

# Esoteric Buddhism and the Cross-cultural Transfiguration of Śūraṅgama-sūtra Faith in Goryeo

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## **Abstract**

*This paper presents an investigation into cross-cultural transfiguration of Buddhist faith in Goryeo Dynasty, with a focus on Śūraṅgama-sūtra that used to be in vogue in East Asia. There are three major types of Śūraṅgama-sūtra faith in Goryeo: the first one was concerned about the scripture itself including its citation and publication and the compilation of its annotation books; the second one involved establishing Buddhist rituals related to the scripture; and the final one was to create Dhāranī stone poles with Dafoding Dhāranī in Volume 7 of the scripture engraved in stone. While it was the common practice to engrave Zunsheng Dhāranī in China, the number of stone poles on which Dafoding Dhāranī was engraved was overwhelmingly large. There are a couple of reasons behind the difference: first, there was a tendency of Zunsheng Dhāranī being worshiped at the national level in Goryeo, which probably explains why the percentage of Zunsheng Dhāranī stone poles designed to pray for a personal mass for the dead by engraving Dhāranī on a stone pole was considerably low. In addition, there were esoteric sects in Goryeo, and it is estimated that they must have got involved in the establishment of Dafoding Dhāranī stone poles in the former half of Goryeo. Further-*

*more, the Zen sects had a deep non-Zen understanding of Esoteric Buddhism and tended to practice Dhāranī in Goryeo. It is estimated that Dafoding Dhāranī stone poles were set up in large numbers in Goryeo as the prevalence of Śūraṅgama-sūtra faith that continued on since the former half of Goryeo was combined with the Zen sects' active position about Dhāranī.*

## **Key words**

*Goryeo, Buddhist Ritual, Dafoding Dhāranī, Esoteric Buddhism, stone pole, Śūraṅgama-sūtra*

## I. INTRODUCTION

Originated in India in the 5th century BCE, Buddhism was spread to China around the birth of Christ and then to the Korean Peninsula during the period of Three Kingdoms. In the transmission process, Buddhism modified itself by embracing the local and periodic characteristics of each area where it settled down. In the case of the Korean Peninsula to which Buddhism was transmitted from China, the religion had basically been under the influence of Chinese Buddhism. After Buddhism's transmission in the peninsula, however, Buddhist culture unique to the peninsula flourished with its incorporation into the unique local social and cultural elements. It was no exception during Goryeo 高麗 era. As Goryeo inherited the Buddhist culture of Shilla 新羅 and had exchanged with Song 宋, Liao 遼, Jian 金 and Yuan 元 Dynasty that existed in China during its times, Buddhist culture unique to Goryeo blossomed. Instead of accepting Chinese Buddhism as it was, the Goryeo people made ideological and cultural modifications to it according to the situations of the country. They are considered as part of Goryeo-style characteristics in the universal religion called Buddhism, and one can figure out the periodic characteristics of Goryeo by looking into them. It is the point that this study focused on.

The study set out to approach the matter through Śūraṅgama-sūtra 首楞嚴經 faith. Written in China, the Buddhist scripture has various Buddhist ideologies including Huayan 華嚴 (Korean < Hwaeom), Esoteric Buddhism, Tiantai 天台

(Korean < Cheontae), and Zen 禪 (Korean < Seon) melted in them. After they were transmitted to the Korean Peninsula, literary scholars as well as many Buddhist monks showed active interest in them, which illustrates their massive ripple effects during Goryeo. There are some differences in Śūraṅgama-sūtra faith between China and Korea. Judging that those differences reflected transfiguration, the investigator decided to examine them in-depth.

Reflecting the interest in Śūraṅgama-sūtra during Goryeo, there are research achievements regarding it in no small measure. The researches on the transmission and popularity of Śūraṅgama-sūtra during Goryeo Dynasty found that the scripture was transmitted in the Late Shilla and became prevalent during Goryeo.<sup>1</sup> There are diverse researches conducted on their relations with Gṛhapati Buddhism 居士佛教 and Zen ideology in the second half of Goryeo.<sup>2</sup> Some studies delved into relations between the esoteric nature of Dafoding Dhāranī 大佛頂陀羅尼 (=Baisangai Dhāranī 白傘蓋摠持, Korean < Daebuljeong Dhāranī) in volume 7 of Śūraṅgama-sūtra and esoteric faith,<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Neung-hwa Lee, *Joseon Bulgyo Tongsa* (The History of Korean Buddhism) (Keijyou: sinbunkan, 1918); Zhongwan Han, "Lengyanjing Zai Han Zhong Ri Sanguode Liuchuan Ji Qijian (The Introduction and Differing Interpretations of Śūragama Sūtra in Korea, China, and Japan)," *Research of Buddhism* (Beijing: Zhongguo Fojiawenhua Yanjiusuo, 1994); Changsik Choi, "Ryougonkyouno Kankoku Ryuudenni Tsuite (On the Introduction of Śūraṅgama Sūtra in Korea)," *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies* 41, no. 1 (1992) etc.

<sup>2</sup> Seong Lyur Choi, "A Study of the Circulation for the Śūrangama(samādhi) Sūtra in Korea" (master's thesis, Dongguk University, 1979); Myung-je Cho, "A Study on the Proliferation of Kyehwanhae Nungomgyong and Its Historical Nature of Thought in the Latter Period of Koryo Dynasty," *History & the Boundaries* 12 (1988); Yong Heon Jo, "Yi Ja-hyeon-ui Neungeom-seon Yeoungu (A Study on Śūraṅgama Zen of Yi Ja-hyeon)," *Journal of the Korean Association for the History of Religions* 12 (1996); Myung-je Cho, "14 Segi Goryeo Sasanggye-ui Seonghaeng-gwa Geu Sasangjeok Seonggyeok (The Prevalence of Śūragama Sūtra in 14th Century's Realm of Goryeo Buddhist Thought and Its Characteristics)," *Kasan Hakbo* 5 (1996); Je-Gyu Jeong, "Yi Gyu-bo-ui Bulgyo Ihae-wa Suneungeom-gyeong Sinang (The Buddhist Interpretation of Yi Gyu-bo and his Belief in Śūragama Sūtra)," *Study of the Eastern Classic* 7 (1996); Hye Kyoung Kim, "A Study on Acceptance of Śūragamasūtra Thoughts in Koryo Dynasty: Centered on Bohuanhae's Completion" (master's thesis, Dongguk University, 1999); Myung-je Cho, "The Tendency of Thought of Kouji Zen 居士禪 and the Basis for Reception of Kouan Zen 看話禪 in the Middle Koryeo 高麗," *History & the Boundaries* 44 (2002); Kyut'aek Sin, "Yi Ja-hyeon-ui Seon-sasang (Zen thought of Yi Ja-hyeon)," *Journal of Eastern Philosophy* 39 (2004) etc.

<sup>3</sup> Heung-Sik Heo, *The Light of Indian Buddhism Transformed in Medieval Korea* (Seoul: Ilchokak, 1997), 89-94; Yoon-Kil Suh, *Hanguk Milgyo Sasangsa* (The History of

whereas others took a bibliographic approach.<sup>4</sup> Those researches and their results deepened the importance and understanding of Śūraṅgama-sūtra during Goryeo. The present study was basically on the basis of those research achievements, further sorting out the patterns of faith related to Śūraṅgama-sūtra introduced from China and identifying the characteristics of Śūraṅgama-sūtra faith during Goryeo by comparing it with that of China.

The study first made a brief introduction of Śūraṅgama-sūtra and examined the faith in this sūtra in China, its transmission to the Korean Peninsula, and the patterns of its vogue. Since there are a lot of previous researches and their findings on those topics, the investigator decided to make active use of them for the formation and transmission to Korea of the scripture to briefly arrange them. Since there was no study that sorted out the patterns of Śūraṅgama-sūtra faith in Korea in a clear manner in spite of many previous researches that covered the ideology and its transmission to Korea of Śūraṅgama-sūtra, the present study would introduce the patterns of Śūraṅgama-sūtra faith during Goryeo. Such an effort would show the various utilization aspects of Śūraṅgama-sūtra in Goryeo society, the interaction with the society, and highlight once again the importance of the scripture. Finally, the study compared Goryeo and China in terms of patterns of Śūraṅgama-sūtra faith to figure out differences between them and identified the reasons why the characteristics of Śūraṅgama-sūtra faith during Goryeo were different from those of China. Those procedures would hopefully reveal the characteristics of Buddhist history during Goryeo more clearly.

