The Yugito  
(Pol Vanden Broucke (Ghent)

I. Introduction

Behind the Ryūkōin 龍光院, a temple in the monastic centre of the Japanese Shingon school (Shingon-shū 真言宗) on Mt. Kōya (Kōyasan 高野山), stands a small single-storied stūpa (19.80 meters high) known as the Yugito 瑜祇塔 (“Yugī Stūpa”), see figs.1 and 2. The most striking characteristic of this structure is the presence of five metal spires or sōrin 壺輪 on the roof. Japanese stūpas usually have one such ringed column at the centre of the upper roof. The Yugito, however, has one at the centre and one at each corner of the roof.

In the Shingon school of Japanese esoteric Buddhism, this stūpa is said to symbolise the essence of the Kongōdōrokkaisaiaryangyugikyo 金刚頂楼阁一切瑜伽祇塔, “The Scripture of All the Yogas and “Yogṣ of the Vajra-peak Pavilion” (T. XVIII no. 867), better known under its abbreviated title Yagikyo 瑜祇経. This text is one of the five canonical texts in the Shingon school.

1 My research on the Yugito was supported by a professional fellowship from the Japan Foundation in 1993. I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor Matsunaga Yukie and the staff of the Research Institute of Esoteric Buddhist Culture of Kōyasan University. I would also like to express my sincere appreciation to Prof. Inui Hiroshi and Prof. Shimomatsu Tóró who offered me many valuable suggestions. Thanks are also due to Mr. Manabe Shunshō, director at the Kanazawa Bunko at Yokohama. This article is dedicated to my late father-in-law, Hanamoto Kazumi.

2 Originally called Chām 伽藍. This temple was the residence of the chief priest of Kōyasan since Kūkai lived here. On this temple, see Yamamoto 1987, 130, Mf, 707 s. v. Ryūkōin; MD, 2243 s. v. Ryūkōin. See also below, II.

3 A detailed map of the central area of Kōyasan can be found in the report on the excavation of the Tōdō 東塔 “Eastern Stūpa”, see Ganji Bunkazai Kenkyūjo Kōkogaku Kenkyushitsu 1982, 102. This map is also included in my study, see fig. 3. A complete map of Kōyasan is included in Mf, 194–195 s.v. Kōyasan. For an English guidebook to Kōyasan, see Head Temple Kongeshi 1992.

4 The term yasī is explained below. Since the Yugito is a single-storied Buddhist structure with a hemispheric body reminiscent of the ancient Indian stūpa, the Indian term stūpa is used in this study and is preferred over “pagoda”. On the use of these terms, see Snodgrass [1985] 1991, 221, note 1; Gardiner 1996, 255–256, note 15.


6 The asterisked (*) word is conjectural, see below, note 11. The author has been working on an annotated translation of the Yugikyo, which he hopes to publish in the near future. For this text, see Matsunaga 1985; Yasuhara 1932a–b; Vanden Broucke 1994; DKKJ, 393–395.
According to the Shingon tradition, this scripture contains the deep meaning of the “Non-duality of the Two Sections” (ryōbu funi 両部不二). The Two Sections (ryōbu) refer to the Taizō 胎蔵 and the Kongōkai 金剛界. Taizō (Skt. Garbha, “Womb”) represents the enlightened universe from the viewpoint of compassion and is symbolised by the lotus. Kongōkai (Skt. Vajradhātu, “Vajra Realm”) represents the realm of knowledge in which illusion and passion are crushed. It is symbolised by the vajra (“thunderbolt”, “diamond”), which is indestructible like diamond and which destroys all delusion. The Taizō represents the Shingon notion of Principle (rī), the Kongōkai the notion of Wisdom (chi). In Shingon the two are considered as two complementary aspects of the ultimate reality and are seen as an indissoluble unity. The Taizō and Kongōkai are represented graphically respectively in the Taizōmandara and the Kongōkaimandara, the two main mandalas in Shingon Buddhism. These mandalas depict the teachings of the two fundamental Indian texts of Shingon: respectively the

Four representative Japanese Buddhist encyclopedic dictionaries start their explanation of the entry Yugito as follows:

Mj, 690 s.v. Yugito: “Based on the Yugikyō like the Konpon Daijō . . .” MD, 2209 s.v. Yugito: “A sūtra which expresses the deep meaning of the Yugikyō . . .” BDJT, V, 4025 s.v. Yugito: “A sūtra which expresses the deep meaning of the Yugikyō.” These dictionaries, however, do not further explain why this scripture is the textual base of this sūtra. Among these works, Mj and MD are the two representative dictionaries of Japanese esoteric Buddhism. See also Ibara 1984b, 225–226. The relationship of the Yugikyō and the Yugito is discussed below, V.

The so-called gobu no hikyō 五部の秘経, “The Five Secret Scriptures”. The text is also a key scripture in the Tendai 天台 school and is included in the Tendai version of the gobu no hikyō. It is also a canonical text in the heterodox Tachikawa school (Tachikawa-ryū 立川派), where it is included in the sangō ichirin 三条一論, “The Three Satras and the Treatise”. See Mj, 225–226 s.v. gobu no hikyō, Vanden Broucke 1994, 211–212.

This interpretation of the Yugikyō is treated in Ibara 1984a. See IX below.
Vairocanaábhisambodhi (Japanese abbreviated title Daínichikyō 大日経, T. XVIII no. 848) and the Tattvaśaṁgaha (usually called Kongobóhkyō 金刚頂経 in Japanese, three Chinese versions: T. XVIII nos. 865, 866 and 882). These two mañḍalas are pictorial representations of the two complementary aspects of the ultimate reality. This reality is embodied in Vairocana (Dainichi 大日), also known as Mahāvairocana in the Sino-Japanese tradition.

Through the centuries, the Yugitō has been the subject of highly speculative syncretic Shingon interpretations. Later on in this study, these symbolic interpretations of the construction of the Yugitō formulated by Shingon monks will be presented. Attention will also be paid to the history and the architecture of this stūpa, and to comparable stūpas in Japan, China and India.

The name Yugitō is derived from the title of the Yggikyō. Ygg 極 frequently occurs as a Sino-Japanese phonetic rendering of the Sanskrit yogi (the practitioner of yoga). But according to the Shingon commentaries on this scripture, 極 would represent here the feminine equivalent of 極 (Jap. yuga, Skt. yugā). As the Yggikyō is only extant in Chinese it is impossible to know for certain which Indian equivalent is meant here.

Taking the Japanese commentarial tradition into account, I transcribe 極 here tentatively into *yogi*. The stūpa is occasionally referred to with a longer series of characters contained in the full title of the text, i.e. Kongoburókkayugikyō 金刚極樓閣極塔. Yggitō is exceptionally rendered phonetically with the characters 頂塔 ("Emerging Turtle Stūpa"). and 頂塔 ("Emerging Turtle Stūpa"). In these transcriptions, the characters are not only conventions for their phonetic value but also for their meaning. Later we shall see that the stūpa is sometimes depicted on the back of a giant turtle which is floating on the waves. The Yugitō is also called Shōtō 小塔, “Small Stūpa”, in contrast to the two-storied and 48.5 meters tall.
II. History and Location of the Yugitō

On the twenty-third day of the eighth month of the first year of Jōwa (774–835), posthumously called Kōbō Daishi 弘法大師, the founder of the Shingon school and the religious community at Kōyasan, addressed a petition to Emperor Ninmyō 仁明天皇 (810–850) urging him to make donations for building two stūpas on Mt. Kōya. The contents of this document is included in the Shōyūshō 聖猷書, a collection of poems, memorials, letters, etc. allegedly composed by Kukai and compiled by Shinzei 眞静 (800–860), a disciple of Kukai. The stūpas are mentioned as follows:

Therefore, in recent years I have been respectfully constructing two stūpas in the Kongōbuji 金剛峯寺 持, that represent Vairocana, the Essential Nature of the Dharma Realm; and the mandalas of the two realms Garbha and Vajradhātu, in order to fulfil the four obligations and to complete the dual benefits.

19 See KSHS, 15.
20 The Shōyūshō (or Seiriishō) is a collection of poems, memorials, letters, etc. allegedly composed by Kukai and compiled by Shinzei. The full title is Henjō hakki seiriishō 極妙發願集, the chronological tables of the Shingon school, see SNN, 24. In the Kōya chūō henro shōden, the annals of Kōyasan compiled by Kaiei, we read that the ceremony of Ten Thousand Lamps (Manjō-万灯会) was performed that day at Kōyasan. However, this source makes no mention of any stūpa. See KSHS, 14. The earliest reference to the construction of the Daitō, the main stūpa of Kōyasan, is found in KSHS, 10. This work reports that the timbers for the central pillar of the Daitō were cut on the Toragamine 塔師峯 hill of Kōyasan on the first day of the sixth month of Kanrin 俊仁 (810) (=832). The Daitō was not completed while Kukai was alive. His disciple Shinzen 眞澄 (804–891, see below note 29) completed the stūpa either in 875 or 887. See Yamamoto 1973, 83; and the chronological table of the history of the Daitō in Kōyasan Reihokan 1997, 135.
21 二利 niri. Benefiting oneself 他利 (jirī) and benefiting others 利他 (rithā). See BD, 1050 s.v. niri.
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In this passage it is not specified which stupas are exactly meant here. The two stupas are generally considered to be the Konpon Daitō and the Saitō ("Western Stūpa"), a small two-storied stūpa to the west of the Daitō.26

On the other hand, Mashiba Hiromune and Atobe Naoji claim that the Daitō and the Yugitō are meant here.27 Unfortunately they do not refer to any source or argument to support this opinion.

In the Yaṣan meireishō 野山名霊縆, an outline of Kōyasan from its founding compiled by Taien 泰円 (no dates) in 1752, we read that Kūkai assembled all his disciples on the fifteenth day of the twelfth month of Jōwa 1 (=834) in the Chūin 中院 (=Ryūkōin) where he gave his last injunctions.28

The Yugitō – located in the Ryūkōin, Honchūindani 本中院谷—in full Kongobuhorphakuyugitō 金刚峯宝楼圓塔, was built under Kūkai’s will by Go-Sōjō Shinzen 後智正真29 in the Era of Jōgan 貞観 (859–876) and is the most secret jewelled stūpa 宝塔 (hōtō).30 In the beginning, Kūkai summoned his disciples in the Chūin on the fifteenth day of the twelfth month of Jōwa 1 (=834) and expressed his various last wishes. These were all superior plans to make the Dharma abide for a long time. The principles of the Dharma abode are wholly contained in this stūpa and in the Great Stūpa. The deep meaning of the appellation Kongobuji lies herein.31

The earliest biographies on Kūkai give account of such gatherings, but none of them refer to the Yugitō.32 Taien further writes that Shinzen built the Yugitō in pursuance of Kūkai’s will:

He (=Kūkai) personally conferred the construction of the Five Peaks and the Eight Pillars (Gobu Hatchū 五峰八柱)33 and the four, nine and thirty-six figures34 to Shinzen Sōjo by means of a drawing

26 See KSH, 15; ZSZ (in SZS, XXXVI, 14, 193); SZ, XLII, 285; Saw 1974, 19; Saw 1997, 78–79, 90. The Saitō was completed in Ninna 平和 3 (=887) by Shinzen. At the beginning it contained the Five Buddhas of the Kongoji. In the present Saitō (27 meters high), a reconstruction dating from 1835, Dainichi of the Kongoji is surrounded by the other four Buddhas of the Taizōji. According to a tenth century source (see Shimomatsu 1991, 85), the Five Buddhas of the Taizōji were enshrined in the Daitō. In the present structure, the four Buddhas of the Kongoji are installed around Dainichi of the Taizōji. For the deities in the Saitō, see Yamamoto 1976, 182; Shibata 1981, 122. The deities in the Daitō are discussed in Shimomatsu 1991. For a detailed description of the deities in the present Daitō, see Kōyasan Reihōkan 1997.


30 See note 22.

31 Biographical texts on Kūkai can be found in KDKZ, VIII. For the problem of the trustworthiness of the biographies of Kūkai, see Kitagawa 1987, 184–185.

32 The Five Peaks refer to the five sārin on top of the Yugitō, the Eight Pillars to the eight pillars inside the stūpa. See IV and V below.
he had imported from T’ang. Moreover, he was given Kūkai’s last will. He moved to the Chūn after Kūkai’s decease and governed the mountain. In accordance with the Master’s will he built this stūpa.

He started in the second year of Jōgan (1119) and inaugurated [the stūpa] on the ninth day of the eighth month of the twelfth year of the same era (1120).

It is not clear to which Chinese drawing Taien is referring. As far as we know no Chinese text or plan which explains the design or the contents of a stūpa similar to the Yugitō has come down to us. The Kōya shunyū benzen shōrōkai 高野春秋編年輯録 of Kaiei 賀宥 (1642–1727) refers in its entry of Gen’e 元永2 (1119) to an oral transmission of the Chūn, according to which the stūpa would be based on a drawing by Kūkai.35 Also the Shingon monk Dōhan 道範 (1178–1252) mentions a similar drawing in his Yujitsuram kōketsu 口诀.36 The Yujitok bidenshō 瑜祇経帳伝抄 of Yūji 祐宜 (1536–1612) describes a drawing of a stūpa with five peaks and eight pillars on Mt. Sumeru.37 He attributes this drawing to Kūkai after the oral transmission of Hui-kuo 惠果 (746–805, Keika in Japanese), the master of Kūkai. However, no extant original plan or drawing of the Yugitō by Kūkai is known. The stūpa is not mentioned in Kūkai’s works neither.

The stūpa has been rebuilt and restored repeatedly. According to the Shōtō shōji 小塔習事, a document stored in the Ryūkōin and quoted in Amanuma Shun’ichi’s article on the Yugitō,38 the stūpa was repaired by the scholar-priest Echi 惠智 (1146–1220) of the Renkōin 諸金院 in Kōya-san after it was seriously damaged. Neither the cause nor the date of this accident is mentioned.40 The text informs us that he restored the stūpa with donations collected at a commemorative service held for the Kamakura Daibutsu 坂倉大仏. This bronze figure of Amithāba was, however, built during the Kenchō 建長 Era (1249–1256).41 The text may be re-

34 It is most likely that the four, nine and thirty-six figures correspond with the following deities:
four = four of the five central Buddhas of the Kongōmandara.
nine = the nine central deities in the Taizōmandara.
three-six = the Thirty-seven Deities of the Kongōkai (三十七尊 Sanjūshichishin) except Dainichi.

35 Quoted below, V.
36 Quoted below, V.
37 Quoted below, VII.
38 See Amanuma 1934, 198. Amanuma does not specify the author and the date of this text but quotes information added by the copyist: “The above [text] is written in a secret book called Naunzan karurai ku 南山唐柏口. I am excerpting from a manuscript of Temmei 天明 2 (1782).” I have not been able to find this document in the Ryūkōin. A manuscript entitled Naunzan karurai kyō 南山唐柏抄 is kept in the library of Kōya University (class number 1-64/ ダチ/14). This manuscript contains a short text entitled Shōtō shōji. This manuscript has been entrusted to the library by the Jōjūji 正覺寺 (Osaka). In addition to the information quoted by Amanuma, the text gives also an esoteric interpretation of the mudrā called Gogokoin 外五郎印 (for this mudrā see V below). It has a colophon with the name Shinkai 真悔 (dates unknown) of the Kongōbōji Hodarakūin 金剛峰寺障院. Shinkai’s name appears in the colophon of an edition of the shorter version (略本 ryakubon) of the Higokōi 真記抄, dated 明和丁亥 (1767).

39 On Echi, see MD, 152 s.v. Echi. The Renkōin was founded by Riken 理親 (1117–1190), the master of Echi. See MJ, 701 s.v. Riken; MD, 2255 s.v. Riken.
40 No information on this accident in SN or KZF.
41 The construction of the Daibutsuden 大仏殿 (“Great Buddha Hall”) was started in 1238. The inauguration ceremony for the great wooden Buddha statue was held in 1243. The bronze figure was cast in 1252. See KD, V, 467 s.v. Kōtokuin.

