indonesia, etc.

This majestic plurality of iconic forms has defied identification. As recently as 1965, William Willetts laments in his Foundations of Chinese Art (London, 1965): "In spite of all the spadework that has been done on the subject of Chinese Buddhist Iconography — by Chavannes, Siren, Tokiwa and Sekino, Nagahiro, and Mizuno, to mention but a few — there is no sure path through the maze of iconographic alternatives we face when we begin our attempt to run one of these personages to earth."

For the last twenty years, flying and trekking to remote and unknown hamlets and renowned museums all over Asia, Europe and the Soviet Union I have collected over fifty thousand photographs of bronzes, stone sculptures, wood carvings, paintings, and sketches in the most diverse *genius loci*, along with their metaphoric structure of symbols (mudrās, bījas, metagraphs). Every day I have been appalled by the imprecise state of iconographic identities not only in Indian and Far Eastern (Chinese, Korean and Japanese) art but also in the art of the entire cultural space

of Siberia, Mongolia, Tibet, Nepal, Thailand, Indonesia and other areas which share a living rapport in a common rhythm of values incarnated.

The elaboration of minute details in all their richness of variety, spanning several centuries and covering an unprecedented geographic expanse, has yielded astonishing results. To cite an example, William Willetts (op.cit. p. 195) defines: "A Bodhisattva mounted on an elephant is Samantabhadra." While it is not fully wrong, it involves us in ambiguities as we find another Far Eastern statue on an elephant which, judging from the context, cannot be Samantabhadra. Here he is Indra on his elephant Airāvata, as one of the *Jū-ni-ten* 'Twelve Devas', distinguished by his elephant and vajra. Thus we find that collocation of the mount (*vāhana*) and symbols (*lakṣaṇa*) and even mudrā have to be considered together. Moreover the contextual setting is vitally important in identification. These and other factors, can be worked out only when extensive materials are brought together which do reveal the remarkable possibilities of precise identification in the multiple idioms of Buddhist art. I have tried to assemble them and they have resulted in an encyclopaedic Dictionary of Buddhist Art which will run into 24 volumes of 500 pages each, with over 20,000 illustrations.

Although studies in Buddhist iconography have been going on for over a century and a half, yet a long, long journey lies ahead of us before we are in a position to define in a determinative manner the morphology of Buddhist icons. We shall take as a type specimen the goddess Locanā. Locanā was described for the first time by Hodgson in the 19th century¹ from the wall of the Yamaguti monastery at Kathmandu (Nepal) where she is depicted in high relief as the consort of Akṣobhya, one of the Five Cosmic Buddhas. The description, reduced to a mere two lines, was repeated as late as 1928 by Alice Getty.² Here Locanā is the consort of Akṣobhya, which is her secondary role; she is primarily the consort of Vairocana. Her very name Locanā (Rocanā) stems from *rocana* in *Vai-rocana*.

In 1937 Walter Eugene Clark published his *Two Lamaistic Pantheons*, where he illustrated and identified the 766 images or inscribed pedestals preserved in the Pao-hsiang Lou temple situated in the garden of the Tz'ü-ning palace in the Forbidden City at Peking. This pantheon, executed in about A.D. 1771 during the reign of emperor Ch'ien-lung, was of inestimable value for the history of Buddhist art, which has yet to be recognised in a detailed study of its richness. The goddess Locanā is depicted

thrice in the divisions of caryā tantras, anuttara yoginī tantras and anuttara yoga tantras:

- 2A61 anuttara yoga tantras, whose central deity is Guhyasamāja Akṣobhya.
- 3B57 anuttara yoginī tantras, whose central deity is Cakrasaṃvara.
- 5M9 caryā tantras, whose central deity is Abhisambodhi-Vairocana.

In each of these divisions she has a different form. It may be pointed out here, that the four divisions of tantras, namely, kriyā~, caryā~, yoga~, and anuttara yoga (male or yogi, female or yoginī) tantras were responsible for variations in the deity, when it occupied a place in them.

In 1958, Benoytosh Bhattacharyya³ clearly pointed out for the first time that Locanā is the female consort (*prajñā*) of Vairocana, like whom she is white in colour. For this he cited her description from the Advaya-vajrasaṅgraha (p. 42). He reproduced a Nepalese drawing of Locanā (p. 63 fig. 31), and pointed out that "paintings and sculptures of this goddess are rare". He even overlooked the three icons in the Pao-hsiang Lou pantheon, which he had used extensively throughout his work. This oversight was due to the goddess being named Buddhalocanā. In our Dictionary we have reproduced about 28 separate types and metaphoric representations of Locanā, not to speak of their repetitions in different sources. This will show the abundance of materials that await investigation and correlation in a broad-spectrum study.

The most recent work on Buddhist art is Marie-Thérèse de Mallmann's Introduction à l'iconographie du tantrisme bouddhique (Paris, 1975). It concentrates on Indian sources, supplemented by the Tibetan tradition, particularly as depicted in the 12th part of the New Tibeto-Mongol Pantheon (NTMP)⁴, by Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra, which illustrates the maṇḍalas of the Vajrāvalī as elaborated in the Niṣpannayogāvalī. She describes four forms from the Advaya-vajrasaṅgraha (AVS), Niṣpannayogāvalī (Niṣp.), and Piṇḍī-krama-sādhana (PKS):

- I. One face, 2 hands (AVS, Niṣp. 24, NTMP pl. 24)
- II. One face, 8 hands (Niṣp. 3, NTMP 12 pl. 3)
- III. Three faces, 6 hands (PKS, Clark 2A61)
- IV. Three faces, 8 hands (Niṣp. 20, NTMP 12 pl. 20)

After a survey of our present knowledge of Locanā in her various hypostases, we now proceed to classify the immense mass of un-utilized mate-

rials and to work out the typology of the goddess in order to attain a comprehensive understanding of her morphology.

N a m e s. Locanā, Rocanā, Locanī, Buddha-locanā, °locanī. The original form Rocanā is attested in the Ekalla-vīra-caṇḍa-maharoṣaṇa-tantra (ms. no. G. 9089 in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, folio 40b)⁵. It is the feminine form of *rocana* in *Vairocana*, whose consort she is. In Japan, she is popularly known as Butsugemmo, Butsugenson, transcribed as Botsudaroshanō, Roshanei, Roshani, in Tibetan: Sañs-rgyas-kyi-span (Mvy. 4278), Spyan-ma (Locanā), and in Chinese: Fo-yen fo-mu.

H y p o s t a s e s. In Japan Butsugemmo (Buddhalocanā) has three main hypostases (*shohen*): (i) of Vairocana, (ii) of Vajrasattva, and (iii) of Śākyamuni. This means that she occurs in three places: (i) in the quarter of Universal Wisdom as the consort of Mahāvairocana, (ii) as the central deity of her special maṇḍala, where she herself is the Absolute Being or Vajrasattva, though her iconic form is identical with the aforesaid form, (iii) as the apotheosis of the eyes of Buddha Śākyamuni, along with the apotheoses of Śākyamuni's tongue (Tathāgata-jihvā), mouth (T.-vaktra), smile (T.-hāsa), ūrṇā (T.-ūrṇā) in the quarter of Śākyamuni.

