Citragupta: A Case Study in Esoteric Buddhist Appropriation[1]

Introduction

For several decades, the *Mahākaruṇā-garbhodbhava-maṇḍala*[2] 大悲胎藏生曼荼攞, an iconographic, visual, and ritual device characteristic of Japanese Shingon 眞言 Buddhism, has been a rich source for academic scholarship on Esoteric Buddhism. First appearing in the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi-sūtra*,[3] variants of the *Garbhodbhava-maṇḍala* are discussed in seven of its chapters as well as in a wealth of supplementary literature.[4] For lack of a better term to refer collectively to these texts, I have employed the term "Garbhodbhava cycle."

Several studies relating to the *Garbhodbhava-maṇḍala* have blazed new trails, constructing a wholly new framework for present maṇḍala scholars. Toganoo Shōun's 栂尾祥雲 study of maṇḍalas[5] provided a crucial framework for the field of maṇḍala studies. Tajima Ryūjun 田嶋隆純 analysed both the *Garbhodbhava-*

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Sanskrit terms in this paper are romanized according to the IAST system, but with one slight variation. Rather than utilizing the Sanskrit anusvāra using the vague "ṃ" of IAST, I have elected to romanize this sound more strictly. When occurring before a plosive consonant, the anusvāra is romanized as the appropriate class nasal (ex: "saṅgraha" rather than "saṃgraha." In all other cases—such as occurrence before non-plosives or at the end of any morpheme—the anusvāra is romanized as "ṃ."

[2] *The Maṇḍala Arising from the Matrix of Great Compassion*. The term "matrix" (*garbha*) is frequently translated as "womb" in a number of Western publications. The maṇḍala is also sometimes called the *Garbha*[*kośa*][*dhātu*] *maṇḍala* in English.

[3] I am using the generic title *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi-sūtra* to refer collectively to both known primary translations of this text. The Sino-Japanese version (T. 848), was translated by Śubhākarasiṃha and Yixing 一行 in 724. It is titled the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi-vikurvitādhiṣṭhāna-sūtra* 大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經. The Tibetan version was translated by Śīlendrabodhi and Kaba Peltsek Rakṣita by 812. The Tibetan version is more fully titled the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi-vikurvitādhiṣṭhāna-vaipulya-sūtra-indrarājā-nāma-dharmaparyāya*. It should be noted that the differences between the Chinese and Tibetan translations of this text are inconsequential to the discussion presented in this paper.

[4] See, for example, several works attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha (discussed in detail below). Works outside the scope of this paper include the *Taizang Jiutuyang* 胎蔵旧圖様 (TZ. 61) attributed to Amoghavajra, and the *Shishu Goma Honzon Oyobi Kenzoku Zuzō* 四種護摩本尊及眷屬圖像 (TZ. 37).

[5] Toganoo Shōun, *Maṇḍala no Kenkyū* (Kōyasan: Kōyasan Daigaku Shuppanbu, 1927).

maṇḍala and the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala*[7] 金剛界曼荼羅, making a great deal of information more accessible to future scholarship.[8] Ishida Hisatoyo 石田尚豊 divided much of the Garbhodbhava cycle literature between the two esoteric patriarchs that advanced these texts: Śubhākarasiṃha 善無畏 (637-735) and Amoghavajra 不空[金剛] (705-775), illustrating in detail the differences between the two patriarchs' views regarding the depiction of the very same maṇḍala.[9] This study also demonstrated that several Garbhodbhava deities were misnamed, most frequently in iconographic works of Amoghavajra's "lineage" of texts.[10] Ishida's studies were also instrumental in tracing the iconographic origin of many of the deities that appear in the *Garbhodbhava-maṇḍala*.[11] Hatta Yukio 八田幸雄 analysed one of the iconographic precursors to the *Garbhodbhava-maṇḍala*, providing detailed information regarding each deity present and their attributes.[12] More recently, Shinohara Kōichi 篠原孝市 has rather convincingly traced the earliest known iteration of the *Garbhodbhava-maṇḍala* to precedents depicted within *dhāraṇī* 陀羅尼 literature dating to the mid-seventh century.[13]

In the West, Adrian Snodgrass compiled a two-volume analysis of the roughly four hundred Garbhodbhava deities.[14] Elizabeth ten Grotenhuis described in brief a number of Japanese maṇḍalas, inclusive of the *Garbhodbhava*.[15] Ulrich H.R. Mammitzsch isolated and analysed fourteen different prototypes for the current (Jp. Genzu 元圖) maṇḍala that are referenced within texts of the Garbhodbhava cycle.[16]

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[7] The *Maṇḍala of the Vajra Realm*. This is the other major maṇḍala utilized by Shingon Buddhists.

[8] Tajima Ryūjun, *Twin* Ma*ṇḍalas of Vairocana in Japanese Iconography* (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture and Aditya Prakashan, 2012).

[9] Ishida Hisatoyo, *Maṇḍala no Kenkyū*, (Tōkyō: Tōkyō Bijutsu, 1975), v.1, 5. Ishida utilizes the terms "Śubhākarasiṃha lineage" (Jp. *Zenmui-kei* 善無畏系) and "Amoghavajra lineage" (Jp. *Fukū-kei* 不空系). For reasons that will become apparent below, this paper will focus entirely on texts from Ishida's Śubhākarasiṃha lineage.

[10] Ishida, *Maṇḍala*.

[11] Ishida Hisatoyo, "Keika, Kūkai-kei Izen no Taizōkai Maṇḍala," *Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan Kiyō* 1 (1964), 31-147.

[12] Hatta Yukio, *Taizō Zuzō no Kenkyū* (Kyōto: Hōzōkan, 1975).

[13] Shinohara Kōichi, *Spells, Images, and Maṇḍalas: Tracing the Evolution of Esoteric Buddhist Rituals* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014). While Shinohara only discusses the *Garbhodbhava-maṇḍala* in brief, his in-depth analysis of maṇḍala initiation ceremonies forges a strong framework for future maṇḍala studies—especially those relating to the evolution of the *Garbhodbhava-maṇḍala.*

[14] Adrian Snodgrass, *The Matrix and Diamond World Maṇḍalas in Shingon Buddhism* (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture and Aditya Prakashan, 1988).

[15] Elizabeth ten Grotenhuis, *Japanese Maṇḍalas: Representations of Sacred Geography* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999).

[16] See Ulrich H.R. Mammitzsch, *Evolution of the Garbhadhātu Maṇḍala* (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture and Aditya Prakashan, 1991).

Despite several other Japanese and Western studies on individual aspects of this maṇḍala, the majority of the four hundred divinities illustrated in its final version have yet to receive adequate scholarly attention as individuals.

In an attempt to reveal more regarding the evolution of the *Garbhodbhava-maṇḍala*, I present here a case study on a minor Garbhodbhava deity named Citragupta—a divinity not nearly as ancient as the other Indic deities that were co-opted into the maṇḍala. In examining Citragupta's origins as a specifically non-Buddhist deity and analysing his constant presence within Garbhodbhava cycle literature, I shine new light on how minor and originally non-Buddhist divinities became appropriated into Buddhist texts as well as how they operated and evolved within an Esoteric Buddhist[17]—more specifically a Mantrayāna[18] (Ch. Zhenyan sheng 眞言乘)—framework.

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[17] The precision of nomenclature signifying esotericized forms of Buddhism is a well-known issue within the field. In 2004, Richard McBride described numerous issues with using the word "esoteric"—most notably that this term has an earlier history in China, being frequently used to differentiate Mahāyāna Buddhism from earlier "exoteric" Śrāvakayāna Buddhism. Henrik Sørensen has opined that the capitalized term "Esoteric Buddhism" should instead be utilized. He further suggests that "esoteric Mahāyāna" should be used for earlier undeveloped "esoteric" notions and that "Tantra" and "Tantric Buddhism" be exclusively reserved for later periods during which actual Buddhist texts called Tantras can be attested. See Richard McBride, "Is There Really Esoteric Buddhism?" in *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 27:2 (2004) and also Henrik H. Sørensen, "On Esoteric Buddhism in China," in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, Orzech, Charles D. et. al. eds. (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

[18] While I utilize Sørensen's "Esoteric Buddhism" frequently throughout this paper, I feel that the term Mantrayāna is more useful in describing the exact type of Esoteric Buddhism represented by the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi-sūtra*. As *neither* the Sino-Japanese nor the Tibetan editions of the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi* utilizes the word "Tantra," the received versions clearly predate Sørensen's ideal use of the term "Tantric Buddhism." However, the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi* and its main commentary *do* consistently refer to their specific genre of Buddhism as Mantrayāna—technically a heavily Esotericized and systematic form of Mahāyāna Buddhism. As this study focuses solely on works relating to the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi*, Mantrayāna is in my opinion the most accurate signifier available, though I still use Sørensen's "Esoteric Buddhism" when applicable. It should however be noted that I *do not* take the term Mantrayāna as a synonym for the more commonly used term Vajrayāna (Ch. Jin'gang sheng 金剛乘), with which it is commonly confused. On my reading, textual evidence suggests that the term Vajrayāna postdates the compilation and Chinese translation of the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi*, and thus likely represents a chronologically later Esoteric Buddhist movement heavily related to the emergence of Buddhist Tantras as a textual genre.

This paper will primarily demonstrate that the transmission of the deity Citragupta to China is certainly a result of the efforts of the monk Śubhākarasiṃha. This transmission required precise knowledge of Citragupta's iconography, his role, and his relationship with other deities in sixth- and seventh-century India—knowledge that extant texts and translations ascribed to Śubhākarasiṃha clearly reveal. Further, I will demonstrate that Citragupta's appropriation can be divided into three chronologically divisible phases, each of which happens to coincide with particular transliteration methods applied to his name.

In addition, this paper seeks to correct a terrible misconception that primarily appears within Japanese scholarship relating to Citragupta. When Citragupta became appropriated into Esoteric Buddhism in China, his persona was heavily conflated and entangled with a similar underworld deity of undoubtedly Chinese origin, becoming a great source of confusion for scholars of both Buddhism and the religions of China and Japan. This paper will correct this misunderstanding, drawing attention to the fact that the two deities are wholly separate and should be treated as such within academia, despite their near-complete entanglement in China and Japan.[19] Finally, I demonstrate that a Japanese Buddhist ritual involving Citragupta and its related maṇḍala each have clear and demonstrable—but hitherto unnoticed—precedents in a Buddhist text generally believed to have been originally composed in China.

Each of these points serves to expand scholarly knowledge of the *Garbhodbhava-maṇḍala* and more generally to illuminate the process by which non-Buddhist deities were appropriated into various Esoteric Buddhist texts and rituals in China and Japan.

Citragupta: An Indian Epic and Purāṇic Deity

It is rather common for Esoteric Buddhist divinities to have relatively diverse origins; this is particularly true of the hundreds of deities appearing within the *Garbhodbhava-maṇḍala*. For example, Vairocana 毘盧遮那, the maṇḍala's central cosmic buddha seems to have originated as an epithet of Siddhartha Gautama, the historical buddha, although the two are seen as different aspects of the same figure in Indian Esoteric Buddhism and Mahāyāna scriptures such as the *Mahāvaipulya-buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*[20] 大方廣佛華嚴經.[21]

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[19] Citragupta's conflation with this Chinese deity is examined in further detail in this paper's appendix.

[20] T. 278.

[21] Ōtake Susumu, "Śakyamuni and Vairocana." In Robert Gimello, Frédéric Girard, and Imre Hamar, eds. *Avataṃsaka Buddhism in East India: Huayan, Kegon, Flower Ornament Buddhism — Origins and Adaptation of a Visual Culture*. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2012). This connection mirrors exactly the minor Vedic deity Rudra, whose epithet "Śiva" ("the auspicious one") was eventually transformed into one of the central gods of its pantheon *without* divorcing itself in any way from the deity from which it first originated.

Citragupta is no exception. Neither a buddha nor a bodhisattva, Citragupta occupies the *Garbhodbhava-maṇḍala*'s outermost area, the so-called "outer enclosure" (Ch. Wai jin'gang buyuan 外金剛部院). The farthest area from Vairocana, this enclosure is usually reserved for deities of extra-Buddhist provenance, such as the multitude of Vedic devas. While Citragupta is irrevocably an Indic deity, he originates within a much more recent period than the devas surrounding him in the maṇḍala.

While Indian texts often prove notoriously difficult to date, Citragupta seems to first appear—chronologically speaking—in the Indian *Mahābhārata* epic. The epic's Anuśāsana-parvan describes Citragupta as a deity in the retinue of Yama[rāja] 焔魔[王], the lord of death. Here, Citragupta proclaims auspicious and dutiful actions in relation to the sinful or righteous behaviour of humans.[22] From this point forward, Citragupta's role as an Indic deity became increasingly complex. In the subsequent Purāṇic literature,[23] Citragupta is a scribe by trade, tasked with keeping track of the good and evil deeds of each mortal being. As such, he works closely with Yama, the Indic god of death, occasionally deciding on a verdict and delivering it to Yama before the deceased are sentenced.[24] He often provides sinners with virtuous words juxtaposed to Yama's strict rebuke.[25] He will occasionally argue for the sake of a penitent sinner,[26] but also proscribes harsh punishments for the unrepentant.[27] His role expands further in the later Purāṇas. In the *Agni-purāṇa,* he is exalted alongside Yama as a presiding deity in the worship of the planets.[28] The *Garuḍa-purāṇa* attributes his—and Yama's—creation to Brahmā, prior even to the creation of the universe.[29] He is occasionally even considered to be the leader of Yama's soldiers.[30] Interestingly, the *Sāmba-purāṇa* refers to Citragupta outside of his role as a scribe, but his connection to Yama remains.[31] Despite these expansions in his role, Citragupta never truly became a major deity in India.