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ferring to the ceremony held for the completion of the Great Buddha in the Tōdaiji 東大寺 in Nara in 1195. Shōgun Minamoto Yoritomo 源頼朝 (1147–1199) attended this ceremony with his wife Masako 政子 and made there a vow to build a big bronze image in Kamakura.42 In the said document it is furthermore written that Echi reconstructed the stūpa with two roofs like the Daitō 大東 and that this was to Dōban’s great dissatisfaction because it was against Kūkai’s original will.43

In Eishō 永正 18 (=1521), the central monastic complex on Mt. Kōya 金剛山 was completely destroyed by fire.44 The Yugitō 余吉堂 was restored in Kan’ei 元永 3 (=1626) and inaugurated in 1629.45 It was again destroyed by fire in Bunka 文化 6 (=1809) and rebuilt in Tenshō 天保4 (=1833).46 On the occasion of its inauguration in 1838, a tablet with the name of the temple (Kongōrokukuyūgūto 金剛欄楯雄極圖) written horizontally by the monk Sainin 晴仁 (1797–1847) was attached to the southside of the Yugitō.47 Another fire destroyed the stūpa in Genji 元治 1 (=1864).48 It was reconstructed in 1931.49 In celebration of the completion of the Yugitō, the Yugikanjō 宜峴頂 (“Yugi Initiation”) was performed inside the stūpa on November 11–12th 1933.50 The present building is 19.80 meters high and consists of one storey.51 It is located on the hillside at the back of the Ryōkōin (see fig. 3). At first this temple was called Chūin 中院 (“Central Monastery”), and was the residence of the chief priest of Kōyasan since Kūkai and his successor Shinzen. It was also in this temple that Meizan 明円 (1021–1106) founded the Chūin branch, Chūin-ryū 中院派, the school of ritual prevalent in Kōyasan.52

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42 See BJ, I, 462 s.v. Kamakura Daibutsu.
43 This is also mentioned in KZF (in ZSZ, XXXVII, 634). It is not sure whether the Daitō was originally a single- or a two-storied stūpa. See Atobe 1970b, 17; Kōno and Trautz 1934, 25. See also III below.

According to Mashiba (1969, 148) the two-storied Daito and the single-storied Yugitō symbolise respectively the duality 二 (nī) and the non-duality 不二 (jōh) of the two realms. Mashiba does not give any reason why the number of the roofs ought to be interpreted in this way.
44 See KZF (in ZSZ, XXXVII, 636); SN, 499; KSHS, 257.
45 See KZF (in ZSZ, XXXVII, 636); SN, 557, 559; YM, 38; KSHS, 311.
46 See KZF (in ZSZ, XXXVII, 636).
47 See KZF (in ZSZ, XXXVII, 636). For Sainin, see Mj, 256 s.v. Sainin; MD, 760 s.v. Sainin.
48 See BJ, V, 4925 s.v. Yugitō.
49 See Mj, 690 s.v. Yugitō; MD, 2210 s.v. Yugitō.
50 A mental initiation (内作業灌頂 naiyō kanjō) based on Chapter XI of the Yugikyō 要覲経 and regarded as especially secret. The Yugikanjō is performed in Shingon and Tendai. The way of executing this ritual differs from school to school. Fifteen deities are visualised (曼荼羅 kanō) on the body of the kārya or on an image of Kukai. This is then to be visualised as a mandala with thirty-seven deities. The practitioner, whose eyes are covered with red silk, should throw a flower on this mandala. See MD, 2207 s.v. Yugikanjō; Mj, 689–690 s.v. Yugikanjō Mashiba 1969: 149; Ōyama 1956, 567; Kōyasan jōka, 1, 3, ZSN, I, 34. The Yugikanjō is described in Inaya 1981. On the Yugikanjō in the Shingon school Chūin-ryū 中院派, see Koda 1988. On the fifteen deities, see Manabe 1984a,b.
51 See Watanabe 1982, 228.
52 For Meizan, see Mj, 669–670.
53 On the Chūin branch, see Ōyama 1956.
Fig. 3: Map of the central monastic complex of Koyasan. (after Gankōji Bunkazai Kenkyūjo Kōkogaku Kenkyūshitsu 1982, 102)
In the course of its long history, the stupa was apparently constructed at slightly different places, always to the north of the central Daitō and in the vicinity of the Ryōkōin. The Kii zoku fudoki 記伊續風土記 compiled in 1839 locates the Yugitō at the foot of the Shishigatake (“Mt. Lion”), a hill right to the west of the temple, about thirty steps north to the Danjō 壇上. Further in the text we read that the stupa was initially built on top of the hill and that it was rebuilt on the aforementioned place after the fire of 1521. According to this work, the reason for this move might have been the inconvenience of the place for religious practices.

The text adds that the hill was till then called Shōtōbu 小塔峯, “Small Stupa Peak”.

III. The External Structural Features of the Yugitō

Apart from the Yugitōzu 殿祇塔図, which are esoteric drawings of the Yugitō as an object of meditation explaining its hidden symbolic meaning, I do not know any old accurate figures or plans of the material edifice. The oldest drawings of the Garan 伽藍, the central monastic complex at Kōyasan, are found in the Goshuin'engi 御手印縁起, historical documents composed in the first half of the twelfth century. In these drawings the Yugitō is depicted near the Chūin as a small single-storied stupa with one sōrin. The Yugitō is also depicted on the numerous plans of Kōyasan drawn in the Tokugawa or Edo Period (1603–1867). But in these plans, Kōyasan is shown in its entirety and our stupa is again drawn in such a small size that we cannot investigate its structure in detail. However, in these plans we can see that the stupa is often drawn in two stories with five sōrin on the upper roof. There is also a drawing in which even the lower roof carries one sōrin on each corner. For lack of older detailed drawings or plans of the Yugitō, it is impossible to know in which degree the present stupa is a faithful reproduction of the one built by Shinzen in 870. The fact that the stupa was built in two stories by Echi indicates that there were already different traditions concerning the overall structure in the twelfth and thirteenth century. Later we will see that also the interior and the contents of the stupa and its esoteric interpretations change considerably from source to source.

The present structure rests on two square stone platforms (kidan 基壇) which consist of slab-stones (hame-ishi 羽目石). The upper platform is smaller in size and less tall than the
lower one. Next there is a lotus platform (rendai 蓮台, rengesa 蓮華座), which is a circle of lotus petals sculptured in stone. The petals are slightly pointing downwards in the kaeribana 反花 fashion. The stupa body itself (tōhin 塔身) is a short white cylinder with a dome-shaped top. There are eight pillars in the wall of the body and one door in each of the four directions. The pillars as well as the doors are red-painted. On top of the dome is a short white cylinder surrounded by a red balustrade (kōran 勾欄, 高欄). On the upper part of this cylinder there is a complex construction of radiating girders, which support the square pyramidal roof (bōgyōgura 星形星楼). The tokyō 斗樞 (or 斗樞), the assembly connecting the roof with the stupa body, is in the mitsuki 三手 style, i.e. it consists of three brackets (bijiki 薫木). The roof is of the futanoki 二軒 type (“twofold eaves”). Under each corner of the roof hangs a bell (futaokana 風鐘). On the copper roofing, five sōrin are installed, one in the centre and one near each corner. 66 These copper structures usually consist of nine rings (kurin 九輪), but here we have five. The central sōrin is slightly different from those near the corners. At the base there is a so-called dew-basin (roban 露盆), a box-like basic part. On the roban is the fukubachi 伏鉢 (or 覆鉢), a component in the shape of an inverted bowl. Above it there is a shaft (sakkan 桿竿) with respectively one ukehana 受花 (or 購花), a flower-shaped ornament with eight petals pointing upwards, and five rings (rin 輪). On each ring eight small bells are attached. Next there is one flower-shaped ornament with eight petals, the so-called “lotus seat” or rengesa 蓮華座. It contains a vase-shaped object (hōbei 宝瓶, “jewel vase”). Above it there is one hōgai 宝盖 (“jewel cover” or “jewel canopy”; or tengai 天蓋, “heavenly cover” or “heavenly canopy”) with eight small bells, and one spherical object called ryūsha 龍舎 (or 龍舎) supported by a lotus. At the very top there is one small hōjin 宝津 (“jewel”), a teardrop-shaped ornament that also rests on a lotus-flower. The other four sōrin lack the hōgai. Between each sōrin near the corner of the roof and the central one, there is a chain (hōshaku 宝鎖) with three bells. No suisen 水煙 (“water-smoke”), a flame-shaped open metal work ornament, is attached on the sōrin of the Yugitō. This is, however, a common element on the sōrin of the average Japanese stupa.

Information on the reconstruction of our stupa is found in Amanuma’s article on the Yugitō published in August 1934. 67 This specialist on Japanese ancient architecture writes that he attempted to draw a plan for the reconstruction of the Yugitō. His plan was presented by the Ryūkōin to the Religious Affairs Bureau (Shakyōkyoku 宗教局) of the Japanese Ministry of Education. But he regrets that the Bureau requested the planning to an engineer, Gojō Keiji 後藤慶二, who was no more alive at the time Amanuma wrote his article. 68 It may nevertheless be interesting to have a look at the way Amanuma reconstructed the Yugitō (see figs. 4–5).

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65 See Ishida 1969a, 190. For the terminology of the roof in Japanese Buddhist architecture, see Parent 1985. For a drawing of the mitsuki and futanoki type, see KDJ, V, respectively pp. 504 and 506.
66 The sōrin are clearly visible in Ishida 1969a, plate 248. This plate is included in the present study, see fig. 1. The sōrin of the Yugitō are described in Ishida 1969a, 190; Ishida 1969b, 41; Mae 1979, 131.
68 See Amanuma 1934, 216–217.
In his drawings we see that he applied a wave pattern in the slab-stones of the lower platform in order to represent a pond. In the centre of the front side of the upper platform, he proposed to install a massive stone on which he designed a turtle to be sculptured in relief like the one in the stone stupa of the Hōkakuji (see below). The upper platform supports a lotus platform in the kaeribana style and a circular stupa body with eight interior and eight exterior pillars, similar to the present Yugitō. Without mentioning a particular reason, he opted for the yotesaki 四手先 style instead of the mitesaki for the bracketing-system. For the ceiling of the eaves he based himself on the five-storied stupa of the Murōji 室生寺. When we compare the modern Yugitō with Amanuma’s plan, the overall design of the stupa is similar, except for some details. First, the wave pattern and the turtle have been left out in the present structure. Secondly, Amanuma designs the five sōrin with a suien on the top of the shaft and without the tengai, kobai and ryūsha. He writes that later, when he was consulted about the construction of the sōrin, he would have suggested to imitate the one on the five-storied stupa of the Murōji. He does not explain why he suggested this particular stupa. Apparently his advice was followed: except for the nine rings, the sōrin of the Murōji stupa is identical with the central sōrin of the present Yugitō. The Murōji stupa dates back from the Nara Period (710–794) and the present edifice would be

69 See the drawings in Amanuma 1934, 236–238.
70 See Amanuma 1934, 215.
71 See Amanuma 1934, 216.
72 See Amanuma 1934, 216; KDJ, V, p. 84. For a detailed study of the Murōji, see Fowler 1994.
73 See Amanuma 1934, 218; Ishida 1969b, 41.
74 See plate 26 in KDJ, V, 82. See also Ishida 1969a, 160.

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very close to its original design. However, the sōrin of the Murōji stūpa has been repaired frequently and it is doubtful whether its original form has been preserved. For the reconstruction of the Yugitō Amanuma clearly combined elements from different extant Japanese structures.

Except for the five sōrin, the Yugitō has the characteristics of the category of Japanese stūpas called hōtō ("jewelled stūpa", see fig. 6). The hōtō is characterised by a circular ground plan and consists of a cylindrical body with a domed top, which carries a short cylinder. A pyramidal roof with slightly curved edges and with one sōrin in the centre tops the hōtō.

In 1963, a thirty-five meters high replica of the Yugitō was built of reinforced concrete in the Yakuji Temple in the Tokushima Prefecture. This Shingon temple is no. 23 on the pilgrimage route of the eighty-eight sacred sites on the island of Shikoku, the Shikoku Hachijūhakkasho 四国八十八箇所. Along this route are eighty-eight temples closely related to Kūkai. On November 11th 1999, a stūpa with five spires called Yugi Shichifuku Hōtō 瑜祇七福宝塔 was inaugurated in the Hachijōji 八浄寺, a Shingon temple on the Awaji Island 淡路島.

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75 See KDJ, V, 84.
76 The hōtō is discussed in detail in Ishida 1969a, 88–93.
77 See AD, 2174 s.v. Yakuji; Ihara 1984b, 237, note 23; Fujishima 1978, 168. For an illustration, see Miyata 1984, 66.
78 See Chūgai Nippo 1999a, 15; Chūgai Nippo 1999b, 5; Chūgai Nippo 1999c, 11; Chūgai Nippo 1999d, 8–9.
IV. The Interior of the Yugitó

There seems to be no early texts known in which the interior of the Yugitó is described. The *Yasan meireishō* and the *Kii zoku fudoki*, compiled respectively in the first half of the eighteenth and nineteenth century, contain a brief description of the deities contained in the *itāpu*. In the *Yasan meireishō* we read:79

The main honoured ones are the Five Buddhas Dainichi Nyorai 大日如来 and Ashuku 阿闍 荒生, etc. The paintings on the four pillars were painted after the death of the Sojō 僧正80 by a person called Eri Sōzu 会理僧都,81 an initiated disciple. He painted them in accordance with the transmission of the Master. But though the times change, the stars move and prosperity and decline are not equal, the reverence for the monk is now deeper and deeper in the world. In medieval times, the *itāpu* Kaikyō 窪院 were drawn. The construction is superb and the paintings are skilful. It is customary that the Nine Honoured Ones are painted and on the eight columns of the four gates the Eight Great Bodhisattvas [are painted]. A manuscript with their shapes, colours and so on by Eri Sōzu is in the Chûin.

The *Kii zoku fudoki* contains a more detailed description. It also mentions figures painted on the inner walls and on the inside of the doors.84

In the centre, the Five Buddhas of the Vajra Realm are installed. On the four pillars each of the Nine Honoured Ones are painted and on the eight columns the Eight Great Bodhisattvas are drawn. On the eight doors, the Eight Deities are painted, and on the four walls the Eight Patriarchs are drawn. The construction is superb and the paintings are skilful. It is customary that other unusual matters are based on secret transmission.

The detailed description of the deities is clearly secret. As a matter of fact, further in this text we read:

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79 See YM, 36.
81 Eri (852–935) was a disciple of Shäi 師 (809–884) and Zennen 智念 (?–908). See MJ, 52 s.v. Eri; MD, 155 s.v. Eri. Eri was mainly active in the Toji 東寺. According to BDJ, V, 4925 s.v. Yugitó, Eri carved the Five Buddhas of the Kongai in Kanyô 宮城 5 (1179). See KZF (in ZSZ, XXXVII, 635). In the *Yukisutra* 窪経, one of Dōhà’s *Enjó* (1178–1252) commentaries on the *Yagkyō*, we read that the pillars bore paintings of the Thirty-seven Deities painted by Eri. See ZZ, VII, 101. [*Yukisutra* is written out in *itō* in the title of this commentary. For technical reasons I cannot reproduce the *itō* syllables. The text is also often referred to under its Sino-Japanese title *Yagkyō kodun* 窪経口伝. For the use of *itō* in the title of the commentaries on the *Yagkyō*, see Vanden Broucke 1994, 209–210.]
83 Naoe Kanetsugu 直江兼続 (1560–1619). See KD, X, 528–529 s.v. Naoe Kanetsugu. Yamashiro was one of the five provinces nearest to the ancient capital (Gokaiin 五畿內). It corresponds with the southern part of the present-day Kyôto-fu 京都府.
84 See KZF (in ZSZ, XXXVII, 634).

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Though the postures and seals (mudrās) of the deities each have a deep meaning, they cannot easily be written with paper and ink. The present jewelled stūpa is also without doubt constructed in accordance with the old system.

These two sources refer to four interior pillars. These four central pillars, the shitenbashira 四天柱 ("the four heavenly pillars"), are frequently found in the Japanese stūpa. The area within these pillars is the inner sanctuary, naijin 内陣, and contains a Mt. Sumeru platform, Shumidan 須弥壇, on which sculptures of the central deities may be installed. But in the present Yugitō not four but eight pillars are erected in a circle. These eight interior pillars are an important feature of the Yugitō. As a matter of fact, we shall see that some Japanese commentaries on the Yugikyō call the stūpa the "Pavilion with Five Peaks and Eight Pillars", Gobu Hatchû 五峯八柱の楼閣. In the reconstructed Yugitō, the central pillar or shinbashira 心柱 does not extend from below the ground but rises above the ceiling to the top of the roof.