Vairocana	quarter of Universal Knowledge (<i>henchi-in</i>)	complementary role as the Consort of Vairocana	Kokū-gen 'Eye of Void'
Vajrasattva	central deity of her maṇḍala	independent role as the Supreme Being	—
Śākyamuni	quarter of Śākyamuni	subsidiary role as the apotheosis of the eyes of Śākyamuni	Henchi-gen 'Eye of Omniscience'

(i) Here she is the hypostasis of Mahā-Vairocana, in fact, his consort. As such she sits in the quarter of Universal Knowledge. She is called Kokū-gen 'Eye of the Void' because she regards the world as a void or ākāśa. She is Kokū-gen 'space-eye', for Suchness, forming the essence of Buddhahood, is like the vacuity of space. She takes the form of a bodhisattva in the Mahākaruṇā-garbha maṇḍala, but it seems to be more proper to consider her a Buddha. (EB.7, 29, with modifications).

(ii) The Yugikyō (T.867) says: "The body of Butsumo is on a great, white lotus, has the whiteness of the moonlight, her eyes are smiling, her hands are on the navel, forming the mudrā of meditation." This L. referred

to in the Yugikyō is the manifestation (*shohen*) of Vajrasattva. Her esoteric name is Shushu-kongō 'Diamond of Special Excellence'. (EB.7, 28).

In the Yugikyō (T.867, 260a, translated by Vajrabodhi during A.D. 723-730) her maṇḍala is described: She is in the central circle surrounded by seven grahas (sun, moon, five planets) and in front of her is Ekākṣara-buddhoṣṇīṣa in the first concentric circle. In the second circle is Vajrasattva and Eight Great Bodhisattvas, and in the third circle are the Eight Vidyādhara. In the outer rectangle are Eight Pūjādevīs (*kuyō*) with four emissaries (*shishō*) in the interior rectangle.

(iii) She is termed Nōjakumo 'Mother of Śākyamuni' in the Dainichikyōsho by Ichigyō (A.D. 683-727, T.1796, 633c) and Henchigen 'Eye of Omniscience' in the Dainichikyō translated by Śubhakarasiṃha and Ichigyō (T. 848, 7c). Nōjakumo signifies 'the mother of benevolence and tranquility', which is also the literary meaning of Śākyamuni (EB.7, 28-29). She represents the principle of the virtues inherent in the five eyes of Buddha: the eyes are the gate of wisdom, leading one to inner enlightenment. That she is called Butsumo 'the Buddha-mother' does not mean that she is the procreator of Buddhas, but that the principle of wisdom she represents is the generating power that makes up Buddhahood. According to the Dainichikyō (Mahāvairocana-sūtra), Butsumo is of true golden colour, brilliantly shining, and wrapped in a white robe; illuminating all things like the sun, she sits in the state of perfect meditation. A commentary explains that this true golden-coloured body of Butsumo is the substance of Suchness itself; the white robe shows the purity of all its outer manifestations; it shines because it puts an end to the darkness of every form of falsehood (EB.7, 28-29).

In the Japanese paintings of the maṇḍala, she is denominated Sarva-tathāgata-maṇi. So we will not deal with her in this paper and her iconography will be treated under the entry of Sarva-tathāgata-maṇi, in consonance with the well-established nomenclature of the Genju mandara or 'actual painted maṇḍalas'.

The above excursion makes it clear that two distinct goddesses converged in later times owing to phonetic confusion in nomenclature. One was consort of Vairocana, whose original name was Rocanā 'the Effulgent Goddess'. She was represented along with Vairocana. The second one was the apotheosis of the Eyes of Buddha Śākyamuni, and she was termed (Buddha)locanā

(ī), where *locana* means 'eye'; *r* slurred into *l* in pronunciation and this lead to the merger of Rocanā into Locanā. This must have taken place at an early date, as the Chinese versions of the 7th century translated Locanā by the ideogram for 'eye'. This loss of differentiation is also evident in Tibetan *Spyan-ma*, where *spyan* is 'eye'. This was further reflected in the philosophical interpretation of Japanese Butsugenson 'Goddess of Buddha's Eye'. Eye indicates the Buddha's middle path. The wisdom of Prajñā-pāramitā is personified and named Buddha-mother or Buddha's Eye because from her all Buddhas and bodhisattvas are born.

R i t u a l. In Japan, she is worshipped to secure long life and prosperity (JEBD p. 26a). She is also prayed to for efficient help to avoid disasters or to conquer enemies (EB.7, 29). Her ritual is śāntika (*soku-sai*) and ābhicāruka (*gōbuku*) homa. The Butsugen-giki (T.981) by Ichigyō (A.D. 683-727) is specifically devoted to her rites alone. The Yugikyō by Vajrabodhi (entered Nālandā in 680 and died in 741 or 731) has a special chapter devoted to her rites.

K e y t o i c o n o g r a p h i c t y p e s a n d m e t a p h o r i c s y m b o l s. Now we will classify the materials from Indian, Indonesian, Nepalese, Tibetan, Mongolian, Chinese, Japanese and other sources. From a comparative analysis of them we present here the morphological types of Locanā, indicating their contextual setting within a maṇḍala, date of the text or icon whence derived, exact reference. Sanskrit name, Tibetan or Japanese equivalent, iconic description, and illustration.

TWO-ARMED LOCANĀ

1. both hands in dhyāna mudrā
2. r.h. cakra, l.h. tarjanī
3. r.h. chopper, l.h. tarjanī
4. r.h. broken, l.h. cakra on lotus
5. r.h. cakra, l.h. white lotus
6. r.h. first, l.h. vajra
7. r.h. vajra, l.h. viśvavajra
8. both hands fold upright vajra
9. r.h. vajra in hand in varada, l.h. vajra in hand in vitarka
10. r.h. varada, l.h. abhaya
11. r.h. varada, l.h. cintāmaṇi or lotus

12. both hands in dharmacakra mudrā

FOUR-ARMED LOCANĀ

13. cakra, sword, maṇi, lotus

SIX-ARMED LOCANĀ

14. r.h. cakra, vajra, white lotus, l.h. bell, jewel, sword

EIGHT-ARMED LOCANĀ

15. r.h. cakra, vajra, sword, arrow, l.h. kapāla, bell, lasso, bow
 16. r.h. varada, abhaya, vajra, arrow, l.h. lasso in tarjanī, jewel-casket (*ratna-mañjarī*), rosary, bow
 17. two hands in dharmacakra mudrā, r.h. sword, arrow, vajra, l.h. Prajñāpāramitā-book, bow, vajra-bell
 18. SYMBOLS (Samaya, Jap. sammaya-gyo)
 19. Bījākṣara (symbolic syllables): GA, GAṂ, BHRŪM, ŚRĪ
 20. Mantra
 21. Mudras, Japanese
 22. Mudras, Tibetan
 23. Mudras, Balinese
 24-28 Maṇḍalas (rūpa-m., bīja-m., samaya-m.)

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TWO-ARMED LOCANĀ

1 The oldest form of Locanā, in her original hypostasis as the consort of Vairocana, is found in the Mahākaraṇḍa-garbha maṇḍala (A.D. 806, Esot. 18) as Butsugen Butsumo (Buddha-locanā Buddha-mātā). She is the fourth from the south and to the left of the triangle in the quarter of universal knowledge (henchi-in). Here she is seated with both hands in dhyāna mudrā, like her Lord Vairocana, who is also seated with both hands in the dhyāna mudrā. For details see earlier.