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[22] Manmatha Nath Dutt, trans., *Mahābhārata: Translated into English with Original Sanskrit Text*, Vol. IX (New Delhi: Parimal Publications, 2001), v. 9, 496, 512-514. It should be noted that Dutt mistakenly refers to Citragupta as a goddess.

[23] Unfortunately, this genre evolved over a long period. The earliest Purāṇic verses seem to date from as early as 100 or 200 C.E., the majority being completed by roughly 1500 C.E. Despite this, some Purāṇas continued to be edited as late as the twentieth century.

[24] Asim Kumar Chatterjee, *Ancient Indian Literary and Cultural Tradition* (Calcutta: Punthi Pustak, 1974), 134.

[25] Jagdish Lal Shastri et. al., trans. *Ancient Indian Tradition and Mythology* (New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass) v. 35, 551.

[26] Shastri et al., *Ancient Indian Tradition*, v. 40, 770.

[27] Shastri et al., *Ancient Indian Tradition*, v. 46, 2709.

[28] Shastri et al., *Ancient Indian Tradition*, v. 28, 467.

[29] Shastri et al., *Ancient Indian Tradition*, v. 13, 818.

[30] Shastri et al., *Ancient Indian Tradition*, v. 26, 1250.

[31] Vinod Chandra Srivasta, *Sāmba-Purāṇa: An Exhaustive Introduction, Sanskrit Text, English Translation, Notes, & Index of Verses* (New Delhi: Parimal Publications,

As many of the Purāṇas seem to have been edited even into modern times, it is difficult to determine the exact age of the textual strata in which this deity appears.[32] Even so, it is clear that Citragupta is not as ancient as the Vedas, or even as old as the *Rāmāyaṇa* epic. Barring one single exception—the mantra "Oṃ citraguptaṃ tarpayāmi" ("Oṃ, praise Citragupta!") appearing in the *Dharmasūtra* of Baudhāyana (c. 500-200 B.C.E.), 2.9:11[33]—non-Buddhist Indic references to the name Citragupta are wholly restricted to the *Mahābhārata* and other literature postdating the third century.

Phase I: Esoteric Buddhist Appropriation—The *Mahāmāyūrī-vidyārājñī-sūtra*

Beginning around the early fifth century, Citragupta rather inexplicably began to appear in written materials relating to the then-emerging Esoteric Buddhist movement in India. The Indic deity's assimilation into an Esoteric Buddhist framework underwent a series of clearly definable and chronologically divisible phases.

Unlike a number of other Indic deities, Citragupta's appropriation into Indian Buddhism can be chronologically estimated. His first known appearance in Chinese translation can be dated to around 500-520 C.E, by which point the Indian text of the *Mahāmāyūrī-vidyārājñī-sūtra* 佛說大孔雀呪王經 seems to have undergone a thorough expansion.[34] Six recensions of this early Esoteric Buddhist text remain extant in Chinese:[35] three of which predate this literary expansion, and three of which seem to serve as its result.

2013). Here, both deities appear as attendants of Sūrya, the sun god. This may reflect Yama's Vedic heritage as the son of Vivasvat—a solar deity who was eventually absorbed by the more popular Sūrya.

[32] See, for example, Rajendra Chandra Hazra, *Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rights and* Customs, (New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1975), 50-51, in which Hazra analyses each verse of the *Matsya-purāṇa* based on its chronology. Some sections date from the third or fourth century C.E., while others are not later than 650 C.E. Other sections are not later than 1100 C.E, and still others are considered "late interpolations." The majority of the extant Purāṇas compile verses and paragraphs dating from a wide variety of chronological strata in this manner.

[33] Patrick Olivelle, trans. *Dharmasūtras: The Law Codes of Āpastamba, Gautama, Baudhāyana, and Vasiṣṭha* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 189. Here, Citragupta is taken as an epithet of Yama's rather than as evidence of Citragupta's existence as an independent deity.

[34] Henrik H. Sørensen, "The Spell of the Great, Golden Peacock Queen: The Origin, Practices, and Lore of an Early Esoteric Buddhist Tradition in China," *Pacific World: Journal of the Institute for Buddhist Studies* (Special Issue: Honoring James H. Sanford) 3:8 (2006), 105.

[35] T. 982, T. 984, T. 985, T. 986, T. 987, and T. 988.

Two of the chronologically earlier recensions, T. 987 and 988, invoke fourteen rākṣasīs[36] 羅刹女 near the beginning of the scripture. The names of the last four are immediately suspicious: "Reporting Messenger" 伺[使], "Yama's Messenger" 閻羅使, Yama Rakṣa[sa]" 閻羅羅刹, and "Spying Demon" 瞰鬼.[37] Although these four rākṣasīs are indeed females, it should be noted that their names (or implied functions) either clearly reference Yama himself, or indirectly relate to the role of Citragupta.[38]

By the compilation of the next chronologically subsequent version—T. 984, translation attributed to the monk Saṅghabhara 僧伽婆羅 (fl. 500-520)—the previous list of fourteen rākṣasīs has expanded into what Henrik H. Sørensen has rightly called "a demonic geography"[39] of India. That is to say that the sūtra cites a variety of locations (both familiar and unknown) in India, assigning to each of them a guardian yakṣa 夜叉.[40] These yakṣas often share the names of familiar Indic deities. Early in the list, a yakṣa named Citragupta[41] is associated with a location named Sthitīmukha.[42] No other descriptions or functions are provided for these yakṣas; simply their names and the locations associated with them.

Although Citragupta is not described in form or function, he nonetheless clearly appears in a total of three extant translations of the *Mahāmāyūrī*. It should be noted that in each of these translations, Citragupta's name is directly transliterated into Chinese.[43]

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[36] Rākṣasīs are female rākṣasas 羅刹, a classical Indian demonic race. However, they are often refashioned in Buddhist texts, where they frequently appear as guardian deities.
[37] T. 987 [19:479a25-a26] and T. 988 [19:483a23-25]. These names are translated in Sørensen, "Peacock Queen," 99.
[38] Sørensen provides a great deal of convincing evidence that T. 987 and 988 were each compiled in China during the fourth or fifth century. (Sørensen, "Peacock Queen," 97-105).
[39] Sørensen, "Peacock Queen," 107.
[40] Yakṣas were initially a race of demons in early Indian mythology, but like rākṣasas, they often appear as guardian deities in Buddhist texts.
[41] T. 984 [19:450a24]. See also Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, "The Geographical Catalogue of the Yakṣas in the Mahāmāyūri," in *Sino-Indian Studies* 3 (1947), 21 (verse 5), 44, and also Dineschandra Sircar, "Mahāmāyūri: List of Yakṣas," in *Journal of Ancient Indian History* 5 (1971-1972), 267. Citragupta's name is Sinified in T. 984 as Zhiduoluojueduo 質多羅崛多.
[42] Alternately written as Sthirīpura, Citīmukha, or Tritimukha. This location has yet to be concretely identified with an actual Indian city, but it may have once been an area on Vipula hill near Rājagṛha.
[43] The other two recensions that include Citragupta are T. 985 [19:464b24], translated by Yijing in 705, and T. 982 [19:423a12], translated by Amoghavajra around 750-800. Citragupta's name is Sinified respectively in these texts as Zhiduoluojiduo 質多羅岌多 and Zhidaluojiduo 質怛囉笈多.

Setting the Stage: The Rise of Buddhist Esoterica

The sixth through eighth centuries saw the maturing of Indian Esoteric Buddhism, which is to say that dhāraṇī literature—which had been translated into Chinese from the third through the seventh centuries[44]—gave way to the first organised and systematic Esoteric Buddhist texts. Such developments occurred especially at monastic university centres such as Nālandā 那爛陁.

To briefly summarize this transition, interest in Buddhist esoterica was drastically increasing. Dhāraṇī texts continued to be utilized in India.[45] The Indian monk Dharmakīrti 法称 (c. 600-660) wrote explicitly regarding the efficacy of mantras 眞言.[46] Other monks such as Atikūṭa 阿地瞿多 (fl. 650) compiled vast dhāraṇī collectanea[47] in China. It was around this time that one of the first major Mantrayāna Buddhist texts—the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi-sūtra*—seems to have been composed.[48] The monk Puṇyodaya 那提 (n.d.) purportedly attempted to introduce esoteric texts to China in 655, but was ultimately unsuccessful.[49] This demonstrates that by the mid-seventh century, Buddhist esotericism had become extremely popular in India.

The monk Wuxing 無行 (d. 674) studied in Nālandā from 667 until 674. It is likely that he obtained a copy of the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi-sūtra* along with other esoteric scriptures. These were subsequently forwarded to China upon his passing during his return journey. The eminent translator Yijing 義淨 (635-713) also spent time in Nālandā (c. 675-686), during which he recorded the story of a

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[44] Hodge cites 220-230 C.E. as the earliest Chinese translation of dhāraṇī texts. See Stephen Hodge trans., The *Mahā-Vairocana-Abhisaṃbodhi Tantra with Buddhaguhya's Commentary* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), 6.

[45] For analyses of dhāraṇī literature and its relation to systematized Esoteric Buddhism, see Sørensen, "Esoteric Buddhism" and Shinohara, *Spells*. See also Paul Copp, *The Body Incantory: Spells and the Ritual Imagination in Medieval Chinese Buddhism*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014).

[46] Vincent Eltschinger. "Buddhist Esoterism and Epistemology: Two Sixth-Century Innovations as Buddhist Responses to Social and Religio-Political Transformations," in *Periodization and Historiography of Indian Philosophy: Twelve Lectures Held at the Fourteenth World Sanskrit Conference (Kyoto, September 1-5, 2009)*, ed. Eli Franco (Vienna: Verein Sammlung de Nobili, Institut für Südasien-, Tibet- und Buddhismuskunde der Universität Wien, 2013), 196. Dharmakīrti's dates have recently been argued to be c. 550-575, postulating an earlier date for non-dhāraṇī Esoteric Buddhist texts and practices.

[47] *Dhāraṇī-saṅgraha-sūtra* 陀羅尼集經 (T. 901). While Atikūṭa is credited for translating this compendium in 654 C.E., it is clear that he copied the texts of dhāraṇī that had previously been translated into Chinese. Thus, he did not strictly translate the entire work, but is still credited for its compilation.

[48] Hodge, *Mahā-Vairocana*, 14-17.

[49] Chou, Yi-Liang, "Tantrism in China," in Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies 8, 3/4 (1945), 244.

monk named Daolin[50] 道琳 (fl. 7th c.) and his pursuit of Buddhist esoterica. According to Yijing, Daolin studied not only a *Dhāraṇī-piṭaka*[51] 眈咒藏 in Tāmralipti (present-day Bengal), but also the vidyās[52] 明咒 in Lāṭa (Western India). This serves as a testament to the spread of esoteric Buddhist literature throughout Northern India by the late seventh century. Yijing himself seems to have even sought initiation into this still unsystematised form of Buddhism.[53] After this, in 705, he translated the aforementioned *Mahāmāyūrī-vidyārājñī-sūtra*, an early text that gained great prestige within an Esoteric Buddhist framework. The monk Dharmagupta 達摩掬多 (n.d.) and his protégé Śubhākarasiṃha were also present in Nālandā as India entered the eighth century. The rising importance of Buddhist esotericism in India created the perfect atmosphere for the absorption of Citragupta—alongside a number of other Indic deities—into the folds of Buddhism.