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Korean Esoteric Buddhist Thought) (Seoul: Unjusa, 2006), 585-606; Sungja Han, “Darani-reul Tonghaebon Jigong-hwasang-ui Milgyojeok Saekchae (Zhikong’s Esoteric Buddhist Color through the Dharani),” *Samdae Hwasang Yeongu Nonmunjip III* (Seoul: Bulcheon, 2001).

<sup>4</sup> Seungjae Lee, “On Korean Versions of Surangama-sutra 首楞嚴經,” *Journal of Kugyol Studies* 11 (2003); Dong-hwa Kwak and Soon-Ae Kang, “A Bibliographic Study on the Printed Books of Śūraṅgama-sūtra,” *Journal of the Institute of Bibliography* 39 (2008); Jin Woong Woo, “A Bibliographical Study of Woodblock-Printed Book with Engraving in Korean Esoteric Buddhism 密教” (PhD diss., Kyungbook National University, 2010), etc.

## II. FORMATION AND TRANSMISSION TO GORYEO OF ŚŪRAṂGAMA-SŪTRA

### 1. Formation of Śūraṁgama-sūtra and the Faith in China

Śūraṁgama-sūtra means "the mysterious law stemming from the crown of the head of Buddha, referring to the greatest Buddhist scripture of all." Consisting of total ten volumes, it contains Buddha's teachings about the methods of asceticism and his sermons about Dhāranī for Ānanda 阿難 that fell into the temptations of a lustful lady on his piṇḍapāta 乞食. Especially, the Dhāranī in Volume 7 called Dafoding Dhāranī was independently worshiped in separation from the sūtra.

Like other scriptures, Śūraṁgama-sūtra has the name of the Chinese translator, Pāramiti 般刺密帝, and the time of translation, which was the first year of Zhongzong 中宗 Shenlong 神龍 of Tang 唐 Dynasty (705), on the very first page. According to researches by scholars in the past, however, it is the dominant opinion that Śūraṁgama-sūtra was written in Chinese from the beginning.<sup>5</sup> A look at the content covered by the scripture shows that it was written in consultation of many Mahayana scriptures including Avataṁsaka-sūtra 華嚴經, Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra 法華經, Vimalakīrtinirdeśa 維摩經, and Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra 般若經. Since it put together many different doctrines of Mahayana Buddhism and elucidated rich and colorful ideas, it has the ideological features whose frame is based on harmony with Tiantai, Huayan, Esoteric Buddhism,

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<sup>5</sup> Beop-hye Choi paid attention to the fact that the translators of Śūraṁgama-sūtra were recorded differently in *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄 and *Xu gujin yijing tuji* 續古今譯經圖紀 written by the same author. In the former, he especially pointed out that the translator Huidi 懷迪 worked on the translation along with an unknown Indian Buddhist monk. No revelation of the name of the translator was implausible in such an important project like the translation of scriptures, which demonstrates that Śūraṁgama-sūtra was written in China. Choi also believed that they must have decided to take the form of translation from the Indian scripture in order to establish the authority of Śūraṁgama-sūtra. Choi, "A Study of Formation Process and Translation Materials on Surangama Sutra," *Journal of the Korean Buddhist Research Institution* 34 (1997): 206-7. See Beop-hye Choi, "Formation Process and Translation Materials on Surangama Sutra," 201-2 for other researchers' opinions about the hypothesis that Śūraṁgama-sūtra was written in China.

and Zen sect.<sup>6</sup> There is an opinion arguing that it was written to achieve ideological unification during the political transformation in the early 8th century when there was the coexistence of many different Buddhist ideologies.<sup>7</sup>

As the scripture encompassed a variety of ideologies, many different sects placed importance on it. There is a famous anecdote of Tiantai Zhiyi 天台智顛 (538-597): he faced a stalemate in the middle of interpreting Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra, raising a question. One day a Buddhist monk from India told him that the answer to the question was in Śūraṅgama-sūtra. Naturally he desperately wanted to get his hands on a copy only to enter nirvana without having his wish realized.<sup>8</sup> Tiantai Zhiyi is the creator of Tiantai zong 天台宗 (Korean < Cheontae-jong). Since Śūraṅgama-sūtra was sought after by the creator, one can easily guess how important it was considered in the sect. It is said that Guifeng Zongmi 圭峰宗密 (780-841), who argued for the unification of Zen and non-Zen, enjoyed quoting from the scripture in the Huayan zong 華嚴宗 (Korean < Hwaeom-jong). Yongming Yanshou 永明延壽 (904-975), a monk of Fayuan zong 法眼宗 (Korean < Beoban-jong), which is a denomination of the Zen sect, quoted 66 items from the scripture in his representative work *Zongjing lu* 宗鏡錄.<sup>9</sup> Entering the Song Dynasty, Śūraṅgama-sūtra became one of the central scriptures of the Zen sect. As a result, Śūraṅgama-sūtra is considered to have exerted the biggest influences on Song, Yuan, and Ming Dynasty with *Yuanjue jing* 圓覺經 having the greatest impacts on Buddhism during Tang Dynasty.<sup>10</sup>

Since Śūraṅgama-sūtra was an object of interest among

<sup>6</sup> Kim, "Acceptance of Śūraṅgama-sūtra Thoughts in Koryo Dynasty," 8.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 57-59.

<sup>8</sup> According to Gu Kim 金坵, "After listening to the story, Tiantai Zhiyi burned incense every morning and evening, took a bow toward west, and eagerly wished that the scripture would land on the country as soon as possible to spread the wisdom of Buddha. However, his wish never came true." Kim, "Suneungeom-gyeong Hwanhae Sanbo-gi Seo 首楞嚴經環解刪補記序 (Introduction of Suneungeom-gyeong Hwanhae Sanbo-gi)," *Suneungeom-gyeong Hwanhae Sanbo-gi* 首楞嚴經環解刪補記, *Hanguk Bulgyo Jeonseo* 韓國佛教全書 (Complete Works of Korean Buddhism) 6 (Seoul: Dongguk University, 1998-2000), 417b.

<sup>9</sup> Han, "Introduction and Differing Interpretations of Śūraṅgama Sūtra," 18.

<sup>10</sup> Choi, "Introduction of Śūraṅgama Sūtra in Korea," 127; Myungje Cho, *A Study of Koan Zen* 看話禪 in the Late Koryo Dynasty (Seoul: Hyeon, 2004), 83.

many different sects, its annotation books were also written among them. There were three annotation books published when the scripture was written, and the Zen sect merely quoted them in a fragmentary fashion. As its "transmission" was late, its annotation books appeared late, as well. The first annotation book of the scripture appeared in the first year of Suzong 肅宗 Zhide 至德 of Tang Dynasty (756). There were active researches on it till Song Dynasty with many annotation books published.<sup>11</sup>

In China, Śūraṅgama-sūtra was broadly read regardless of the clergy and the laity. In addition to its annotation books, there are traces that attest to its vogue among common people. After returning from his trip to Tang in the 9th century, the Japanese Buddhist monk Engyō 圓行 (800-853) observed that Baisangai foding 白傘蓋佛頂 (Korean < Baeksangae Buljeong) was one of the high formalities in vogue in China during that time. Baisangai foding is the high formality that is the center of Śūraṅgama-sūtra. The popularity of publications on Baisangai foding among common people continued even in Song Dynasty, which indicates that the faith for the high formality did not fall away.<sup>12</sup>

There were also rituals based on Śūraṅgama-sūtra. There is an introduction about Lengyan hui 楞嚴會 (Korean < Neungeom-hoe, Ritual of chanting Dafoding Dhāraṇī) in *Chixiu Baizhang qinggui* 勅修百丈清規 that was completed in the fourth year of Shundi 順帝 Zhiyuan 至元 of Yuan Dynasty (1338). The book gives an arrangement of norms that should be observed at Zen sect temples. It was originally made by Baizhang Huaihai 百丈懷海 (720-814) but lost later, which is why it was made once again based on other books on norms by the order of Shundi of Yuan.<sup>13</sup> Even though it was made at late Yuan, it does

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<sup>11</sup> Worun (Seong-gu Kim), "Bohwan-ui Neungeom-gyeong Ihae (Bohwan's Understanding on Śūraṅgama Sūtra)," *Hanguk Bulgyo Munhwa Sasangsa* (History of Korean Buddhist and Cultural Thought) 1 (Seoul: Kasan mungo, 1994), 1015.

