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The Sixteen Bodhisattvas in the Dharmadhātu Maṇḍala

Musashi Tachikawa*

The pantheon of Mahāyāna Buddhism may be classified into the following five groups: (1) Buddhas (Enlightened Ones), (2) Bodhisattvas (Buddhas to be), (3) Goddesses, (4) Protectors of Buddha’s teachings (dharma-pāla), and (5) Other, or minor, deities. In late Mahāyāna Buddhism an enormous amount of effort was made to depict Buddhas or deities on stone, metal, cloth and the like. Especially in Tantric Buddhism, which may be considered part of Mahāyāna Buddhism, images or icons of Buddhist deities played an essential part in rituals and meditations, with the result that iconographical systems concerning images of Buddhist deities were established according to schools, ages, areas, and so forth. This paper is intended to furnish materials for iconographic studies of Bodhisattvas, especially the group called the Sixteen Bodhisattvas.

A number of maṇḍalas have been preserved in the Kathmandu Valley. Among those maṇḍalas seen in places such as the courtyards of Buddhist temples, the Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara Maṇḍala (Dharmadhātu Maṇḍala) is the most popular. The Sixteen Bodhisattvas, who may be regarded as representatives of Bodhisattvas, are included in the deities of the Dharmadhātu Maṇḍala.

The symbols held in the hands of each of the Sixteen Bodhisattvas have been iconographically determined. Although there are a number of Dharmadhātu Maṇḍalas depicted on stone, metal, and paper in the Kathmandu Valley, it is rather rare to find a Dharmadhātu Maṇḍala in

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Key Words: Sixteen Bodhisattvas, Bodhisattva, Nispannayogavāri, Dharmadhatu Maṇḍala, maṇḍala

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which each of the Sixteen Bodhisattvas is clearly illustrated. In this paper I would like to treat eight sets of images of the Dharmadhātu Sixteen Bodhisattvas depicted on *mandalas* or *stūpas*, found in the Kathmandu Valley.

仏教のパンテオンは，（1）仏，（2）菩薩，（3）女神，（4）護法神，および（5）その他の5つのグループに分類することができる。第2のグループには代表的な菩薩群として十六菩薩が含まれる。十六菩薩と呼ばれる菩薩群は3種類見られる。すなわち，a）法界曼ダラに現れる16尊，b）金剛界マンダラと悪趣清浄マンダラに現れる16尊，およびc）金剛界マンダラにおける四仏それぞれの周囲に現れる16尊の3種である。本稿はカトマンズ盆地に見られる8種類のa，すなわち第一の種類の十六菩薩の画像学的特徴を考察しようとするものである。

カトマンズ盆地の1）バタン市にあるクワ・パハール寺院の裏庭に見られる仏塔，2）バタン市のウク・パハール寺院の裏庭に見られる仏塔，3）スヴァヤンブーナート仏塔の北側に建てられた仏塔，4）スヴァヤンブーナート仏塔の北東に建てられた仏塔，5）スヴァヤンブーナート仏塔の東側に建てられた鋼板の仏塔の5つの「場」に見られる十六菩薩の像を考察した結果，それらの像の持物はほとんど一致していることが明らかとなった。さらにそれらの持物はサンスクリットで書かれたマンダラ集 Nispannayogāvali の規定にほとんど一致することも明らかとなった。

なお，バタン市には，6）ハカ・パハールの銅板マンダラ，7）ノ・パハールの真鍮板マンダラ，および8）ブ・パハールの銅板マンダラがある。これら3マンダラについては，稿稿「ネワール法界マンダラ図象資料」（国立民族学博物館研究報告）23巻4号，699-808頁）において考察されている。これら3マンダラに線刻された十六菩薩の図象はほとんど一致するが，1）から5）までの十六菩薩の図象とは異なり，別の伝統に属すると考えられる。しかしながら，3）と4）は，6）から8）までの伝統をわずかではあるが受け取っているように思われる。

| 1 | The Sixteen Bodhisattvas | 3 | The Symbols of the Sixteen Bodhisattvas |
| 2 | Places of the Images of the Sixteen Bodhisattvas | 4 | Three Dharmadhātu Mandalas in Patan |
| 5 | Conclusion |
1 The Sixteen Bodhisattvas

There are three kinds of Sixteen Bodhisattvas: The first kind, headed by Samantabhadra, is found in the Dharmadhātu Māṇḍala; the second kind, headed by Maitreya, is found in mandalas such as the Vajradhātu and the Durgatipariśodhana.1) The Sixteen Bodhisattvas belonging to the second group are called the Sixteen Bodhisattvas of the Bhara Age in Japanese Tantric Buddhism. The Bhadra Age means the present aeon (kalpa) of the universe, in which the wise (bhadra), such as Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, are born. The third kind, headed by Vajrasattva, is found around the Four Buddhas (Aksobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha, and Amoghasiddhi) appearing in the Vajradhātu Māṇḍala.