According to these two sources, the five central Buddhas clearly belong to the Vajra Realm. It is not explicitly indicated to which realm the surrounding deities belong. The series of nine deities might refer to the Kuson 九尊, the nine central deities in the Taizōmandara 胎蔵曼荼羅, which represents the Taizō. This series of deities consists of four Buddhas and four Bodhisattvas who emanate from the central Dainichi, Taizō Dainichi 胎蔵大日. These nine deities are said to be painted on "the four pillars" but the exact configuration is not described. Maybe two deities were painted on each of the four pillars, in all eight deities. The central Taizō Dainichi, on the other hand, might have been substituted by another element of the stūpa, for example the central axis above the statues of the Five Buddhas of the Vajra Realm. Or, Dainichi was to be seen in the totality of these eight deities who are his emanations. The eight Bodhisattvas on the eight exterior columns are probably the Hachidaibosatsu 八大菩薩 ("The Eight Great Bodhisattvas"); a series of eight Bodhisattvas considered being the protectors of the Buddhist doctrine. The identity of these deities differs depending on the scriptural source; a comparative list is included in the

85 On the shitenbashira, see Ishida 1969a, 85.
86 The central pillar of the Japanese stūpa came to be suspended from above the ceiling from the end of the Heian (794–1185). See Kawakatsu 1984, 90; Káno and Trautz 1934, 25.
87 The Five Buddhas in the maṇḍala of the Vajra Realm are Dainichi 大日 (Skt. Vairocana) in the centre and the Four Buddhas in the Four Directions 四方向仏 (Shihšibutsu). The four Buddhas are Ashuku 阿疏 (Skt. Akṣobhya) in the east, Hâsh 宝生 (Skt. Ratnasambhava) in the south, Amida 阿弥陀 (Skt. Amitābha) in the west and Fûkôju 不空成就 (Skt. Amoghasiddhi) in the north. See MJ, 320 s.v. Shihšibutsu; Kiyota 1978, 98.
88 Four Buddhas: Hôda 宝篤 (east, Skt. Ramaketa)
Kaifukeo 関敷華王 (south, Skt. Sañkusumitarāja)
Muryūju 無量寿 (west, Skt. Amitāyus)
Tenkuraion 天鼓雷音 (north, Skt. Divyasundubbimeghanirghoṣa)
Four Bodhisattvas: Fugen 菩賢 (southeast, Skt. Samantaabhadra)
Monjushiri 文殊師利 (southwest, Skt. Manjusri)
Kanûzai 観自在 (northwest, Skt. Avalokiteśvara)
Minoku 弥勒 (northeast, Skt. Maitreyā)
The Yugitō

Mikkyō daijiten 密教大辞典, the Japanese encyclopedic dictionary of esoteric Buddhism. The eight deities painted on the doors are undoubtedly the Happōten 八方天, the eight devas who protect the eight points of the compass. The Eight Patriarchs, Hasso 八祖, are the eight masters Shingon considers to have transmitted esoteric Buddhism.

Although Amanuma discusses the constructional aspects of the Yugitō elaborately, no information is found on the deities to be installed or painted inside the reconstructed stūpa. We should hereby bear in mind that he was a specialist in architecture. He did not write his study from the point of view of an initiated Shingon scholar-monk. However, he included a reproduction of an old plan from the Chūin of the composition of the deities in the Yugitō. The author and the date of this document, titled Kōyasan Chūin Shōtō-zu 高野山中院小塔図 (“Plan of the Small Stūpa of the Chūin in Kōyasan”), are not indicated. Here follows an English version of this plan and the accompanying text.

91 See MD, 1812 s.v. Hachidaibosatsu.
92 See MD, 1816 s.v. Happōten.
94 For a brief biography of Amanuma Shun’ichi (1876–1947), see Fujiwara 1948, 142.
95 See Amanuma 1934, 198–201. I have been unable to find this document in the Ryūkōin. A manuscript with the same title and the same description of the interior of the Yugitō is kept at the library of Kōyasan University (class number 中院/中院/64). In this manuscript, the plan has the shape of a lotus flower with eight petals. The central five deities are represented in a square, in the centre of the lotus. This manuscript has been entrusted to the library by the Shinbessho 真別所 (= Entōji 圓通寺) of Kōyasan. Unfortunately the manuscript contains no colophon. At the end of the text we read: 真倉資聖賢（？）等，“Vajra disciple Kyōō (?)”. No priest called Kyōō is included in the index of MD, SZ, KSHS.
| A 大日 | Dainichi (of the Taizō) | Vairocana\(^96\) |
| B 宝幢仏 | Hōdo Butsu | Rama\(\text{ñ}\)etu |
| C 開敷華王仏 | Kaifukō Butsu | Samkusumitarāja |
| D 薬賢 | Fugen | Samantabhadra |
| E 文殊 | Monju | Mañjuśrī |

| A’ 阿 | Ashuku | Akṣobhya |
| B’ 宝生 | Hōshō | Rama\(\text{ñ}\)bhava |
| C’ 無量寿 | Muryōju | Amitāyus |
| D’ 不空成就 | Fukōju | Amoghasiddhi |

| a 金剛波羅蜜 | Kongharamitsu | Vajrapāramitā |
| b 宝波羅蜜 | Hōharamitsu | Ramapāramitā |
| c 法波羅蜜 | Hōharamitsu | Dharmapāramitā |
| d 無量波羅蜜 | Katsumaharamitsu | Karmapāramitā |

| 1 金剛喜 | Kongōki | Vajrasādhū |
| 2 金剛愛 | Kongōai | Vajra\(\text{r}\)a |
| 3 金剛薩埵 | Kongisatta | Vajrasattva |
| 4 金剛王 | Kongō | Vajra\(\text{r}\)a |
| 5 金剛光 | Kongōkō | Vajrachya |
| 6 金剛契 | Kongōshō | Vajrahāsa |
| 7 金剛輔 | Kongōdo | Vajraketu |
| 8 金剛宝 | Kongōhō | Vajraratna |
| 9 金剛法 | Kongōhō | Vajradharma |
| 10 金剛利 | Kongōri | Vajrati\(\text{k}ṣa\)a |
| 11 金剛語 | Kongōgo | Vajra\(\text{h}\)aśa |
| 12 金剛因 | Kongōin | Vajra\(\text{h}\)etu |
| 13 金 = [金剛] 菩[叉] (= 金剛叉) | = Kongōge = Vajrayakṣa |
| 14 金剛業 | Kongōga | Vajrakarma |
| 15 金剛護 | Kongōgo | Vajrarakṣa |
| 16 金剛拳 | Kongōken | Vajrasaṃdhī/\(\text{Vajra}\)muṣṭi |

| I 金剛嗡 | Kongōki | Vajralaśi |
| II 金剛髻 | Kongōman | Vajramalā |
| III 金剛歌 | Kongōka | Vajragātā |
| IV 金剛舞 | Kongōbu | Vajra\(\text{r}\)tā |

| I’ 金剛香 | Kongōkō | Vajradhūpā |
| II’ 金剛華 | Kongōke | Vairāputpā |
| III’ 金剛徴 | Kongōtō | Vairāloka |
| IV’ 金剛髻 | Kongōzu | Vajragandhā |

\(^{96}\) The Indian names of the deities are based on \(\text{Mf}\).
Theappendant explanatory text runs as follows:

The stupa of the Chūin at Köyasan. Called Small Stupa, with five kārīra 空輪. Drawing of the inner sanctuary. The Buddhist statues have been made and drawn by Eri Sazuzu.

The record of Kezain no Miya101 says: “Dainichi, Hōdō, Kaifu, Fugen and Monju of the Taizō.”102

Matters concerning the Buddhas in wooden statues: the mudras and the attributes they hold are as usual. The three Buddhas103 and the two Bodhisattvas104 are made of sandalwood.

The canopy (tengai 天蓋): clouds and cranes are drawn round the eight petals.

Concerning the paintings on the walls and the doors: a lotus pond is drawn under the four Buddhas.105 Above them music instruments are flying. Under the Bodhisattvas on the doors are shikishigata 色紙形. Above them are lotus flowers: some open, some closed.

97 See MD, 1109 s.v. Joakushubosatsu, 2152b s.v. Mettakushubosatsu.
98 See MD, 2168a s.v. Monjubosatsu.
100 “Space ring/wheel.” A synonym of sārin, see BD, 284 s.v. kārīra.
101 Kezain no Miya華蔵院宮 is the monk Shōkei 聖恵 (1094–1137), the fifth son of Emperor Shirakawa 白河 (1053–1129) and founder of the Kezain school, one of the six sub-schools of the Hiroswa school (Hirosawa-ryū 大澤流) of Shingon. The text mentioned here is probably the Kezain no Miya gyoki 华蔵院宮御記. The title of this text is recorded in KS, III, 80.
102 Compare with the Buddhas and the Bodhisattvas mentioned above, note 88.
103 A, B and C.
104 D and E.
105 A’, B’, C’ and D’.

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The Four Buddhas,107 the Four Pāramitābodhisattvas,108 the Eight Pūjās109 and the Four Sanghras110 the Sixteen Honoured Ones of the Bhadrakalpa111 all have the jewelled lotus seat. The Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas112 on red lotuses.

The Bodhisattvas on the doors are all standing figures: the Four Pāramitās, the Eight Pūjās and the Four Sanghras are the Sixteen Honoured Ones. The Buddhulas and the Bodhisattvas of the four corners are all sitting figures: the Four Buddhas and the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas.

The Four Buddhas are gold coloured. The others are flesh-coloured.

Summarising this description of the deities inside the stūpa, we have the following series of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas:
• The central deities: three of the Five Buddhas and two of the Four Bodhisattvas of the central assembly of the Taizōmandara.
• The four walls: four of the Five Buddhas of the central assembly of the Kongōkaimandara. Each Buddha is flanked by four of the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas of the Kongōkaimandara.
• The doors: the Four Pāramitābodhisattvas, the Eight Pūjābodhisattvas, the Four Sanghrabodhisattvas and the Sixteen Honoured Ones of the Bhadrakalpa.

In total there are fifty-seven deities. The central five deities belong to the Taizō. The fifty-two surrounding deities are found in the Kongōkai. Whereas the central deities mentioned in the Kii zoku fudoki113 belong to the Kongōkai, the central sculptures in this plan are derived from the Taizō. There is no reference to the columns.

The Kōya-za kantatsu shinjinsi, a history and description of Kōya by Shinken 信堅 (1259–1322), contains a short reference to the interior of the Yugitō:114

The Small Stūpa. Built by Gosōjō Shinzen. In front of Chūdai Dainichi115 on the left Ashuku, on the right Hōshō. Three Buddhas, two Bodhisattvas.

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106 Probably a pattern in the shape of shikishi, square pieces of paper for writing poems on. See Shinmura 1994, 1106 s.v. shikishigata.
107 A', B', C' and D'.
108 a, b, c and d. Shiharamitsubosatsu 四波羅蜜菩薩. On this series of Bodhisattvas, see Snodgrass 1988, II, 598–602.
113 On the deities of the Kongōkaimandara, see Kiyota 1978, 93–104; Snodgrass 1988, II, 555–727.
114 See Abe 1982, 98. On the Kōya-za kantatsu shinjingi, see Abe 1982, 93.
115 中台大日. Chūdai 中台 (or 中台) refers to the Chūdai Hachiyō-in 中台 (or 中台)八葉院, the "Hall of the Eight Petal Central Dais", the central hall in the Taizōmandara. In this section of the mandala, the nine main deities of the Taizō are sitting on a lotus with eight petals. Dainichi occupies the centre of the lotus. Four Buddhas and four Bodhisattvas (see note 88 above) sit on the eight petals surrounding Dainichi. See Snodgrass 1988, I, 207–208; Kiyota 1978, 87–89; MJ, 500–501 s.v. Chūdai Hachiyō-in.
This arrangement resembles the central part of the above-mentioned plan. Here too, Dainichi of the Taizō occupies the centre. But instead of the Buddhas Hōdō and Kaifuke of the Taizō, Ashuku and Hōshō, two Buddhas of the central assembly of the Kongōkaimandara, are occupying the area in front of Dainichi. In other words, a syncretic tendency is already noticeable in the choice of the three central Buddhas. The identity of the ‘two Bodhisattvas’ is not explained.

Both in the Kongōkaimandara and the Taizōmandara, Dainichi occupies the central portion surrounded by four Buddhas in the four cardinal directions. These four Buddhas are explained as manifestations of Dainichi. Though the four surrounding Buddhas of the Taizō are different in appearance with those of the Kongōkaimandara, in Shingon they are considered to be essentially identical.116 The relationship of the four Buddhas of both mandalas is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kongōkai</th>
<th>Ashuku</th>
<th>Hōshō</th>
<th>Amida</th>
<th>Fukaiajōu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Taizō</td>
<td>Hōdō</td>
<td>Kaifukeō</td>
<td>Muryōju</td>
<td>Tenkuraion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Orientation: east south west north

Comparing the identity of the two central Buddhas near Dainichi mentioned in the Ryūkōin document and in Shinken’s compilation, we see a correspondence with the Buddhas of the east and the south of the two mandalas as shown in the above table.

The Yugisutra 瑜祇経, a commentary on the Yugikyō by the Shingon scholar-priest Dōhan 道範 (1178–1252), contains an interesting reference to the contents of the stūpa.117 Here again we read that Dainichi of the Taizō is installed together with two Buddhas and two Bodhisattvas. It is further stated that they represent the Five Buddhas and that these deities “gather” (or “embody”, “comprise”, 略, comp. Skt. saṃgraha) the Nine Deities. This information is contained in a supplementary note to a section dealing with “the nondual meaning of the Introductory Chapter [of the Yugikyō]” (序品不二之仏也). The numerous notes in this text are considered to be of different authorship.118 The above note is followed by an explanation that states that the deities are “the Buddhas of the non-duality of the two sections” (兩部不二之仏也).119 This passage is again of uncertain authorship. We read that Dainichi of the Taizō in the Yugito is identified with Dainichi of the Taizō and the Kongōkai. The two Buddhas would be Ashuku and Hōshō, the two Bodhisattvas Kannon and Kokūzō. The text locates these deities respectively in the southeast, southwest, northwest and the northeast. Moreover, the two Buddhas and the two Bodhisattvas are identified with the four Buddhas and the four Bodhisattvas surrounding the central Dainichi in the Taizō. I have set out these relationships in the following table:

| Ashuku (SE) | = Fugen (SE in the Taizō) | = Hōdō |
| Hōshō (SW)  | = Monju (SW in the Taizō)  | = Kaifukeō |
| Kannon (NW) | = Muryōju (W in the Taizō) | = Kanjizai |
| Kokūzō (NE) | = Tenkuraion (N in the Taizō) | = Miroku |

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116 See Snodgrass 1988, II, 596–597; MD, 1363–1364 s.v. senden fusenden. See also the table in MJ, 220 s.v. gochi.

117 See VZ, V, 46. This passage is translated and more fully discussed below, V. Yugisutra is written out in siddhāṇa in the title of this commentary. For technical reasons I cannot reproduce the siddhāṇa syllables. The text is also often referred to under its Sino-Japanese title Yugikyō kuketsu 瑜祇経口決. Cf., above, note 81.

118 See VZ, XLIII, 11–12.

119 See VZ, V, 46–47.
Again we see a tendency to equate Buddhas and Bodhisattvas with their counterparts of the opposite realm. It is difficult to decide which of the above-mentioned arrangements corresponded with the contents of the original Yugitō built by Shinzen. Sculptures of the three Buddhas and the two Bodhisattvas referred to in Dōhān’s commentary are also installed in the present Yugitō. The contents of this reconstructed stūpa is described by Matsunaga Yūkei in his introduction to the Yugikyō. This was published in 1985 with a reproduction of a manuscript of the text dated Eikyō 永享 7 (1435) and stored in the Ryōkōin. This publication was in commemoration of the Yugi Initiation, which was performed for the first time in fifty-two years in October 18th 1985. He says:

The Yugitō is faced to the east. The main honoured ones consist of six honoured ones: Dainichi Nyorai of the Kongōkai as the central honoured one, Ashuku Nyorai in the northeast, Hōshō Nyorai in the southeast, Kanzeon Bosatsu in the northwest, Kokō Bosatsu in the southwest and Aizen Myō in the west. The three honoured ones in the centre, the northeast and the southeast belong to the Kongōkai and are all in the shape of a bhikṣu. In the southwest is Kokō, explained in the ninth chapter of the Yugikyō. Together with the Bodhisattva Kanzeon of the northwest, they are in the appearance of a Bodhisattva and belong to the Taizō lineage. Furthermore, Aizen Myō, who appears in the second and fifth chapter of the Yugikyō, is added to the back of the central honoured one and is facing to the west.

A new element here is the presence of two deities in the centre of the stūpa: Dainichi of the Kongōkai and Aizen Myō 愛染明王. This latter deity is not included among the deities of the Ryōbumandara 両部曼茶羅 but is treated in detail in the Yugikyō. Since the Tōmitsu 東密, the esoteric Buddhism introduced by Kūkai, claims that the whole text explains the concentration (sanmai 三昧, Skt. samādhi) of Aizen Myō, it is not surprising that Aizen too became part of the central deities of the Yugitō. On the other hand, I have not yet come on a text with a description of the Yugitō in which Aizen is included. I have neither found any information on the reason of the choice of this peculiar layout for the interior of the present stūpa.

Although the descriptions of the interior of the Yugitō differ considerably depending on the source, there is always a combination of deities of both realms. This syncretic selection of deities of both realms reflects the basic Shingon concept of the unity of the two main maṇḍalas, the Taizōmandara and the Kongōkaimandara. It is unclear why all these different plans of the configuration of the deities in the Yugitō have been produced. At least we can say that these variations may be the result of different secret traditions that were handed down mainly orally. We probably have to regard these variant descriptions as a result of different traditions of Shingon speculations. One should also keep in mind that my

120 See Matsunaga 1985, 9–10 (no pagination). Since the Yugitō is not open to the public, Matsunaga’s description is the only source that enables us to have an idea of the contents of the present Yugitō.