Mantrayāna Buddhism was formally transmitted to China around 716, when Śubhākarasiṃha arrived in Chang'an 長安, the capital of Tang (618-907) China. There, he taught and translated, often with the help of Yixing 一行 (683-727), an astrologer and Chan monk. Within the next nineteen years, the two monks translated the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi-sūtra*[54] (in 724) and at least three other scriptures.[55] The *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經 attributes roughly thirty

[50] Yijing notes that Daolin was also known by the Buddhist name Śilaprabha 戒光.
[51] Neither a *Dhāraṇī-piṭaka* nor a description of its contents survives. Despite this, it is commonly regarded as a collection of dhāraṇī texts. It seems that the *Dhāraṇī-piṭaka* was exalted to the status of at least semi-canonical among some Śrāvakayāna Buddhist groups. Paramārtha (499-569) notes that the Dharmaguptaka canon consisted of the standard three piṭakas with the addition of a *Bodhisattva-piṭaka* and a *Dhāraṇī-piṭaka*. Similarly, Xuanzang 玄奘 (c. 602-664) reports that the Mahāsāṅghika canon also included a *Dhāraṇī-piṭaka*. André Bareau. *The Buddhist Schools of the Small Vehicle*. Sara Boin Webb, trans. (Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, 2013), 56, 254-255, 420. It should be noted that these *Dhāraṇī-piṭakas* did not necessarily contain the same texts.
[52] Yijing cites an unnamed text stating that the term "vidyās" here refers to the *Vidyādhara-piṭaka* 持明咒藏, a hundred-thousand verse collection that would represent three hundred fascicles in Chinese. It is unclear whether or not this is an alternate name for the *Dhāraṇī-piṭaka*, though it seems unlikely as Daolin seems to have studied both collections separately.
[53] "When I, Yijing, was staying at Nālandā, I went several times to the altar place, but as I was not successful in either my application to the essence of this teaching or in gaining merit, in the end I gave up my hopes. I have touched on the main points of these new teachings here, in order to make them known," (tr. Hodge, *Mahā-Vairocana*, 10; cf. T. 2066 [51:0007a11-a13]).
[54] In all likelihood, they translated the copy that had been forwarded to China upon Wuxing's death in 674.
[55] These scriptures are attested in his later *Song Gaoseng Zhuan* 宋高僧傳 biography composed by Zanning 贊寧 (919-1001). T. 2061 [50:715b10-b23]; Chou, "Tantrism,"

scriptures to Śubhākarasiṃha's name: a combination of scriptural translations, ritual manuals, iconographic works, and commentarial writings.[56]

Phase II: Mantrayāna Buddhist Appropriation—The Garbhodbhava Cycle
Although Citragupta is referenced with some frequency in the esoteric scriptures compiled within the *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō*,[57] most of those references are either too fleeting or too chronologically late to cast light on the deity's evolution throughout Buddhist history and ritual. It is particularly noteworthy that the Garbhodbhava cycle of literature thus becomes the main Sino-Japanese Buddhist source relating to Citragupta.

So how does Citragupta relate to Śubhākarasiṃha's early transmission of Esoteric Buddhist materials to China? Curiously, Citragupta is blatantly absent from every known version of the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi-sūtra*,[58] the work around which the majority of Śubhākarasiṃha's teachings centred. Despite this absence, Citragupta *does* in fact appear in three major Garbhodbhava cycle works connected with Śubhākarasiṃha, namely:

1. The *Mahāvairocana-kalpa*[59] and the *Mahāvairocana-mahākalpa*,[60] two early ritual manuals[61] connected directly to the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi-sūtra*.

264-267. While only four scriptures are officially attested to have been translated by these two monks, evidence suggests that they completed several other translations as well—two of which I will examine shortly.

[56] Jinhua Chen has convincingly demonstrated that at least three of these thirty texts (T. 905, T. 906, T. 907) were falsely attributed to him. For more on this, see Jinhua Chen, *Legend and Legitimation: The Formation of Tendai Esoteric Buddhism in Japan* (Brussels: Institut Belge des Hautes Études Chinoises, 2009). Excepting these, I am unaware of any other definitively false scriptural attributions to Śubhākarasiṃha.

[57] Vols. 18-21.

[58] Citragupta's absence from this text is somewhat curious as many well-known Indian deities appear consistently throughout the work. On one hand, it is possible that his cult had not yet reached Nālandā during the time of Wuxing. However, his name is also absent from the Tibetan translation of the work, which represents a later edition of the text. This strongly suggests one of two conclusions: (1) that Citragupta may have never appeared within the main text and played a role only within secondary Garbhodbhava literature, or (2) that—regardless of their translation dates—*both* the Chinese and Tibetan translations of the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi* relied on Sanskrit manuscripts that predated Śubhākarasiṃha leaving for China.

[59] This text possesses a particularly unwieldy Chinese title: *She Dapiluzhe'na Chengfo Shenbian Jiachi Jing Ru Lianhua Taizang Haihui Beisheng Mantuluo Guangda Niansong Yigui Gongyang Fangbian Hui* 攝大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經入蓮華胎藏海會悲生曼荼攞廣大念誦儀軌供養方便會 (T. 850). A working reverse translation into Sanskrit yields the equally long *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi-vikurvitādhiṣṭhāna-sūtra-saṅgraha-padmagarbha-gaṇa-karuṇodbhava-maṇḍala-praveśa-mahājāpa-kalpa-pūjopāya-samāja*. For the sake of ease, I will refer to it as the *Mahāvairocana-*

These texts provide mantras for the various deities included within the *Garbhodbhava-maṇḍala*. Sanskrit originals for these texts have not survived.

2. The *Taizang Tuxiang*[62] 胎蔵圖像, an iconographic manuscript that seems to have been created in China by Śubhākarasiṃha and at least one Chinese assistant. It illustrates each of the buddhas and bodhisattvas appearing in the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi* and the *Garbhodbhava-maṇḍala*.[63] The work contains the names of most divinities in Sanskrit with longer notes in Chinese. The original manuscript is no longer extant.
3. The *Dapiluzhe'na Chengfo Jingshu*[64] 大毘盧遮那成佛經疏, an extensive commentary on the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi* compiled by Yixing based on his master's teachings and lectures. Yixing passed away prior to its completion, but it is nonetheless crucial in outlining many of Śubhākarasiṃha's own teachings. It contains detailed instructions for the creation of a later prototype of the *Garbhodbhava-maṇḍala*.

Together, an analysis of these three works will not only assist in clarifying the Mantrayāna appropriation of Citragupta, but they will explain his appearance in works relating to the *Garbhodbhava-maṇḍala* and illuminate Buddhist interactions with Indian religion from sixth- through early eighth-century India.

References to Citragupta within Garbhodbhava Cycle Literature

While the *Garbhodbhava-maṇḍala* does not appear in any extant Indian sources and little regarding its creation is known from Chinese translations or local Sino-Japanese sources, it is clear that the maṇḍala evolved along a complex trajectory. At

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kalpa from this point forward, mirroring its common abbreviated Japanese title: *Shōdai Giki* 攝大儀軌. I am particularly indebted to Rolf Giebel for his invaluable aid and advice in restoring this potential Sanskrit title.

[60] Likewise, I have reverse translated this title into Sanskrit. Its Chinese title is *Dapiluzhe'na Jing Guangda Yigui* 大毘盧遮那經廣大儀軌 (T. 851), and it is commonly referred to by its shortened Japanese name, *Kōdai Giki* 廣大儀軌.

[61] These manuals (Skt. *kalpa* or *vidhi*) often serve as supplementary literature relating to a certain Esoteric Buddhist text. They often provide mantras and mūdras for invoking deities, ritual instructions, and the like. For convenience, I have followed what seems to be general scholarly convention and translated each instance of the Chinese term *yigui* 儀軌 as kalpa. I have also rendered the term *cidi* 次第 as vidhi in an effort to maintain some form of consistency.

[62] The original manuscript does not survive, but two later copies (TZ. 57, 58) remain extant. This text is better known to scholarship by its Japanese name, *Taizō Zuzō*.

[63] The *Taizang Tuxiang* is not attested in contemporaneous Chinese literature, nor does an Indian original survive. Despite this, I feel that the knowledge of Indian iconographical precedents required to create this work is strong enough evidence to demonstrate that the *Taizang Tuxiang* could not have been composed by someone of non-Indian descent. I have yet to find any convincing argument against the Indian authenticity of this work.

[64] T. 1796.

least fifteen different versions of this maṇḍala are described or illustrated within various texts of the Garbhodbhava cycle.[65] Three of these variants—the only non-finalized versions of the maṇḍala to include Citragupta—are outlined in each of the above numbered works. As these texts cannot be concretely dated, it is difficult to determine a sequence in which their contents evolved. I will now discuss the relevant parts of each of these texts.

1. The Mahāvairocana-kalpa [T. 850] and the *Mahāvairocana-mahākalpa* [T. 851]

These two ritual manuals are directly related to the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi-sūtra*—more specifically to the *Garbhodbhava-maṇḍala*. They are, however, a difficult text to date. While their translation into Chinese was never officially recorded, they are both attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha. These manuals do not seem to have gained particular prominence in China, aside from serving as the basis for two other *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi* ritual manuals that are known to have been compiled in China by the monk Faquan 法全 (fl. 800-870).[66] Despite this lack of references, these manuals—as well as their attribution to Śubhākarasiṃha—are attested in the *Shinshosha Shōrai Hōmon tō Mokuroku*[67] 新書寫請來法門等目録, a catalogue of texts transmitted to Japan by the Shingon monk Shūei 宗叡 (809-884) in 866.

No Sanskrit original for either manual survives, yet the existence of a Sanskrit version seems to be attested. The *Goshōrai Mokuroku* 御請來目録 catalogue of the Shingon monk Kūkai 空海 (774-835) lists a *Siddhaṃ*[68] 梵字 (alternatively 悉曇) *Mahāvairocana-garbhodbhava-kalpa* 大毘盧舎那胎藏大儀軌 in two fascicles among the works that he brought to Japan in 806.[69] At first sight, two issues with this entry seem immediately apparent. First, the title seems too vague to indicate any specific Garbhodbhava manual. However, by 806, these are the only known

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[65] Mammitzsch, *Evolution*.

[66] The first is the *Dapiluzhe'na Chengfo Shenbian Jiachi Jing Lianhua Taizang Beisheng Mantuluo Guangda Chengjiu Yigui Gongyang Fangbian Hui* 大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經蓮華胎藏悲生曼荼羅廣大成就儀軌供養方便會 (T. 852A), also known as the *Xuanfa[si] Yigui* 玄法儀軌. This manual was compiled by 840, at which point it was used to initiate the Tendai monk Ennin 圓仁 (793-864). The second manual was a revision of the first and is entitled the *Dabilushena Chengfo Shenbian Jiachi Jing Lianhua Taizang Puti Chuangbiao zhi Putong Zhenyanzang Guangda Chengjiu Yuqie* 大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經蓮華胎藏菩提幢標幟普通真言藏廣大成就瑜伽 (T. 853). Commonly referred to as the *Qinglong[si] Yigui* 青龍儀軌, this manual seems to have been produced around 865, when Shūei studied with him.

[67] T. 2174A [55.1108a19-a23].

[68] Siddhaṃ is an Indic language script used from roughly 600 through 1200 C.E. It is particularly characteristic of Esoteric Buddhist materials. Mantras and dhāraṇīs are frequently preserved in Siddhaṃ within the *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō*.

[69] T. 2161 [55.1063b11]. Quite notably, this is the very first entry listed under the section on Siddhaṃ texts.

Garbhodbhava manuals; Faquan's earliest Garbhodbhava manual is not attested until 840, and his manuals clearly would not have Sanskrit versions. The second problem is that the catalogue lists only two fascicles, where the extant editions are comprised of three fascicles *each*. One immediate conclusion is that Kūkai merely returned with two of the six total fascicles—*which* ones are anyone's guess. However, this conclusion depends on the assumption that each manual consists of three fascicles in Sanskrit as well as Chinese, which is unlikely the case. Kūkai may have just as easily returned with one Sanskrit manual in two fascicles, or both manuals contained within one fascicle apiece. Yet the precise contents of Kūkai's *Mahāvairocana-garbhodbhava-kalpa* are not themselves important. What *is* important is that it clearly indicates one (or both) of the ritual manuals attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha and thus attests that an original Indic version actually existed. It is thus quite unlikely that Śubhākarasiṃha served as the author of either manual rather than as their translator.

Returning to the subject of Citragupta, however, the *Mahāvairocana-kalpa* is the more pertinent of the two manuals. It describes a maṇḍala based on the pūjā found in the seventh fascicle of the (Chinese) *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi-sūtra*. It also provides almost 190 distinct mantras, each ascribed to a deity appearing in the Garbhodbhava cycle texts. A number of mantras found in the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi* reappear here; others are either newly composed or have been copied from other sources that are no longer extant. One section of the text relates specifically to the netherworld deities that appear in Garbhodbhava cycle texts. There, it states:

> On the left is Yama-deva. In his hand, he holds the Daṇḍa 檀拏 [staff][70] mūdra 印. He sits on a water buffalo and is the colour of dark storm clouds. The Saptamātṛkās 七母, Kālarātri 暗夜, and Mṛti 死后妃 all centre around [him]. The Panguan 判官, the various demons, and the [remainder of Yama's] retinue [also] centre around him.[71]

While most of the divinities named here are clearly Indic deities, the Chinese term "Panguan" stands out. This term is a Tang dynasty title indicating a high-ranking civil officer, especially a judge. Here, it refers to a judge that is subordinate to Yama. Despite this connection to Yama, at first glance, there is no concrete association with Citragupta to be found here. This Panguan also appears in a similar context within the *Mahāvairocana-mahākalpa*, but is only mentioned once.[72]

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[70] Seidel, Anna, "Danda." In Hōbōgirin: Dictionnaire Encyclopédique du Bouddhisme d'Après les Sources Chinoises et Japonaises. Vol. 8. (Paris, Librairie d'Amerique et d'Orient Adrien-Maisonneuve, Jean Maisonneuve, succ., and Tokyo, Maison Franco-Japonaise, 2003). Seidel notes correctly that while Yama's Daṇḍa staff is a key characteristic in Indian religion, it first enters Buddhism specifically within early Esoteric Buddhist scriptures such as the *Dhāraṇī-saṅgraha-sūtra* (T. 901) and the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi-sūtra*.