<sup>12</sup> Ling Li and De Ma, "Dunhuang Baisangai Xinyang Ji Xiangguan Wenti (The Belief of Baisangai in Dunhuang and its Relationship)," *Journal of Dunhuang Studies* 2013, no. 3, 83.

<sup>13</sup> Beop-hye Choi, "Chiksu Baekjang Cheonggyu Haeje (Explanation on *Chixiu Baizhang qinggui*)," *Chiksu Baekjang Cheonggyu Yeokju* (Translation and Annotation of *Chixiu Baizhang qinggui*) (Seoul: Kasan bulgyo munhwa yeonguso, 2008), 14-20.

contain all the events and norms performed and observed at Chinese Zen sect temples. According to the book, Lengyan hui is a ritual carried out during the settlement of summer vārṣika 夏安居. It was held for Buddhist monks to form a Lengyan platform 楞嚴壇, gather and chant Dafoding Dhāraṇī, and wish that vārṣika would end without any accidents. Zhenxie Qingle 真歇清了 (1089-1151) of Southern Song entered vārṣika at Mt. Puto 普陀山 and fell sick. Wishing for his recovery, other Buddhist monks that joined him on vārṣika chanted Dafoding Dhāraṇī, which is said to be the beginning of Lengyan hui.<sup>14</sup>

It is also said that Shenxiu 神秀 (606-706) of Beizong chan 北宗禪 (Korean < Bukjong-seon) read Śūraṃgama-sūtra at the neidaochang 內道場 (Korean < naedoryang, temple in the palace) during Wu Zetian 武則天.<sup>15</sup> Even though the record does not directly mention that the ritual was established, it is very likely that the royal family or the government established a ritual related to Śūraṃgama-sūtra, given that the neidaochang was the place where they chanted the Buddhist scriptures and held rituals at the court for the well-being of the country. In Yuan, the royal preceptor Phags-pa 八思巴 chanted a different Dhāraṇī and said a prayer every day, and one of them was Baisangaizhou 白傘蓋呪 (Korean < Baeksangae-ju), the different name of Dafoding Dhāraṇī.<sup>16</sup> In the seventh year of Shizu 世祖 Zhiyuan 至元 of Yuan (1270), he placed a Baisangai or a white parasol on the royal throne at Daming dian 大明殿, wrote the Sanskrit characters in gold, and prayed for the submission of devil and the well-being of the country. Since then, the event was held on February 15 annually, and it was called Baisangai Buddhist service 白傘蓋佛事.<sup>17</sup> Installing Baisangai was to represent Baisangai foding, which is why the event should also be regarded as a ritual based on Śūraṃgama-sūtra.

<sup>14</sup> Qin Zhen, “Chanzong Qinggui zhongde Niansong Yigui (On the Chant Rituals of Chanzong’s Rule of Purity),” *Research of Buddhism* (Beijing: Zhongguo Fojiawenhua Yanjiusuo, 2011), 296.

<sup>15</sup> Han, “Introduction and Differing Interpretations of Śūragama Sūtra,” 17-18.

<sup>16</sup> “Biography of Phags-pa 八思巴列傳,” *Yuan Shi* 元史 (History of Yuan) XCVII.

<sup>17</sup> “Old National Rituals 國俗舊禮,” *Yuan Shi* 元史 (History of Yuan) LXXVII.



## 2. Introduction and Prevalence of Śūraṅgama-sūtra in Goryeo

There are no clear records about when Śūraṅgama-sūtra was first transmitted to Korea. Judging from the phrases cited from Śūraṅgama-sūtra in the stūpa inscription of Jijeung Doheon 智證道憲 (824-882),<sup>18</sup> it is estimated that it was introduced and circulated at late Shilla at the latest.<sup>19</sup>

The first data about Śūraṅgama-sūtra in Goryeo are found in the Dafoding Dhāranī stone pole 大佛頂陀羅尼石幢 located in North Korea. The Dafoding Dhāranī stone pole of Yongcheon 龍川 is estimated to have been set up in 1027, which means that Śūraṅgama-sūtra faith started in the early 11th century. It was during the time of Uicheon 義天 (1055-1101) that Śūraṅgama-sūtra began to attract full-scale attention. There are 28 annotation books of Śūraṅgama-sūtra in Volume 1 of his *Sinpyeon-jejong-gyojang-chongnok* 新編諸宗教藏總錄. Judging from that it was a catalogue to publish a Gyojang 教藏 (Collection of Annotation books), it can be said that the 28 annotation books of Śūraṅgama-sūtra were introduced in Goryeo during his time. It is said that he took interest in Śūraṅgama-sūtra through his exchanges with Jingyuan 淨源 (1011-1088), a Buddhist monk of Huayan zong in Song Dynasty. Jingyuan learned Śūraṅgama-sūtra from his master Zixuan 子璿 (965-1038) and developed an understanding of the scripture profound enough to write an annotation book himself. Zixuan was called Lengyan dashi 楞嚴大師 and wrote 20 volumes of *Lengyanjing yishuzhu jing* 楞嚴經義疏注經. Uicheon paid respects to his tower. Seeing the dismal surroundings of the collapsed tower, he exhibited deep interest enough to give alms of platinum for its repair and enlargement. He also exchanged correspondence with Renyue

<sup>18</sup> Kim, "Acceptance of Śūragamasūtra Thoughts in Koryo Dynasty," 10.

<sup>19</sup> According to Neung-hwa Lee, Yebaek 芮帛, the head of Jungwon-bu 中原府 Yeonju-won 鍊珠院, always cited Śūraṅgama-sūtra without taking a break, which is found in stūpa inscription of Jeongjin Geungyang 靜眞兢讓 (878-956). It is recorded as "Neungga 楞伽" in *A Full Text on Korean Epigraphy* 韓國金石全文 and *Haedong-keumseok-won* 海東金石苑 and missing in *Anthology of Korean Epigraphy* 朝鮮金石總覽. Lee, *History of Korean Buddhism*, 156. The concert part is actually peeled off in the stūpa inscription which makes it difficult to check which scripture was cited. There is thus a need to review Lee's argument about the citation of Śūraṅgama-sūtra.

仁岳 (?-?) who wrote an annotation book of Śūraṅgama-sūtra in the line of Tiantai order, which suggests that he was influenced by the ideological tendency of northern Song Buddhism where Śūraṅgama-sūtra prevailed. However, most of the annotation books accepted in his stage were written in the non-Zen line.<sup>20</sup>

It was through Ja-hyeon Yi 李資玄 (1061-1125) that the Zen line started to take ideological interest in Śūraṅgama-sūtra.

A. He (=Ja-hyeon Yi) said to a man of letters early, “After reading the Tripitaka and many other books, I regard Śūraṅgama-sūtra as the best. It is an invention of important ways to engrave the fundamentals of the mind, but there are no students of Zen studies who read it, which I truly deplore.” At last, he started to have my pupils study it and found its learners gradually grow in number . . . Under a commission from the king, he went out in the mountains and gave a special Neungeom-ganghoe 楞嚴講會 (Ritual of lecture in Śūraṅgama-sūtra) in the third year of Xuanhe 宣和 (the 16th year of King Yejong’s reign of Goryeo, 1121). Many scholars from all over the places gathered together to listen to his lecture.<sup>21</sup>

Although Ja-hyeon Yi was not a Buddhist monk, he exerted influences on Hyejo 慧照 (?-?) and Tanyeon 坦然 (1070-1159) representing the Buddhist community during those days. He had a tendency of Ganhwa-seon 看話禪, which is to understand the Zen doctrines by reading scriptures or quotations from Zen masters. Judging from the quotes in A above, it is believed that his Ganhwa-seon was formed through Śūraṅgama-sūtra. Many literary scholars gathered to study under him, and the culture of Gṛhapati Buddhism settled down in Goryeo. As Śūraṅgama-sūtra was accepted by Yi Ja-hyeon as a theoretical book on Zen, it was actively distributed as a scripture on which Ganhwa-seon was based.<sup>22</sup>

It is Gyu-bo Yi 李奎報 (1168-1241) that made noticeable moves regarding Śūraṅgama-sūtra after Ja-hyeon Yi. One of the

<sup>20</sup> Cho, *Koan Zen in the Late Koryo*, 84.