121 See the report in Kōya san jih 966 高野山時報, 1, 3. See also note 50 above.

122 See T. XVIII no. 867, 263b15–c4.

123 See T. XVIII no. 867, 256b25–257b15. For an exhaustive study in English on this deity, see Goepper 1993. For a Japanese study, see Nedachi 1997.

124 See MD, 723 s.v. Kongōburūkakaiissajūnyogūjūyukyō.
The history of the Daitō, the main stūpa of Kōyasan, is better documented. From the historical records describing the restorations of the Great Stūpa, Shimomatsu concludes

125 See Kano and Trautz 1934, 36–38.
126 See MJ, 249 s.v. Kompon Daitō.
130 See Shimomatsu 1991, 91–94. The text he quotes from is the Daitō Gobutsu sueyama 大塔五仏居様 stored in the Shakamon’in 釈迦文院 (Kōyasan), dated Eiō 永正 16 (1519). In an additional note at the end of his study, Shimomatsu adds that there is also another version of this text in the same temple. The colophon of this text is dated Ōe 忍永 7 (= 1400). See Shimomatsu 1991, 104.
that the Daitō contained the Five Buddhas of the Taizō until the fire of 1630.131 This means that the present syncretic arrangement of the five central Buddhas would be relatively new. It is, however, quite possible that the five central Buddhas were considered to stand for the Buddhas of both realms prior to this date, and that this idea was transmitted only orally without depicting it in concrete until the seventeenth century.

There is no doubt that future research on the evolution of the Shingon notion of *ryōbu funi* will throw light upon the different descriptions of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, which are at first sight inconsistent and contradictory.

The tendency to represent deities from both of the two realms is also found in Shingon temples outside Koyasan.132 From the *Tōbōki* 東宝記133 we know that in the late-thirteenth century images of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of the two realms were placed in the first level of the five-storied *stupa* of the Toji 東寺, another great temple associated with Kukai. The *Tōbōki* contains a description and a plan of the arrangement of the statues and the paintings of the deities in the *stupa*.134 According to this plan the four Buddhas of the Vajra Realm were placed on the four sides of the square central pillar. Each Buddha was flanked by two Bodhisattvas. The names of these Bodhisattvas are not mentioned. Sawa assumes that they are the Hachidaibosatsu.135 The *Tōbōki* does not make mention of any paintings on the central pillar. However, the two pillars (shithihashina) to the west of the central pillar were decorated with paintings of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of the Kongōkai; the Four Buddhas of the Kongōkai, the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas and the Four Sangrabodhisattvas. The two east pillars were ornamented with paintings of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of the Taizō; the Four Buddhas and the Four Bodhisattvas of the Taizō, and the main deities of the halls (in 院) of the Taizōmandara. It is unclear whether this description follows the original placement of the statues and the paintings in the *stupa*, which is said to have been completed in the ninth century.136 Deities of both the Taizō and the Kongōkai are also represented in the first level of the five-storied *stupa* of the Daigoji 興福寺, constructed in the tenth century.137 In the present building, the square central pillar bears paintings of deities of both realms. Deities of the Chūdai Hachiyō-in 中台八葉院, the Rengebu-in 華厳院 and the Kongōshū-in 金剛十院 of the Taizōmandara are painted on respectively the west, north and south side of the central pillar. Paintings of deities of the Ichininne 一印会, the Jōjine 成身会 and the Sanmyaya-e 三昧耶会 are represented on the east side of the pillar. Deities of the remaining halls of the Taizō are preserved on the panels

134 The *Tōbōki* describes the interior of the *stupa* rebuilt in Einin 永仁 1 (=1293). This passage is quoted in Sawa 1964, 64; Sawa [1972] 1976, 63–75. For the original text, see Zokei zoku sanmya raijū, XII, 33–34 (in Hanawa 1907). On the interior of the *stupa*, see also Sawa 1974, 65–68; Tomishima 1998, 62–65.
135 Sawa 1974, 67. For the Hachidaibosatsu, see above, note 90.
137 The interior of the *stupa* is treated in *KDJ*, I, 76–77; Sawa 1964, 140; Sawa [1972] 1976, 134; Tomishima 1998, 85–89.
near the windows (renjimado 連子窓), the wooden boards and the shitenbashira surrounding the central pillar in the western half of the stūpa. Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of the remaining assemblies of the Kongōkai are represented in the eastern half of the stūpa.

V. The Symbolism of the Yugite

According to the tradition of Shingon scholarship, the Yugite symbolises the deep meaning of the Yugikyō, i.e. the "Non-duality of the Two Sections", the integration of the teachings of the Vaiśṇavabhīṣṭisamhitā and the Tattvasaṃgraha.

The Kōya shongyō benren shāranke 高野春秋編年輯録 ("The Spring and Autumn Chronological Compilation of Kōya"), the annals of Kōyasan between 816 and 1718 as compiled by Kaiei 懐英 (1642-1727), mentions the Yugite in the sixth chapter, under the heading "First month of the second year of Gen'ei 元永 (＝1119)".138

Second day. Three new sanrai ajaris 山籠阿闍梨 appointed for the Small Stūpa of the Chūjī. This is based on a report of Shōkaku Sōzu 勝覚僧都 to the Emperor.

According to oral transmission of the Chūjī: "This stūpa was originally based on a drawing by the Great Master141 and was constructed by Shinzen Sōju 勝泉僧都. It is based on the explanation of the Yugikyō: the five rings 五輪 (gorin) on the top manifest the Five Buddhas of the Kongōkai. The set of nine 九対 (ku-tsui) below expresses the Nine Honoured Ones of the Taijī. This is namely the deep essence of ‘the cause which is the result’ 因即是果 (in soku ze ka). What is there further to ask about the secret meaning?"

In this text the five rings are identified with the five central Buddhas of the Kongōkai. The “set of nine” inside the stūpa represent the nine central deities of the Taijī. The rings are in all probability the rings attached to the central shaft 槳管 (sakkai) of the sōrin. It is unclear what is exactly meant with “the set of nine”. This may be a reference to the central sculpture of Dainichi and the other eight honoured ones painted on eight or four pillars. Anyhow, this short reference in the above annals shows us that the sōrin and the pillars (のり), respectively exterior and interior components, are the main parts in the esoteric interpretation of the stūpa. In the under-mentioned commentaries we shall see that practically all the explanations of the symbolism of the Yugite are based on these two elements.

According to the above quotation, the Yugite symbolizes “the cause which is the result”. The relationship between cause (Skt. hetu) and result (Skt. phala) is a central concept in Buddhist philosophy. In Japanese esoteric Buddhism cause 因 and result 果 correspond respectively with the Taizōmandara and the Kongōkaimandara.142

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138 See KSHS, 90.
139 A rank in the group of scholarly priests (gakuryō 学侶) on Mt. Kōya created in 919 when the head priest (zaizu 座主) of the Kongōboji was appointed concurrently the head priest (choju 長者) of the Toji 東寺. See MD, 844–845 s.v. sanrai; Wada 1984, 219.
140 1057–1129. Founder of the Sanbōin 三宝院 in the Daigoji 醍醐寺 and the thirty-eighth head of the Toji. See MJ, 373 s.v. Shōkaku. See also note 156, below.
141 Kūkai.
142 See the Hizōki 秘藏記, ascribed to Kūkai, in KDKZ, IV, 24. See also MD, 104 s.v. いな; Snodgrass 1988, I, 135–136.
The *Yugikyō* does not contain any passage that refers to a construction similar to
the Yugi. On the other hand, most of the representative Japanese commentaries on the
text explain the esoteric meaning of the *stūpa* while discussing the meaning of the full title of
the *Yugikyō*, i.e. *Kongōborakacaisayagayugikyō*. The Japanese tradition of commentary pays
much attention to the esoteric meaning of this title. According to these texts, each element
of the title corresponds with one of the two realms. Namely,

*Kongōborakacaisayagayugikyō* ("Vajra-peak" or "Vajra-top"); *Caisa* = Skt. *kūta*, *śikara*, *śikharā*[*145*] = *Kongōkai Rōkaku* 楼閣 ("pavilion", "palace"); Skt. *ajāra*, *ājāra*, *prājāda*[*146*] = *Taizō

*Stūpa* = Skt. *sūtra*, "matter") = *Yija* ("principle")
*Stūpa* = Skt. *sśiśa*, "mind") = *Chi* ("knowledge")

In Shingon *ni* is symbolised in the Taizō and *chi* in the *Kongōkai*.[*147*]

*Yuja* 瑠伽 (Skt. *yugya*) = masculine, hence *Kongōkai*.

*Yuji* 瑠祇 (Skt. *yugjī*) = feminine, hence *Taizō*.

In the commentaries we will see that the roof of the *stūpa* symbolises the *Kongōkai* and that the *stūpa* body with the eight pillars represents the Taizō.

The *Shingon-shū zenkō* 真言宗方丈 真言宗方丈全書 (Vol. V) and the *Zoku Shingon-shū zenkō* 続真言宗方丈 (Vol. VII), the most comprehensive collection of works on Shingon doctrine and practice compiled by the *Kōyasan* tradition, contain the standard commentaries on the *Yugikyō*. Among these texts, the first one which refers to the *stūpa* is the *Yugisutran biketsu* transm. of the Shingon monk Jichian 実遷 (or Jitsuun, 1105–1160),[*149*] the eighteenth head priest of the Daitō 定跡. The date of the text is unclear and the colophon does not explain the line of transmission. The following passage has been quoted by Ihara Shōren.[*150*]

There is the Stūpa of the Non-duality of the Dharma-nature 法性不二塔婆 (Hossō Funi Tōba) drawn by Daishi.

[This is] mentioned in the records of Gen’un Sōzu 源運僧都. This is namely the oral transmission of Shōken 偈賢.

On top of the said *stūpa* are five rings, these represent “the transformation of the Ninefold Consciousness to attain the Fivefold Wisdom” 九識転得之五智 (*kusshiki tenyoku no gojū*).[*151*] On the four

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[*143*] The title of the *Yugikyō* is discussed in Vanden Broucke 1994, 208–210.

[*144*] See for example Dohan, YKk (in SZ, V, 27); Shoshin, YHH (in SZ, V, 138–141); Yagi, YHD (in ZYZ, VII, 137);

[*145*] Raiyu, YKK (in ND, XXXIII, 1).


[*148*] See Hakeda 1972, 85–86.

[*149*] See Sino-Japanese title *Yugikyō* biketsu 瑠伽鏡経大. See *SZ*, V, 12. On this text, see MJ, 2209 s.v. *Yugisutran biketsu*; Shippō 1935, 59; *SZ, XLIII*, 10; *BKDJ*, XI, 85. The first half of this passage is also quoted in the *Yukiin-tranLK* [Definition of Dohan 道範 (1178–1252), see *SZ*, VII, 100–101.

[*150*] On Jichian, see MJ, 304 s.v. Jichian. Jichian was initiated by his elder brother *Shōkaku* 輝覺 (1057–1129).

[*151*] According to Shingon, the Nine Consciousnesses (Skt. *cittā*), transform into the Five Knowledges (Skt. *jñāna*). This *cittā→jñāna* transformation is discussed in detail in Snodgrass 1988, II, 590–596; Kyōita 1982, 32–
corners of the roof are four single prongs 五股 (tokko). They express the Four Buddhas of the Non-duality 不二之四仏 (Funi no Shihatsu). Based on this, the Five Buddhas of the Introductory Chapter are all non-dualistic Buddhas. As the single prongs are the samaya-shape of the non-duality, the five peaks on the roof are the Four Buddhas of the Vajra Realm. Under the roof, inside the doors, one visualises the Nine Honoured Ones of the Taizō. Consequently, the lower part is the cause and the upper part the result. This means the non-duality of cause and result. Under the stūpa is a golden turtle. This symbolises the construction of the world. This is based on the meaning of the true non-duality. Add the thought in one syllable of the own nature of the Thirty-seven Honoured Ones of the said chapter on the five peaks on the stūpa. This is namely the manifestation of the personal realisation of Buddhahood by all living beings. If one pays attention to it one can deeply speculate on this. The Five-pronged Seal 五股印 (Goko-in) of the said chapter manifests this stūpa.

The commentary is illustrated with a drawing of a single-storied stūpa that rests on a turtle (see fig. 7). In the centre of the roof is one sōrin with five rings. Four single vajras are drawn. They are not attached to the roof but are soaring around the sōrin. Near the sōrin and the vajras thirty-seven syllables are added in siddham. Jichiu refers to this stūpa as The Stūpa of the Non-duality of the Dharma-nature. The text mentions in small characters that Daishi's drawing of the Non-duality of the Dharma-nature. The text is illustrated with a drawing of a single-storied stūpa which belonged to the Daigoji. He was a disciple of Shaka Pratyavekṣya, a text which is no longer extant and which is the oral transmission (付法) of Shoken. This text is recorded in Shoken’s 諸法 (1740–1812) Shōkai shōheikyokushū, See DBZ, I–1, 180.

135 In esoteric Buddhism, the Five Wisdoms are represented by the Five Buddhas, see Kiyota 1978, 61–63. For the relationship between the Five Buddhas and the Five Knowledges, see above, note 151.

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these elements undoubtedly stand for the four Buddhas surrounding Vairocana in the Kongô-kaimandara. The central sôrin with the five rings presumably represents Vairocana who embodies the four Buddhas. Neither the text nor the drawing represents the Yugitô with five sôrin.

The interior of the stûpa under the roof represents the Taizô. The fact that Jichiun writes that the Nine Honoured Ones of the Taizô are to be visualised may be an indication that the whole structure is to be considered as an object of meditation. The Yugisutra Ûhiketsu is the only commentary here which mentions a golden turtle as a support for the stûpa. Our stûpa is seen as a structure that represents the universe. The turtle symbolises the universe in the Indian as well as in the Chinese mythologies. Later on we will see a visualisation process of a stûpa with five peaks on a turtle, and examples of Japanese miniature reliquary-stûpas (sharitô 舍利塔) mounted on the back of a turtle.

The Five-pronged Seal mentioned by Jichiun is without doubt the Stûpa Seal 観波印 (Sotoba-in) explained at the end of the introductory chapter of the Yugisutra:158

(...bend the Energy (= right hand index)159 and the Power (= left hand index) like a hook and unite the Charity (= right hand little finger), the Wisdom (= left hand little finger), the Meditation (= right hand thumb) and the Knowledge (= left hand thumb). This is called the Great Seal 大印 (Dai-in).

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158 See T. XVIII no. 867, 255e6–7.
159 For the secret appellations of the fingers in the formation of mudrás, see Saunders [1960]1985, 32–34.
The Yugitô

According to the Mikkyô daijiten 密教大辞典, p. 1649 s.v. Tô-in, this mudrâ is also called Ge(baku)goko-in 外 (縛) 五股印 ("Outer Bonds Five-pronged Seal") or Gokotô-in 五股塔印 ("Five-pronged Stûpa Seal"). It belongs to a category of mudrâs called Goko-in 五股印 ("Five-pronged Seal").161 There are also variants of this Gegoko-in depending on the different transmissions in the branches of the Shingon school. The Yagôkô does not specify the pose of the middle and ring fingers. According to the figure in the appendix of the Mikkyô Daijiten,162 the ends of the middle fingers touch each other and the ring fingers are not erected (see fig. 8). The Gegoko-in represents the shape of a five-pronged stupa and symbolises, among other things, the Five Knowledges and the Five Buddhas, elements that are also present in the roof of the Yugitô. As the Gegoko-in is based on the Gebaku Ken-in 外縛拳印 ("Outer Bonds Fist Seal") it belongs to the Vajra Realm.163 Consequently it is also called Chitô-in 智塔印 ("Knowledge Stûpa Seal").164

Another commentary contained in the Shingon-shô zenbô is the Yagisutsu kaikei 口決 of the Shingon scholar-priest Dôhan 道範 (1178–1252), a disciple of Kakukai 觉海 (1142–1223).165 Dôhan's work is based on the oral transmission of Jitsugen 実賢 (1176–1249) of the Kongô-in branch.166 In the colophon we read that the commentary was completed in 1241. The following quotation may also be found in Manabe Shunshô's article on the Yugitô-zu.167

Question: What is the non-dual meaning of the Introductory Chapter? Answer: The order in which the Thirty-seven Honoured Ones are explained expresses non-duality. Moreover, there is the drawing of the stûpa of the Dharma-nature 法性塔 (Hosshô) drawn by Daishi. The records of Jichian Sôe 聡賢 are the oral transmission of Shôken Ajari 聖賢阿闍梨, Shô Ajari of the Kongôin.168 On top of the stûpa are five peaks. These are the Five Knowledges. Inside the doors below are the Nine Honoured Ones. The Five Knowledges above are the Kongô[ka]i; the Nine Honoured Ones below are [are] the Tai[kaï]. The Five Knowledges are the result, the Nine Consciousnesses the cause. This is then the "Non-duality of Cause and Result" 因果不二 (inô funi). It is the samaya of the non-duality of the Buddha and the living, the mandala of the essential nature of the Dharma Realm 法界体性曼荼羅 (Hokkai taisô mandara). Shinzen Sôjô constructed this stûpa. It is the Small Stûpa of the Chûn of Kôya. Matters concerning the stûpa of this drawing can be asked for in detail in the oral transmissions. This is the point of the scripture.