2 Locanā (Tib. Sphyan-ma) in the northern Viśvaḍāka maṇḍala of Pañcaḍāka 24.42, Niṣp. text p. 77 *Locanā sitā cakradharā*: white, holds a cakra in the r.h. and l.h. tarjanī, in the retinue of Viśvaḍāka. She is the first of the four prajñā: Locanā, Māmakī, Pāṇḍarā, Tārā, the consorts of the four Buddhas of the quarters.

3 As the consort (prajñā) of Buddhaḍāka in the maṇḍala of Pañcaḍāka (Niṣp. 24): r.h. chopper, l.h. tarjanī (IIT p. 232).

4 Locanā from Chaṇḍi Jago, Java (Indonesia), 13th century, seated, r.h.

broken, l.h. holds cakra on a lotus. Her name is inscribed on the image in Nāgarī script: *bharālī Locanā* (J. L. A. Brandes, Tjandi Djago, pl. 7). The Advaya-vajra-saṅgraha, p. 42, describes her as: *āgneyakoṇa-dale candramaṅḍalopari śukla-Loṃ-kārajā śukla-varṇā Locanā cakra-ciḥnā pṛthivī-dhātu-svarūpā Tathāgata-kulodbhavā moha-raktā* "On the disc of the moon in the south-eastern corner there is Locanā originating from the white syllable Loṃ. She is white in colour, bears the recognition symbol of the discus, and is the embodiment of the cosmic element of Earth. She belongs to the Tathāgata family and is stooped in delusion." (IBI p. 55 with adaptations).

As long as Vajrayāna was prevalent in Indonesia, from the eighth to the fourteenth century, from the maṅḍala of Borobudur to the kakavin (kāvyā poem) of Sutasoma by Mpu Tantular (14th cent.),⁶ Locanā was the consort of Vairocana (Sutasoma 83.7b), who was the supreme among the Five Sugatas (*śrī Vairocana makādi Pañcasugata*, id. 53.2d).

5 Buddhalocanā (Tib. Sañs-rgyas-spyan-ma) as one of the Five Vajrāsana Iṣṭa-devas; r.h. cakra, l.h. white lotus (Tib. padma dkar-po). Rin-ḥbyuñ 70a = R.L. 1.900 line 4).

6 r.h. fist, l.h. vajra. Kakuzen-shō 'collection by Kakuzen' written and drawn by him about 1183-1213, 102.3. Compare B. in the Pañcaḍāka maṅḍala where her l.h. is clenched in a fist (Niṣp. text p. 77).

7 The modern Nepalese drawing reproduced in IBI fig. 31 on p. 63 is not clear: r.h. vajra on lotus, l.h. viśvavajra on lotus.

8 Buddhalocanā (Chin. Fo-yen fo-mu) occurs in the division of caryā tantras in the Pao-hsiang Lou Pantheon (ca. A.D. 1771) 5M9. Both hands hold an upright vajra.

9 Locanā in high relief on the walls of the Yamaguti monastery at Kathmandu (Nepal), as the consort of Akṣobhya among the prajñās of the Five Buddhas. She is blue as the consort of Akṣobhya who is of blue colour (GNB p. 36). "Her hands, in varada and vitarka mudrā, hold the stalks of lotus-flowers, each of which supports a vajra standing on end." (GNB p. 139, following illustration in Hodgson, Sketch of Buddhism, JRAS vol. ii, 1830, pl. III). Compare no. 7, which may be a careless copy of this Locanā.

10 Locanā: r.h. varada, l.h. abhaya. Dharma-koṣa-saṅgraha p. 115: *dvau bhujau yasyā varadābhaya-mudre*.

11 Seated, r.h. varada, l.h. cintāmaṇi supported by a lotus. Besson-zakki 'description of divinities' by Shinkaku (A.D. 1117-1180) 87.13. The same form is delineated in clear and beautiful lines in the Daigo-bon-zuzō 'figures in a copy kept in Daigoji', Kyoto, 92.2.

The attributes of the hands have been interchanged in the Kakuzen-shō 'collection by Kakuzen' written and drawn by him about A.D. 1183-1213, 102.2: r.h. cintāmaṇi on a lotus, l.h. varada.

12 (Chin. Fo-yen fo-mu), occurs in the division of anuttara yoginī tantras in the Pao-hsiang Lou Pantheon (ca. A.D. 1771) 3B57. Dances in ardha-paryāṅka posture, both hands in dharma-cakra mudrā.

FOUR-ARMED LOCANĀ

13 Locanā (Tib. Sphyan-ma) occurs in the āgneya (S.E.) corner of the inner circle in the maṇḍala of [25-deity Guhyasamāja] Mañjuvajra 1.6, Niṣp. text p. 3 *agneyyāṃ Locanā Vairocana-samā* where she is said to be identical with Vairocana, whose attributes are cakra, sword, maṇi and lotus. The same four-armed B. is depicted in the Daigo-bon-zuzō 'figures in a copy kept in Daigoji', Kyoto, 92.3.

SIX-ARMED LOCANĀ

14 Piṇḍīkrama-sādhana 131b-135a. White, three faces: white (central), red (right), black (left). Six arms: r.h. cakra, vajra, white utpala lotus, l.h. bell, jewel, sword, In Niṣp. text p. 5 (maṇḍala of Piṇḍīkram-okta Akṣobhya 2.6): *Locanā Vairocana-samā | kintu puṇḍarīka-sthāne sitot-palaṃ* (IIT p. 233 III). Illustrated in the division of anuttara yoga tantras in the Pao-hsiang Lou Pantheon (ca. A.D. 1771) 2A61, with the Chin. name Fo-yen fo-mu 'Buddhalocanā' on the pedestal.

EIGHT-ARMED LOCANĀ

15 In the īśāna corner around the central deity of the maṇḍala of 37-deity Sampuṭa-tantra Vajra-sattva 3.6. is the Locanā with one face and 8 arms. Niṣp. text p. 9 *īśāne Locanā śuklā 'ṣṭabhujā savyaiś cakra-vajra-khaḍga-bāṇān, vāmaiḥ kapāla-ghaṅṭā-pāśa-dhanūṃṣi*: white in complexion, r.h. cakra, vajra, sword, arrow, l.h. kapāla, bell, lasso, bow (IIT p. 232 II).

16 Locanā (Tib. Sphyan-ma) in the first circle surrounding the central deity of the 43-deity maṇḍala of Mañjuvajra 20.6, Niṣp. text p. 48 *aiśā-nyāṃ Locanā pītā sattva-paryāṅkinī aṣṭa-bhujā dakṣiṇair varadābhaya-vajra-śarān vāmaiś tarjanī-pāśa-ratnamañjary-akṣasūtra-dhanūṃṣī dadhānā*: in the

īśāna corner, yellow in complexion, seated in sattva-paryāṅka posture, 8 arms: r.h. varada, abhaya, vajra, arrow, l.h. lasso in tarjanī, jewel-casket (*ratna-mañjarī*), rosary, bow.

17 Locanā (Tib. Spyan-ma) in the īśāna corner of the maṇḍala of Dharmadhātu-vāgīśvara Mañjughoṣa 21.14, Niṣp. text p. 55 where she is like Mañjughoṣa who is eight-armed: two hands in dharmacakra mudrā, r.h. sword, arrow, vajra, l.h. Prajñāpāramitā-book, bow, vajra-bell.