[71] T. 850 [18:77c08-c11].

[72] T. 851 [18:104a26].

As the *Mahāvairocana-kalpa* continues, it lists the mantras of these deities one after the other. It begins with Agni 火天, and a few other deities, finally discussing Yama, the Saptamātṛkās, Kālarātri, and then our mysterious Panguan.[73] His mantra, no. 138, is transliterated into Chinese as "*Nangmo Sanmanduo Buduonan, Zhidaluoyuboduoye Suomohe*" 曩莫三滿多沒馱喃只怛羅虞鉢多野娑嚩賀.[74] The first three words, "*Nangmo Sanmanduo Buduonan*" are easy to reverse-transcribe into the familiar Sanskrit opening, "Namaḥ samanta-buddhānāṃ." The remainder of the mantra, however, may seem problematic at first. Notably, each of the *Mahāvairocana-kalpa* mantras is also provided in its original Siddhaṃ text.[76] This version simply reads "Citraguptaya [sic][77] svāhā"—concrete and irrefutable evidence that "Panguan" is indisputably a term utilized to "Sinify" the name of Citragupta within this particular text.

Citragupta—under the disguise of the Panguan—also appears in a non-Garbhodbhava ritual manual relating to the deity Vijayoṣṇīṣa 勝佛頂. This text, the *Ārya-vijayoṣṇīṣa-yogacarya-vidhi-kalpa*[78] 尊勝佛頂脩瑜伽法儀軌, contains instructions for creating a maṇḍala that also includes the Panguan:

> In the south, draw Yamarāja.[79] In his hand, he holds the sceptre of death mūdra. [Yama] is surrounded by his consorts, the Panguan, demons, and his retinue.

The term Panguan clearly refers to Citragupta due to his locative description among Yama's denizens. Interestingly enough, the translation of this particular ritual manual is also attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha.

At this point, we have briefly examined three ritual manuals (two Garbhodbhava cycle manuals and one other).[80] Each of these manuals relates to early Chinese Mantrayāna Buddhism, each is attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha, and each refers to this once-mysterious "Panguan," whom I have unmasked as Citragupta. As the term "Panguan" is largely absent from other Tang Esoteric

[73] T. 850 [18:78a14-a29].
[74] T. 850 [18:78a23-a25].
[76] I have taken this as further evidence substantiating this ritual manual's Indian origin. The *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō* attributes its translation to Śubhākarasiṃha, and I have found no reason to doubt this.
[77] The mantra contains one slight but very important error. It should read "Citraguptāya svāhā." I am immensely grateful to Rolf Giebel for this observation. I have not yet examined any extant variants of this text outside the *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō*, and thus cannot determine whether this error can be attributed to the author, a copyist, or even to the *Taishō* editors. As we will soon see, this error repeats persistently within Garbhodbhava cycle literature, and thus I suspect it is best attributed to a Chinese copyist, rather than to Śubhākarasiṃha.
[78] T. 973. The original Sanskrit work no longer exists. I have again attempted to reverse translate its title from Chinese to Sanskrit.
[79] T. 973 [19:379b11-b13].
[80] Once again, T. 850, T. 851, and T. 973.

Buddhist works,[81] it follows that these three ritual manuals were in all likelihood translated by the same person. The fact that each of them is attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha lends further credence to the fact that he actually translated these texts. These attributions are actually attested fairly early. As we have seen, the attribution of the two Garbhodbhava manuals to Śubhākarasiṃha can be traced at least to the *Shinshosha Shōrai Hōmon tō Mokuroku*, compiled around 866—roughly 130 years following Śubhākarasiṃha's death. The attribution of the *Ārya-vijayoṣṇīṣa-yogacarya-vidhi-kalpa* to Śubhākarasiṃha is actually attested much earlier. It can be attested at least as far back as the *Reiganji Oshō Shōrai Hōmon Dōgu tō Mokuroku*[82] 靈巌寺和尚請來法門道具等目録, compiled by the Shingon monk Engyō[83] 圓行 (799-852) around 839. If the evidence that Śubhākarasiṃha translated these texts were not already overwhelming enough, it becomes even stronger upon a thorough examination of the *Taizang Tuxiang*.

2. *The Taizang Tuxiang* [TZ. 57, 58]

The second major Garbhodbhava work associated with Śubhākarasiṃha that references Citragupta is the *Taizang Tuxiang*, an iconographic manuscript with a rather complicated history.[84] The original *Taizang Tuxiang* was purportedly compiled by Śubhākarasiṃha in China while translating the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi-sūtra*. While it clearly demonstrates a high level of proficiency with Indian iconographical precedents, as a manuscript it has no known Indic precedent. The original text was purportedly copied at least once by the Japanese monk Enchin 園珍 (814-891) during his sojourn in China (853-858). According to extant records, Enchin's copy was then copied by the monk Ōgen 応源 at the behest of "Toba Sōjō" Kakuyū 鳥羽僧正覚猷 (1053-1140). Ōgen's copy was itself copied in 1181 by the monk Shin'en 真円. Shin'en's copy was later copied by the monks Zenkaku 禅覚, Zenjitsu 禅実, and Enjin 円尋 in 1194. This manuscript is one of the two that still survives today. It is also the only complete extant edition

[81] The term "Panguan" does appear with some frequency throughout the *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō*. However, with the notable exception of the *Qinglongji Yigui* 青龍寺軌記 (T. 855)—an anonymous text which also refers to Citragupta as the "Panguan"—it is absent from all Tang period Esoteric Buddhist texts. The term appears *without* relation to Citragupta in translations of the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinayas (T. 1452, 1456, 1457), and in Dharmapāla's *Vijñapti-mãtratã-siddhi-śãstra* 成唯識寶生論 (T. 1591). Every other scripture in which the term appears is of later Chinese or Japanese authorship. Post-Tang Japanese-composed Esoteric Buddhist manuals, commentaries, and compendia often follow Śubhākarasiṃha, frequently reusing this term to indicate Citragupta.

[82] T. 2164. The attribution can be found at [55.1072c02].

[83] Engyō spent only a year in China, from 838 to 839.

[84] Sawa Ryūken and Hamada Takashi, *Mikkyō Bijutsu Taikan: Kanshū Shingon-shū Kakuha*, 4 vols. (Tōkyō: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1983-1984), vol. 1, 211.

and is kept at the Nara National Museum 奈良国立博物館.[85] A second extant copy dates to 1274, but is incomplete, containing only the first half of the manuscript. It is kept at the Daitōkyū 大東急 Library.[86]

In short, only two copies of the *Taizang Tuxiang* survive. It should be noted that they have passed through enough hands to allow for copyists' errors and other faults to enter the extant manuscripts—many of which have.

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[85] "Iconographic Drawings of the Womb World Mandala (J., Taizo Zuzo)," e-Museum, accessed January 30, 2015, http://www.emuseum.jp/detail/100034/000/000. It should be noted that in the following discussion of the *Taizang Tuxiang*, I am referring specifically to the Nara National Museum edition of this manuscript.

[86] Putting aside this detailed history of the *Taizang Tuxiang* for a moment, it should also be noted that in 838, Engyō purportedly brought back to Japan a curious text entitled *Taizang Tantu* 胎藏壇圖 (alternately *Taizang Tanmian* 胎藏壇面, as footnoted in the *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō*). Engyō's catalogue lists its length as one *zhang* 帳 and notes that the text lists Sanskrit and Chinese names for each of the deities. T. 2164 [55.1073b18]. This work does not seem to survive, yet it seems to be strikingly similar in purpose to the *Taizang Tuxiang*.

Figure 1: A detail from the Nara National Museum edition of the *Taizang Tuxiang*, fasc. 2. Clockwise from upper-left: Yama (atop his water buffalo mount with his iconic Daṇḍa staff), Yama's consort 焔魔法王后, Citragupta, and a sinner 罪人. Note the Chinese caption near Citragupta, reading "Yanmo Yu Panguan" 焔麼獄判官.

That having been said, Citragupta appears in the second fascicle of the Nara National Museum edition of the manuscript (Fig. 1).[87] Drawn near Yama and other members of Yama's retinue, he is represented as a bare-chested human sitting on a lotus. In his left hand is a scroll; his right holds an ink brush, writing on a sheet of paper. Behind his left arm stands a staff topped with a skull, strikingly similar to Yama's Daṇḍa staff.

Citragupta's iconographical description—like that of many Garbhodbhava deities, both major and minor—has *no* precedent in extant Garbhodbhava cycle literature. As mentioned in the introduction to this paper, Ishida Hisatoyo has traced the iconographic origin of many of the Garbhodbhava cycle deities.[88] His research has conclusively demonstrated that their specific Garbhodbhava iconography is derived from two sūtras that predate Śubhākarasiṃha's appearance in China: the *Ekākṣara-buddhoṣṇīṣa-cakravartin-sūtra* 一字佛頂輪王經 and the *Amoghāpāśa-kalparāja-sūtra* 不空羂索神變眞言經.[89] However, *neither* of these texts makes any reference whatsoever to Citragupta.

Buddhist precedents lacking, I have determined that Citragupta's iconography closely corresponds with a description that can be found in the earlier *Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa* (c. 400-600[90]):

> On the right side of [Yama], one should represent Citragupta with two hands and placid-looking, keeping an eye on Yama and in his right hand one should show a pen, and in the left a leaf [of paper]… Citragupta is really pointed out as the soul existing in all bodies. The leaf [represents] dharma, and the pen in his hand adharma.[91]

While the skull-topped staff appearing in the *Taizang Tuxiang* is noticeably absent from the *Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa* description,[92] Citragupta's image in the *Taizang*

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[87] As Citragupta is found in the second fascicle, he is wholly absent from the Daitōkyū edition of the manuscript.

[88] Ishida, "Keika."

[89] Respectively, T. 951 and T. 1092. Each of these pre-Garbhodbhava esoteric texts was translated by Bodhiruci II 菩提流志 (d. 729). It should perhaps be noted that the title *Amoghāpāśa-kalparāja-sūtra* is derived from the title of the extant Sanskrit text. A reverse translation from the Chinese would yield a title closer to *Amoghāpāśa-pratihārya-sūtra.*

[90] The *Viṣṇudharmottara* is particularly difficult to date. Purāṇa scholar Rajendra Chandra Hazra argues that it "cannot be earlier than 400 A.D." and was composed "not later than 600 A.D." Rajendra Chandra Hazra, *Studies in the Upapurāṇas* (Calcutta: Sanskrit College, 1958, 1963), v.1, 205-212. By the time Śubhākarasiṃha travelled to China, the iconographic methods employed in this text would have been well known throughout much of northern India.

[91] Kramrisch, *Vishṇudharmottara*, 75.

[92] Despite this absence, a few lines earlier, the *Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa does* similarly attribute to Yama a staff topped with a human head, wreathed in a garland of flames. It is thus possible that the illustrator of the *Taizang Tuxiang* portrayed Citragupta with the same staff in order to symbolize his presence within Yama's

Tuxiang clearly depends on the unique Indian precedent set by this text. It is also the only known Chinese prototype for the image of Citragupta that appears in the present *Garbhodbhava-maṇḍala*.

Citragupta's *Taizang Tuxiang* image is accompanied by three detailed captions. The first, in the upper right, is a set of four Siddhaṃ[93] characters. Together, they spell the name "Bipragupta," which does not correspond to any known deity, Buddhist or otherwise. In the Siddhaṃ script, the characters for *bi*, *vi*, and *ci* are extremely similar, the first two being particularly easy to misread (Fig. 2, lower left). The characters *pra* and *tra*, however, are rather different. However, the similar characters *pra* and *pta* each appear in this compound. "Gupta" is rendered in perfectly legible Siddhaṃ. This leads me to conclude that the first two Siddhaṃ characters represent copyists' errors, especially given the fact that the present manuscript is four generations removed from its original Sanskrit-fluent author. Further, the lack of Sanskrit mastery among Chinese and Japanese monks is well known to modern scholarship.[94]

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retinue. It seems obvious that from this point forward, Yama's Daṇḍa staff was also attributed to Citragupta to demonstrate their relationship.

[93] See footnote 68.

[94] R.H. Van Gulik, *Siddham: An Essay on the History of Sanskrit Studies in China and Japan*. (Nagpur: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1956), 12-45.