According to the addition at the back: "On top of the Small Stûpa of the Chûn are five rings. Inside the water-ring 水輪 (saibô),169 Dainichi of the Tai[zaô is installed together with two Buddhas

160 Tô-in 外印: mudrâ in the shape of a stupa, also called tsûho-in.
162 See MD, Appendix, 43, fig. 67.
163 The Gebaku Ken-in is the "mother-mudrâ" (畠母 ino) of all the conventional seals (Sanmaya-in 三昧形印) of the Kongôkai. One forms it by clasping the hands, palm to palm, and by crossing the fingers on the outside of the fist. See Saunders [1960]1985, 38–40.
164 See MJ, 517 s.v. Tô-in.
166 Jitsugen was initiated by Shôken 実賢 (1138–1196) in 1196 and was also one of the disciples of Johen 静願 (1165–1223). See MJ, 307 s.v. Jitsugen. For Johen, see below, note 174.
167 See Manabe 1988, 564.
168 Shôkaku, the elder brother and the master of Jichian, initiated Shôken. See above, note 156.
169 Another appellation for the cylindrical stupa body. See Adachi 1941, 15.
and two Bodhisattvas as the Five Buddhas. These 'gather' (or 'embody', 'comprise', 畏抂, comp. Skt. *sanghabhā) the Nine Honoured Ones."

Dōhan refers to the Yugitō to show the non-dual meaning of the said chapter of the *Yugikyō*. He writes that the *stūpa* represents the important matter of the text. He obviously relies on Jichiu’s commentary and is of the opinion that this commentary is based on Shōken’s teachings. Dōhan’s passage on the Yugitō is less detailed but in line with the first commentary. However, new information on the deities inside the *stūpa* is found in the note at the back of the text. This note is followed by an explanation that we have already discussed above, IV.

The *stūpa* is also briefly discussed in the *Asahashō* 阿答疏抄 of the Tendai monk Shōchō 承澄 (1205–1282) compiled between 1242 and 1281.170 The following passage is also quoted in Mochizuki Shinkō’s *Bukkyō daijiten* 仏教大辞典.171

The *Stūpa* of the Dharma-nature. The four single prongs on the roof manifest the Four Knowledges. The five rings that stand in the middle are the Tathāgata filled with the Five Knowledges. The seed-syllables are the seed-syllables of the Thirty-Seven Honoured Ones. Therefore, above the roof is the Vajra Realm. The pavilion under the roof is the Taizō Realm. The whole *stūpa* symbolises the body of the Non-duality of the Two Sections Tai[zk]akai and Kon[sk]akai. This is the Jewelled Pavilion with Five Peaks 五華宝楼閣 (Gobu Hōrokaku) of the title of the *Yugikyō*.

No new elements are found here. Interesting is the explicit reference to the title of the *Yugikyō*. Another commentary that refers explicitly to the title of the *Yugikyō* is quoted by Ihara Shōren.172 The text in question is the *Yugikyō* shakusō 瑜祇經拾古抄 compiled by the Shingon monk Raiyu 麗備 (1226–1304) and dated 1284.173 Raiyu’s passage on the *stūpa* is based on the transmission of the monk Jōhen 靜遠 (1165–1223), one of Dōhan’s masters.174

The Vajra-peak is the *raija* with the five divisions 五部杵; that is, the whole of the Five Knowledges of Dainichi. The Pavillon is the Pavilion with Eight Pillars 八柱楼閣 (Hatchū Rōkaku), that is, the eight petals of the Taizō. Yugayugi means the Union of Meditation and Wisdom 定慧相応 (Joe Sō); this manifests the meaning of the non-duality of the two sections. This is namely the construction of the Pavilion with Five Peaks and Eight Pillars 五華八柱楼閣 (Gobu Hatchū Rōkaku) in the own body. It is not necessary to construct a platform 楼 (šāw) outside the mind.

This commentary does not mention nine deities in the interior of the *stūpa*, but refers to the *stūpa* body as the pavilion with eight pillars: the eight petals of the Taizō. The *stūpa* is seen here as an object to visualise mentally.

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171 See BDFJ, V, 4925 s.v. Yugitō.


174 See ND, XXXIII, 1. On Jōhen, see *MD*, 1195 s.v. Jōhen. Also mentioned above, note 166. Jōhen is the author of the *Yugikyō* shakusō, a commentary on the *Yugikyō*. The title of this text is contained in *BKFJ*, XI, 84. No location of this text is mentioned in *KS*, VII, 852d. Ihara (1984a, 419, note 15) assumes that Raiyu quotes from this text in his commentary.
The Yugitó

The Yugító hýóketsu 瑜祇秘要決, compiled in 1357 by the Shingon monk Shóshin 性心 (1287–1357) contains information on our stupa not mentioned in the previous quotations.175 The following passage is found at the beginning of the section that deals with the title of the Yugikyó.176

Kongóshūjiku 金刚峰楼閣 ("The Vajra-peak Pavilion") is the dwelling place of Dainichi, the Lord of the Teaching 教主大日 (Kyóshu Dainichi), and others. It is the Pavilion with Five Peaks and Eight Pillars. The first chapter of the Ryakushutsukyó 瑞出音 says: "build a big palace with the five syllables ran, hán, ＃tī, brīh and ah.177 The four corners of this palace are equal. Add four gates. To the left and the right of these gates are banners of good fortune 吉祥幟 (kishibijō). A railing encircles it and there is a quadruple stairway. On top of this palace is a pavilion with five peaks. It is adorned with all kinds of coloured silks, pearl nets and flower garlands that are hung up . . . Inside the palace is a mandala. The centre is decorated with eight vipra-pillars." This is the palace of the Vajra Realm 金剛界宮殿 (Kongókai Gūden). The two sections cannot be divided. But the five peaks correspond with a jung 山 number; the eight pillars answer to a jin 坤 number. Yín and yáng are male and female and are equal to Principle and Knowledge. This is faultless. The Šaikó 拾古178 says: "The Vajra-peak is the Vajra with the Five Divisions 五部作, that is, the whole of the Five Knowledges of Dainichi. The pavilion is the Pavilion with Eight Pillars, that is, the eight petals of the Taizó." The Hizóki 秘藏記 says: "On top there is a pavilion with eight pillars. On each petal there is one pillar. Inside the pavilion there is a mandala. Whether it is square, round, big or small is at your own discretion. On top of it there is a white lotus with eight petals. Put the syllable a on top of the lotus platform. It radiates light and becomes a stupa."

The Ryakushutsukyó (or Ryakushutsunenjukyó), in full Kongóshògyózabóryakushutsunenjukyó 金剛頂瑜伽中略出念誦経 (T. XVIII no. 860), is one of the three Chinese versions of the Tatrasaṃgīrava.179 The quotation in the Yugító hýóketsu is part of a section on the visualisation of the place of practice 道場観 (dōkókan).180 The preceding lines are also worth mentioning.181 Imagine in the void that the syllable ran becomes Buddha Vairocana. He is provided with compassion and pours milk at both sides reaching Cakravāla.182 This becomes the great sea of amitā.183 Furthermore, imagine in this sea that the syllable ṭsu becomes in the shape of a turtle.184 This turtle is coloured like gold.185 The size of its body is innumerable yojana.186 Furthermore,

175 On this commentary, see MD, 2210 s.v. Yugító hýóketsu; BKDJ, XIII, 488–489; Shippó 1935, 60; ŠZ, XLIII, 12–13. On Shóshin, see Mf, 381 s.v. Shóshin.
176 See AZ, V, 138.
178 Ráiyó’s Yugíkyó shakusha.
179 See Mf, 241–242 s.v. Kongóshógyó.
182 Rin’sen 銭仙山 (see BD, 1430 s.v. Rin) or Tetchizen 銣照山 (see BD, 978 s.v. Tetchizen). See Soothill [1937] 1975, 485 s.v. Tié-hê-shann 銭仙山: "Cakravāla, Cakravāla. The iron enclosing mountains supposed to encircle the earth, forming the periphery of a world. Mount Meru is the centre and between it and the Iron mountains are the seven golden metal-mountains and the eight seas." On the Buddhist cosmography, see Körfe 1920, 178–207.
184 On the esoteric meaning of this syllable, see MD, 654 s.v. Konki.
185 The so-called Konki (or Kinkó) 金頂, see MD, 654 s.v. Konki.
186 Yojana 由旬. One yojana is the distance of about seven kilometres. See IBf, 814 s.v. Yojana.

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imagine the syllable brh on the back of the turtle. This syllable transforms and becomes red coloured. The red-glowing lotus is joyful and subtle. This flower is three-layered. The layers consist of eight petals, a calyx and a pistil. On the calyx, imagine the three characters psa, bhum and khaṃ becoming Mt. Sumeru. This mountain is made of multitudes of jewels and has eight corners. On top of the mountain imagine the five syllables sam, bhum, brh, brh and ah and form a big palace.

The text continues with the visualisation of the Thirty-seven Honoured Ones of the Kongōkai. The passage quoted by Shōshin is part of a description of the visualisation of the Kongokaimandara. The construction described here has five peaks and eight inner pillars. There is, however, no indication of any syncretic meaning. Nevertheless, Shōshin clearly sees a male-female polarity in the peaks and the pillars. He even associates the uneven number five with the male, and the even number eight with the female. Moreover, the terms yin and yang are non-Buddhist terms which belong to Chinese cosmology.

The Hizōki, traditionally attributed to Kukai, explains more than one hundred items on the practical and doctrinal aspects of Shingon Buddhism. The passage quoted in the Yogir biyoketsu is part of a section that deals with the visualisation of the place of practice. Hizōki mentions a palace with eight pillars but does not refer to any peaks. In the Taishō zōkyo zazobu the Iconographic section of the Taishō Edition, the Hizōki is illustrated with two drawings of the stūpa to be visualised here. At the bottom of fig. 1 of the Taishō zōkyo zazobu a crescent-shaped figure is drawn (see fig. 9). The characters 唯輪 (jirin, “wind-ring”) are written on it. On this crescent rests a circle in which we read 水輪満月 (suirin mangetsu, “water-ring, full moon”). Inside the circle a turtle is drawn floating on waves. On its back it carries a rock. On top of it there is a small two-storied building resting on a lotus. To the left there is a small moon-circle and to the right a sun-circle. No sōrin are added on top of the roof. Instead we see two protrusions which remind us of the shibi 石稚, ornamental tiles at the end of the ridgepole of Japanese temples. In the second figure of the Taishō zōkyo zazobu a mass of water with a turtle rests on a crescent moon (see fig. 10). The turtle carries a tall rock with a small circle to the left and the right. On top of the rock is a small two-storied building resting on a lotus.

Although the stūpa is generally referred to as the Yugitō in modern Japanese studies and Buddhist lexicography, none of the above-mentioned commentaries mention it by this name. Among the sources consulted in this study only the relatively late Kii zoku jūdōki and the Yasan meireishō call the stūpa Yugitō. The quoted commentaries refer to the Yugitō as Hoshōtō 普賢塔 ("Stūpa of the Dharma-nature"); Hossō Funitō 法性不二塔 ("Stūpa of the Non-duality of the Dharma-nature") and Chūn Shōtō 中院小塔 ("Small Stūpa of the Chūn"). The appellation (Chūn) Shōtō is also found in historical records of Kōya-san, for example the Kōya shunjū benen shūroku and the Kii zoku jūdōki. The absence of the word

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187 also means “stamen”.
190 For the original text, see KDKZ, IV, 28; KDCZ, II, 626; T.Zašō, I, 3.
191 See T.Zašō, I, figs. 1–2. They can also be found in Manabe 1988, 552.
192 See Mizuno 1959, 417–418 s.v. shibi.
Yugitō in the above commentaries, which date back to the end of the Heian and the beginning of the Kamakura Period, may indicate that the Yugitō is not the original but a later designation for our stūpa.

Fig. 9: Visualization of the place of practice (Dojokan) according to the Hizokin. (after T. Zuzuk, I, fig. 1)

Fig. 10: Idem. (after T.Zuzuk, I, fig. 2)

Apparantly the Yugitō is in the first place a stūpa to be produced mentally. Shōshin's commentary considers it as the abode of Dainichi. All the quoted commentaries consider the stūpa as a symbolisation of the “Non-duality of the Two Sections”. The roof is seen as the Kongokai and the interior of the stūpa body as the Taizō. The roof and the interior are further identified with other esoteric concepts, such as meditation and wisdom. These correspondences can be tabulated as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The top of the stūpa with its five peaks</th>
<th>The interior of the stūpa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kongokai</td>
<td>Taizō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five Knowledges</td>
<td>Nine Consciousnesses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Result</td>
<td>Cause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five peaks = yong number, hence male</td>
<td>Eight pillars = yin number, hence female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge</td>
<td>Eight petals of the Taizō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Principle</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The texts do not all describe the stūpa in the same way. According to the Yugisutra hiketsu and the Asakusho the roof has one sōrin with five rings and one single-pronged vajra on each roof-corner. No commentary explicitly refers to five sōrin. The Yugikyō shakshō and the Yugi hiosketsu mention eight pillars in the stūpa, whereas the Yugisutra hiketsu and the Yugisutra kuketsu refer to the Nine Honoured Ones.

Neither of these commentaries refers to any particular passage in the Yugikyō for the textual basis of the stūpa. Nothing in the title or the text of the Yugikyō indicates that the

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Kongôbu (Vajra-peak) consists of five peaks or that the Rôkaku (Pavilion) is to be constructed with eight pillars. A five-pronged vajra is only mentioned in the first chapter as an attribute. After they had voiced this praise, the Bodhisattva Vajrapâni cast into the void the five-pronged vajra held in his right hand. (The vajra) became quietly united and abided again in his hand. He explained this vajra: ōm.".

The entry on the Yugito in Mochizuki Shinkô's *Bukkyô daijiten* refers to the vajra of this passage as a base for the structure with five peaks and eight pillars. But Ihara Shôren correctly argues that it is difficult to consider this element as the foundation of the Gobu Hatchâ. As a matter of fact, the five-pronged vajra is one of the conventional attributes of Vajrapâni.

The pavilion with the five roof peaks and eight pillars described in the *Ryakuibutsunenjûkyô* conforms to the main characteristics of the Yugito. This pavilion is mentioned repeatedly in *Mikkyô daijiten*. In this encyclopedia it is defined as the pavilion on the summit of Mount Sumeru and it is considered to be the same as the Daimaniden 大摩尼殿 ("Great Jewelled Palace") of the *Rishukyô 理趣経*. According to the *Mikkyô daijiten* it is the abode of the deities of the mandala and it is called Horôkaku 宝楼閣 ("Jewelled Pavilion") because it is made of vajra-jewels 金刚宝 (kongôbô). This work also discerns two types of pavilions: the Gobu Hatchâ ("Five Peaks and Eight Pillars") and the Hachibû Hatchâ 八峯八柱 ("Eight Peaks and Eight Pillars"). For the first type, the *Mikkyô daijiten* refers to the *Ryakuibutsunenjûkyô*. We also read that there would be one pillar at each side of the four gateways (i.e. eight pillars in total) but none inside the building. However, in the *Ryakuibutsunenjûkyô* we have seen that there are also eight pillars in the centre of the mandala inside the palace. The encyclopedia adds that the five peaks and the eight pillars signify respectively the Five Knowledges of the Kongôkai and the eight petals of the Taizôkai. The pavilion is said to express the Hokkai Tôba 法界塔婆 ("Dharma Realm Stûpa") in which the two realms are non-dual and where Principle and Knowledge are one. Unfortunately, the *Mikkyô daijiten* does not refer to any source for this interpretation. The encyclopedia refers under the entry rôkaku 樓閣 to another text for the detailed characteristics of the pavilion: the *Kanjûzaidai-

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195 See BDJ, V, 4925 s.v. Yugito.
197 Also called Vajrasatva, see MJ, 234–235 s.v. Kongôsattva.
198 See MD, 2038–2039 s.v. Horôkaku.
199 See MD, 1540 s.v. Daimaniden. See also Astley-Kristensen 1991, 39, 63–66. In the opening section of Amoghavajra's (705–774, Jpn. Fukû 五生) version of the *Rishukyô* (see T, VIII no. 245, 794a20–21; for an English translation, see Astley-Kristensen 1991, 39). Vairocana is residing in the palace of the Paranirmitavasavartin heaven in the sphere of desire (Yokukai Takekijii Tennô 天界他化自在天王宮). This is described as a great jewelled hall (Daimaniden 大摩尼殿). In his commentary of the *Rishukyô* (T, XIX no. 1003, 607c9–12), Amoghavajra considers this heaven as a mandala. This mandala is furthermore described as "the jewelled pavilion with the vajra-peak formed from the great and wonderful adamantine five jewels" (大称金剛五宝所成金剛峰樓閣). According to this text it contains eight pillars. See also Astley-Kristensen 1991, 62.
200 See also Snodgrass 1988, II, 573–574, note 18.
These syllables form one Mt. Sumeru. The mountain has eight peaks and is made of multitudes of jewels. Visualise five chambers inside the mountain. Outside, there seem to be five chambers, but inside they are one. Inside this chamber visualise eight great vajra-pillars.