18 SYMBOLS. Her sammayagyō is (1) a bucchō 'Buddha-head' with an eye on either side of it; (2) a lotus flower upon which is placed Butsumo's mudrā with eyes upon it; (3) a single vajra with eyes; (4) a jewel with eyes (this one represents Nojakumo Butsugen). EB.7, 29. Illustrations in the Chōjō mandara scroll at the Toji monastery, Zuzō-shō 'selection of figures' (Entsuji monastery scrolls) 86.13, in Byaku-hokku-shō 'the White Jewel Oral Tradition' compiled by Ryōson, scrolls 1-167 kept at Kongō-sammai-in monastery, Koyasan, 194. § 17 (6.420-421).

19 Her bījākṣara or nuclear syllable is GA, or GĀM, the first letter of the Sanskrit *gagana*, meaning sky or space (EB.7, 29). In GĀM the *m̄* represents the praṇava. Other symbolic syllables of Buddhalocanā in the Shittan-shūji-ruijū are BHRŪM and ŚRĪ.

20 There are several mantras of B., the shortest of which is *Om Buddha-Locanī svāhā*. As for Nojakumo the mantra is *Om tathāgatacakṣu vyavalokaya svāhā* (EB.7, 29). The mantra is reproduced in the Shittan-shūji-ruijū.

21 Her mudrā is a complicated one and differs in detail in the different schools, but it is formed in its outline by folding the hands, somewhat hollowed inside, with index fingers bent over the upper parts of the middle fingers, while the thumbs press the middle parts of the middle fingers. The little spaces thus formed between the various fingers are meant to represent the five eyes of Butsu-gen: the wisdom-eye, the Dharma-eye, the Buddha-eye, the heavenly eye and the physical eye. Her mudrā is the Hōkaijō-in, the same as that of Mahāvairocana. (EB.7, 29). Mudrā of B. is illustrated in In-zu 'illustrations of mudrās' 244.84, 37; mudrā and mantra of B. in Bus-setsu nenju-giki 240.42; and various mudrās in the Shingon-mikkyō-zu-in-shū 3.85, 4.14-15.

22 Tibetan mudrās of B. in Münter no. 79 (ms. at the Royal Library, Copenhagen, purchased in Peking) 37b, 58b, 81b; reproduced by Erik Haahr, Contributions to the study of maṇḍala and mudrā, AO 23 (1959): 81.

23 Balinese mudrā of B.: C. Hooykaas, *Balinese baudda brahmans* (Amsterdam 1973), p. 103, m2.

24 In the Vajrayāna tradition as represented by the Niṣp. and Lamaist depictions, Locanā does not have independent maṇḍalas where she herself is the central figure. It is only in Japan that maṇḍalas are devoted specifically to Locanā. There she sits alone in the centre of the maṇḍala in the dhyāna mudrā. The deities in these maṇḍalas can be shown in three ways: (i) in iconic forms: rūpa-maṇḍala, (ii) as symbolic syllables: bīja-maṇḍala, (iii) as symbols: samaya-maṇḍala.

The maṇḍalas are classified here on the basis of their structural analysis in terms of the number of deities in the concentric circles surrounding the central deity, those in the four corners, or in the outer rectangle(s). The numerical analysis is as follows, irrespective of the manner of depiction:

24	1 + 24	bīja
25	1 + 24 + 4	rūpa
26	1 + 24 + 4 + 8	rūpa, bīja, samaya
27	1 + 24 + 4 + 16	rūpa, bīja
28	1 + 24 + 12	bīja

B. maṇḍala, 1 + 24 (B. surrounded by 24 deities), bījākṣaras, Shika-shō-zuzō 'figures copied by four masters' 89.10.

The same bīja-maṇḍala is found in the Shoson-zuzō p. 146, where the names of the 24 surrounding deities are legible. This text specifies that the configuration is according to the Yugikyō by Vajrabodhi.

25 B. maṇḍala, 1 + 24 + 4 (B. surrounded by 24 deities in iconic form, and 4 corners guarded by four goddesses represented as symbols), in the Rishukyo-juhutte-mandara 'maṇḍalas of the 18 sections of the Naya-sūtra' kept at the Daigoji monastery, Kyoto, 122.20.

26 B. maṇḍala, 1 + 24 + 4 + 8 (B. surrounded by 24 deities in a concentric lotigram, 4 deities in the corners, and 8 deities in the outer rectangle), in the Mandara-shū 'collection of maṇḍalas' compiled by Kōnen, copied in A.D. 1187, 98.1. The names of the deities in the maṇḍala are also specified. The names of deities are also given in the Asaba-shō, compiled by Shōchō (A.D. 1205-1282), 264, § 62 (9.72).

The bīja-maṇḍala of B. (1 + 24 + 4 + 8). Kakuzen-shō 'collection by Kakuzen', written and drawn by him about A.D. 1183-1213, 102.4. This bīja-

maṇḍala is found with minor variations in the Shika-shō-zuzō 'figures copied by four masters' 89.11. So also in the Shoson-zuzō p. 147.

B. samaya-maṇḍala, 1 + 24 + 4 + 8, where all the deities are represented as symbols (samaya). Besson-zakki 'description of deities' by Shinkaku (A.D. 1117-1180), 87.12.

27 B. maṇḍala, 1 + 24 + 4 + 16 (B. surrounded by 24 deities in loti-graphic cakra, 4 deities in the corners and 16 deities in the outer rectangle). The names of deities are specified in the Asaba-shō, compiled by Shōchō (A.D. 1205-1282), 264, § 62 (9.72).

B. maṇḍala (1 + 24 + 4 + 16). Mandara-shū 'collection of maṇḍalas' compiled by Kōnen, copied in A.D. 1187, 98 fig. 2, rūpa-maṇḍala with its names in Chinese.

The bīja-maṇḍala of B. (1 + 24 + 4 + 16) in the Shika-shō-zuzō 'figures copied by four masters' 89.13. The same is repeated in full clarity in the Shoson-zuzō p. 149.

B. bīja-maṇḍala (Jap. Butsugen shūji mandara) on a sheet in the possession of the Toji monastery, 109, has a different bīja for B. besides other minor variations.

28 The bīja-maṇḍala of B. 1 + 24 + 12 (B. surrounded by 24 deities in three concentric circles, and 12 deities in the outer concentric circle), in the Shika-shō-zuzō 'figures copied by four masters' 89.12. The same is repeated in full clarity in the Shoson-zuzō p. 148.

This is a glimpse into the vast world of ever-developing Buddhist art, which expressed the continuing evolution of thought, its constant renewal of experience in the realisation in the concomitance of ritual.

N o t e s

*This paper is a token of the author's sincere appreciation of the immense learning and profound insight of Prof. Pentti Aalto into the kaleidoscopic culture of our land: a tribute from India to the great scholar of Suomi.

¹Sketch of Buddhism, JRAS, vol. ii (1830, p. 222-257), pl. III.

²Gods of Northern Buddhism, p. 139.