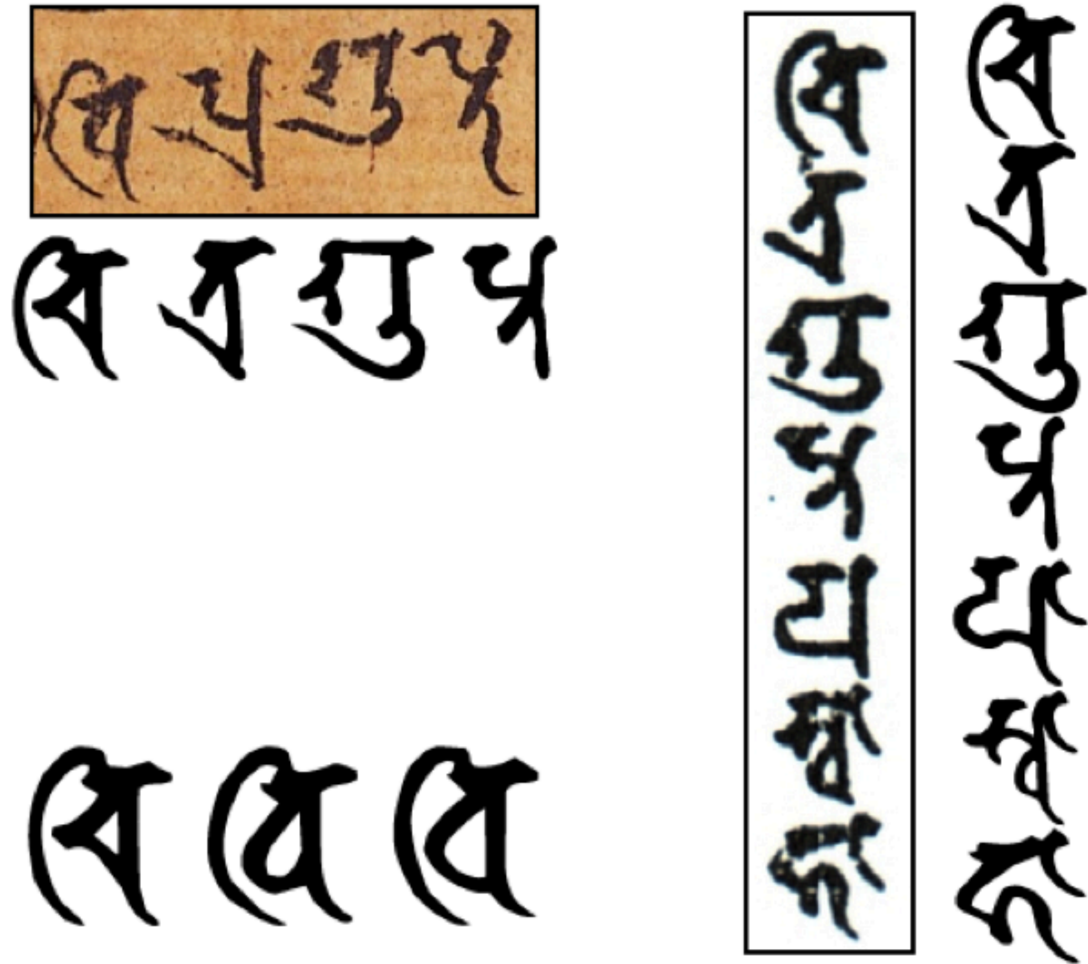

Figure 2: Citragupta as written in the Siddhaṃ script. Image created by author. The upper left shows Citragupta's name as erroneously copied in the received *Taizang Tuxiang*. The right shows the mantra "Citraguptaya [sic] svāhā" as written in the *Mahāvairocana-kalpa* The lower left shows the easily mistakable Siddhaṃ characters for *bi*, *vi*, and *ci*.

The two remaining captions are both in (errorless) Chinese. The first provides a Chinese transcription of his name: "Yanmo Yu Panguan" 焔麼獄判官, literally, "the Panguan [civil officer] of Yama's prison/hell." This is not surprising since, as we have seen, no text since the *Mahāmāyūrī* has attempted to transcribe Citragupta's name in Chinese except within mantras. The final caption fills in this gap: "Zhideluoyuduoye Suofuhe" 只得囉獄鞞野莎縛訶. Hatta Yukio has correctly reverse-transcribed this mantra as "Citraguptaya [sic] svāhā,"[95] identical to the mantra that first appeared in the *Mahāvairocana-kalpa.*

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[95] Hatta, *Taizō*, 76, 133. Cf. Ishida, *Maṇḍala*, v.1, 203. The earlier typographical error from the *Mahāvairocana-kalpa* appears uncorrected in these studies. Hatta and Ishida were likely unaware of the error.

The original sources are thus in agreement. The term "Panguan" does indeed refer unmistakably to Citragupta, at least within Esoteric Buddhist texts. In addition, the *Taizang Tuxiang*—like the three ritual manuals examined in the previous section—is also attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha. We have thus inadvertently examined four separate works attributed to the same author that utilize the exact same means to transcribe a single name. While these texts have not received a great detail of scholarly attention, I am presently unaware of any studies that have discredited the attribution of any of these texts to Śubhākarasiṃha. As such, it seems unreasonable at this point to doubt Śubhākarasiṃha's authorship, even of the original *Taizang Tuxiang*, despite the flawed Sanskrit appearing in the received manuscript.

3. *The Dapiluzhe'na Chengfo Jingshu* [T. 1796]

Fascicle 6 of Yixing's *Dapiluzhe'na Chengfo Jingshu* contains one of the final prototypes of the *Garbhodbhava-maṇḍala* called the *Maṇḍala Transmitted by the Ācārya* [*Śubhākarasiṃha*] 阿闍梨所傳曼荼羅. Like the previous two Garbhodbhava cycle works, Citragupta appears as part of this maṇḍala, placed beside Yama. For once, however, his name is not simply replaced with a Chinese term such as "Panguan." Instead, it is transcribed similarly to the *Mahāmāyūrī* translators: as "Zhidaluojiduo Xunyu" 質呾羅笈多訊獄,[96] meaning "Citragupta, inquisitor of hell." Interestingly, Citragupta is only mentioned as a part of this maṇḍala; he is absent from the remainder of Yixing's commentary.

The lack of the term "Panguan" here suggests that Yixing's commentary was in all likelihood compiled though his own efforts. While it does attempt to reproduce the various teachings and lectures of Śubhākarasiṃha within a single comprehensive text, it seems reasonable to hypothesize that Śubhākarasiṃha did not actively participate in its actual compilation—his contribution to the work was merely providing his teachings as its contents..

In analysing these texts, I have demonstrated that the monk Śubhākarasiṃha's translations and writings in China consistently betray a non-Buddhist awareness that has hitherto been unnoticed and therefore, unaccounted for. This awareness allowed Śubhākarasiṃha to competently describe native Indian deities such as Citragupta who are completely absent from all extant translations[97]

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[96] This exact transliteration appears for the first time within the *Dapiluzhe'na Chengfo Jingshu*. Unfortunately, no other text attributed to Yixing seems to contain a direct reference to Citragupta. While this transliteration may represent Yixing's own translation style, it is impossible to know for certain.

[97] The *Dapiluzhe'na Chengfo Jingshu* reports that according to Śubhākarasiṃha, the complete version of the Sanskrit *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi-sūtra* was a hundred thousand verses in length, and the version translated by Śubhākarasiṃha was merely a summary of that text's essential points. This is repeated in Zanning's biography of Śubhākarasiṃha in the *Song Gaoseng Zhuan.* Though this reference is almost certainly mere exaggeration, it should be noted that a hypothetical elongated version of the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi* compiled *after* Wuxing's death but *prior*

of the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi-sūtra* yet appear in a plethora of related secondary literature in India. I have also demonstrated that the iconography for such deities *must* originate with non-Buddhist Indian precedents—precedents with which Śubhākarasiṃha must have been familiar with *before* travelling to China. However, Śubhākarasiṃha's awareness of these iconographic precedents is not nearly as notable as the fact that the Mantrayāna Buddhist monk was *directly influenced by* such precedents.

Chinese Entanglements

From this point forward, Citragupta's evolution in China became significantly more complicated than in the periods already discussed. Thus, I must quickly summarize this trajectory before moving on to Citragupta's influence within Japanese Buddhism.

My research has very clearly demonstrated that at some point after the deaths of Śubhākarasiṃha and Yixing, Citragupta became severely confused and conflated with a wholly unrelated deity named Taishan Fujun 泰山府君 ("The Magistrate of Mount Tai"[98]).[99] Taishan Fujun is a native Chinese netherworld deity associated with the lengthening of one's lifespan, the curing of illness, and the granting of other (specifically this-worldly) benefits.[100] It somehow became logical within a Chinese mindset to simply replace the unwieldy transliterations of Citragupta's name utilized above with the name Taishan Fujun. Why Taishan Fujun was selected as a Chinese equivalent to Citragupta remains unknown, but in all

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to Śubhākarasiṃha's journey to China would certainly be long enough to have potentially mentioned Citragupta. Outside of this reference, no evidence so much as suggests that such an "elongated version" of the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi* was ever compiled. T. 1796 [39:579c10-c11, T. 2061 [50:715b17-b23]; Chou, "Tantrism," 265-266. It is interesting to note, however, that according to Yijing, the *Vidyādhara-piṭaka* studied by Daolin in Lāṭa also supposedly contained one hundred thousand verses, equivalent to roughly three hundred fascicles (Ch. *juan* 卷) in Chinese. If the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi* had indeed been a part of the *Vidyādhara-piṭaka* studied by Daolin, then together, these texts and others may have actually helped form this "hundred-thousand-verse" Esoteric text referred to in the *Dapiluzhe'na Chengfo Jingshu*. Paul Copp has also noted the similarity between these two mythical hundred-thousand verse texts, but he adds the *Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṅgraha* to their number (Copp, *Body*, 215). As this is clearly a trope utilized in Esoteric Buddhist literature, I believe we are again safe to assume that no hundred-thousand verse recension of the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi* ever existed.

[98] Mount Tai 泰山, located in Shandong 山東 province, is traditionally associated with the dead in ancient Chinese history.

[99] This conflation is discussed at length in the Appendix following this article.

[100] For more on (the non-Buddhist) Taishan Fujun and his Japanese counterpart, Taizan Fukun, see Saitō Hideki, *Onmyōdō no Kamigami* (Kyōto: Bukkyō Daigaku Tsūshin Kyōikubu, 2007), 62-93.

likelihood it hinged on the fact that the former already possessed a long and established legacy as a Chinese netherworld deity.

At any rate, it is clear that the two deities became hopelessly entangled in China.[101] In all extant versions of the Chinese Buddhist canon, Taishan Fujun's name consistently replaces Citragupta's in a number of Chinese and Japanese Buddhist texts (Esoteric and otherwise) as well as in translations that postdate Śubhākarasiṃha.[102] This has led to several false impressions. In East Asia, scholars have often simply assumed that any text with the name Taishan Fujun always refers to the Chinese Taishan Fujun—as if the Chinese deity had been directly appropriated into Buddhism.[103] For example, the eminent Buddhist scholar Osabe Kazuo 長部和雄 produced an excellent study on Taishan Fujun as he appears in Esoteric Buddhist texts.[104] However, Osabe describes Taishan Fujun as the Chinese lord of Mount Tai simultaneously as the vice ruler of the Buddhist hells under Yama.[105] In this study, Osabe assumes that the name Taishan Fujun *always* indicates the Chinese deity—regardless of whether he appears in specifically Esoteric Buddhist texts or more popular Chinese- and Japanese-authored Buddhist texts. His study demonstrates a complete lack of awareness of the existence of Citragupta, whom he regularly confuses with the Chinese Taishan Fujun.

As a result of this, Osabe mistakenly concludes that the Chinese deity Taishan Fujun served as China's major underworld deity—in both Chinese religions and Buddhism—until Yama's popularity eventually eclipsed him, forcing the native Chinese god into a role subservient to Yama. While the end result of this is clearly demonstrated in a number of Esoteric Buddhist texts, the trajectory that Osabe provides for Taishan Fujun is incorrect.[106] Unfortunately, Osabe's misguided

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[101] One example is Citragupta's membership in the Ten Kings of Hell (Ch. Shiwang 十王) under the name Taishan Wang 泰山王. The king is usually depicted with an inkbrush and paper, reminiscent of Citragupta's depiction in the *Taizang Tuxiang* (Fig. 1).

[102] Exceptions occur, of course, when an author simply copies a previously used transcription of Citragupta's name. This happens most frequently within the context of a mantra.

[103] This is not wholly untrue, as my research has uncovered a small handful of examples in which the Chinese Taishan Fujun was appropriated into specifically non-Esoteric Buddhist literature. I cannot stress enough that this is an entirely separate phenomenon from the appropriation of Citragupta into Buddhism and his renaming as "Taishan Fujun." See the Appendix for more details.

[104] Osabe Kazuo, "Tōdai ni Okeru Enma Ō to Taizan Fukun," in *Tō Sō Mikkyō shi ronkō* (Kōbe: Kōbe Joshi Daigaku Tōzai Bunka Kenkyūjo). Osabe's article is one of the few analyses of Taishan Fujun specifically as he appears within Esoteric Buddhist texts.

[105] Osabe, "Tōdai," 34, 40-41.

[106] While it is merely a brief recapitulation of my research into the entanglement between Citragupta and Taishan Fujun, the Appendix to this article clearly demonstrates the evolution of the Chinese Taishan Fujun and illuminates the point

conclusions regarding the relationship between his so-called "Taishan Fujun" (i.e. Citragupta) and Yama have been taken as fact—now intricately woven into both Eastern and Western scholarship on the subject.

Another false impression stemming from this is that all texts including the name Taishan Fujun should be considered of Chinese or Japanese authorship, simply because Taishan Fujun is a native Chinese (and thus a non-Buddhist) deity. Despite understanding that this one name can refer to either of two very distinct deities,[107] it is often extremely difficult to determine which occurrences of the name Taishan Fujun are meant to indicate the native Chinese Taishan Fujun and which are actually meant to indicate the Indic deity Citragupta. Roughly a dozen *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō* texts facilitate this task as they include the name Taishan Fujun beside a variant transcription of Citragupta's name into Chinese (the latter, often as part of a mantra). In cases such as these,[108] it is usually clear that the Indic Citragupta is signified, rather than the Chinese Taishan Fujun.