This description differs considerably from the Ryakushutsunenjukyō. According to the Mikkyō daijiten the most detailed description of the Gobu Hatch is found in the Ryakushutsunenjukyō. According to the Tattvasaūgraha, the Vajradhatu maṇḍala was revealed for a second time in the Vajranāthicakharakāgāra (金剛摩尼密薬伽) on the summit of Mt. Sumeru. As a matter of fact, the Karma Assembly (Katsuma-e), also called the Assembly of the Perfect Body (成身会 (Jōjinne), can be interpreted as a two-dimensional representation of this palace. Toganoo Shōun in his study on the maṇḍalas mentions this interpretation. He refers to one Tibetan and to two Chinese versions of the Tattvasaūgraha. Adrian Snodgrass also gives a detailed description of this assembly and its relation with the Rōkaku in English:

The central portion of the Perfected Body Maṇḍala is bordered by a “diamond circle” (kongō-rin) made up of three-prong vajras placed end to end. (…) Within the diamond circle there are five Liberation circles (gyatso-rin), one at the centre and one in each of the four directions. Each of the circles in the four directions is flanked by two tangential bands of vajras, running from the border of the central Liberation circle to the diamond circle.

These components signify the Jewel Tower on the summit of Mount Sumeru; the diamond circle is the outer wall of the Jewel Tower; the five Liberation circles are the five roof peaks or ridgepoles that stand above the thrones of the five Buddhas; the gods of the four Elements represent the five Elements that support the Jewel Tower, being four of the five cakras which support the cosmos; and the eight bands of vajras flanking the Liberation circles in the four directions are the eight columns of the four gateways of the Jewel Tower.

The eight columns and five roof peaks represent the non-duality of Principle and Knowledge (chiri-funi). The Jewel Tower is the Dharma World Stūpa (hokkai-tōka), in which the Matrix World of Principle and the Diamond World of Knowledge interpenetrate: the five roof peaks symbolize the five Knowledges of the five Buddhas of the Diamond World, and the eight columns represent the eight petals of the lotus dais of the Matrix World, corresponding to the eight types of consciousness.

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202 See MD, 2306 s.v. rōkaku. For the original text, see T. XX no. 1030, 3a 17–20. This text is also mentioned in Snodgrass 1988, II, 574, note 18.
203 Cf. the syllables hrī, pra, su and hūm mentioned in the lines preceding this passage in the original text. See T. XX no. 1030, 3a 11–17.
204 See MD, 2307 s.v. rōkakukuru (“visualization of the pavilion”).
208 See Snodgrass 1988, II, 573–575 and 575, fig. 299.
209 See diagram in Snodgrass 1988, II, 574, fig. 297.
Most interesting is the idea of the eight pillars and five roof peaks representing the Non-duality of Principle and Knowledge. Unfortunately, Snodgrass does not refer to any sources or texts. This idea which combines elements of two different scriptures is neither referred to in Toganoo’s work nor in the Tattvasamgraha itself. Exactly the same view is present in Kanbayashi Ryūjō’s commentary on the Dainamiden of the Rishabhyāj.210 But also in this work, the author does not mention any sources or commentarial tradition to support his contention.

Apparently there is also a tradition which explains the Yugito as well as the Daitō as an imitation of the so-called Iron Stūpa of Southern India, the Nanten Tettō 南天鉄塔.211 This is a legendary stūpa where Vajrasattva transmitted the esoteric teaching of the Tattvasamgraha and the Vairocanabhisambuddhi to Nagarjuna (龍樹 楞嚴), one of the patriarchs of esoteric Buddhism.212 It is not clear what this stūpa really was. Tradition considers this stūpa as an ideal stūpa that symbolises the dharmakāya of Vairocana. Some see it as a real edifice and identify it with an actual South Indian stūpa.213 In Japan there exists a number of idealised drawings and paintings of the Nanten Tettō.214 In these Nanten Tettō-zu 南天鉄塔図 the stūpa is depicted as a typical Japanese (Tajō) type stūpa with one zōrin.215

Two historical sources mention the Nanten Tettō as a model for the Yugito. The Köyasan junreiki 高野山順礼記 (“The Pilgrimage Records of Köyasan”) contained in the Zoku gunsho rinji [Secondary Records of the Later Classified Collection of Miscellaneous Books”), a collection of important historical materials brought together by the bibliographer Hanawa Hokinoichi 坂保己一 (1746–1821), provides the following information:216

The Small Stūpa of the Chinun is modelled after the Iron Stūpa of South India. The said Iron Stūpa [measures] three ken 間 of six shaku 尺.217 Originally there were thirty-seven.218 They manifest the Thirty-seven Honoured Ones. Six shaku and three ken, three times six makes eighteen. This manifests the Eighteen Assemblies (十八会) 十八會).219

A similar passage may be found in the Kii zoku fudoki 南勢郡風土記 which the series of texts related to the Vajra Realm were transmitted. The Tattvasamgraha is the first of this series. See Kyoto 1978, 23.

212 According to Tōmitsu 東密, the esoteric Buddhism introduced by Kakū, both the teachings of the Tattvasamgraha and the Vairocanabhisambuddhi were transmitted to Nagarjuna within this stūpa (Tainai Sōjō 塔内相和). According to the tradition of Taimitsu 台密, the esoteric Buddhism of the Japanese Tendai 天台 school, the Vairocanabhisambuddhi was transmitted outside the stūpa (Taisei Sōjō 塔外相和). See Snodgrass 1988, I, 113–114; MD, 1625 s.v. Tettō Sōjō.
213 For example Toganoo Shōan proposes that the Nanten Tettō was the great stūpa of Amaravatī. See MJ, 534 s.v. Nanten Tettō.
214 See Manabe 1983.
215 See for example Kanagawa kenritsu Kanazawa Buncho 1991, 109, fig. 148; Manabe 1988, 562–564, figs. 7–12.
217 1 ken = 6 shaku (=about 1.8 meters).
218 The original text misses one character 也. Manabe (1988, 562) reads 元来三十七は三十七尊を表し.
219 The Eighteen Assemblies (Jahachi-e 十八会) in which the series of texts related to the Vajra Realm were transmitted. The Tattvasamgraha is the first of this series. See Kyoto 1978, 23.
220 ZIZ, XXXVII, 634. Compare also with the quotation in Amanuma 1934, 198.
The Yugitō

The records of the  accountId Dohän say: “the little stūpa of the Chūin is modelled after the Iron Stūpa of South India. The said Iron Stūpa [measures] three ken of six shaku. There are thirty-seven rafters ( 萬人: taruké). These rafters symbolise the Thirty-seven Honoured Ones. The three ken of six shaku manifest the Eighteen Assemblies.”

The measures of the Iron Stūpa are probably the result of Japanese speculation. As far as I know, no Chinese source mentions any measures of this stūpa. As we do not have any detailed drawing of the old Yugitō it is also impossible to check the exact number of the rafters. The numbers eighteen and thirty-seven are associated with elements of the Kongōbōkyō. There is no reference to the Daínichikyō.

There exists also a certain connection between the Yugitō and Aizen Myōō, a deity who is also contained in the present Yugitō. This viśdhāra ( 信心 功德) is described in detail in the Yugi-kyō, the oldest extant text dealing with this deity. According to the Tōmitsu 東密 view, the text explains the concentration of Aizen Myōō.222 Our stūpa is to be visualised in the so-called Large Ritual ( 法要 Daihō) for Aizen Myōō. A survey of this ritual based on the Usuréshi 薄双紙 is given by Roger Goepper in his comprehensive study on Aizen.223 Here follows his translation of the step dealing with the visualisation of the place where the deity is to be invoked:224

On the altar there is the character ‘A’ which changes into a precious towered pavilion ( hōrikutsu) with five peaks and eight pillars symbolizing the Five Kinds of Esoteric Knowledge ( gochō) of the Kongōkai Mandara and the eight leaves of the central lotus of the Taizōkai Mandara respectively. The pavilion therefore expresses the idea of the Non-Duality of the Two Departments ( ryōkōfun). Inside the pavilion should be imagined a wonderful altar, placed on it the character ‘Hr’ which changes into a precious towered pavilion. On the altar there is the character ‘A’ which turns into a flaming sun disk containing the character ‘Hr’ which changes into a Five-Pronged Vajra. This Vajra is then to be transformed into the figure of Kongō-Aizen-myōō, his appearance being as usual.

Among the Nanten Tettō-zu discussed by Manabe Shunshō there is also one painting stored in the Hasedera 長谷寺 that depicts Aizen sitting inside the Iron Stūpa.225 The stūpa is depicted as a (T)aihōtō with one sōrin. To the left and the right of the upper part of the painting the seed-syllables of the Five Buddhas of respectively the Kongō and Taizōkai are written in siddham. At the top of the painting, the three syllables hōh, trăp and bu-funi are written in a smaller size. These syllables presumably represent Aizen.226 Under the stūpa a big syllable  is drawn in a sun disk on a lotus. At both sides of this syllable, four of the Eight Patriarchs of Shingon are sitting.227 This particular drawing clearly represents the union of the two realms. The fact that Aizen occupies the interior of the stūpa indicates an affinity to the Yugi-kyō. A similar painting is found in

221 Probably the Kaisan boki 高野山御記 ascribed to Dohan. Practically the same passage on the Yugitō is included in this text, see Abe 1982, 69. This text is discussed in op. cit. 27.
222 See MD, 723 s.v. Kongōburakakaisaijōgyūkyō BDf, II, 1350 s.v. Kongōburakakaisaijōgyūkyōs.
223 The Usuréshi is a collection of rituals written by Seigen 成賢 (1162–1231) included in T. LXXVIII no. 2495. On this work, see MF, 40–41 s.v. Usuréshi.
224 See Goepper 1993, 139.
225 See Manabe 1983, 10–11, 12 fig. E. The upper part of the scroll bears an inscription in ink with a date corresponding to 1804.
226 On hōh, trăp and bu-funi as the seed syllables of Aizen, see Goepper 1993, 120–124.
227 According to Manabe (1983, 10) the Denji Hasso ( 報 神八詛), the “Eight Patriarchs who Transmitted and Maintained (the Teachings)”. See further Snodgrass 1988, 1, 117.
VI. Representations of Stūpas with Five-fold Spires in the Japanese Art of the Asuka (552–645) and Nara (710–794) Periods

Apart from the Yugitō of the Chūn and the recently built replica in the Yaku-ji in Shikoku, there is no other stūpa with five sōrin in Japan. Representations of square stūpas with multiple spires are however found in some sculptures and paintings of the Asuka and Nara Periods.

A wooden miniature stūpa with five sōrin is held in the left hand of the statue of Tamonten 多聞天 (Skt. Vāraṇavāja) in the Golden Hall (金堂 Kondō) of the Hōryū 法隆寺 in Nara (see fig. 11). Tamonten is one of the Four Heavenly Kings or Shitenno 四天王, the guardians of the four directions and protectors of Buddhism. The statues of the Shitenno preserved in the Hōryū date back to the seventh century and are the oldest extant statues of these deities in Japan. The stūpa is one of Tamonten’s symbolic attributes. Statues of Vāraṇavāja often hold a little stūpa with one central spire. The statue of the Hōryū is the only sculpture with a five-spired stūpa. I have not yet come on a representation of this deity holding a similar stūpa in Chinese or Korean Buddhist art. This little stūpa has a square ground plan and rests on a lotus platform with one layer of petals pointing downwards (kaeribana). The lotus supports three square platforms of decreasing size. In the four sides of the stūpa body are semicircular arched entrances. The stūpa body becomes narrower at the top. The roof is composed of three squares of increasing size and is, as it were, the mirror image of the square platforms below. Five metal spires of the same length are placed above this inverted stepped pyramid. Each spire consists of five parabolic discs, which look like the fukubachi at the base of the Japanese sōrin. On top of the masts a flame-shaped ornament is mounted. The central one is missing.

A similar square stūpa is represented in the half relief on top of the nimbus of the Guze Kannon 救世観音 (seventh century) in the Yumedono 夢殿 (“Hall of Dreams”) of the same Hōryū (see fig. 12). The base of this stūpa is a lotus platform supporting two square platforms. The stūpa body has straight pillars and rectangular entrances. The roof consists of two squares. In each roof corner there is a protuberance in the shape of a lotus petal. They remind us of the ornaments in the four corners of the roof of the so-called Hōkyōintō 宝篋印塔 type stūpa (see below). Here, it is not impossible that they represent the ukekabana at the base of the...
There are only three sōrin, but in this perspective representation they can stand for five. The shafts are adorned with lozenge-shaped components. Amanuma Shun’ichi compares them with the beads on an abacus and suggests that the artist shaped them like this for convenience’s sake. The central sōrin is larger and contains seven rings instead of five. According to Ishida Mosaku, the nimbus has been made at the same time as the statue. This stupa is practically identical to the open relief in the nimbus of the Shijūhakkantai butsu 四十八体仏, a collection of bronze Buddhist statues originally stored in the Tachibanadera 橘寺 in Nara and made at the end of the Asuka period. A similar stupa is also found in a nimbus dated “twenty-sixth day of the third month of Kōin 甲寅 3” and originally stored in the Hōryūji. Kōin 3 is said to correspond with the fifth year of the Hakuchi 白雉 Era (=654) of Emperor Kotoku 孝徳. Another interesting example is mentioned in Amanuma’s study (see fig. 13). It is again a stupa held by Tamonten. This stupa is painted on the Tachibana Fujin Zushi 橘夫人厨子, a miniature shrine of the eighth century containing the bronze Amida Trinity revered by

232 See Fujiwara 1943, 135–136; Mizuno 1959, 571 s.v. Senkashakutsu.
233 Amanuma 1934, 226, fig. 2.
234 Ishida 1969a, 199.
236 See Ishida 1969a, 200, plate 329.
Lady Tachibana, mother of Empress Komyō (701–760). In the four corners above the square stūpa body there are again ornamental protuberances. There are three sōrin on the roof that is drawn disorderly. A new element is the banner fluttering at the top of the central sōrin. This shrine is also stored in the Hōryūji.

Ishida sees in the above stūpas a primitive Hōkyōintō (原始宝鏡印塔 Genshi Hōkyōintō). The term Hōkyōin is derived from the Hōkyōintanmikyō (T. XIX no. 1022), a text translated by Amoghavajra and often enshrined as a relic inside this type of stūpa. This kind of stūpa is frequently found in Japan from the mid-Kamakura Period as a small massive stone monument (石塔 sekitā, see fig. 14). The plan of this stūpa is also square. The square stūpa body rests on a stepped platform. A moon-circle is sculptured in each of the four sides of the stūpa body. In these circles the syllables of the Four Buddhas of the Vajra Realm (hūm, trāh, brh, ah) are frequently carved. The main characteristic is the special protuberance in each corner of the stepped roof. This category of stūpas carries one sōrin at the centre of the roof. In China, this type of stūpa is called A-yū-wang T'a 阿育王塔 ("Stūpa of King Asoka").

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237 Amanuma 1934, 197, 227, fig. 3.
238 Ishida 1943, 119; Ishida 1969a, 97.
The origin of this type of stūpa would go back to Ch’ien Hung-shu 錦弘俶, the Prince of Wu-yüeh 呉越, who made 84,000 miniature bronze stūpas in 955, in emulation of the 84,000 stūpas ascribed to King Aoka. A famous example of this stūpa is the Aoka reliquary of the A-yü-wang Su 清育王寺 ("Temple of King Aoka") near Ning-po 寧波 in the province of Che-chiang 浙江 (see fig. 15). The Chinese version of the Aoka stūpa is treated in detail by Alexander Soper (1940). He sees in this type of stūpa the harníka of the orthodox Indian stūpa.240 Concerning the special protuberances, he states that “The corner acroteria have no parallel known to me in Buddhist architectural iconography.”241 He further writes that “The acroteria of the reliquary may thus be merely an additional sign of the Hellenization typical of Gandhāran style.” He also sees an influence of the Parthian fire altar, which has four finials curving outward.242

There exists also a relief of a three-storied hexagonal stūpa with multiple pinnacles on a copper plate preserved in the Hasedera in Nara.243 This copper work is known as the Senbutsu-ta 千仏塔 ("Stūpa of the Thousand Buddhas and Prabhutaratna") and dates from the 7–8th century (see fig. 16). This is the earliest Japanese representation of the miraculous stūpa described in the Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtra (Lotus Sūtra). This scene of the Lotus Sūtra is frequently seen in East Asian art.244 This three-storied construction has several features in common with the stūpas described above. A lotus supports the stūpa. At the base there is again a three-stepped platform. The three roofs consist of three similar steps arranged in reverse order. The roofs are decorated with curled protuberances. The upper roof carries three sārin. Inside the lower stūpa body Šākyamuni and Prabhutaratna are seated side by side. Amitābha occupies the second story. The upper spherical body contains a jewel-shaped reliquary. Ishida calls this stūpa a primitive three-storied Hōkyōintō.245

No example of a multiple spired stūpa dating from the Asuka or Nara Periods exists as an actual building. The extant stūpas of these periods are all multi-storied (=three or five) buildings with one sōrin, usually with nine rings. The fact that stūpas with multiple spires only appear as an attribute or as a decorative pattern in statues and panel paintings might be an indication that this type of stūpa was not in the first place meant to be constructed as a concrete structure. Ishida points out the relatively high number of objects decorated with this stūpa in the Asuka and Hakuho 白鳳 (645–710) periods.246 He also adds that this motif disappears from the Nara Period onwards. It should also be noted that all the above-mentioned examples are art of exoteric Buddhism, dating prior to the introduction of the Yugıkýo, the alleged textual base of the Yugitó, in Japan by Kükai in 806. Insofar as we can rely on the Shingon tradition, it was not until the ninth century that a stūpa with five sōrin and associated to esoteric Buddhism was built in Japan.