³Indian Buddhist Iconography, Calcutta 1958, p. 54. Bhattacharyya has wrongly interpreted *tathāgata-kulodbhavā* as "Locanā belongs to the Tathāgata family to which the Dhyāni Buddha Vairocana also belongs". He means by this that Tathāgata and Vairocana are separate. In fact, in the Sanskrit text the word *tathāgata* refers to Vairocana. The Five Cosmic Bud-

dhas are referred to as *Pañca-Tathāgata*, *Pañca-Jīna*, *Pañca-Buddha*, or *Pañca-Sugata*. Bhattacharyya again erred in saying that "L. is represented in Tibet. (Getty, GNB, p. 139)". This representation in Getty referred to by him is from the Nepalese monastery of Yamaguti.

⁴ A b b r e v i a t i o n s :

- AVS -- Advaya-vajra-saṅgraha.
 B. -- Buddhalocanā
 Dharmakoṣa-saṅgraha, ed. by Lokesh Chandra.
 EB.7 -- Eastern Buddhist, vol. VII (Kyoto 1936), Beatrice Lane Suzuki, The Shingon School of Mahāyāna Buddhism, part II. The Mandara: The Taizo Kai, pages 1-38, 177-213.
 Esot. -- Esoteric Iconography of Japanese Maṇḍalas, by Lokesh Chandra, New Delhi 1971.
 GNB -- The Gods of Northern Buddhism, by Alice Getty, Tokyo 1962, reprint of 1928 edition.
 IBI -- Indian Buddhist Iconography, by Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, Calcutta 1958.
 IIT -- Introduction à l'icongraphie du tantrisme bouddhique, by Marie-Thérèse de Mallmann, Paris 1975.
 JEBD -- Japanese-English Buddhist Dictionary, Tokyo 1965.
 L. -- Locanā
 l.h. -- left hand
 Niṣp. -- Niṣpannayogāvalī, ed. by Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, Baroda 1949.
 NTMP -- New Tibeto-Mongol Pantheon, part 12, by Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra, New Delhi 1967.
 PKS -- Pindī-krama-sādhana.
 r.h. -- right hand
 Rin-ḥbyuṅ -- New Tibeto-Mongol Pantheon, parts 8-9, by Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra, New Delhi 1963-64.
 R.L. -- Rin-lhan: ed. by Lokesh Chandra, Sāadhanamālā of the Pan-chen Lama, parts 1-2, New Delhi 1967.
 Shoson-zuzō, ed. by John C. Huntington, in: Studies in Indo-Asian Art and Culture, vol. 4, New Delhi 1975.
 T. -- Taisho edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka.

⁵ D. C. Bhattacharyya, *Tantric Buddhist Iconographic Studies*, Delhi 1974, p. 32.

⁶ Soewito Santoso, *Sutasoma*, New Delhi (International Academy of Indian Culture) 1975, p. 126.



種子作又作現圖
二形佛頂取等
形用色定印生
赤蓮

19 佛眼佛母 佛眼佛母

𑖀𑖦𑖫𑖳

2



20

佛眼 𑖀𑖦𑖫𑖳

4



5



𑖀𑖦𑖫𑖳

𑖀𑖦𑖫𑖳 𑖀𑖦𑖫𑖳
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21



佛眼

第二十五恒他伽那薩吉那伴眼之印
摩志眼之曰 覺伽 那薩吉尼 薩
摩 一 掌 薩 薩 三 味 移 薩 薩
薩 薩 一 四 三 指 屈 屈 指 二 大 指
並 坐

佛眼之真言
𑖀𑖦𑖫𑖳 𑖀𑖦𑖫𑖳
𑖀𑖦𑖫𑖳 𑖀𑖦𑖫𑖳
𑖀𑖦𑖫𑖳 𑖀𑖦𑖫𑖳
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𑖀𑖦𑖫𑖳 𑖀𑖦𑖫𑖳
𑖀𑖦𑖫𑖳 𑖀𑖦𑖫𑖳



6



11



佛眼尊像
佛眼三
佛眼明如天女坐
寶蓮花樣
身如金日觀衆會
著輕教衣角絡而披
右手持如意寶大
華苑頌曰光周遍
威盛光明妙儀容
新文

12



14



8



13



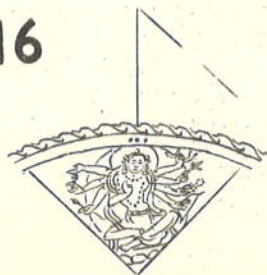
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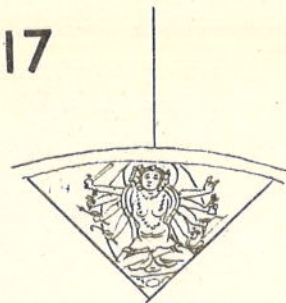
13



16



17

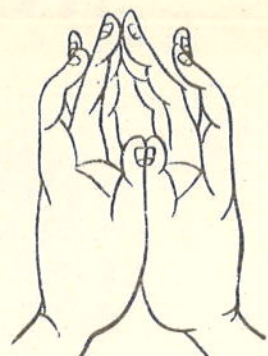


能寂母
仏眼印
五



又印

金剛合掌已並屈二頭指甲合
並豎大各押頭指側
金剛合掌屈二頭指合甲並
豎二大指押二頭指側



仏眼

根本大印

22

虛心合掌屈二頭指附二中指上節並立
二大指二中指押中節文二小指微開

遍一切見者皆悉歡喜
二手虛心合掌二頭指屈附二
中指上節如眼笑形二空各捻
忍願中節文亦如眼笑形二小
指復微開亦如眼笑形若以印
拭目及眉兼豎拭眉間想成五
眼又以印兼誦明右旋拭面三