Despite this great advantage, some thirty *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō* texts reference the name Taishan Fujun, seemingly devoid of clues suggesting Citragupta, such as the term "Panguan."[109] These texts *must* be examined independently—especially regarding their relationship to other Buddhist literature—in order to determine the place in which they were first authored on a case-by-case basis. That is to say, a single reference to a Chinese deity in a text cannot itself determine that a scripture was authored in China and not the Chinese translation of an Indic text.

Phase III: Shingon/Tendai Buddhist Appropriation—Rituals and Maṇḍalas

As a minor deity, Citragupta never commanded great influence outside of Indic circles. In Indian Buddhism, Citragupta appears within a handful of texts, but is never exalted to an important place within the pantheon of divinities worshipped in Esoteric Buddhist circles. Citragupta's presence in Japan is rather similar. Numerous Shingon and Tendai 天台 texts and commentaries directly reference his name, yet—as in India and China—he is never granted any position of true prominence.

Knowledge of Citragupta was first brought to Japan in 806 with the Shingon patriarch Kūkai and the finalized *Garbhodbhava-maṇḍala*. Over the next few centuries, a number of Garbhodbhava cycle texts—including each of the texts named

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in time at which the two deities became conflated. With this information in mind, it is easy to see the flaws in Osabe's conclusion. I cannot blame Osabe for this misconception, however, as Citragupta's name is nearly always written in Japanese as "Taishan Fujun," and practically never as the more accurate "Shittaraguputa" シッタラグプタ. This linguistic peculiarity has consistently kept Chinese and Japanese scholars from determining that Citragupta and Taishan Fujun were indeed different deities.

[107] Or perhaps even to a combination of the two deities.

[108] Two such texts (T. 1290 and T. 2476) are analysed in the following section.

[109] The *Manji Zokuzōkyō* 卍續藏經 is similar, containing at least twenty-five additional texts that reference Taishan Fujun without clearly indicating which deity is meant.

above—arrived on Japanese shores. Other Garbhodbhava texts and treatises were composed in Japan themselves. Despite this, Citragupta's most visible place within Japanese Buddhist ritual is actually *not* associated with texts of the Garbhodbhava cycle.

Though not its central deity, Citragupta (Jp. Taizan Fukun 泰山府君, alternately 太山府君) appears prominently in the so-called *Enma Ten maṇḍala* 焔魔天曼荼羅, which seems to be of Chinese or Japanese origin.[110] Yama appears at the center of this maṇḍala, surrounded by a retinue of netherworld deities and other Esoteric figures. Two painted variants of the *Enma Ten maṇḍala* survive today: one containing eleven deities[111] (Fig. 3), and another containing nineteen (Figs. 4, 5). While these two variants potentially represent an evolution of the maṇḍala as a whole, more work must be done to determine their precise relationship.

The chronology of the maṇḍala itself also proves challenging. A nineteen-deity *Enma Ten maṇḍala* is said to have been donated to Emperor Toba 鳥羽天皇 (r. 1107-1123) by the Onjōji 園城寺 monk Kakuyū 覺猷 (1053-1140).[112] While the extant nineteen-deity maṇḍala does not predate the thirteenth century, it does have some textual precursors. The *Betsugyō*[113] 別行 seems to contain one of the earliest known diagrams of an eleven-deity *Enma Ten maṇḍala*. However, its compiler was a Shingon monk named Kanjo 寛助 (1057-1125), making it rather likely that the eleven-deity maṇḍala was initially a Shingon innovation. This is strengthened by the fact that the eleven-deity maṇḍala seems to appear next in the *Besson Zakki*[114] 別尊雜記 of Shinkaku (1117-1180).[115] It is also found in the *Kakuzenshō*[116] 覺禪鈔,

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[110] No present evidence seems to testify that any such tradition originated in India.
[111] Sawa, *Mikkyō*, vol. 4, 57. It should be noted that a six-deity textile version is currently housed at the Freer-Sackler Gallery. ("Emma Ten and Two Attendants," Freer-Sackler, accessed January 30, 2015, http://www.asia.si.edu/collections/zoomObject.cfm?ObjectId=2403) It should be noted that this version reproduces the three deities in the center, and the three deities at the bottom of the eleven-deity maṇḍala, omitting the three deities on the top (the central of which is Citragupta, cf. Fig. 3) and the two on either side. The six deities that do appear in this maṇḍala are illustrated almost exactly as they appear in the extant eleven-deity painting, heavily suggesting that this maṇḍala—the only known woven version—is merely a truncated version of the eleven-deity maṇḍala. Like the extant painted maṇḍalas, this woven version also does not predate the thirteenth century.
[112] "Enma-ten Mandala," e-Museum, accessed January 30, 2015, http://www.emuseum.jp/detail/100956/000/000.
[113] T. 2476 [78:0178c12-c21].
[114] TZ. 87 (T. 3007).
[115] Originally a Tendai monk, Shinkaku left Onjōji and became a Shingon monk. He was initiated into the Hirosawa 廣澤 branch of Shingon, which was promoted by Kanjo. It is clear that the *Besson Zakki* was compiled well after his initiation into

authored by the monk Kakuzen 覺禪 (1143-c. 1213). Each of these iconographic treatises were compiled by Shingon monks. Interestingly, none of these collections contain any references to a nineteen-deity *Enma Ten maṇḍala*.

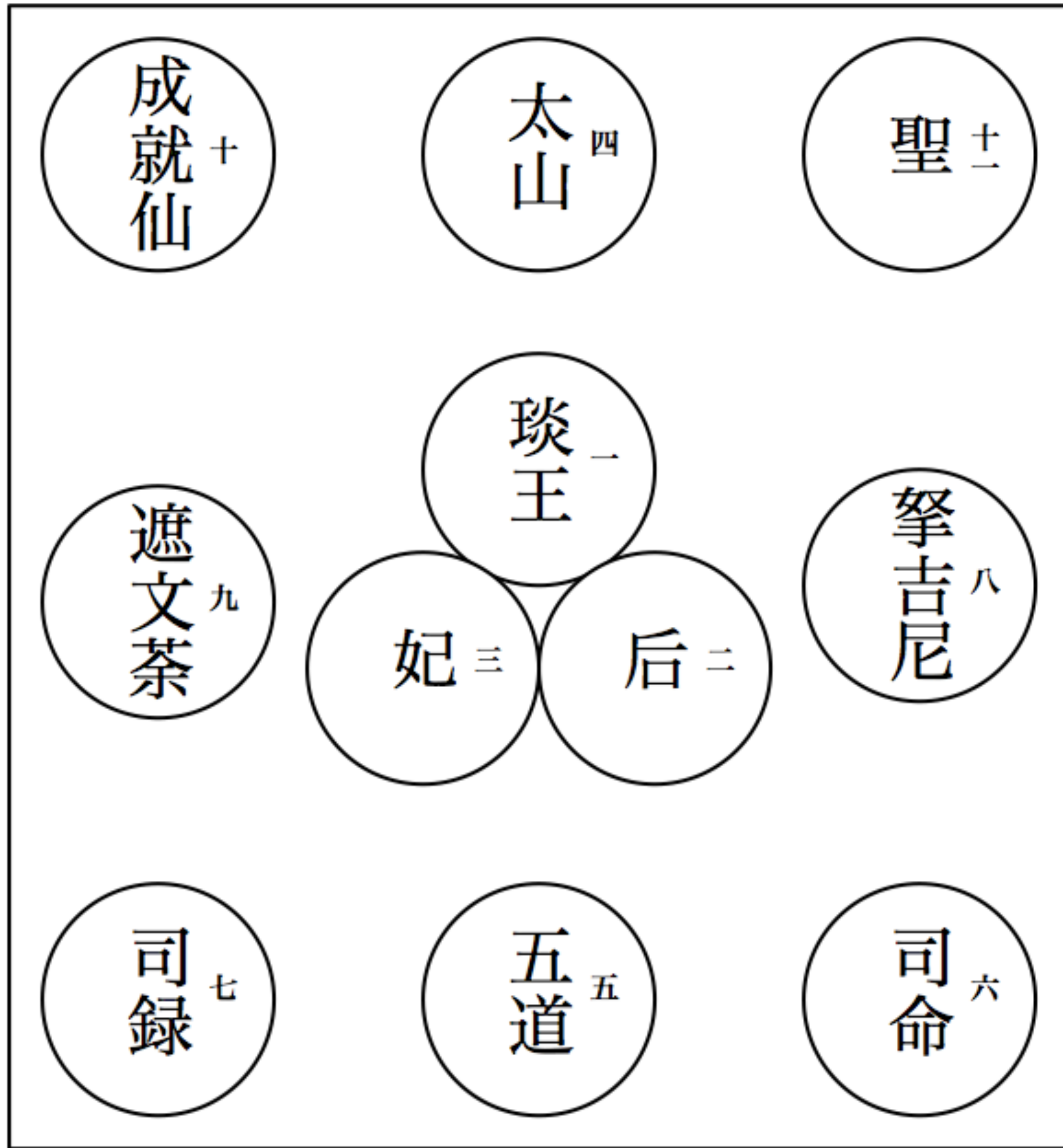

Figure 3. The eleven-deity *Enma Ten maṇḍala* as first diagrammed in Kanjo's *Betsugyō*. Citragupta (here labeled Taishan 太山) appears in the centre of the top row. Image recreated by author.

Shingon and not while he continued to practice Tendai, though the *Besson Zakki* may betray some Tendai iconographic influence as well.

[116] TZ. 102 (T. 3022); DNBZ. 45-51.

Interestingly, Tendai sources seem to be wholly silent on the *Enma Ten maṇḍala* until the *Asabashō* 阿娑縛抄, compiled by the Tendai monk Shōchō 承澄 (1205-1282).[117] Since the compilation of the *Asabashō* easily postdates all of the aforementioned Shingon iconographical works, it seems safe to assume that the eleven-deity *Enma Ten maṇḍala* initially related to Shingon teachings and was initially wholly absent from Tendai Buddhism. On the other hand, the *Asabashō* seems to disregard the eleven-deity maṇḍala completely, illustrating instead an *Enma Ten maṇḍala* with nineteen deities,[118] corresponding exactly to the extant painted version. These references seem to suggest that while the eleven-deity version may well have been part of Shingon teachings, the nineteen-deity version was most likely a later development, probably created by Tendai Buddhists. The lack of pre-*Asabashō* references also implies the extreme unlikelihood that a nineteen-deity *Enma Ten maṇḍala* actually existed during the reign of Emperor Toba.

[117] TZ. 264 (T. 3190); DNBZ. 35-41.

[118] DNBZ. 40, p. 172. The *Asabashō* seems to be the earliest work in which a diagram of the nineteen-deity *Enma Ten maṇḍala* (Fig. 4) can be found. For the deities it contains, see Fig. 5 below.

Figure 4: The Kyoto National Museum edition of the nineteen-deity *Enma Ten maṇḍala*. “Enma-ten Mandala.” Note that Yama is illustrated almost exactly as he appears in the *Taizang Tuxiang* (Fig. 2), only dressed like a Chinese magistrate.

<table>
<tr><td colspan="2" rowspan="2">Vaiśravaṇa</td><td colspan="3">Indra / Śakra</td><td colspan="3">Brahmā</td><td colspan="2" rowspan="2">Dhṛtarāṣṭra</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Pijialuo Shen[119] 毘迦羅神</td><td colspan="2" rowspan="2">Yama-deva</td><td colspan="2">Tiancao Fujun 天曹府君</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Difu Shanshen 地府善神</td><td colspan="2">Mṛti 焔魔妃</td><td colspan="2">Kālarātri (or Yamī) 焔魔后</td><td colspan="2">Difu Dajiangjun 地府大将軍</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2" rowspan="2">Virūpākṣa</td><td colspan="2">Left Si[120] 左司</td><td colspan="2">Citragupta</td><td colspan="2">Right Si[121] 右司</td><td colspan="2" rowspan="2">Virūḍhaka</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Baisi Zhusi Shen 百司諸司神</td><td colspan="2">Wudao Dashen 五道大神</td><td colspan="2">Huangquanguo Pijialuo Shen[122] 黄泉國毘迦羅神</td></tr>
</table>

Figure 5: An identification of the deities in the nineteen-deity *Enma Ten maṇḍala*, as listed in the *Asabashō.*[123] Note the large disparity between the deities named here and those appearing in Fig. 3.

Whatever the truth behind its chronology, it seems that the *Enma Ten maṇḍala* was utilized alongside Buddhist death rites such as the Enma Ten Ku[124] 焔魔天供, a native Japanese ritual performed to heal illness, to avoid childbirth complications, to elongate one's lifespan, or to avoid general misfortune. The Enma Ten Ku is first mentioned in the *Shōyuki* 小右記, the diary of Fujiwara no Sanesuke

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[119] Sawa and Hamada give Jiapiluo Shen 迦毘羅神. (*Mikkyō*, vol. 4, 214.)