The members of the first kind of Sixteen Bodhisattvas stand in one of the square corridors found in the palace of the Dharmadhātu Māṇḍala:

**East**
- (1) Samantabhadra
- (2) Aksayamati
- (3) Kṣitigarbha
- (4) Ākāśagarbha

**South**
- (5) Gaganagañja
- (6) Ratnapañi
- (7) Sagaramati
- (8) Vajragarbha

**West**
- (9) Avalokiteśvara
- (10) Mahāsthāmaprāpta
- (11) Candraprabha
- (12) Jāliniprabha

**North**
- (13) Amitaprabha
- (14) Pratibhānakūṭa
- (15) Sarvaśokatamonirgātamatī
- (16) Sarvanīvaraṇaviskambhīn

The second kind of the sixteen Bodhisattvas found in the Durgatipariśodhana and Vajradhātu Māṇḍalas are as follows:
The asterisked Bodhisattvas are also members of the first group of the Sixteen Bodhisattvas. It is the first kind of the Sixteen Bodhisattvas that I am going to treat in this paper.

2 Places of the Images of the Sixteen Bodhisattvas

When a deity is depicted, one needs a ‘place’ or field on which the form of the deity is manifested. Such a place may be a temple wall, a strut supporting a temple roof, a copper or stone plate on which a mandala is illustrated, or a certain amount of bronze or stone transformed into a statue.

In this paper I will treat several ‘places’ of images of the Sixteen Bodhisattvas, found in the Kathmandu Valley. The first place is the caitya constructed behind the main building of Kva Bahal, Patan (Figure 1). This caitya has a number of niches in which the statues of deities of the Dharmaḍhātu Maṇḍala are installed (Figure 2). Hence, one can say that the caitya, together with those images of deities, such as Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, is a kind of a three-dimensional maṇḍala. This caitya has been called “Ashok
Caitya, and we have an inscription indicating that it was constructed in Newar Year 807 (1687 A.D.).

It is not certain whether the present statues of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas installed in the niches of the caitya were made in 1687, but there is no doubt that the statues of Ashok Caitya are invaluable materials for iconographic studies of the Newar Buddhist pantheon. Let us call the caitya of Kva Bahal, i.e., Ashok Caitya, “Kva-C”. Diagram 1 shows how the main deities of the Dharmadhātu Manḍala are installed in the niches of Kva-C. The size of each statue is about $9 \times 11$ cm.

There is another caitya in the back yard of the main building of Uku Bahal, Patan (Figures 3, 4). Although the date of its construction is unknown, it seems that this caitya was made after Ashok Caitya. It is much larger than Ashok Caitya in size, and the number of niches in which the statues of deities are installed is larger than that of Ashok Caitya. Let us call the caitya of Uku Bahal “Uku-C.”

In the niches of Uku-C, the images of the Sixteen Bodhisattvas are in-

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**Diagram 1** The Deities of the Caitya at Kva Bahal (Kva-C)
(The numbers 1–16 indicate the Sixteen Bodhisattvas headed by Samantabhadra respectively.)
stalled. The size of each statue is about 14 x 16 cm. Furthermore, Uku-C has images of the Four Buddhas (Aksobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitabha, and Amoghasiddhi), Four Consorts (Locana, Mamaki, Pandara, and Tara), and the Sixteen Offering Goddesses (Diagram 2).

To the north-east of the huge Svayambhūnath Caitya there is a rather small caitya made of stone (Figure 5). According to the inscription put near the small caitya, it was made in Newar Year 899 (1779 A.D.). On the four sides of the stone caitya there are a number of niches, in which the images of the main deities of the Dharmadhātu Maṇḍala are installed. Images of the Sixteen Bodhisattvas are also found in those niches. The stone caitya together with the reliefs of deities may also be considered as a kind of three-dimensional maṇḍala. Let us call the stone caitya "Sva-C1."