<sup>21</sup> Bu-cheol Kim 金富轍, “Cheongpyeong-san Munsu-won Gi 清平山文殊院記 (Account of Temple Munsu at Mt. Cheongpyeong),” *Dongmunseon* 東文選 (Anthology of Korean Literature) LXIV.

<sup>22</sup> Cho, “Kyeohanhae Nungomgyong in the Latter Period of Koryo,” 142.

men of letters representing the period of military rule in Goryeo, he left a collection of his works titled *Dongguk-isangguk-jip* 東國李相國集 containing many texts on Śūraṃgama-sūtra. He usually enjoyed reading the scripture and learned the entire scripture by heart. In fact, he often mentioned it in his poetry and talked about it with other literary scholars. While reading the scripture, he would come up with an idea for poems, write one, and show it to Buddhist monks. His writings confirm once again that Śūraṃgama-sūtra was widely spread in Goryeo society those days.

In late Goryeo, Do-jeon Jeong 鄭道傳 (1342-1398) would cite from the scripture to criticize Buddhism.<sup>23</sup> The fact that the scripture was used in the logic of criticizing Buddhism demonstrates the prevalence of the scripture. The founding father of Joseon 朝鮮 Dynasty, Seong-gye Yi 李成桂 (1335-1408) built Deokan-jeon 德安殿 and spent quiet days of Buddhānusmṛti Samādhi 念佛三昧 there in his later years, enshrining the scripture under the east eaves of the building. He had the Esoteric Scripture Store 密教大藏, Suryuk-uimun 水陸儀文 (writing on 'water and land assembly'), and Śūraṃgama-sūtra written by large letters laid in state in north, west, and east, respectively.<sup>24</sup> Those data show that the founding father of Joseon and also former Goryeo person placed importance on the scripture, which seems to have reflected the atmosphere in late Goryeo.

### III. THREE TYPES OF ŚŪRAṂGAMA-SŪTRA FAITH IN GORYEO

Since Śūraṃgama-sūtra held important significance in Goryeo, there are traces of many forms of its faith. There are three types

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<sup>23</sup> See Do-jeon Jeong 鄭道傳, "Sang Jeong Dal-ga Seo 上鄭達可書 (Writing to Jeong Dal-ga)," *Sambong-jip* 三峰集 III (The Collected Writings of Sambong [Do-jeon Jeong] III) in *Hangugmunjib Chonggan* (Comprehensive Edition of Korean Literary Collections), ed. Minjokmunhwachujinhoe 5 (1990); and "Bulssi japbyeon 佛氏雜辨 (Array of Critiques of Buddhism)," *Collected Writings of Sambong V* in *ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> Geun Kwon 權近, "Deokan-jeon Gi 德安殿記 (Record of Deokan-jeon)," *Yangchon-jip* 陽村集 XIII (The Collected Writings of Yangchon [Geun Kwon] XIII) in *Hangugmunjib Chonggan* (Comprehensive Edition of Korean Literary Collections), ed. Minjokmunhwachujinhoe 7 (1990).

of Śūraṅgama-sūtra faith during Goryeo.

The first type is concerned about the scripture itself including its publication, research, recitation and memorization and the publication of its annotation books. The research, recitation, and memorization of the scripture can be easily checked with the cases of Ja-hyeon Yi and Gyu-bo Yi described earlier. The oldest existent version of the scripture was published in the 22nd year of King Gojong 高宗's reign (1235). It contains prayers for the longevity of the king and U Choe 崔瑀 (?-1249), the highest administrator of the times, and the resignation of the Mongolian forces. In addition, they published the scripture in several occasions including the first year of King Chungseon 忠宣王's reign (1309) and the 5th, 19th, and 21st year of King Gongmin 恭愍王's reign (1356, 1370, 1372), and the versions still remain as artifacts.<sup>25</sup> The one published in the 5th year of King Gongmin's reign was to pray for an easy passage into eternity for the deceased mother of Bang-han Yi 李邦翰.<sup>26</sup> The one published in the 19th year of King Gongmin's reign was to pray for an easy passage into eternity for the deceased parents and wife of Gye Yim 林桂.<sup>27</sup> Those cases confirm the fact that the scripture was published to hold a mass for the dead, as well.

In late Goryeo, Hanam Bohwan 閑庵普幻 (?-?) published an annotation book of Śūraṅgama-sūtra titled *Suneungeomgyeong-hwanhae-sanbo-gi* 首楞嚴經環解刪補記. Strictly speaking, it is not an annotation book of the scripture itself. Rather it corrected the wrong parts in *Lengyan jing yaojie* 楞嚴經要解, an annotation book of Śūraṅgama-sūtra by Jiehuan 戒環 (?-?), a Buddhist monk of Song China. Jiehuan's *Lengyan jing yaojie* was most read as an annotation book in Goryeo during the days. Influenced by Ja-hyeon Yi, Tanyeon, a Buddhist monk of Imjae-jong 臨濟宗, had exchanges with Jiehuan. There are no traces to indicate that the annotation books of Śūraṅgama-sūtra were used in Zen meditation at the level of Ja-hyeon Yi, and it is esti-

<sup>25</sup> See Kwak and Kang, "Bibliographic Study on Śūraṅgama-sūtra"; Woo, "Woodblock-printed Book with Engraving," 147.

<sup>26</sup> The original text is, "至正十六年 正月日 星山前直講李邦翰 爲亡母李氏書."

<sup>27</sup> The original text is, "竊爲 先亡父母往生淨界 暨我亡耦李氏超生之願 印成楞嚴經一本十卷用薦 充逝者 庚戌年六月誌 居士 林桂."

mated that Jiehuan's annotation book was accepted as a commentary on the trends of Zen sect at the level of Tanyeon. As Bojo Jinul 普照知訥 (1158-1210) and Muuija Hyesim 無衣子慧諶 (1178-1234) of temple Suseon 修禪社 took Śūraṅgama-sūtra as part of the ideological foundation of Ganhwa-seon, the scripture enjoyed an even more spreading trend in the second half of Goryeo when the Zen style of temple Suseon dominated. At the same time, Jiehuan's annotation book introduced during Jinul's succession of Tanyeon prevailed, being broadly spread across the general ideological realm as the representative annotation book of Śūraṅgama-sūtra.<sup>28</sup>

Bohwan's *Suneungeom-gyeong-hwanhae-sanbo-gi* is noteworthy in that it criticizes and supplements the Chinese annotation books from own viewpoint rather than merely accepting them in Goryeo. Bohwan gave a lecture on Jiehuan's annotation book of Śūraṅgama-sūtra in 1265 and wrote this book by sorting out the parts whose meanings were ambiguous or whose descriptions were unclear in the annotation book and adding supplementations for them for the lecture. Since then, this book written by Bohwan had been in constant use as a supplementary material for Jiehuan's annotation book.<sup>29</sup>

The second type of Śūraṅgama-sūtra faith during Goryeo involves the establishment of rituals around the scripture.<sup>30</sup> The fact that rituals related to Śūraṅgama-sūtra were established can be found in *Goryeo-sa* 高麗史 (History of Goryeo) and anthologies. They were sorted out as follows:

	Time of Establishment	Names and Locations of Ritual	References
1	6th year of King Seonjong 宣宗 (1089)	Neungeom-doryang 楞嚴道場 Geondeok-jeon 乾德殿	<i>Goryeo-sa</i> X

<sup>28</sup> Cho, "Kyeohanhae Nungomgyong in the Latter Period of Koryo," 143-54.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 158.

<sup>30</sup> The Dhāranī in the scripture, namely Dafoding Dhāranī, is the center of rituals related to Śūraṅgama-sūtra such as Neungeom Buddhist ceremonies and Neungeom-doryang 楞嚴道場, which means that rituals can be categorized as a type of Dhāranī faith, as well. However, rituals related to Śūraṅgama-sūtra were categorized as a separate type in the study because they had a totally different social character from the other types of Dhāranī faith.