[120] Sawa and Hamada give Silu 司録. (*Mikkyō*, vol. 4, 214-215.) Silu is a minor companion deity to Siming (footnote 99), who also frequently appears alongside the Chinese Taishan Fujun.

[121] Sawa and Hamada give Siming 司命. (*Mikkyō*, vol. 4, 214-215.) Siming is a Chinese astral deity specifically related to longevity. He often appears beside the Chinese Taishan Fujun.

[122] Sawa and Hamada give Huangquanguo Pijialuo Wang 黄泉國毘伽羅王. (*Mikkyō*, vol. 4, 214.)

[123] DNBZ. 40, p. 172.

[124] The name of this ritual may be reverse transcribed into Sanskrit as Yama-deva-pūjā.

藤原実資 (957-1046), which records a performance of an Enma Ten Ku on the tenth day of the second lunar month of 989.[125] From this point forward, the Enma Ten Ku seems to have become very popular among Heian period nobles.

According to Mark Teeuwen, the earliest detailed description of the Enma Ten Ku is also found in the aforementioned *Betsugyō*.[126] Teeuwen summarizes the ritual, stating that it begins like a standard rite, inclusive of the visualization of a maṇḍala that eventually summons an image of Yama. He is surrounded by his retinue—Citragupta included—to whom mantras and mudras are presented. Offerings are presented to these deities and the ritual is concluded.[127] Death-related rites such as these became popular by the late eleventh century in Japan.

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[125] *Shōyuki* 1:160. Ironically, the very next *Shōyuki* entry (for the eleventh day) presents the first known reference to the Taizan Fukun Sai 泰山府君祭, another death rite popular among Heian nobles. This rite focused on the native Chinese Taishan Fujun (*not* Citragupta) as worshiped within Japanese Onmyōdō 陰陽道 circles. See "Chinese Entanglements" above and the Appendix following this work.

[126] T. 2476 [78:0178a14-0179a18].

[127] Summarized from Mark Teeuwen, "The Creation of a *Honji Suijaku* Deity: Amaterasu as the Judge of the Dead." In Mark Teeuwen and Fabio Rambelli, eds. *Buddhas and Kami in Japan: Honji Suijaku as a Combinatory Paradigm*. (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003): 127-128.

Figure 6: Detail of the Kyoto National Museum edition of the Nineteen-Deity *Enma Ten maṇḍala*, depicting Citragupta dressed as a Chinese magistrate. Note the appearance of Yama's Daṇḍa staff in his hand, a variant of the skull-topped staff seen in the *Taizang Tuxiang* (Fig. 1) and the *Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa*.

After describing the ritual, Teeuwen discusses a few additional details included by Kanjo. For example, that Yama's Daṇḍa[128] staff (Figs. 1, 4, 6) stands at

[128] Teeuwen constantly describes this as a "two-headed staff," but it should be noted that the number of heads is never explicitly stated in the original text. Initially, Yama's staff held only one head (Cf. the staffs in Fig. 1 and Fig. 4). However, a later Japanese development held that Yama's Daṇḍa staff was two-headed, reflecting his ability to judge both good and evil. While a number of Japanese statues and

the centre of his court,[129] and that the head(s) atop the staff spew fire over evildoers and white lotuses over the righteous. In regards to Citragupta, Kanjo notes only that he carries the Daṇḍa staff in his left hand and a brush in his right, recording the judgments of all. Details such as these are not unique to Kanjo's *Betsugyō*, however. Much of his information has been gleaned from the *Yamarāja-pūjā-karma-vidhi*[130] 焔羅王供行法次第, the translation of which is ascribed (perhaps falsely) to Amoghavajra. The text provides a clear precedent for Kanjo's words:

> In the middle of the courtyard, the Daṇḍa acts like a pillar. The head [of the staff] has a small wrathful face. King [Yama] frequently observes this face to know the sins of humans, placing a great emphasis on good and evil. When humans have committed grave sins, the mouth [of the staff] emits fire and light…[131] When humans are righteous, white lotus blossoms spread from the mouth [of the staff]. Its fragrance widely permeates Citragupta and Wudao Dashen.[132]

The Chinese text continues, offering nearly the same ritual cited by Teeuwen, but many of the elements that are characteristic of Shingon Buddhism[133] do not appear here. The *Yamarāja-pūjā-karma-vidhi* was certainly Kanjo's main source for this information,[134] even though no record survives detailing the scripture's actual transmission to Japan.[135]

There is also one important detail that clearly demonstrates that this text—and thus, this section of the *Betsugyō*—relates to Citragupta rather than the Chinese Taishan Fujun. Near the beginning, the *Yamarāja-pūjā-karma-vidhi* lists a new mantra for Citragupta, given in both Siddhaṃ and Chinese: "Oṃ amṛte hana hana

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scriptures clearly represent this development, I am aware of no Chinese or Sanskrit sources in which the Daṇḍa staff possesses two heads.

[129] See Fig. 1 for the *Taizang Tuxiang* rendition of Yama's Daṇḍa. Note that the Daṇḍa held by Yama and Citragupta in Fig. 4 (Citragupta detail in Fig. 6) is nearly identical.

[130] While this scripture is usually glossed over as having been composed in China, I have not yet been fully convinced of this. As *advocatus diaboli*, I provide its title reverse-transcribed into Sanskrit. Also, note the similarity between the phrases "Yamarāja pūjā" 焔羅王供 and "Yama-deva-pūjā" 焔魔天供 (footnote 124). This linguistic similarity seems to betray a close connection between these two rituals.

[131] T. 1290 [21:374a16-a19].

[132] T. 1290 [21:374a20-a21].

[133] For example, the visualization ritual described by Teeuwen is absent, as is the resulting maṇḍala. Yama's seed syllable is also left unmentioned in the *Yamarāja-pūjā-karma-vidhi*. Such elements may well have been added over time in Japan to blend it more seamlessly with Shingon ritual formulae.

[134] Kanjo's heading for this section of the *Betsugyō* reads "Enma Ō Ku Shidai" 琰魔王供次第 (Skt. *Yamarāja-pūjā-vidhi*). T. 2476 [78:0178a14].

[135] None of the extant catalogues contained in the *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō* reference the transmission of the *Yamarāja-pūjā-karma-vidhi* to Japan. The *Betsugyō* seems to be the earliest extant text to reference it.

huṃ svāhā" 唵阿蜜利帝賀曩賀曩吽娑縛賀.[136] Surprisingly, there seems to be no overt connection between this mantra and Citragupta (or, for that matter, the Chinese Taishan Fujun).[137] However, the scripture eventually lists a number of mantras ascribed to numerous individual deities. Inviting the reader to invoke Citragupta, the text provides the Chinese mantra "*Nangmo Sanmanduo Buduonan, Zhidaluoyuboduoye Suomohe*" 曩莫三曼多沒馱喃只怛羅虞缽多野莎嚩賀. This mantra is identical in pronunciation to the one provided within the *Mahāvairocana-kalpa*: "Namaḥ samanta-buddhānāṃ citraguptaya [sic] svāhā."

The *Yamarāja-pūjā-karma-vidhi* also contains an interesting diagram, an unnamed prototype of a maṇḍala (Fig. 7). In the centre is Yama, and to either side are his consorts. Directly above Yama is Brahmā. Above Brahmā in a horizontal line are the seventeen buddhas 十七佛. Directly below Yama is Citragupta, and below him is Wudao Dashen. They are flanked on the left and right by various unnamed messengers.[138] In the bottom left is the "earthly bureaucracy" 地曹 and in the bottom right is the "heavenly bureaucracy" 天曹.

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[136] T. 1290 [21:374b04-b07].

[137] Variations of this mantra seem to appear in the *Yiqie Rulai Da Bimiwang Wei Zeng Yu Zuishang Weimiao Da Mannaluo Jing* 一切如來大祕密王未曾有最上微妙大曼拏羅經 T. 889 [18.0554a15-a16], the *Jianli Mantuoluo Humo Yigui* 建立曼荼羅護摩儀軌 T. 912 [18.0932.b07], and the *Ganlu Juntuli Pusa Gongyang Niansong Chengjiu Yigui* 甘露軍荼利菩薩供養念誦成就儀軌 T. 1211 [21.0048a26-a28], the last of which identifies its version with Amṛtakuṇḍalī 甘露軍荼利. The *Dhāraṇī-saṅgraha-sūtra* (T. 901) may also contain a variation of this mantra [18.0800b27-c03].

[138] Eventually, these messengers seem to evolve into the six additional deities that flank Yama (above his consorts), Citragupta, and Wudao Dashen, as listed in the *Asabashō* (Fig. 5).

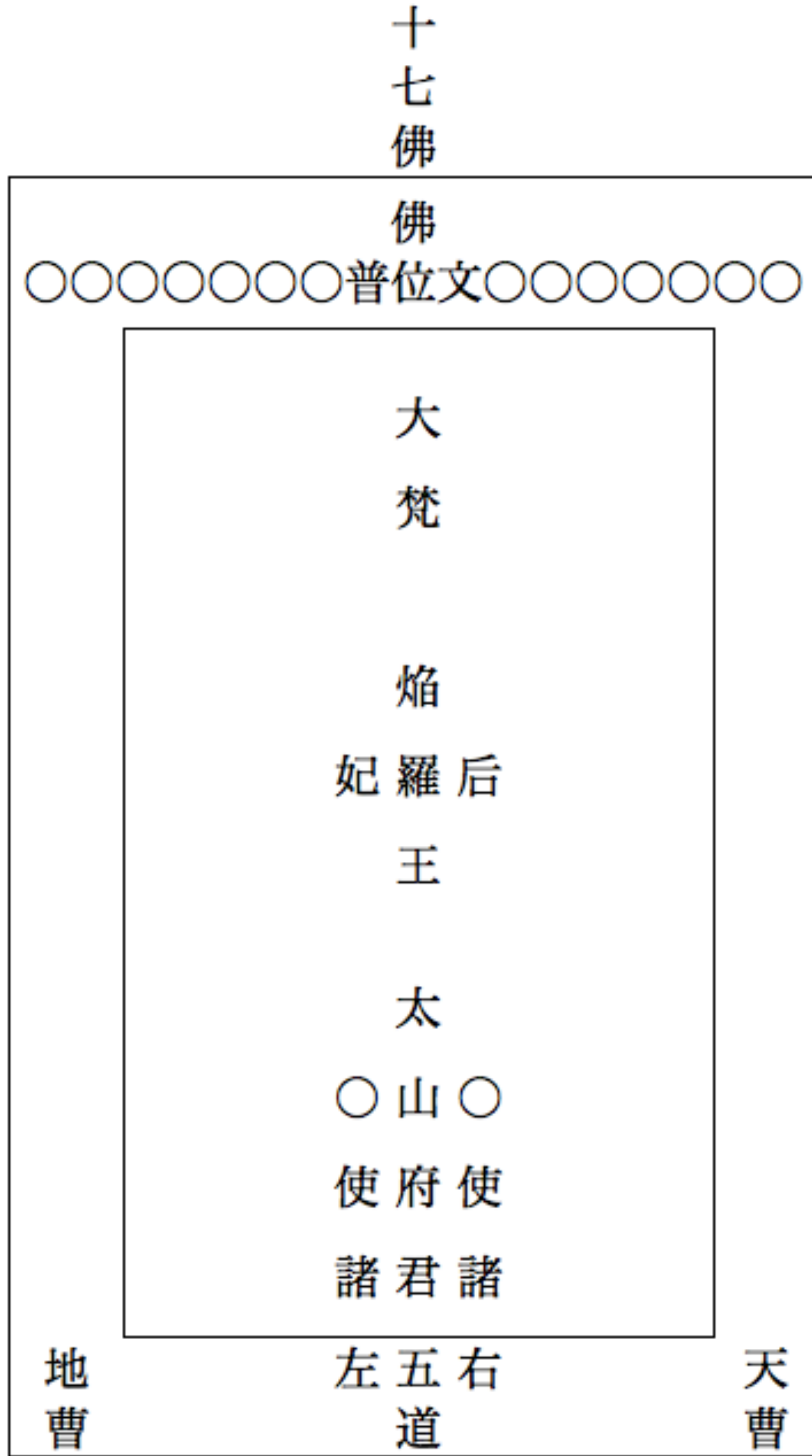

Figure 7: An *Enma Ten maṇḍala* prototype, diagrammed in the *Yamarāja-pūjā-karma-vidhi*. Image recreated by author.

While there are several differences between them, this diagram is clearly an earlier Chinese precedent for the *Enma Ten maṇḍalas* discussed earlier. Thus, even though the *Yamarāja-pūjā-karma-vidhi* is generally thought to have been composed in China,[139] it seems to have had an enormous and hitherto unnoticed impact on Buddhist death rituals in Japan.

Although there is no concrete evidence, the Enma Ten Ku performance of 989 itself suggests that the *Yamarāja-pūjā-karma-vidhi* had in fact been transmitted to Japan by this time, in which case, the above prototype maṇḍala would likely have been utilized during the ritual. Such an early transmission timeframe provides centuries for the ritual to gain popularity and for the above prototype maṇḍala to be expanded to the Kamakura period nineteen-deity *Enma Ten maṇḍala*.