Special mention is necessary of the arrangement of the Sixteen Bodhisattvas found in Sva-C1. As seen in Diagram 3, the images of the Sixteen Bodhisattvas are not arranged clockwise. The idea underlying the arrangement of the sixteen images found in Sva-C1 seems to be that priority is to be given to a Bodhisattva who has an earlier position in the order headed by Samantabhadra.
For example, on the east side of Sva-C1 the first four Bodhisattvas, i.e., Samantabhadra, Aksayamati, Ksitigarbha, and Akasagarbha, are shown (Figure 6). There is an image of Buddha at the center of the east side of Sva-C1, but at present we shall neglect this image. Among these four Bodhisattvas, Samantabhadra, who is the first one in the order, is installed at the right edge: It is the Indo-Nepali tradition that a superior deity is to be put to the right of a less superior deity.

Another caitya is found to the north of Swayambhunath Caitya, which we call “Sva-C2.” (Figure 7). Sva-C1 and Sva-C2 are only several meters apart. Judging from the fact that the stones comprising Sva-C1 are more worn than those of Sva-C2, the former seems to be older than the latter. It is interesting that the symbols of the deities found in these two caityas are almost identical. We are tempted to infer that the images of the deities in Sva-C2 were made after those of Sva-C1. The way of installing the Sixteen Bodhisattvas is exactly the same as seen in Sva-C2 (Diagram 3).

To the east of Swayambhunath Caitya there is a round copper plate on which the Dharmadhātu Maṇḍala is depicted. Let us call the mandala depicted on the copper plate “Sva-M” (Figure 8). The Sixteen Bodhisattvas are in-
Diagram 4  The Deities of the Dharmadhātu Maṇḍala depicted on the copper mandala to the east of Svayambhunāth Caitya (Sva-M). The arrangement of the deities of the mandala is in accordance with the description given in the Nispannayogavalli. (The numbers 94–109 in Diagram 4 indicate the Sixteen Bodhisattvas headed by Samantabhadra respectively. No. 94 in Diagram 4 is Samantabhadra; No. 95, Aksayamati, and so forth.)

The size of each Bodhisattva is about 3.5 x 4.0 cm. Diagram 4 shows the arrangement of the deities found in Sva-M. According to the inscription on the side of the copper plate, the copper maṇḍala was installed by King Pratāpamalla in Newar Year 809 (1689 A.D.). The present copper maṇḍala (Sva-M) may not be the same as the original plate established by King Pratāpamalla: the central part, on which the deities of the Dharmadhātu Maṇḍala were depicted, might have been replaced by a new one. As a matter of fact, one can see that a smaller copper plate has been nailed on the larger one which seems to be original (Figure 9). The inscription mentioning the date of
construction is found on the vertical side of the larger plate, of which the periphery is bent vertically. Even if the Dharmadhātu Maṇḍala plate (Sva-M) is not the original one, it is certain that Sva-M is one of the most authentic materials for iconographic studies of the Newar Buddhist pantheon.

3 The Symbols of the Sixteen Bodhisattvas

When Newar priests or artists depicted Buddhist deities, they seem to have used a collection of late Indian Buddhist maṇḍalas called the Nispannayogāvalī (NPY) as a text. This work, compiled and edited by Abhayakaragupta (11–12th century), gives brief iconographical descriptions of deities appearing in each of twenty six maṇḍalas. It has been pointed out that the symbols of the Four Buddhas (Aksobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha, and Amoghasiddhi) depicted on the struts of Chusya Bahal, Kathmandu, are in accordance with the description given in the chapter on the Dharmadhātu Maṇḍala of the NPY.6) It will be worth examining to what degree the images of the Sixteen Bodhisattvas in the Kathmandu Valley are in accordance with the description given in the NPY.7)

(1) Samantabhadra

All the five images of Samantabhadra found in the five places, i.e., Kva-C (Figure 10), Uku-C (Figure 11), Sva-C1 (Figure 12), Sva-C2 (Figure 13), and Sva-M (Figure 14), have a sword standing on a water-lily (upala) in the left hand, and a boon-giving gesture (varada-mudrā) of the right hand respectively. These two symbols accord with the description given in the chapter on the Dharmadhātu Maṇḍala of the NPY.

One can recognize the flower on which the sword is standing as a water-lily, because the petals of the flower found in the five places are not widely open, while the petals of a lotus flower are widely open like those of a sun-flower, as we see in the case of the Aksayamati image in Uku-C (Figure 16).