2	16th year of King Yejong 睿宗 (1121)	Neungeom-ganghoe 楞嚴講會 Munsu-won 文殊院	“Account of Munsu-won at Mt. Cheongpyeong” ( <i>Dongmunseon</i> LXIV)
3	10th year of King Myeongjong 明宗 (1180)	Daebuljeong-dokgyeong 大佛頂讀經 Naejeon 內殿	<i>Goryeo-sa</i> LIII
4	Beginning of the 13th Century	Neungeom-beopseok 楞嚴法席 Changbok-sa 昌福寺	“Statement of Neungeom- beopseok for Winter Vārṣika at Changbok-sa” ( <i>Dongguk-isangguk-jip</i> XLI)
5	6th year of King Wonjong 元宗 (1265)	Neungeom-ganghoe Guiro-am 歸老庵	“Statement of Finding Fel- low Scholar” ( <i>Sanbo-gi</i> )
6	2nd year of King Chungnyeol 忠烈王 (1276)	Neungeom-doryang Monggye-sa 夢溪寺	“Record written by Kim Ji-jeon” ( <i>Sanbo-gi</i> )
7	4th year of King Chungnyeol 忠烈王 (1278)	Neungeom-beopseok Baengnyeong-sa 白蓮社	“Record written by Kim Ji-jeon” ( <i>Sanbo-gi</i> )
8	11th year of King U 禑王 (1385)	Baeksangae-doryang 白傘蓋道場 Gwangam-sa 光嚴寺	“Stūpa Inscription for State Preceptor Bogak” ( <i>Yangchon-jip</i> XXXVII)

There are total eight rituals related to Śūraṅgama-sūtra from Goryeo that can be confirmed. The following sections will examine in details some of them that attract attention. The first one is Neungeom-beopseok (Ritual of Śūraṅgama-sūtra) of temple Changbok (#4), which was established before winter vārṣika 冬安居 began and the same as the Lengyan hui (Korean < Neungeom-hoe) in *Chixiu Baizhang qinggui*. That is, it was a ritual established before the beginning so that vārṣika would be held without any incidents. The case demonstrates that Neungeom-hoe that originated in Song China in the former half of the 12th century was introduced in Goryeo in the first half of the 13th century at the latest. Although *Chixiu Baizhang qinggui* states that Lengyan hui was held during summer vārṣika, Neungeom-beopseok of temple Changbok was established during the settlement of winter vārṣika. Since winter vārṣika fell in the period of abstinent asceticism at a Buddhist temple like summer vārṣika, it is estimated that Neungeom-hoe was established even before winter vārṣika.

Neungeom-beopseok of temple Changbok was a ritual held at the level of Buddhist temples, but there were Śūraṅgama-

sūtra rituals mostly related to the country or royal family. Such rituals were established at the palace in the sixth year of King Seonjong's reign (#1) and the tenth year of King Myeongjong's reign (#3), and even the kings participated in them.<sup>31</sup> The Neungeom-ganghoe held at temple Munsu in the 16th year of King Yejong's reign (#2) was also established by the order of the king,<sup>32</sup> and so were the Neungeom-doryang (Ritual of Śūraṃgama-sūtra) of temple Monggye (#6) and Neungeom-beopseok of temple Baengnyeong (#7) established by Bohwan.<sup>33</sup> The Baeksang-gae-doryang (Ritual of Baisangai foding) established at temple Gwangam (#8) sought after a public goal of eliminating natural disasters and had the honor of the king's personal participation.<sup>34</sup>

A majority of such rituals were related to the country and royal family because of the basic nature of Buddhist rituals in Goryeo, during which the national Buddhist rituals were established under the goal of overcoming national difficulties with the power of Buddha. Some thus even call the Buddhist rituals of Goryeo the political events of religious nature. In other words, they held a Buddhist service to protect the country spiritually when there was a major event that could shake up the foundation of the country.<sup>35</sup> The rituals related to Śūraṃgama-sūtra are in the same context. It was said that they could be safe from all kinds of poison and ominous incantation, repel all types of sin and disaster, and beat the calamity of bad stars by possessing or citing Dafoding Dhāraṇī that took the central place in such rituals. Daebuljeong-dokgyeong (Ritual of reading Dafoding Dhāraṇī) was established in the tenth year of King Myeongjong's

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<sup>31</sup> According to the explanatory notes of *Goryeo-sa*, they never failed to record the rituals where the king was present, which means that the rituals recorded in the book took place in the presence of king.

<sup>32</sup> See the Quotation A above.

<sup>33</sup> Ji-jeon Kim 金之楨, "Kim Ji-jeon Gimun 金之楨記文 (Record Written by Ji-jeon Kim)," *Suneungeom-gyeong Hwanhae Sanbo-gi, Hanguk Bulkyo Jeonseo* 6, 468c.

<sup>34</sup> Geun Kwon 權近, "Yomyeong Joseon-guk Bogak-guksa Bimyeong Byeong Seo 有明朝鮮國普覺國師碑銘并序 (Stūpa Inscription for State Preceptor Bogak)," *Collected Writings of Yangchon* III-VII.

<sup>35</sup> Sooyoun Kim, "A Study on the History of Esoteric Buddhism in Goryeo Dynasty" (PhD diss., Ewha Womans University, 2012), 125.

reign because there was red gas in a northwestern area.<sup>36</sup> That is, the goal was to attract good luck and repel disaster according to changes to the location or light of a star, being dependent on the good deeds of Dafoding Dhāranī known to beat off the calamity of a bad star.<sup>37</sup>

The Neungeom-beopseok at temple Baengnyeong in the fourth year of King Chungnyeol 忠烈王's reign (#7) also set out to pray for peace in the country, being established for the occasion of the king traveling to Yuan China. *Goryeo-sa* records that the king left for Yuan around the middle of the month, before which he already visited Yuan from April to September to resolve Bang-gyeong Kim 金方慶 (1212-1300)'s incident of false accusation. The Yuan-friendly group including Da-gu Hong 洪茶丘 (1244-1291) and the favorite subjects of King Wonjong that lost power after the enthronement of King Chungnyeol accused him of planning treason against Yuan, which eventually summoned King Chungnyeol and Da-gu Hong and cross-examined them. The king gave his explanations at the royal court of Yuan, which sided with him. After returning to Gaegyeong 開京, the capital city of Goryeo in September, he purged the Yuan-friendly group and the favorite subjects of King Wonjong and accordingly was able to solidify his own authority in the country.<sup>38</sup> After the purge was over, he made another trip to Yuan in December of the same year to further solidify his authority supported by the dynasty. Since he was about to leave for Yuan in the middle of those events, he had the Neungeom-beopseok established and prayed for peace and profit as well as no more calamity.

It was the most fundamental characteristic of Goryeo's Buddhist rituals to pray for the well-being of the country to the virtue of scriptures, and the rituals related to Śūraṅgama-sūtra shared it, as well.

The last type of Śūraṅgama-sūtra faith during Goryeo was

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<sup>36</sup> "Treatise of Five Elements: Fire 五行: 火," *Goryeo-sa* 高麗史 (History of Goryeo) LIII. The appearance of red gas in the night sky was interpreted as a sign which vassals would betray their king.

<sup>37</sup> Kim, "History of Esoteric Buddhism in Goryeo," 119.

<sup>38</sup> Ik-joo Lee, "The Structure of Koryo-Yuan Relations and the Political System of Later Koryo Dynasty" (PhD diss., Seoul National University, 1996), 59-60.



the faith about Dafoding Dhāranī in Volume 7 of the scripture. The faith was manifested in the forms of engraving Dhāranī on a stone pole and publishing a book with other kinds of Dhāranī.