ཨོཅུང་ལྷ་ཅེ་ཅི་ལྷོ་།

ཨོཅུང་ལྷ་ཅེ་ཅི་།

ཨོཅུང་ལྷ་ཅེ་ཅི་།



肉色位定下坐蓮花

18

種子 三形



口云：種子如前，三形圓光中有五眼。神樂岳長慶公護摩鈔云：五眼在圓光螢內云。

種子 三形



東寺金界降三世三昧耶會不空眼，三形獨股，十文字チカヘテ，左右二目，證據也。種子 三形獨股

佛眼 ④可加用之印明事。金剛吉祥破符成就。梵號 一切明八大菩薩八大明王總印呪也。密號 殊勝金剛。種子 六字變成金剛眼形。謂一古左右有眉并目。



如是出之，寶心云：火焰中有一股，左右有眼坐蓮云。



m2



安養房

或說樣



賢覺 亮慧等



妙鈔出之



胎佛眼院



金寶抄普通說



金寶云：師主祕說，後入唐傳。

佛眼曼荼羅可(不可)示

普通曼多羅者
八供四攝八方天
圖之



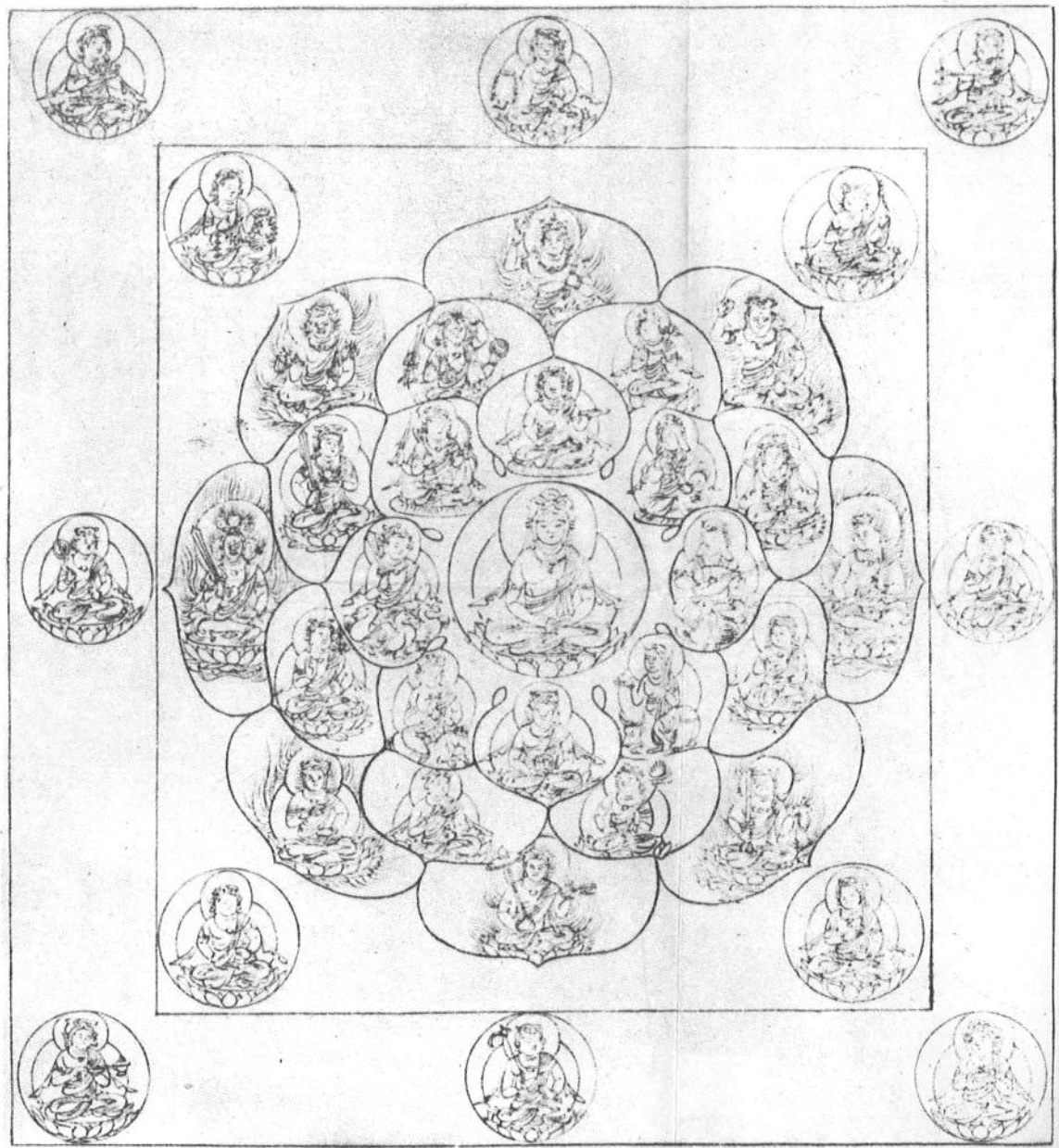
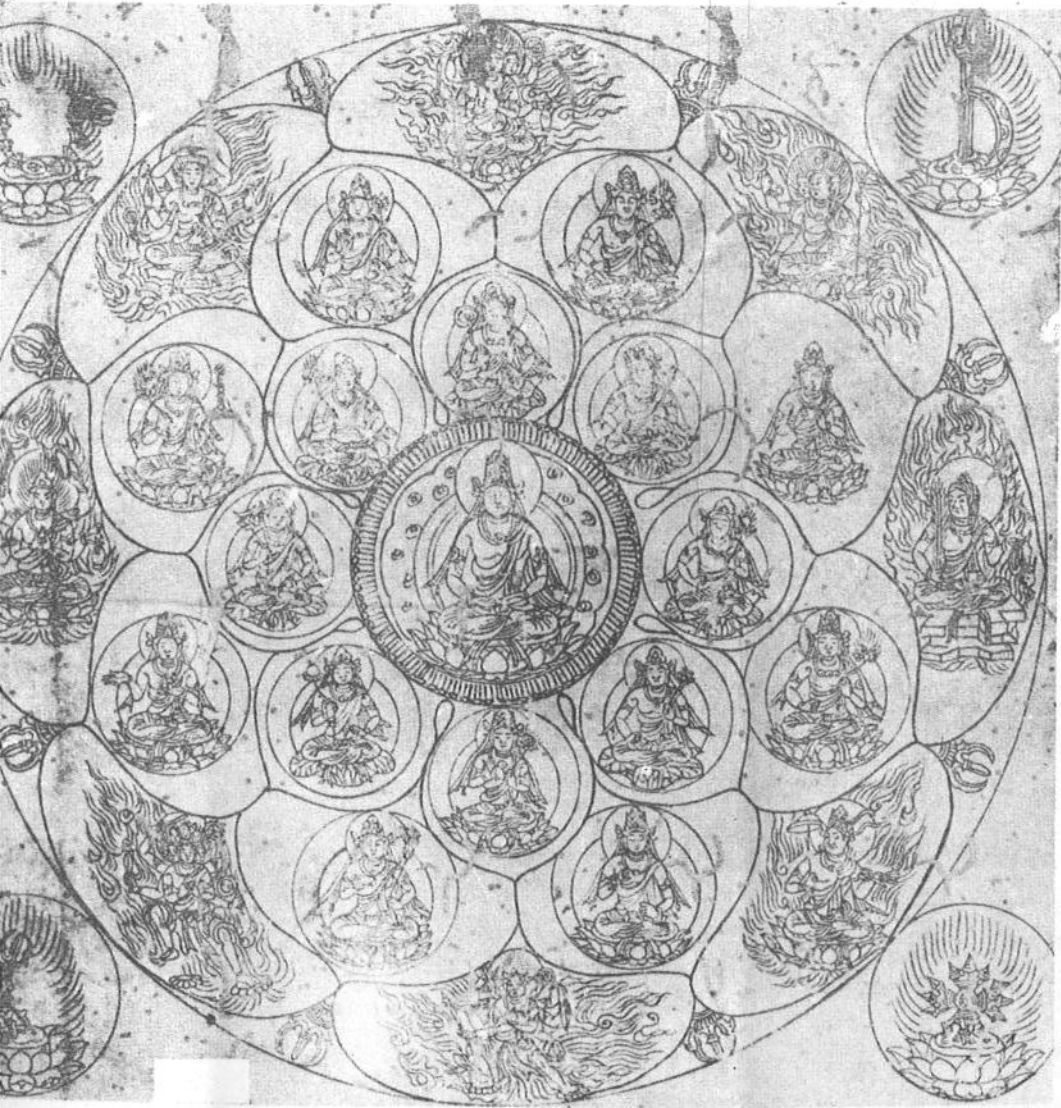
Shoson-zuzo p.146