(2) Aksayamati

Every image of Aksayamati found in the four places (Figures 16–19) other than Kva-C (Figure 15), holds a sword in the right hand and a lotus flower in the left hand. The NPY also states that Aksayamati has a sword and a lotus flower (padma). The image installed in Kva-C has a sword in the right hand, and a kamandalu (a pot for holy water) in the left hand. It is likely that the Sanskrit manuscript used for the construction of Kva-C had the rendering “kamandalu” instead of “kamala.”

(3) Kṣitigarbha

All the five Kṣitigarbha images have the same symbol in the left hand, that
is, a wish-yielding tree (*kalpa-druma*) (Figures 20–24). This is basically in accordance with the description in the *NPY*, which says that the Bodhisattva holds in the left hand a wish-yielding tree placed on a lotus flower. The two Kṣitigarbha images in Kva-C (Figure 20) and Uku-C (Figure 21) have the wish-yielding tree placed on a lotus flower, while the other three Kṣitigarbha images have the wish-yielding tree held directly in the left hand.

The way of depicting a wish-yielding tree found in these Kṣitigarbha images is full of variety. They may represent the Newar way of depicting wish-yielding trees. In Indian and Tibetan statues or paintings it would be almost impossible to find similar images of a wish-yielding tree such as we find in Figures 20–24.

The two Kṣitigarbha images in Kva-C (Figure 20) and Sva-M (Figure 24) have the same symbol of the right hand: the earth-touching gesture (*bhūsparśa-mudrā*). The Kṣitigarbha image in Uku-C, however, makes the right hand rest behind the right knee, while the Kṣitigarbha image in Sva-C2 (Figure 23) has the wish-yielding gesture. Thus there is no consistency with regard to the symbol of the right hand of the five Kṣitigarbha images. However, one should not overlook that all the five Kṣitigarbha images have the same symbol, i.e., a wish-yielding tree, in the left hand. Probably a wish-yielding tree in the left hand was treated as the main symbol of Kṣitigarbha.

(4) Ākāśagarbha

All the five Ākāśagarbha images have common symbols: a jewel or jewels in the right hand and wish-yielding jewels in the left (Figures 25–29). In the cases of Sva-C1 (Figure 27) and Sva-C2 (Figure 28), however, the wish-yielding jewels are placed on top of a flag. The *NPY* also states that the Bodhisattva holds, in the right hand, all kinds of jewels (*sarva-ratna*) falling like rain, and, in the left hand, wish-yielding jewels (*cintāmani*).

The ways of depicting wish-yielding jewels are manifold: In the case of Kva-C (Figure 25), there is a round jewel, while in the case of Sva-M (Figure 29), several jewels falling like rain are depicted. The symbol which Ākāśagarbha in Sva-C1 or Sva-C2 holds in the right hand looks like a wish-yielding tree. It is possible that the two Ākāśagarbha images in Sva-C1 and Sva-C2 have a wish-yielding tree in the right hand and a flag in the left hand.

(5) Gaganagaṇja

The four Gaganagaṇja images (Figures 30–33) other than the image in Sva-M (Figure 34) have the same symbol, that is, a wish-yielding tree in a pot. The image in Sva-M looks to have merely a wish-yielding tree. Generally speaking, this is in accordance with the description given in the *NPY*, which states that the Bodhisattva has a wish-yielding tree (*kalpa-vrksa*) hanging from a beautiful pot.
All the three Gaganagañja images in Kva-C (Figure 30), Uku-C (Figure 31), and Sva-M (Figure 34) have a jewel in the right hand. This also accords with the description given in the NPY, which says that the symbol in the right hand of Gaganagañja is a wish-yielding jewel.

The two Gaganagañja images in Sva-C1 (Figure 32) and Sva-C2 (Figure 33) have a flag in the right hand. According to Mr. Gautam R. Bajracharyya, a Newar painter dwelling in the Kathmandu Valley, the flag found in Sva-C1 or Sva-C2 has a wish-yielding jewel on the top, and this is a Newar way of illustrating a wish-yielding jewel, as seen in the cases of the Ākāśagarbha images in Sva-C1 and Sva-C2 (Figures 27, 28).

(6) Ratnapāni

All the five Ratnapāni images have common symbols: a jewel in the right hand and a disc on a lotus flower in the left hand (Figures 35–39). According to the NPY, the symbols of the Bodhisattva are a jewel and a lunar disc (candra-māṇḍala) on a lotus flower. It would be safe to say that the discs symbolize the moon, even though there is no distinct iconographical evidence to determine the discs as lunar.