The table below presents the cases of the former<sup>39</sup>:

Group		Names	Time of Production	Note
Stone Poles	1	Yongcheon 龍川 Seongdong-ri 城東里 Dafoding Dhāranī Stone Pole	1027 (estimation)	
	2	Haeju 海州 Dafoding Dhāranī Stone Pole	11-12C	
	3	Dhāranī Stone Pole at the outside of western gate of Yongcheon Seongdong-ri	11-12C	
Stone monument	4	Gaeseong 開城 Dafoding Dhāranī Stone Pole	Late Goryeo	Damaged
	5	Pyeongyang 平壤 Dafoding Dhāranī Stone Pole	Late Goryeo	Damaged
	6	Jecheon 堤川 Songgye-ri 松溪里 Dafoding Dhāranī Stone monument	Late Goryeo	Damaged
Stūpas	7	Wonju 原州 Bomun-sa 普門寺 Bluestone Stūpa	Late Goryeo	Damaged
	8	Yeongwol 寧越 Mureung-ri 武陵里 Bluestone Stūpa	Late Goryeo	Damaged
	9	Jeju 濟州 site of Sujeong-sa 水精寺址 Bluestone Stūpa	Late Goryeo	Damaged
	10	Gaeseong site of Gyeongcheon-sa 敬天寺址 Stūpa	1348	Damaged

A stone pole involves engraving lines from scriptures in a stone column. Its formation was another act of faith that originated in China. The oldest one found in records was created in the fifth year of Kaihuang 開皇’s rule of Sui 隋 Dynasty (585), and the oldest remaining one was created in the first year of Yongchang 永昌’s rule of Tang (689). The ideological origin of its creation can be found in *Foding zunsheng tuoluoni jing* 佛頂尊勝陀羅尼經 translated by Buddhapālita 佛陀波利:

<sup>39</sup> Gi-Pyo Eom, “A Study on the present state of things and Significance to the Stone Art of Sanskrit in Korea and Chosun Dynasty,” *Journal of Korean Historical-forklife* 36 (2011); Eun-hee Yi, “Seokdang (Stone Pole),” *Bukhan Munhwajae Haeseol-jip* (Cultural Properties in North Korea) 1 (Seoul: National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage, 1997).

B. If someone writes and enshrines this Dhāranī on top of a high pole, mountain or tower or inside a pagoda, or, Śakra Devānām-Indra, if some biqiu, biqiuni, upāsakā, upāsikā and common men and women look at the top of a pole or others, approach it close and have its shadow touch them, or have a dust from the Dhāranī on top of a mountain or pole travel and get attached to their bodies by a wind, they will, Śakra Devānām-Indra, not be subjected to all the pain of durgati 惡途 reserved for them for their sins and not get stained or filthy by the dirt of their sins.<sup>40</sup>

It states that one can have his or her sins disappear by writing and enshrining Dhāranī in a stone pole and then looking at the pole, having its shadow touch him or her, or even having a dust on top of the pole where the Dhāranī is enshrined travel and touch his or her body by a wind. Many stone poles with Dhāranī engraved on them were set up to receive such good deeds. A survey of 1958 reported that there were 142 stone poles in the single province of Shanxi 陝西省.<sup>41</sup> Goryeo also accepted the faith of stone pole creation and built stone poles. Most of the remaining stone poles of Goryeo have Dafoding Dhāranī from Śūraṅgama-sūtra engraved on them. There remain many pagodas on which Dafoding Dhāranī is engraved, as well.

Dafoding Dhāranī was separated from Śūraṅgama-sūtra and put together with other Dhāranīs in a collection. One example is the Six-Dhāranī-collection translated by Dyānabhadra 指空 (?-1363) in late Goryeo. A Buddhist monk from India, Dyānabhadra entered Yuan during the rule of Taidingdi 泰定帝. He asked the emperor to help him visit Mt. Geumgang 金剛山 and arrived in Gaegyeong of Goryeo in March of the third year of Taiding 泰定's rule. In 1327, he held vārṣika at temple Cheonhwa 天和寺 by the request of danapatis. At the event, Daljeong 達正, Seonsuk 禪淑 and Dalmok 達牧 asked him to rectify the Dhāranī version they had according to the native pronunciations of Sanskrit. He thus corrected the missing and wrong parts.<sup>42</sup> It

<sup>40</sup> Buddhapālita 佛陀波利, *Foding zunsheng tuoluoni jing* 佛頂尊勝陀羅尼經, *Taishō Shinshū Daizyōkyō* 大正新修大藏經 (Newly Edited Tripitaka from Taishō Era) 19 (Tokyo: Daizyō Shyuppan Daisya, 1924-36), 351b.

<sup>41</sup> Huifang Zhong, "Zhuangkao (A Study on Poles)," *Studies in National Arts* 1999, no. 5, 25.

<sup>42</sup> Heo, *Light of Indian Buddhism*, 90-92; Kim, "History of Esoteric Buddhism in

is said that he especially proofread Dafoding Dhāranī whose translation by Zhijixiang sanzang 智吉祥三藏 of Song China was not loyal enough.<sup>43</sup> Its translation into Chinese was the work of 'Goryeo-guk Dyānabhadra 高麗國 指空' and incorporated into the Tripitaka published later.

#### IV. TRANSFIGURATION: ESTABLISHMENT OF DAFODING DHĀRANĪ STONE POLES AND ITS REASON

Introduced from China, Śūraṃgama-sūtra became prevalent throughout Goryeo regardless of the clergy and the laity with the accompanying development of various types of faith. Some of them accepted the Chinese types of faith as they were, and others took the original forms of Goryeo faith. One example of the latter is the establishment of Dafoding Dhāranī stone poles.

There remain total six stone poles and monument of Dafoding Dhāranī from Goryeo. Considering that there are total seven or eight stone poles and monuments on which Dhāranī was engraved from Goryeo,<sup>44</sup> one can say that engraving Dafoding Dhāranī was a trend of stone pole creation during Goryeo. China had a very different one from Goryeo.

A catalogue of epigraphs written in Qing 清 Dynasty, *Baqiongshi jinshi buzheng* 八瓊室金石補正 contains a good number of stone poles. Although it does not encompass all the epigraphs of China, it is good enough to figure out the trend of stone pole creation. Judging from the catalogue, the Chinese trend of stone pole creation was to engrave *Foding zunsheng tu-*

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Goryeo," 100-1.

<sup>43</sup> The original text is, “一日 門人達正禪淑達牧等 持大宋時三藏智吉祥等 詳校補闕 大白傘蓋真言一部 呈師願中印土梵語正訓 師因覽畢曰 此本亦有闕失 於是添輔漏略 精加詳定 以中印土梵字 手書大白傘蓋真言。”

<sup>44</sup> They include the six ones in the Table above, the stone pole of Zunsheng Dhāranī at temple Gwangpyeong 廣平寺 in Pyeongyang 平康, Gangwon Province 江原道 of which have its rubbed copy at National Museum of Korea, and the stone monument of Zunsheng Dhāranī at the site of temple Sipsin 十信寺址 in Gwangju 光州. There are two groups divided on the time when the last one was built. Eom, “Stone Art of Sanskrit in Korea and Chosun Dynasty,” and Mong-Lyong Choi, “On the Stone Monument with Sanscrit Inscription and the Stone Buddha Statue from the Site of the Sipsin-sa Temple in Kwangju,” *Korean Journal of Art History* 138/139 (1978). Eom maintains that it was built at the end of Goryeo, and the other in the beginning of Joseon.

*oluoni jing*. Zunsheng Dhāranī 尊勝陀羅尼 (Korean-Jonseung Dhāranī) was engraved in 39 of 57 stone poles from Tang, eight of ten from Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms 五代十國, 17 of 23 from Song, and all three from Liao. The numbers only cover the stone poles on which Zunsheng Dhāranī was engraved alone. Once the ones with other kinds of Dhāranī engraved along with Zunsheng Dhāranī are taken into consideration, the stone poles on which Zunsheng Dhāranī is engraved will make a considerable increase in number.

However, there are no stone poles on which Dafoding Dhāranī is engraved except for one from Tang. In fact, it has six other kinds of Dhāranī including Zunsheng Dhāranī and Dabei Dhāranī 大悲呪 engraved on it in addition to Dafoding Dhāranī. Considering that *Foding zunsheng tuoluoni jing* preaching Zunsheng Dhāranī offered clues for the faith of stone pole creation, such a trend of stone pole creation in China seems only natural.