佛眼曼荼羅 生(不可)示



89.10

普通曼多羅者八供四攝八方天
佛眼曼多羅者八供四攝八方天
今所畫彼在亦不獲也



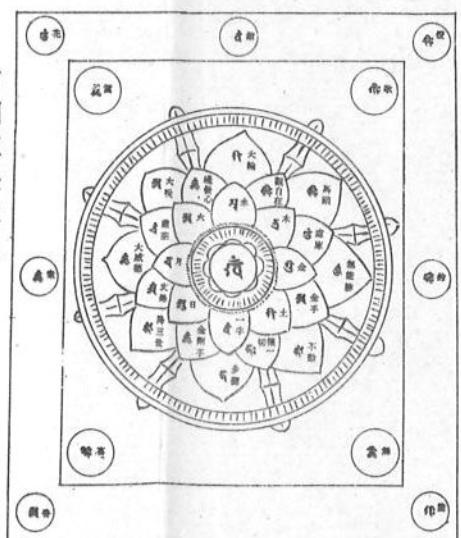
26

98.1



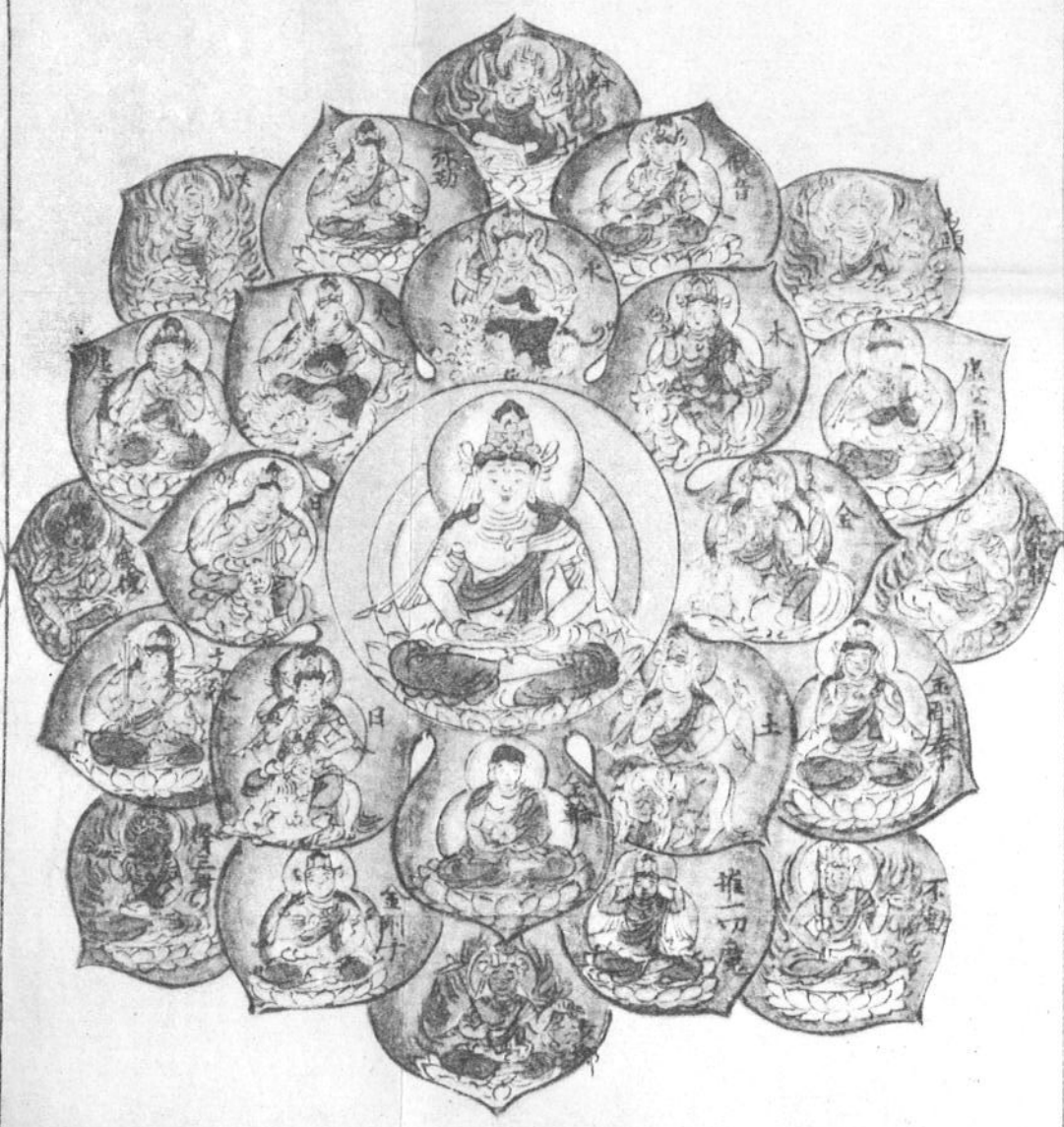
98.1

右圖三昧本也

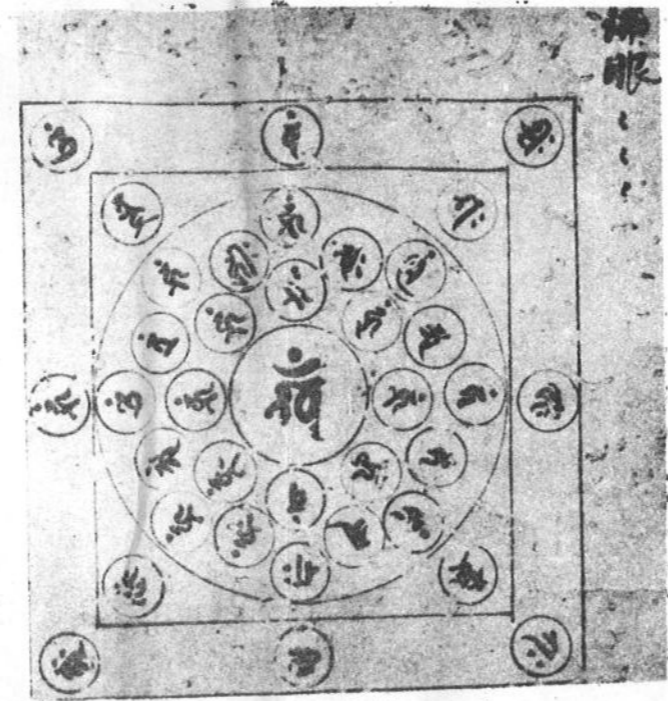


264 62

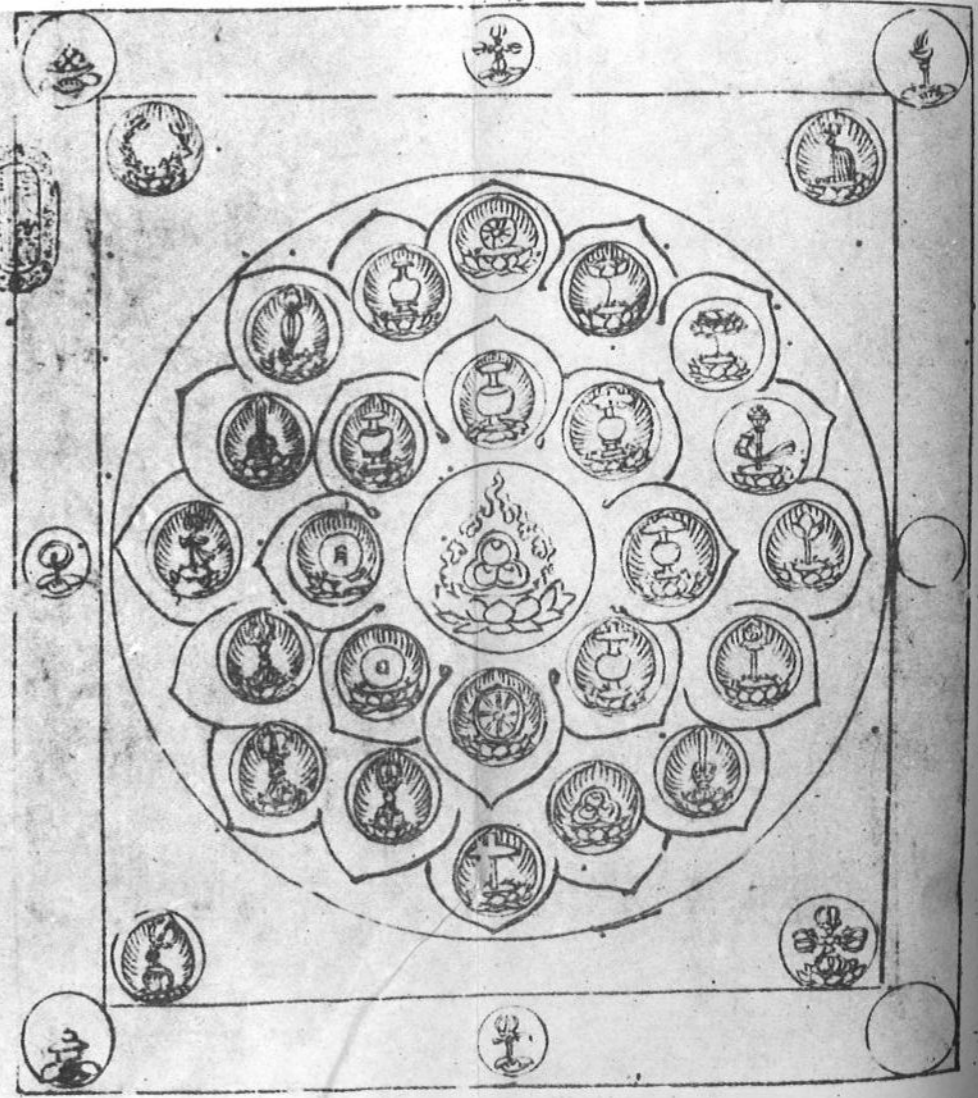