(7) Sāgaramati

The five Sāgaramati images have the same symbols: a conch in the right hand and a sword in the left hand (Figures 40–44). The image of the conch overlaps with that of the name “Sāgaramati,” which literally means ‘Wisdom (mati) of the Sea (sāgara)’. In the case of Kva-C (Figure 40), a sword is placed on a lotus flower, while in the other four cases a sword is directly held by the Bodhisattva.

The NPY states that Sāgamati holds a conch and a vajra-sword (vajra-khadga). Probably, the term “vajra,” being merely decorative, does not have a specific meaning. If so, a varja-khadga is an ordinary sword.

(8) Vajragarbha

All the five Vajragarbha images hold the same symbols: a vajra in the right hand and a book in the left hand (Figures 45–49). The NPY also states that this Bodhisattva holds a vajra and the book entitled the Daśabhūmikā. The upper part of the symbol held in the right hand of Vajragarbha in Sva-C1 (Figure 47) is broken. But one can identify it as a vajra because the lower part has been preserved.

(9) Avalokiteśvara

A boon-giving gesture of the right hand and a lotus flower in the left hand. These two are the most popular symbols of Avalokiteśvara. The NPY also gives these two symbols as those of the Avalokiteśvara belonging to the Sixteen
Bodhisattvas of the Dharmadhātu Maṇḍala.

All the five images have the two symbols (Figures 50–54). The right hand of the Avalokiteśvara image in Kva-C (Figure 50) also has a lotus flower while the other four Avalokiteśvara images do not. This is not, however, an essential difference. Let us remember that all five images have the same symbol of the left hand.

(10) Mahāsthāmaprāpta

As in the case of Avalokiteśvara, all the five images of Mahāsthāmaprāpta have the same symbols: a sword in the right hand and a lotus flower in the left hand (Figures 55–59). This is in accordance with the description in the NPY, which states that the Bodhisattva has a sword (khadga) in the right hand and a lotus flower (padma) in the left hand. It might be difficult to see the form of a lotus flower clearly in the photo of Sva-M (Figure 59). However, one can recognize the symbol as a lotus flower, if one looks at the drawing depicted on the copper plate closely.

(11) Candraprabha

All the five Candraprabha images show the same symbols: a cakra (a disc of which the periphery is sharp like a razor blade) in the right hand, and a lunar disc in the left hand (Figures 60–64). One can recognize the disc as a symbol of the moon on account of the thin digit of the moon, placed under the disc. The NPY states that Candraprabha has a vajra-cakra in the right hand and a lunar disc on a lotus flower in the left hand. The symbol called “vajra-cakra” seems to mean an ordinary cakra (disc): The term “vajra” has no specific meaning.

(12) Jaliniprabha

All the five Jaliniprabha images have the same symbols: a sword in the right hand and a solar disc on a lotus flower in the left hand (Figure 65–69). This accords with the description given in the NPY.

(13) Amitaprabha

All the five Amitaprabha images show the same symbols: a lotus flower in the right hand and a kalaśa pot on a lotus flower in the left hand (Figures 70–74). The NPY states that the Bodhisattva holds a double lotus (viśva-padma) in the right hand and a kalaśa pot on a lotus flower in the left hand. The term “viśva-padma” means a lotus (padma) of which the petals point in every (viśva) direction. Iconographically, it is depicted as a double lotus flower, i.e., a lotus of which the upward and downward petals are joined.8)
(14) Pratibhanakūṭa

The four Pratibhanakūṭa images (Figures 75–79), except for the one in Sva-C1 (Figure 77), have the same symbols: a chotika gesture (a small circle made by joining the tip of a thumb and third finger) of the right hand and a sword on a lotus flower in the left hand. Pratibhanakūṭa in Sva-C1 has a sword on a lotus flower in the right hand, but it is not clear whether he has the chotika gesture or not: the fingers of the right hand are not separately depicted. One may say that the symbols of the five Bodhisattva images are almost in all cases in accordance with the description given in the NPY.

(15) Sarvasokatamonighatamati

All the five Sarvasokatamonighatamati images show the same symbols: a vajra in the right hand and a sakti in the left hand (Figures 80–84). The term "sakti" means a short lance, known as one of the weapons of Karttikeya, a son of Śiva. Here in the cases of the five Newar images of the Bodhisattva, a sakti is depicted as a three-pointed weapon.

The NPY states that he holds a five-pointed vajra in the right hand and a sakti in the left hand. Hence, one may say that the symbols of the five Newar images accord with the description given in the NPY.