Then one cannot help wondering why they built the stone poles of Dafoding Dhāranī instead of Zunsheng Dhāranī in Goryeo. Why did they engrave different Dhāranī in stone poles in Goryeo from China even though the faith of stone poles itself was introduced from China? Those questions should be approached in two directions addressing why they did not engrave Zunsheng Dhāranī and why they did engrave Dafoding Dhāranī.

Let's start with the question why they did not engrave Zunsheng Dhāranī first. The causes can be found in the tendency of Zunsheng Dhāranī faith during Goryeo, which was manifested in the national Buddhist rituals in most cases. A non-regular Buddhist ritual that was held the fourth most times during Goryeo, Buljeong-doryang 佛頂道場 (Ritual of Zunsheng foding 尊勝佛頂) was related to *Foding zunsheng tuoluoni jing*, which talks about the charity of eliminating heavy sins that will guarantee a place in hell, but Buljeong-doryang developed in a little different direction from it in Goryeo. That is, it was established to eliminate wars and natural disasters to damage the well-being of the country.<sup>45</sup> There weren't many but there were few rituals

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<sup>45</sup> See Kim, "History of Esoteric Buddhism in Goryeo," 144-60.

that actually reflected the natural content of the scripture, which is to eliminate heavy sins that will guarantee a place in hell. Buljeong-hoe 佛頂會 (Ritual of Zunsheng foding) was held at temple Boguk 補國寺 for the deceased King Gongmin in the 12th year of King U's reign(1386),<sup>46</sup> and its goal was to hold a mass for the dead. There is a rubbed copy of the Zunsheng Dhāranī stone pole at temple Gwangpyeong 廣平寺 in Pyeong-gang, Gangwon Province holded at National Museum of Korea even though the actual stone pole is in existence no longer.<sup>47</sup> The case clearly indicates that stone poles of Zunsheng Dhāranī were also set up.

In China, on the contrary, the Zunsheng Dhāranī faith sought after a mass for the dead in most cases. Many of the Zunsheng Dhāranī stone poles found in China were established to pray for the repose of the deceased parents or other family members. There is a record in *Dongjing menghua lu* 東京夢華錄 covering the social aspects of Song, saying that they printed and sold *Foding zunsheng tuoluoni jing* for the dead during the Festival of the Hungary Ghosts, when they believed that the souls of the dead would come back.<sup>48</sup> However, China was not without Zunsheng Dhāranī faith for the country. An esoteric Buddhist monk of Tang, Amoghavajra 不空 (705-774) handpicked 27 Buddhist monks and chanted Zunsheng Dhāranī with them for the country in the fifth year of Dali 大曆 (770). There was an imperial order issued to order Buddhist monks across the whole country to chant Zunsheng Dhāranī in the 11th year of Dali (776). Those facts attest to the recitation of Zunsheng Dhāranī at the national level in the second half of the 8th century.<sup>49</sup>

A look at the overall faith trends of *Foding zunsheng tuoluoni jing*, however, clearly shows that while China focused on

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<sup>46</sup> "In the year of Byeongin 丙寅, Queen Dowager Ahn 安 held Buljeong-hoe at temple Boguk and invited Honsu 混修 (1320-1392) to help to guide Hyeonreung 玄陵 (=King Gongmin) to a better place." Geun Kwon 權近, "Stūpa Inscription for State Preceptor Pogak," *Collected Writings of Yangchon* XXXVII.

<sup>47</sup> Eom, "Stone Art of Sanskrit in Korea and Chosun Dynasty," 48.

<sup>48</sup> Yuanlao Meng 孟元老, "Zhongyuan jie 中元節 (Ghost Festival)," *Dongjing Meng Hua lu* 東京夢華錄 (The Eastern Capital: A Dream of Splendor) VIII.

<sup>49</sup> Shigeo Kamada, "Seiryō san ki kō (Study on Record of Mt. Seiryō)," *Kōgyō daishi Kakuban Kenkyū* (A Study on Kōgyō daishi Kakuban) (Tokyo: Syunzyū sya, 1992), 797-800.

holding a mass for the dead, Goryeo mainly set out to avoid national disasters. It thus seems that the Zunsheng Dhāranī stone poles faith, which states that people can make their sins that will guarantee them a place in hell disappear just by setting a stone pole and having a dust from it fall on their bodies, would have a difficult time taking root in Goryeo. Furthermore, Buljeong-doryang expended merit and virtue discussed in the scripture and set it up as a national ritual by utilizing a ritual guide 儀軌, *foding zunsheng tuoluoni niansong yiguifa* 佛頂尊勝陀羅尼念誦儀軌法 translated by Amoghavajra. This ritual guide provides guidelines for each merit: to eliminate wars, monks in blue or black have to face south and decorate the platform in blue or black color; to eliminate epidemics, monks in white have to face north and make the white platform round. That is, establishment of Zunsheng Dhāranī stone pole itself is not the way to eliminate these national disasters. These disasters can be avoided only by the rituals with accurate ritual guide.

Let's move onto why they did engrave Dafoding Dhāranī in Goryeo. There are three stone poles of Dafoding Dhāranī from the former half of Goryeo and another three from the latter half of Goryeo. The biggest difference between them is whether the stone poles contain the names of those who participated in and made donations for the stone pole creation project. There is no list of names on the stone poles that have been kept intact in Haeju and Yongcheon since the former half of Goryeo, whereas the pieces of the Dhāranī stone pole in Peongyang from the latter half of Goryeo have the names of originators.<sup>50</sup>

Those cases pose a huge possibility that Dafoding Dhāranī stone poles were usually set up by Buddhist temples in the former half of Goryeo. A Buddhist service was usually to pray for good deeds. Personal ones would certainly list the wishes and call the names of originators at the last moment. Stone poles not accompanied by such content were set up for public purposes. The Dhāranī stone pole of Yongcheon was originally set up at temple Buljeong 佛頂寺 and later moved to the current loca-

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<sup>50</sup> Chōsen Sōtokufu 朝鮮總督府, *Chōsen Kinseki Sōran* 朝鮮金石總覽 (Anthology of Korean Epigraphy) (Seoul: Asea Munhwasa, 1976), 550.

tion,<sup>51</sup> which raises a possibility that Dhāranī stone poles were established as a symbol of Buddhist temple since the word 'Foding' is found both in the name of the temple Buljeong and that of the Dafoding Dhāranī stone pole. That is, it is more likely that they set up Dafoding Dhāranī stone poles as the public object of faith rather than the manifestation of personal faith in the former half of Goryeo. As a result, they must have preferred Dafoding Dhāranī stone poles to eliminate calamities and help with asceticism to Zunsheng Dhāranī ones to talk about a personal good deed of mass for the dead.

Setting up stone poles on which Dafoding Dhāranī was engraved was an act according to esoteric faith, and there were two esoteric sects, Chongji-jong 摠持宗 and Sinin-jong 神印宗, in early Goryeo. Buljeong-sojae-doryang 佛頂消災道場 (Ritual of Zunsheng foding for averting calamities) was established at temple Chongji 摠持寺, the head temple of Chongji-jong, in the 16th year of King Myeongjong's reign (1186). Buljeong-sojae-doryang was a type of Sojae-doryang 消災道場 (Ritual for averting calamities) to attract good luck and repel disaster according to abnormal changes to the location or light of stars. They established it because a civil war was predicted according to the astrological judgment of the times. It was intended to increase the effects of Sojae-doryang established to attract good luck and repel disaster according to changes to the location or light of a star by adding the power of 'Foding.' No Sojae-doryang was established at temple Chongji throughout the history of Goryeo, and it was a special occasion that Buljeong-sojae-doryang was established at the temple, which was probably because the temple played a pivotal role in the Foding faith. It is thus estimated that temple Buljeong, in which the Dafoding Dhāranī stone pole of Yongcheon was originally set up, must have been in the line of Chongji-jong. That is, the creation of Dafoding Dhāranī stone poles must have been led by Esoteric Buddhism in the former half of Goryeo.