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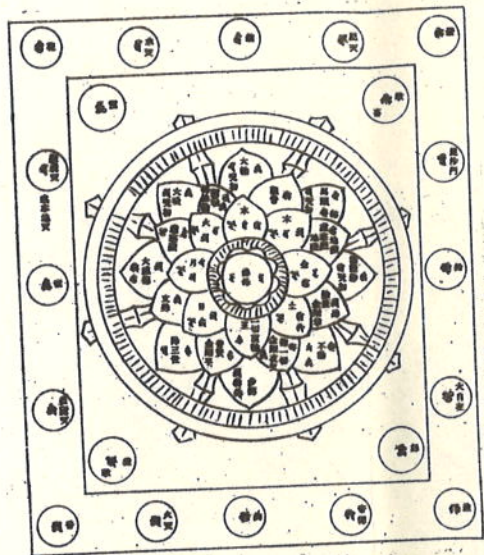


3



佛眼三昧耶身卷之 四成寺本





264 62



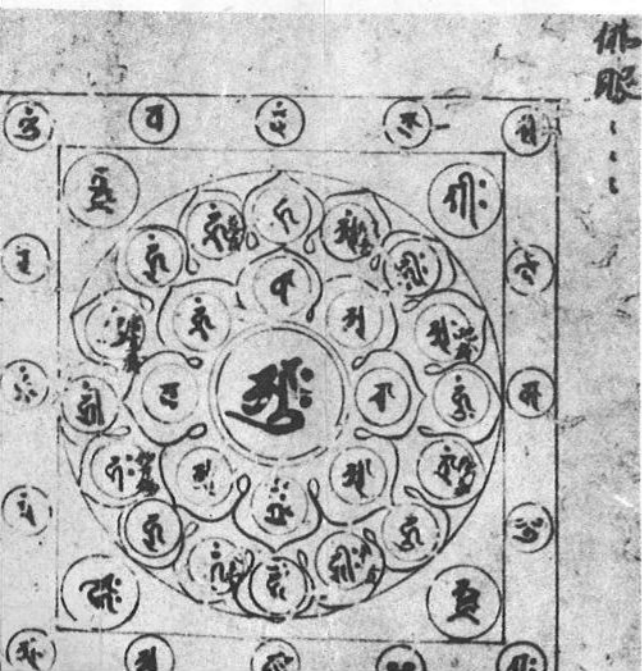
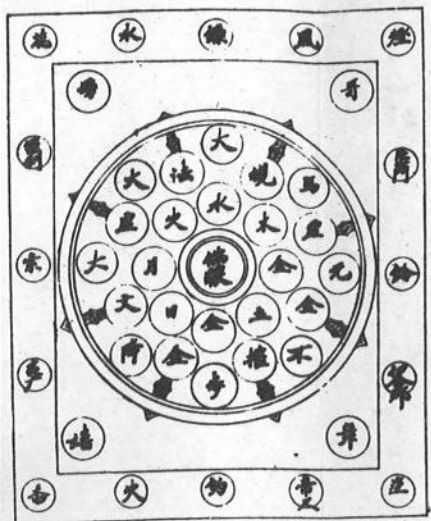
98 fig.2

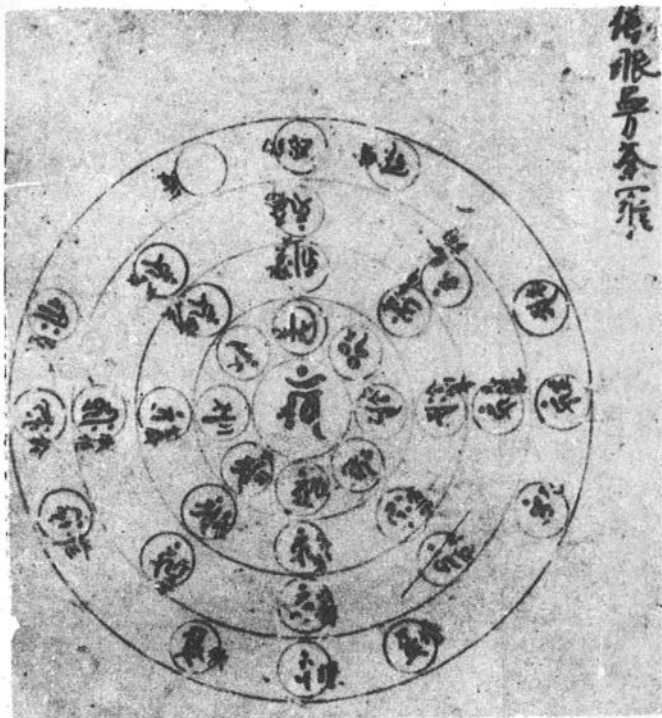
佛眼曼荼羅



一字金輪有二樣大日金輪尺迦金輪

古本





89.12

佛眼曼荼羅