(16) Sarvanivaranaviskambhin

From the viewpoint of the symbols, one may divide the five images of the Bodhisattva into two groups: the first group of Kva-C (Figure 85), Uku-C (Figure 86) and Sva-M (Figure 89), and the second group of Sva-C1 (Figure 87) and Sva-C2 (Figure 88). All the three images of the first group show a sword in the right hand and a double vajra on top of a flag in the left hand. These are the same symbols mentioned in the NPY. The two images of the second group hold totally different symbols: a boon-giving gesture of the right hand and a book on a lotus flower in the left hand. We do not know on which tradition the images of the second group are based.

4 Three Dharmadhātu Manḍalas in Patan

In the courtyards of Buddhist temples in Patan City there are, at least, three copper or brass plates on which the main deities of the Dharmadhātu Manḍalas are depicted. Those three manḍala plates are found in Haka (Hakha) Bahal, Nah Bahal, and Bu Bahal. In Tachikawa (1999: 699–808) I have examined the deities depicted in the three manḍala plates. In each manḍala plate one can see drawings of the Sixteen Bodhisattvas. It seems that the three manḍalas follow the same tradition. The symbols of deities are almost identical in each manḍala. Unfortunately, the size of the drawing of each Bodhisattva is so small (3–4 square cm.) that not every symbol held in the
hand of a Bodhisattva can be identified. Nonetheless, those small drawings are clear enough to the extent that one can say that the symbols of the three mandala plates in Patan are very different from those of the five ‘places’, such as Kva-C and Uku-C.

For example, the three Samatantabhadra images depicted in the mandalas of Haka Bahal, Nah Bahal, and Bu Bahal have a vajra in the right hand and a lotus flower in the left hand. The symbols of this Bodhisattva in the five places, such as Kva-C and Uku-C, are, as we have seen, a boon-giving gesture of the right hand and a sword on a water-lily in the left hand. In a similar way, the symbols of the other Bodhisattvas of the three mandalas in Patan are considerably different from those of the five places, such as Kva-C and Uku-C.

We have seen that the two images of Sarvanivaraṇaṇavīskambhīn, i.e., the sixteenth Bodhisattva, in Sva-C1 and Sva-C2 have a boon-giving gesture of the right hand and a book on a lotus flower in the left hand. It is interesting that the three Bodhisattva images in the three mandalas in Patan have the same symbols as in Sva-C1 and Sva-C2. Obviously these two iconological traditions were interrelated at some point. At present, however, it is difficult to decide how the two traditions were connected.

5 Conclusion

We have examined the symbols of the eight sets of Sixteen Bodhisattvas belonging to the Dharmadhātu Maṇḍala of Newar Tantric Buddhism. The symbols found in the group of Kva-C, Uku-C, and Sva-M (i.e., the first group) are in accordance with the descriptions given in the chapter on the Dharmadhātu Maṇḍala in almost all cases. The symbols found in Sva-C1 and Sva-C2, i.e., the second group, are totally different in a few cases. However, as a whole the symbols of the five sets of Sixteen Bodhisattvas accord with the description given in the NPY. It should be added that even today Newar scholars and artists use the NPY as one of the most important iconographical texts.

The Sixteen Bodhisattvas found in the three Dharmadhātu mandalas have symbols different from those of the Sixteen Bodhisattvas in the five places, such as Kva-C and Uku-C. Hence, we should admit the existence of, at least, two traditions with regards to the iconography of the Sixteen Bodhisattvas of the Dharmadhātu Maṇḍala in the Kathmandu Valley. At the same time, we should remember that there was a link between the two traditions, as we can see in the case of Sarvanivaraṇaṇavīskambhīn.
Notes

1) Bhattacharyya (1972: 23).
2) The symbols of each asterisked Bodhisattva are different from those of the same Bodhisattva belonging to the Dharmadhātu Mandala.
3) As for Kva Bahal, see Pruscha (1975: P-111).
4) As for Uku Bahal, see Pruscha (1975: P-226).
7) As the basic Sanskrit text of the NPY I have used the text edited by B. Bhattacharyya, i.e., Bhattacharyya (1972). The Bhattacharyya edition gives the description of the Dharmadhātu Sixteen Bodhisattvas on pp. 57–58.
8) Sometimes the term “viśva-pādma” means a huge mythological lotus flower of the scale of the universe or a variegated-colored lotus flower.

References

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