It is said that Esoteric Buddhism was on a complete decline since Tang in China because Huichang fanan 會昌法難 (845)

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<sup>51</sup> Yi, "Stone Pole," 257. According to *Sinjeung-Dongguk-eeoji-seongram* 新增東國輿地勝覽, temple Buljeong was in the rampart of Yongcheon-gun 龍川郡.

caused damage to the mandalas and dharma instruments to an irreparable degree. Tianxizai 天息災 (?-1000), Dānapāla 施護 (?-?), and others translated the esoteric scriptures in early Song, but they remained at the level of “translation.” The esoteric sects disappeared in China after Tang with the Dhāranī faith and rituals absorbed into the faith of other sects. The esoteric sects created in early Goryeo continued on until early Joseon with each of them managing to maintain their existence by transforming themselves according to the changes of the times. The solid existence of esoteric sects was combined with the atmosphere of the times when Śūramgama-sūtra started to stand in the lime-light, which marked the beginning of Dafoding Dhāranī stone poles.

In Goryeo, there was a strong trend of practicing both Zen and Esoteric Buddhism. Learning Dhāranī by heart in a Zen sect is not, of course, unique to Goryeo. The Lengyan hui in *Chixiu Baizhang qinggui*, for instance, was an event for setting up a platform and memorizing Dafoding Dhāranī and had the nature of an esoteric ritual. The cases of Goryeo went further than that by a step: not only did they pray for good deeds in Lengyan hui (Neungeom-hoe), but they also used Dhāranī for their meditations. In Goryeo, they believed that they would be able to enter dhyāna 禪定 just by learning Dhāranī by heart,<sup>52</sup> and there were attempts at understanding the esoteric ideology, which is checked in *Beomseo-chongji-jip* 梵書摠持集 published during Goryeo era.

*Beomseo-chongji-jip* is a collection of Dhāranī written in Sanskrit, and they published many different kinds of *Beomseo-chongji-jip* in Goryeo.<sup>53</sup> *Beomseo-chongji-jip* in the 15th year of

<sup>52</sup> There is a concerned record in the preface of *Beomseo-chongji-jip* published in the fifth year of King Gojong’s reign (1218). See Kim, “History of Esoteric Buddhism in Goryeo,” 184-87 for the full text of this preface.

<sup>53</sup> The table below presents the kinds of *Beomseo-chongji-jip* in Goryeo:

Time of Publication	Holding Location (City)	Notes
4th year of King Uijong (1150)	Bogwang-sa 普光寺 (Andong)	10 round shape Dhāranīs on the first two pages starting from “Three Kinds of Siddhi Mantra”
10th year of King Uijong (1156)	Haerin-sa 海印寺 (Hapcheon)	



King Gojong's reign (1228) was published by the temple Suseon line, a Zen sect. It presents Dharmakāya Mantra 法身眞言, Sambhogakāya Mantra 報身眞言, and Nirmāmakāya Mantra 化身眞言 (these three mantras are called 'Trikāya Mantra 三身眞言') at the very beginning. The mantras of the same content were titled Staying Siddhi Mantra 蘇悉地眞言, Entering Siddhi Mantra 入悉地眞言, and Leaving Siddhi Mantra 出悉地眞言 (these three mantras are called 'Three Kinds of Siddhi Mantra 三悉地眞言') in a different version of *Beomseochongji-jip* published during the reign of King Uijong. Three Kinds of Siddhi Mantra whose title was changed to Trikāya Mantra in the version published in the 15th year of King Gojong's reign contains the mantras about the adversities of Śubhakarasiṃha 善無畏 (637-735), an Esoteric Buddhist monk in Tang China. According to the scripture, Staying Siddhi, Entering Siddhi, and Leaving Siddhi correspond to the high, middle, and low class Siddhi, respectively. Meaning achievement, Siddhi refers to the stage reached by esoteric ascetics. Siddhi was divided into three classes, which made up the three-class Siddhi. The three-class Siddhi mantra was the Siddhi obtained on the premise of esoteric asceticism.

The scripture introduced the mantras of the three-class Siddhi and naturally incorporated each part of Trikāya—three kinds Siddhi—human body based on them.<sup>54</sup> The esoteric ide-

20th year of King Uijong (1166)	Haein-sa (Hapcheon)	
5th year of King Gojong (1218)	Yonsei Univ. Library (Seoul)	Preface
15th year of King Gojong (1228)	Yongju-sa 龍珠寺 (Hwaseong)	No round shape Dhāraṇī starting from "Trikāya Mantra"
Late of the 13th century	Onyang Folk Museum (Onyang)	
Late of the 14th century	unknown	

<sup>54</sup> Suh, *The History of Korean Esoteric Buddhist Thought*, 154.

Three-class Siddhi 三品悉地	Three-kind Siddhi 三悉地	Trikāya 三身	Human Body
High class Siddhi 上品悉地	Staying Siddhi 蘇悉地	Dharmakāya 法身	Heart - Top

ology was deeply involved in the parts of three kinds of Siddhi and human body allocated to each three-class Siddhi. Since Trikāya made often appearances in doctrines other than Esoteric Buddhism, the Zen sect would have experienced no problem with using it. Including the same Dhāranī in the book, they must have made a transformation of replacing the three-class Siddhi Mantra whose title was unfamiliar to them with Trikāya Mantra. Those cases indicate that the Buddhist priests of the Zen sect must have had considerable knowledge about the esoteric ideologies and scriptures during Goryeo.<sup>55</sup>

As mentioned above, temple Suseon got involved in *Beom-seo-chongji-jip* published in the 15th year of King Gojong's reign. And Śūraṅgama-sūtra was one of the important theoretical bases for temple Suseon line. It is highly likely that the temple Suseon line, which was active to utilize Dhāranī and had a profound understanding of the esoteric ideologies, paid more attention to Dafoding Dhāranī than any other groups. As the line took a leading role in the ideological community in the second half of Goryeo, Śūraṅgama-sūtra and Dafoding Dhāranī must have been spread more broadly among laities. One of the consequences was the establishment of personal stone poles like the Dafoding Dhāranī stone pole of Pyeongyang in late Goryeo.

## V. CONCLUSION

Śūraṅgama-sūtra is a Buddhist scripture written in China in the early 8th century with various Buddhist ideologies including Huayan, Esoteric Buddhism, Tiantai, and Zen melted in it. The scripture was transmitted to the Korean Peninsula in late Shilla, since when literary scholars as well as many Buddhist monks showed active interest in the scripture.

Middle class Siddhi 中品悉地	Entering Siddhi 入悉地	Sambhogakāya 報身	Navel - Heart
Low class Siddhi 下品悉地	Leaving Siddhi 出悉地	Nirmāmakāya 化身	Foot - Waist

<sup>55</sup> Kim, "History of Esoteric Buddhism in Goryeo," 105-8.

There are three major types of Śūraṅgama-sūtra faith in Goryeo: the first one was concerned about the scripture itself including its recitation and publication and the compilation of its annotation books; the second one involved establishing Buddhist rituals related to the scripture; and the final one was to create Dhāranī stone poles with Dafoding Dhāranī in Volume 7 of the scripture engraved in stone. Of the three types of faith, the last one involving the establishment of Dhāranī stone poles offer some hints at the cross-cultural transfiguration of Śūraṅgama-sūtra faith. Establishing Dhāranī stone pole itself was a type of faith that originated in China, but it was the common practice to engrave Zunsheng Dhāranī in China. In Goryeo, however, stone poles on which Dafoding Dhāranī was engraved were overwhelming in number, whose reasons were found in the flow of Buddhist ideologies in Goryeo in the present study.

Buddhism of Goryeo inherited Buddhism of Shilla and developed its form through its exchanges with Buddhism of China including Tang, Song, Liao, Jin, and Yuan, which is well illustrated in Śūraṅgama-sūtra faith during Goryeo. Introduced in the Korean Peninsula in late Shilla, Śūraṅgama-sūtra attracted attention and prevailed in the former half of Goryeo. The types of Śūraṅgama-sūtra faith of Goryeo share many common features with those of China. A close look at them, however, reveals that even the same faith would vary in content according to the ideological flows and characteristics of society. It was only natural to accept the influences of China for Goryeo that belonged to the cultural zone of East Asia and had exchanges with China in it. China had the advanced culture and ideology of the times. However, all ideologies are transformed, take root, or even get discarded in communication with the society of the times. The present study finds its significance in examining the ideological flow and transmission of East Asia and excavating the cases of cross-cultural transfiguration in them through Śūraṅgama-sūtra faith of Goryeo.