240 Soper 1940, 658. For the Chinese Aoka stūpa, see also Boerschmann 1931, 416–420.
241 Soper 1940, 659.
242 Soper 1940, 659–661.
244 See Davidson 1954.
245 Ishida 1969a, 200.
246 Ishida 1969a, 97.
VII. Yugitō-zu and Kinki Sharitō

The Yugitō has been depicted in Japanese drawings called Yugitō-zu 瑜祇塔図. Yugitō-zu were conferred to the disciple who underwent the secret Yugikanjō (“Yugi Initiation”), described in Chapter XI of the Yugikyō. Manabe Shunshō has discussed these drawings in detail in his study on the development of the Yugitō-zu. He concludes that no drawing dating back prior to the first half of the thirteenth century has been found. A beautiful example has been preserved in the Shōmyō-ji 称名寺 in Yokohama (see fig. 17). This drawing, which is now stored in the Kanazawa Bunko 金沢文庫, represents a five-pronged kōō supported on a lotus on top

248 Manabe 1988, 566; Manabe 1984b, 46–47.
249 See Kanagawa–kenritsu Kanazawa Bunko 1991, 115, plate 158; Manabe 1984b, 47; Manabe 1988, 551, fig. 3.
of a huge terraced rock. At both sides of the stūpa musical instruments decorated with ribbons are hanging in the air.\(^{250}\) The whole is carried on the back of a turtle floating on waves. The turtle and most of the rock are drawn in a circle that rests on a crescent moon. At both sides of the rock a small radiating circle is drawn. Apart from the bōdo with five spires and the musical instruments, this representation is similar to the drawings contained in the Hirigō (虚宜). The sōrin do not contain any rings but consist of accumulated nihōbana and jewels. Similar sōrin can be seen on the reliquary stūpa of the Manzenji (see below).

In his Yagijō hidenshō (虚宜秘録)\(^{251}\) Yugi 義宜 (1536–1612) refers to a drawing of a stūpa which he attributes to Kūkai and which would be based on the oral transmission of Hui-kuo. He gives a short description of a stūpa which is practically identical to the above drawing of the Shōmyōjī:

Below there is the shape of a half moon (the wind-circle).\(^{252}\) Above it there is a round shape filled with waves (the water-circle). Above it there is a Golden Turtle (the metal-wheel). Above it is Mr. Sumeru (divided in four layers). To the left and the right, halfway the side of the mountain, there is a sun- and a moon-circle. On top of the mountain there is a lotus platform. On this there is the Jewelled Stūpa with Five Peaks and Eight Pillars. The five peaks are all shaped like accumulated jewelled banners 宝幢 (bōdo).\(^{253}\) On the top they all have a jewel. To the left and the right of the Jewelled Stūpa there are nine musical instruments tied to heavenly garments. They are all shaped as if they were flying. In the left corner Yagisutra う由 in written.\(^{254}\) The drawing of this stūpa is the gist of the said scripture, the source of non-duality.

This passage is followed by an interpretation of the different parts of the drawing. I have tabulated these correlations below:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wind-circle} & = \text{the Three Mysteries}\(^{255}\) of the Garbha (胎三秘密 Tai Sanhimitsu) \\
\text{the four layers of Mr. Sumeru} & = \text{the Four Dharma Bodies}\(^{256}\) of the Vajra (金四法身 Kon Shihosshin) \\
\text{the sun-circle to the right of the mountain} & = \text{Vajra, day}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^{250}\) These instruments resemble the drums, flutes, lutes, etc. in the Court of Space (虚空殿 Kokukdān) of the Taima-mandala (Nara National Museum). On this Pure Land mandala, see Okazaki 1977, 42–52. See also BDJ, IV, 3434 s.v. Taimamandara. Compare also with the instruments mentioned in the following passage from the Lotus Sūtra translated from Chinese by L. Hurvitz (1976, 39–40): “Or if they cause others to make music, /Beating drums and blowing horns and conchs, /Or sounding flutes, of many reeds or of only one, and lyres, /mounted on stands or not, /And lutes and cymbals, /Producing many fine sounds like these /And holding them all up as offerings.” For the Chinese text, see T. IX no. 262, 9a 12–14.

\(^{251}\) 織塗, VII, 149: A commentary on the Yagijō compiled in 1576 and based on the oral transmission of the monk Keigan* (虚宜 no data) of the Negoroji 密苑寺. On Yugi’s commentary, see NBTD, 525 s.v. Yagijō hidenshō, MD, 2207 s.v. Yagijō hidenshō, ZSZ, XLII (Kaidai), 41–43. [* No entry of Keigan in MD. According to ZSZ, XLII, 284, a monk of the province Kai 甲斐, now the prefecture of Yamanashi 山梨, who introduced the Tachikawa-ryū立川流 at Negoro. His lectures were also attended by Yugi.]

\(^{252}\) The italiced words in brackets are printed in small characters in the edition of ZSZ.

\(^{253}\) For bōdo, see Shimizu 1983, 146 s.v. bōdo 110–112 s.v. da A banner surmounted by a jewel (Skt. cintamani). In the sōrin of the Yagijō-zu of the Shōmyōjī (see fig. 17), a lotus supports each jewel. The upper jewel has a flower. A similar ornament is found on top of the jewelled banner depicted in the Cobu Shinkan 五部心輪. See Hatta 1981, 25, fig. 50.


\(^{256}\) The fourfold dharmakaya (四種法身) see Kiyota 1978, 63–64; Hakeda 1972, 83–84.
the moon-circle to the left of the mountain = Garbha, night
the lotus platform = the Lotus Repository World (華藏世界 Kezō Sekai)257
the five peaks = the Five Knowledges, the Vajra Realm
the pavilion with eight pillars = the eight petals, the Garbha Realm

Similar Yugitō-zu can also be found in Amanuma’s study.258 Among these he describes a wall painting in the Main Hall (本堂 hondō) of the Ninnaji 仁和寺 in Kyōto.259 Amanuma does not mention the date. As the main building was rebuilt in 1637, I assume that this wall painting is relatively new.260 Amanuma also describes an unusual drawing on silk stored in the Ryōkōin in which Kūkai is seated in front of a kōtō with five tōrin (see fig. 18).261 This drawing, called Yugi Daishi-zu 瑜祇大師図, would date back to the end of the Kamakura Period.262

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257 The Rengezō Sekai 蓮華藏世界. According to Shingon the Pure land of Vairocana, see MD, 2299 s.v. Rengezō Sekai.
258 See Amanuma 1934, 205–206, 229, fig. 5, 230, fig. 6.
259 See Amanuma 1934, 205, 229, fig. 5.
260 See Amanuma 1934, 205. The present author has not yet been able to examine this painting himself.
261 Amanuma 1934, 201–204, 228, fig. 4.
262 See Amanuma 1934, 201.
The Yugitō is also presented in a number of so-called sharitō 舍利塔, reliquaries in the form of a stūpa. Sharitō represented as miniature Yugitō are preserved in the Manzenji 万善寺 (Osaka, see fig. 19) and the Kongōbuji 金剛峯寺 (Kōyasan, see fig. 20). They are both described in detail by Amanuma.\textsuperscript{263} These sharitō are however of a recent date. The former dates back from the middle of the Edo Period (1603–1868), the latter was constructed in 1934 on the occasion of the 1100\textsuperscript{th} memorial celebration of Kakai’s passing.\textsuperscript{264} The miniature Yugitō of the Kongōbuji is stored in the inner shrine of the Kondō 金堂 ("Golden Hall").\textsuperscript{265} Three altars (壇 dan) are placed in front of the central deity Bhaiṣajyaguru (薬師如来 Yakushi Nyorai) who is installed on a Sumeru altar (須弥壇 Shumidan). The central altar is called Funi Chōdan 不二中壇 ("Non-dual Central Altar"), and carries the Yugitō in the middle. To the left (= west) and the right (= east) are two smaller altars, representing the Kongōkai-dan 金剛界壇 ("Vajra Realm Altar") and Taizōkai-dan 胎蔵界壇 ("Womb Store Realm Altar"). These altars have one miniature gorintō 五輪塔 in the centre.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.4\textwidth]{fig19.png}
\caption{Fig. 19: Miniature Yugitō, Manzenji, Osaka. Middle of the Edo Period. (after Amanuma 1934, 233, fig. 9)}
\end{figure}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.4\textwidth]{fig20.png}
\caption{Fig. 20: Miniature Yugitō, Kongōbuji, Kōyasan. 1934. (after Amanuma 1934, 239, fig. 16)}
\end{figure}

Our stūpa is also associated with a special type of sharitō called Kinki Sharitō 金亀舍利塔 "Golden Turtle Reliquary Stūpa".\textsuperscript{266} These are gilt bronze sharitō in the shape of a hōtō carried

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{263} Amanuma 1934, 210–211, 219–220, 233, fig. 9, 239–240, fig. 16–18. In the sharitō of the Manzenji four ikkō, single-pronged vajras, are erected on the lotus platform.
\item \textsuperscript{264} See Amanuma 1934, 211, 219.
\item \textsuperscript{265} For a detailed description of this shrine, see Okazaki 1982, 446–448. See also Yamamoto 1973, 91.
\item \textsuperscript{266} On this type of sharitō, see Morita 1962; Ishida 1969a, 92; Okazaki 1982, 30–32.
\end{itemize}

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by a turtle. The Kinki Sharitá have only one sárin on top of the stúpa roof. Only four such miniature stúpas are extant today.267 They are stored in the Toshódaiji 唐招提寺 (dated 1338, Nara, see fig. 21),268 the Tódaiji 東大寺 (dated 1411, Nara),269 the Ryókóin (dated 1460)270 and the Hasedera (near Nara, dated 1842).271 According to Manabe, the name Yugítá is engraved in the belly of the turtle of the reliquary stúpa of the Hasedera.272 The turtle carrying a hótó is said to be based on the passage with the Golden Turtle symbolising the construction of the world in Jichíun’s Yugisutra Úhiketsu.273 The idea of a turtle representing the world is of course not exclusively Japanese but is adopted from the Hindu and Buddhist mythology.274 The animal is also said to be based on the legend of the miraculous turtle which appeared in the sea to recover precious relics sunk into the sea when the monk Ganjin 鑑真 (688–763) was shipwrecked while crossing from China to Japan.275 According to Ishida, there may also be a relation with the turtle-shaped supports of stone monuments in China and Korea.276 He also adds that this creature may be inspired by the turtle to be visualised in the Tattvasarga.277

According to Ishida, the only Kinki Hótó constructed in stone is the hótó of the Hókakuji 鳳閣寺 in Kurotakimura 黒龍村 (Nara Prefecture, see fig. 22).278 This stone stúpa dated 1369 is 2.7 meters high and represents a circular hótó with one sárin of nine rings resting on a square lotus platform. A square stone in which the head and the forelegs of a turtle are sculptured supports the structure. Amanuma describes this stúpa in detail. He writes that although there is only one sárin, it is possible that this stúpa was built with the intention of representing the Yugítá with its five sárin.279 This would be, in other words, an abstraction of our stúpa. As a matter of fact, it seems technically impossible to construct a similar miniature stúpa in stone with five pinnacles. On the other hand, I have not yet found an explanation why the Kinki Sharitá is always topped with only one sárin.280 Here it must be technically possible to fix five sárin on the roof of these bronze miniature stúpas.

268 Discussed in detail in Morita 1962. See also Ishida 1969a, 190 no. 249; Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 1975, 66 no. 127; Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 1983, 313–314; Okazaki 1982, 30–32.
270 See Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 1975, 66 no. 129; Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 1983, 315; Okazaki 1982, 32.
271 See Ishida 1969a, 190 no. 251; Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 1975, 66 no. 130; Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 1983, 315.
273 See Manabe 1988, 555.
276 Ishida 1969a, 92. On the identification of the cosmos with a turtle in Han times, see Allan 1991, 104–107. See also Paladan (1991, 50): “The tortoise base was a Han innovation; the earliest known example is on the Fan Min tomb (A.D. 205) in Sichuan, but there are records of such bases from the preceding century.”
278 Ishida 1969a, 92, 190 no. 252.
279 Amanuma’s study (1934, 212–215, 234, fig. 10, 235, figs. 11–12.
280 Amanuma’s study (1934, 232) contains an interesting drawing of a stúpa mounted on a turtle. On the roof there is only one sárin, but near the corners of the roof a small tokó is drawn. Each tokó is connected to the sárin with a dashed line. The illustration is a copy of a drawing which was stored in the Department of Archi-
VIII. Stupas with Multiple Spires in China and India

It is unclear in which degree the stupas represented in the art of the Asuka and Nara Periods served as a model for the Yugitō. Amanuma Shun'ichi and Fujiwara Giichi point out the resemblance of the Yugitō to these stupas, but the possibility cannot be excluded that our stūpa is the result of Shingon speculation and that it was created in Japan apart from any prototype. If so, the Yugitō would be exclusively Japanese and its resemblance with the pre-Heian multi-spired stūpas would be coincidence. The Yugitō may also have been transmitted orally to, for example, Kākai in China as a stūpa to be constructed mentally.

In any event, the stupas with multiple spires represented in the Asuka and Nara Periods deserve our attention. There can be no doubt that these stūpas followed some continental model. As a matter of fact, these periods were characterised by a thorough borrowing from every field of Chinese culture.

As far as I can ascertain, no example of a stūpa with five sōrin-like masts has been found in China or Korea. However, there exist many sculptural representations of multi-spired stūpas in the early Buddhist cave temples of China. The caves of Yün-kang (雲岡; Shan-hsi 石窟) contain a great quantity of reliefs from around 500 AD of multi-storied (=3, 5, 7) stūpas with tiled...
roofs. These stūpas often carry three sōrin on the upper roof (see fig. 23). In the actual monument there were probably five. These tower-stūpas are depicted with niches in each floor. Each niche contains one or two seated figures. These illustrations are very similar to the Senbutsu Tābō Butō mentioned above. These cave reliefs occasionally contain single-storied stūpas that resemble the stūpas depicted in Japan in the Asuka and Nara Periods. A well preserved example is found in the eastern wall, niche 5b, of the Yün-kang Cave XI, dated 495 (see fig. 24). In the lower part a niche with a seated Buddha is flanked on each side by a small single-storied stūpa. The five-stepped base of the stūpa resembles the Shumiza 須弥座, a platform in the shape of Mt. Sumeru. The body contains a niche with an arched frame and houses two figures seated side by side. The roof supports a dome. From the roof rise flower-shaped ornaments that envelop the base of the dome. The top of the dome carries three spires with seven rings. At the base of the sōrin, we see ornaments similar to the ornamental protruberances of the stūpas depicted in the Asuka and Nara Periods.

A little stūpa, practically similar to the miniature stūpa held in the left hand of the statue of Tamonten in the Hōryūji, appears frequently as a subsidiary element at the top of Buddhist steles and bronzes of the period of the division between North and South in China, especially the Northern Ch'i (北齊 550–577) and Northern Wei Dynasties (北魏 386–535) (see fig. 25). Small stūpas frequently appear in the early Chinese Buddhist art as a reference to the miraculous Prabhutaratna-stūpa which appears in the Lotus Sūtra. As a matter of fact, some of the miniature stūpas with multiple masts of the Northern Ch'i and Wei contain two tiny figures, probably Sakyamuni and Prabhutaratna. Ishida mentions in passing that the miniature stūpa with the five sōrin held by Tamonten may be related to the Chinese Wu-t'a Pao-t'an 五塔宝壇 ("The Jewelled Platform with Five Stūpas"). It is not clear to which Chinese monument he exactly refers. Perhaps constructions like the Chin-kang Pao-tso Tā 金刚宝座塔 ("Adamantine Jewelled Seat Stūpa"), also called the Wu-t'a Ssu 五塔寺 ("Five Stūpa Temple"), of the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644) near Pei-ching may be meant here (see fig. 26). In this monument five tower-like stūpas are arranged on a high platform. This building is an imitation of the famous Indian stūpa-tower of Bodhgaya (see below). Similar lamaist structures have been built during the Ch'ing Dynasty in Pei-ching and Inner Mongolia.