Finally, it should be noted that the scripture itself transliterates Yama's name as Yanluo Wang 焔羅王 (Jp. Enma Ō) rather than Yanluo Tian 焔羅天 (Jp. Enma Ten). While this seems innocuous, it is important to remember that the Japanese rite performed in 989 was called the Enma Ten Ku, rather than the Enma Ō Ku. The two maṇḍalas likewise utilize the name Enma Ten. Considering that Japanese Shingon Buddhist texts usually refer to Yama as "Enma Ten," it seems likely that the *Yamarāja-pūjā-karma-vidhi* may have been transmitted to Japan during a time in which Shingon may have still been nascent—at any rate, well before 989.

Conclusion

The development and evolution of Citragupta into Yama's assistant in Indic epic and Purāṇic literature paved the way for his appropriation into Esoteric Buddhism. While he was only a minor deity, he was referenced along with a number of other Indian deities in several fifth- or sixth-century versions of the *Mahāmāyūrī-vidyārājñī-sūtra*. These references clearly document Citragupta's initial appropriation into the Buddhist scriptural corpus.

However, Purāṇic texts continued to be written in India and Citragupta's role expanded heavily there. He was certainly very well known throughout northern India by the mid-seventh century, by which time the *Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa* had been compiled and his iconography had been standardized. This was also the era during which the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi-sūtra* was being compiled. Even though he does not appear in this—or any—major Esoteric Buddhist text, Citragupta is clearly referenced in a vast number of Garbhodbhava cycle works such as commentaries, ritual manuals, and iconographic treatises.

In discussing Citragupta's full absorption into Mantrayāna Buddhism, all evidence points to Śubhākarasiṃha, a monk who must have been familiar with Indic iconographical traditions and to whom is attributed a number of translations of early Garbhodbhava works referencing Citragupta into Chinese. It seems all too likely that Śubhākarasiṃha was the one responsible for assimilating this deity within a fully Garbhodbhava framework in China. Citragupta would remain within this framework in Japan as well, finding occasional life outside the Garbhodbhava

[139] Osabe 41-48.

framework in texts such as the *Yamarāja-pūjā-karma-vidhi* and large compilations such as the *Betsugyō*.

While the nature of Citragupta and his Mantrayāna assimilation have certainly been clarified, a number of complications remain to be addressed. While not the main subject of this paper, I have shed some light on the world of difference between Citragupta and the Chinese deity Taishan Fujun.[140] However, the largest void still remaining—one that I seek to address in future studies—is the entanglement of the Garbhodbhava Citragupta with the wholly unrelated native Chinese deity, Taishan Fujun. As a number of Chinese Buddhist scriptures contain the name Taishan Fujun, they must undergo a thorough and individual analysis to determine which of the two disparate and unrelated deities they refer to. Such a rigorous analysis will eventually lead to a better understanding of false attributions within Chinese Buddhist texts as well as more accurately determining which scriptures were certainly composed in China.

[140] The Appendix to this article summarizes this particular issue in greater detail.

Appendix: The Transformations of Taishan Fujun

I have shown above that after the death of Śubhākarasiṃha in 725 C.E., the native Indian god Citragupta became confused and conflated with a native Chinese netherworld deity named Taishan Fujun. While this particular conflation within the confines of Chinese and Japanese Esoteric Buddhism is well described above, this is not the only point at which the original Chinese Taishan Fujun was transformed in order to fit a different religious framework. This appendix will briefly dissect the evolution of Taishan Fujun up to that point in an attempt to illuminate the various transformations of this hitherto unexplored multifaceted deity.

The Origins of Taishan Fujun, The Magistrate

While Mount Tai in Shangdong province has been worshiped by the Chinese since recorded history, the character of Taishan Fujun is a relatively later development. Chinese literature references the mountain countless times, especially in the literature of the Han dynasty (206 B.C.E.-220 C.E.), which consistently describes the mountain as the abode of the dead. For example, roughly eighteen tales present in the Buddhist *Ṣaṭpāramitā-saṅgraha-sūtra*[141] 六度集經, translated by the Sogdian monk Kang Senghui 康僧會 (fl. 251-280) reference Mount Tai. Scholars have assumed that Mount Tai was such a popular enough underworld destination that it was used in lieu of any Sanskrit words for hell in this scripture. At any rate, Taishan Fujun himself is blatantly absent from this work. Despite such clearly related references, Taishan Fujun does not explicitly appear by name until certain *zhiguai* 志怪 (strange tale) compilations dating to the Jin dynasty (265-420).

The first chronologically explicit reference to Taishan Fujun seems to appear in the *Soushenji* 搜神記,[142] attributed to Gan Bao 干寶 (fl. 335-349). The sole tale in which he appears describes him as a magistrate of Mount Tai, functioning as the controller of the souls of humans who were sent to the netherworld there. Over the next century, Taishan Fujun is briefly referenced in only two Chinese works that have no overt Buddhist or Daoist affiliation. One of these is the *Soushen Houji* 搜神後記, attributed to the Jin poet Tao Yuanming 陶淵明 (365-427).[143] The second is the *Sanguozhi Zhu* 三國志注, an annotated version of the *Sanguozhi* 三國志, completed in 429 by Pei Songzhi 裴松之 (372-451).[144]

Trajectory A. Early Daoist Appropriation

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[141] T. 152.

[142] This tale can be found in *Soushenji* 4:4, translated in Kenneth J. DeWoskin and James Irving Crump, *In Search of the Supernatural: The Written Record* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 43-45.

[143] *Soushen Houji* (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju: Xinhua Shudian Beijing Faxing Suo Faxing, 1981), 21.

[144] Pei refers specifically to the *Soushenji* tale, adding nothing new.

Taishan Fujun next appears in sectarian Daoist[145] texts. The *Taishang Dongxuan Lingbao Zhihui Benyuan Dajie Shangpin Jing* 太上洞玄靈寶智慧本願大戒上品經[146] illustrates him as a heavenly messenger watching over those in hell. This text appears in the Lingbao 靈寶 catalogue of scriptures compiled by Lu Xiujing 陸修靜 (406-477) in 437.[147] From this point forward, Taishan Fujun appeared in a wealth of Daoist literature still extant today, preserved in the *Zhengtong Daozang* 正統道藏. Despite several concrete references to Taishan Fujun within this compilation, he tends to be mentioned only in passing. One of the earliest texts to include him is the *Zhen'gao* 眞誥, compiled in 499 by the Shangqing 上清 Daoist Tao Hongjing 陶弘景 (456-536). For example, he is mentioned in fascicle 15 by reference to the *Soushenji* tale, shortly after a reference to Yama and Wudao Dashen.[148] Appearing in only quick and scattered references such as these, Taishan Fujun never truly evolves into a major Daoist deity.

Taishan Fujun's appearance in Daoist texts was likely simply the result of his notable appearance in the *Soushenji* and other native Chinese tales. Once Buddhism was popularized in China, deities of non-Buddhist origin like Taishan Fujun were subsumed under the umbrella of Daoism. As such, he makes several cameo appearances in texts relating to death, hell, or Mount Tai. However, once again, he never becomes a truly Daoist deity.

Trajectory B. Exoteric Buddhist Appropriation

Roughly contemporaneous with Lu Xiujing's catalogue of Lingbao Daoist works, Liu Yiqing 劉義慶 (403-444) was purportedly compiling a new collection of zhiguai, frequently utilizing Buddhistic overtones. Yet Liu was no Buddhist monk, and thus, while his tales included Buddhist figures and motifs, they often completely ignored Buddhist teachings, such as the non-consumption of meat. Lu's compilation, the *Youming Lu* 幽明錄, thus seems to be an early attempt to "Buddhicize" many Chinese figures and elements—Taishan Fujun being no exception. In this sole tale, a

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[145] In modern scholarship, the word "Daoist" has evolved to encompass a number of varying (and mutually exclusive) definitions in modern scholarship. Here, I refer specifically to religious traditions originating with Zhang Daoling 張道陵 (34-156 C.E.).

[146] DZ. 344, fasc. 177.

[147] The scriptures contained in this catalogue were purportedly revealed to the world by the Lingbao Daoist Ge Chaofu 葛巢甫 (fl. early 5th cen.) in 402, so this reference to Taishan Fujun may actually date to the late fourth century. Although the reference appears in the form of a zhiguai tale, it is rather dissimilar to the previous zhiguai tales in which he has appeared.

[148] As the *Zhen'gao* may very well be the earliest scripture in which Taishan Fujun, Yama, and Wudao Dashen (as well as Siming) each appear in short order, I suspect that the unknown Chinese translator (or perhaps author) of the *Yamarāja-pūjā-karma-vidhi* was certainly familiar with this section of the *Zhen'gao*, or perhaps a similar but hitherto unidentified Daoist scripture.

man dies and is brought to Taishan Fujun, who then sends him to be tortured for having slaughtered numerous living animals in temple sacrifices over the course of his earthly lifetime.[149]

Taishan Fujun is also referenced in the Buddhist *Mingxiang Ji* 冥祥記, compiled between 485 and 493 by Wang Yan 王琰 (fl. 454-502). In Tale 26, it is not the deity himself—but his position—that is referenced, when one character's grandfather is said to have served as the Magistrate of Mount Tai (Taishan Fujun).[150]

By 515, the earliest extant catalogue of Buddhist scriptures, the *Chu Sanzang Jiji* 出三藏記集,[151] was compiled by Sengyou 僧祐 (445-518). While Sengyou's catalogue bears no reference to Taishan Fujun, it is clear that by Sengyou's day, Mount Tai had become extremely popular within Buddhist scriptures. The catalogue mentions a work in one fascicle called the *Yijin Gong Taishan Shuzui Jing* 以金貢太山贖罪經, though it is no longer extant. The second extant Buddhist catalogue, the *Zhongjing Mulu* 眾經目錄,[152] compiled in 594 by Fajing 法經 (n.d.), relists the *Yijin Gong Taishan Shuzui Jing* and adds the suspiciously-titled *Yanluo Wang Dong Taishan Jing* 閻羅王東太山經 in one fascicle. Regrettably, this text is also no longer extant, but its title clearly betrays two major influences: Yama and Mount Tai. While it is impossible to know anything beyond the titles of these two texts, the popularity of the still-extant Buddhist scriptures mentioned thus far likely contributed to the rising popularity of Mount Tai within Buddhist circles.

Finally, the *Mingbao Ji* 冥報記, compiled by Tang Lin 唐臨 (600-659), also relates a tale that refers to Taishan Fujun's role in passing.[153] Interestingly, it also contains an earlier version of a tale about a wandering monk that was later rewritten to include Taishan Fujun.[154] A number of the tales described in this section reappear in the *Fayuan Zhulin*[155] 法苑珠林, composed in 668 by Dao Shi 道世 as well as in later collectanea, such as the *Taiping Guangji*[156] 太平廣記, a five-hundred-volume compilation of tales by Li Fang 李昉 (925-996), dating to 978.

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[149] Taishan Fujun's appearance may potentially be the result of Liu's connecting the frequent reference to Mount Tai in the *Ṣaṭpāramitā-saṅgraha-sūtra* with the popular *Soushenji* tale. This tale is also found in T. 2122 [53.0756a23-b13].
[150] Campany, Robert Ford, *Signs from the Unseen Realm: Buddhist Miracle Tales from Early Medieval China* (Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, 2012): 121-124.
[151] T. 2145.
[152] T. 2146.
[153] Gjertson, Donald E., *Miraculous Retribution: A Study and Translation of T'ang Lin's Ming-pao chi* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989): 196-220.
[154] Gjertson, *Miraculous Retribution*, 188-190. For later versions of this tale rewritten to include Taishan Fujun, see Dykstra, Yoshiko Kurata, trans. *The Konjaku Tales* (Ōsaka: Kansai Unversity of Foreign Studies, 1986-1998): v. 3, 120-122, and Donald S. Lopez, Jr., ed., *Buddhism in Practice* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995): 446-448.
[155] T. 2122 [53.0958a27-c15].
[156] *Taiping Guangji* (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1961).

Intersection: Citragupta Meets Taishan Fujun

By this point, the Chinese deity Taishan Fujun had become a part of both Daoist and exoteric Buddhist scriptures and tale literature. While never becoming a major deity in either tradition, it is clear that he was certainly a well-known aspect within the popular envisioning of the underworld.

As demonstrated above, it is largely due to the translation efforts of Śubhākarasiṃha that the scribal deity Citragupta (as "Panguan") was granted a permanent and enduring place within Chinese Esoteric Buddhist scriptures. After Śubhākarasiṃha's death, however, Citragupta's name came to be translated in one final way within Buddhist scriptures. Rather than being phonetically transliterated into Chinese or utilizing a definitive term such as "Panguan," later Tang and Song dynasty translators simply replaced the name of Citragupta with that of the then-popular Chinese deity, Taishan Fujun. This simple substitution of names is made particularly clear in texts such as the *Yamarāja-pūjā-karma-vidhi* (described above), in which a mantra utilizing Citragupta's transliterated name is attributed to "Taishan Fujun." It is precisely this substitution of names that led to Osabe's faulty conclusion regarding the evolution of Taishan Fujun in China.

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