284 See Mizuno and Nagahiro 1951–1956, VIII, plate 9; Dallapiccola 1980, plate II/5.
286 See Davidson 1954, 59. Davidson (1954, 28) also mentions that: "The numerous representations of Sakyamuni and Prabhutaratna at Yün Kang and Tun Huang demonstrate the importance that the Saddharma Pundarika Sutra had achieved in the Buddhist art of China by the year 500." He also observes that: "Scultures presenting the Lotus became more and more rare during the latter part of the sixth century." (Davidson 1954, 60). See also Soper 1959, 181. The apparition of the Jewelled Stūpa is described in Chapter Eleven of the Lotus Sūtra, for an English translation, see Harriss 1976, 183–194.
288 Ishida 1969a, 199 no. 326.
Lothar Ledderose compares the stūpa of Tamonten with the arrangement of five units found in the religious buildings of pre-Buddhist China. These religious constructions of the Han Dynasty, called Ming T’ang ("Radiant Hall"), are supposed to consist of a square central building surrounded by four lesser similar buildings in the four corners. These quintuple arrangements, which are only known from reconstructions and ceramic models, appear to have a cosmological significance. Ledderose sees in the miniature stūpa of Tamonten a comparable arrangement. He says that, “This is basically the same cosmological diagram that was so widely used in the Han Dynasty.”

Amanuma sees in the Yugitō a simplification of the five-spired stūpa. He takes the view that the prototype of the Yugitō is to be found in India. He mentions that examples of stūpas with five towers (one big tower in the centre and four lesser in the four corners) are found in India, Burma, Thailand, Japan and China. He only provides one example of such a stūpa in India: the Mahabodhi Temple in Bodhgaya (fig. 27). Apart from this observation, he does not refer to the stūpas with multiple spires represented in the sculptures of the Yün-kang caves or in the early Chinese Buddhist bronzes.

292 See Dallapiccola 1980, plates XVIII/7–8.
294 Amanuma 1934, 192–193, 224. Surprisingly, Amanuma does not refer to the representations of the five-pronged stūpas found in China.
295 Also Hashimoto (1935, 116–117) points out that Amanuma does not give any examples of Chinese stūpas.
Concerning the five sârin of the Yugito Alexander Soper writes that, “the five-fold spires seem clearly Indian in source. Perhaps they echoed the memory of the great prototype at
Bodhgayā, like the five-fold Chinese stūpas on high terraces at Pi-yün-ssū and Wu-t’a-ssū. Soper’s opinion is quoted in Ledderose’s study on the Chinese prototypes of the East Asian stūpa. Ledderose adds that Soper’s claim “should be reconsidered in the light of Han dynasty evidence.” The evidence in question is the five-fold religious construction mentioned above. It is of course impossible to determine whether the five-fold stūpa is a direct continuation of these Chinese structures or a survival of Indian quintuple monuments. Anyway, similar constructions in India deserve our special attention, all the more since structures with five peaks or five chambers are described in certain Chinese versions of the Tattvāsahaja, which originated in India.

An interesting representation of an early Indian stūpa with five masts is depicted on a relief in the pillar of the south gate of stūpa n° 1 of Sānci (first century BC/AD, see fig. 28). The predominant element of this stūpa is the hemispherical stūpa body (Skt. aṇḍā). At the summit of this dome stands a harmikā (“pavilion”) composed of an inverted five-stepped pyramid mounted on a balustrade. The upper slab of this pyramid is decorated with small upward-pointing triangles. From this construction rises one central spire which carries a parasol (chattra). Four similar but smaller spires are depicted around this central one. They seem to be lined up but are probably supposed to be arranged in the four directions. In spite of the differences, this stūpa has important features in common with the structures depicted in the Asuka and Nara Periods and with the Yugitō. The typical Indian aṇḍa is still preserved in the hemispherical top of the stūpa body of the Yugitō. The harmikā may be reflected in the short cylinder surrounded by a balustrade in our stūpa. The overhanging roof of the Yugitō and the wood-work which supports it are alien to the Indian stūpa. These elements are taken from the Chinese architectural tradition. There might still be a relation with the harmikā. As a matter of fact, Dietrich Seckel does not exclude that the East Asian “square canopy-like roof” is “possibly inspired by the shape of a harmikā with protruding layers . . .” The inverted pyramid is still clearly present in the stūpas represented in the Asuka and Nara Periods. Even their triangular protuberances are comparable to the ornaments depicted in this Indian relief. Of special interest are the five chattra masts.

It has already been stated that Amanuma sees in the Yugitō a simplification of a group of five stūpas. He compares the Yugitō with the famous Indian stūpa tower of Bodhgayā. The present stūpa of Bodhgayā is a reconstruction of the nineteenth century. This huge multi-storied pyramidal tower is built out of brick and is 54 meters high. Four similar miniature towers (eight meters high) flank the base of the central tower and are erected in the four corners. On the flat top of the main tower stands a central miniature tower. Of special interest are the four smaller towers at each of the four corners of the roof. A similar

296 Soper 1942, 196.
297 Ledderose 1980, 244, note 19.
298 See Kottkamp 1992, 618, fig. 58; Bénisti 1960, plate VI A.
299 They remind us of the ornaments in the four corners of the Hokyōintō. See above, note 232. See also Snodgrass [1985] 1991, 238–239.
300 See Kottkamp 1992, 103–104, note 3; Bénisti 1960, 61.
301 On the survival of the structural elements of Indian origin in the East Asian stūpas, see Seckel 1980.

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structure with five miniature towers on the roof is depicted on the terracotta plaque of Kumrahar, also called the Bodhgaya plaque, which probably dates from the fifth or sixth century AD. Snodgrass sees in this fivefold pattern an expression of a maṇḍala pattern. He also refers to stūpas with similar towers in Burma (the Mingalazedin stūpa in Pagan) and lamaist stūpas in China. Five tower-shaped stūpa groups are also found in Central Asia, for example in Yar and Kocho near Turfan.

IX. Conclusion

The Shingon tradition regards the Yugitā as a stūpa erected by Shinzen according to plans drawn or transmitted by Kūkai, his master. The commentarial tradition of Shingon explains the Yugitā as a symbolisation of the essence of the Yogakṣya. According to the Shingon school, the two realms are combined in this text. It is however questionable whether this interpretation of the text was already current in the time of Kūkai. He repeatedly quotes the text in his religious writings but there is not one passage in which he interprets the Yogakṣya as a scripture that combines the teachings of the Vairavandhisambodi and the Tattvasaṅgraha. Besides, Kūkai clearly assigns the Yogakṣya to the Tattvasaṅgraha tradition and even quotes the Yogakṣya to explain the title of the Kongōchōkaiyosaijūjittusombojiṣubodaijōgenshōdaikyōoikyō. His writings neither contain any reference to the Yugitā or to any stūpa with five sārin. Ihara claims that the Yogakṣya was regarded as a text containing the essence of the non-duality of the two sections after Kūkai. If this were true, the association of the Yugitā with the Yogakṣya would also date after Kūkai. Consequently, the traditional interpretation of the Daitō, the main stūpa of Kūyasan that was also built under Kūkai’s will and which is also thought to represent the essence of the Yogakṣya, should also be put in doubt. As a matter of fact, Shimomatsu has demonstrated that the original arrangement of the deities inside the Daitō was not syncretic in nature.

The Yogakṣya does not contain a description of a stūpa similar to the Yugitā. On the other hand, we have seen that the Ryakushutsunenjukyō, a text that pertains to the Tattvasaṅgraha lineage, contains a detailed description of an edifice with five peaks and eight pillars to be constructed mentally. It may be premature to draw the conclusion that the Ryakushutsunen-
The Yugitó was the textual source for the design of a Japanese stupa with five sōrin and eight inner pillars, but it is most likely that this scripture or other texts of the Tattvasamgraha lineage were at least an important source of inspiration whether or not in the days of Kūkai.

Comparing the consulted commentaries it is also doubtful whether the Yugitó carried five sōrin right from the beginning. It is also difficult to decide in which degree the design of the Yugitó has been influenced by the stūpas with multiple sōrin represented in early Chinese Buddhist art. It should also be borne in mind that these Chinese examples and also the stūpas with multiple spires represented in the Japanese Asuka and Nara Periods are examples of exoteric Buddhist art. In my opinion we can consider the problem of the origin of the Yugitó in the following ways:

1. The concept of the Yugitó was transmitted to Kūkai in China, by for example Hui-kuo who inherited it from his master Amoghavajra.
2. The Yugitó is a creation of Kūkai.
3. Or, the Yugitó is a result of Shingon speculation posterior to Kūkai.

There is no definite proof to confirm the first and second opinion. The third possibility does not fit with the traditional Shingon view, but is not less worth consideration. The origin of the symbolic interpretation of the Yugitó and of the title of the Yugikyó will no doubt become clear if we know more on the history of the central Shingon idea of ryōbu funi. But even for this important Shingon premise there is no consensus on the origin. Up to now the following theories have been offered:

1. Indian origin. Yoritomi Motohiro sees elements of mixture of the two basic maṇḍalas (the Taizōmandara and the Kongkaimandara) in the Buddhist statues examined in the province of Orissa in eastern India.\(^{311}\)
2. Other scholars hold the view that the tendency to unify the Kongdōkyō and the Dainichikyō can be traced back to Hui-kuo (and Amoghavajra).\(^{312}\)
3. Other specialists are inclined to attribute this central Shingon idea to Kūkai.\(^{313}\)
4. Some scholars attribute it to Kakuban (1095–1143), the founder of the Shingi 新義 branch of Shingon.\(^{314}\)

Whatever the origin of the ryōbu funi concept, there grew up a tendency to unite the two opposite philosophical notions of Shingon Buddhism from the latter half of the Heian Period. The idea of the indivisibility of the Taizō and Kongkōkai was even combined with Taoist yin-yang beliefs in the Tachikawa school (立川流 Tachikawa-ryō).\(^{315}\) This school correlated the Taizō and Kongkōkai with the female and male principles and claimed that sexual union was a means to attain Buddhahood. According to tradition this Tachikawa school was

312 For example Matsunaga 1969, 146; Matsunaga 1993, 33–34; Katsumata 1981. See also Ihara 1984a, 409–410. As for Amoghavajra, Hui-kuo’s master, Matsunaga (1969, 147, 153, note 9) writes that Amoghavajra himself clearly states that he considers the Kongdōkyō as the subject of his esotericism.
313 Horiuchi 1974, 98, 105. See also Matsunaga 1969, 147.
a heterodox branch of Shingon Buddhism founded by the priest Ninkan 仁寛, who died in 1114. The Yugikyō was considered as one of the five basic texts of this school.316

The teachings of the two maṇḍalas were also incorporated in the so-called Ryōbu Shintō 両部神道. The Inner Shrine (Naikū 内宮) of Ise 伊勢 was interpreted as the Taizō; the Outer Shrine (Gekū 外宮) was identified with the Kongōkai.317

We have seen that the title of the Yugikyō has been interpreted in male and female categories. A similar idea is present in a rather far-fetched explanation of the title of the Ise Monogatari 伊勢物語 found in the Ise monogatari zuin 伊勢物語髄. According to this old study of the Ise monogatari, the word Ise is a contraction of imose 妹背, meaning “lovers”, “wife and husband”.318

Among the commentaries quoted in this survey, the oldest one that interprets the Yugitō along the lines of the notion of non-duality is the Yugisotra hiketsu of the twelfth century priest Jichiun. It is difficult to decide when the theory of correlating the Buddhas and the Bodhisattvas of the Yugitō with the notion of ryōbu funi appeared for the first time. In his interesting article on the Daitō, Shimomatsu has brought forward the suggestion that the identification of the Five Buddhas of the Daitō with the notion of ryōbu funi came into being until the beginning of the thirteenth century at the latest. Manabe concludes in his survey of the Yugitō-zu that these drawings originated in the first half of the same century.

We have also seen that a pavilion with five peaks and eight pillars which expresses the idea of ryōbu funi occurs in the Usuzushi, written early in the thirteenth century by Seigen. We do not know exactly when the idea of the Yugikyō as a text containing the essence of the non-duality of the two sections appeared. Ihara has indicated this tendency in the transmission of Jōhen, a disciple of Jichiu, who lived in the second half of the twelfth and the first half of the thirteenth century.

We probably have to regard the Yugitō and its symbolism as a result of Japanese Shingon speculation taking place from the late Heian onwards.

316 For the canonical scriptures of the Tachikawa school, see Vanden Broucke 1992, 41, note 15; MD, 1558 s.v. Tachikawa-ryū.
318 See Vos 1957, I, 69, 102. The Ise Monogatari Zainō is of an uncertain date. Vos (op.cit. 68) also mentions a theory that says that the characters 伊勢 would have the Japanese reading onoko-onna, “men and women”. This theory is found in the Shimōshō 肖聞抄, a study of the Ise Monogatari written by the poet Botanka Shōkaku 栗火花肖柏 (1443–1527). See also McCullough 1968, 62: “1. Theories ascribing a special meaning to the word. One of these suggest that i stands for ‘female’ and o for ‘male’, in which case the title would mean ‘Tales of Women and Men’, . . .”
Appendix. Short Survey of Modern Secondary Materials on the Yugitō (in Japanese and in chronological order) (full references will be found in the List of Consulted Works)

Amanuma, Shun’ichi, 1934. This article deals mainly with the external architectural aspects of the Yugitō. Amanuma’s study contains detailed descriptions and numerous illustrations of Yugitō-zu, (Kinki) Sharitā and of multi-spired stūpa patterns in the art of the Asuka Period. He gives an account of the rebuilding of the Yugitō and emphasises the resemblance of the Yugitō with the stūpas represented in the art of the Asuka Period. He believes that the Yugitō has its origins in the five-towered Indian stūpa (e.g. the Mahābodhi Temple in Bodhgaya).

Hashimoto, Gyōin, 1935. Hashimoto stresses the secret character of the Yugitō and the lack of research materials for this stūpa. He mentions Amanuma’s article. Hashimoto considers the stūpa more from the doctrinal point of view. Unlike Amanuma, he is reluctant to see the prototype of the Yugitō in the stūpas with five pinnacles or sōrin represented in the art of the Asuka Period. He is also doubtful of the Indian origin of the Yugitō. He gives information on the transmission of esoteric Buddhism in China and deals also with the Yugikyō. He draws our attention to the problems concerning the transmission and the translator of this scripture. In a final section, he refers to Yūka’s Yugikyō shakushō and deals with the symbolic meaning of the title of the Yugikyō.

Mashiba, Hiromune, 1969. In this short study, the Yugitō is explained as a symbol for the “non-duality of the two sections.” There is also basic information on the Yugikanjō.

Ihara, Shōren, 1984b. Ihara gives a résumé of the Yugikyō. He draws our attention to the fact that no stūpa with five sōrin and eight pillars is explained in this scripture. He informs us that the idea of the Gobu Hachīō is present in Jōhen’s interpretation of the title of the Yugikyō. He also quotes from Jichin’s Yugikyō shakushō. He emphasises that in this commentary the roof of the Yugitō carries four single-pronged vajras and one central sōrin with five rings.

Matsunaga, Yūkei, 1985. This is an introduction to the Yugikyō published in 1985 as an explanatory volume accompanying a reproduction of a fifteenth century manuscript of this scripture. Matsunaga gives a summary of the twelve chapters of the Yugikyō and basic information regarding the title, translator, etc. This is the only source in which I have found a description of the interior of the present Yugitō. Matsunaga draws our attention to the pavilion with five peaks and eight vajra-pillars explained in the Ryakushutsunenjukyō.


Useful information is also contained in the following Japanese Buddhist lexica and encyclopedia: BDJ, V, 4925 s.v. Yugitō; MJ, 690 s.v. Yugitō; MD, 690 s.v. Yugitō.


The only English source which devotes a short paragraph on the Yugitō is Soper, Alexander, 1942, 196.
Abbreviations (full references will be found in the List of Consulted Works)

BPD  Mochizuki, Shinkô. Bokkyô daijiten.
BPDJ  Oda, Tokunô. Bokkyô daijiten.
BPDJ  Ono, Gennyô. Bussô kaietsu daijiten.
BDT  Oghara, Unrai. Bossho daijiten.
DBZ  Dai Nihon bokkyo jensho.
DKK  Katsuzaki, Hirohiko et al., eds. Daisai kaietsu jiten.
BKDJ  Ono, Genmyô. Bussho kaisetsu daijiten.
BWD  Ogihara, Unrai. Bon-wa daijiten.
DBZ  Dai Nihon bokkyo jensho.
DKK  Katsuzaki, Hirohiko et al., eds. Daisai kaietsu jiten.
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List of consulted works


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