

## Wish-Fulfilling Spells and Talismans, Efficacious Resonance, and Trilingual Spell Books: The *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* in Chosŏn Buddhism

Richard D. McBride II

Brigham Young University, Hawai'i

The *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī*, which promises success in all endeavors as well as protection from ghosts and demons and encourages people to carry the spell on their person as a talisman, is one of several *dhāraṇīs* for which there is ample evidence demonstrating its extensive use by Buddhists in South, Central, and East Asia.<sup>1</sup> Although the complete text of the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* in Buddhist-Chinese exists in two recensions, a translation by Baosiwei 寶思惟 (\*Ratnacinta or \*Manicintana, d. 721) titled *Foshuo suiqiu jide dazizai tuoluoni shenzhou jing* 佛說隨求即得大自在陀羅尼神呪經 (T. 1154) and a retranslation by Amoghavajra

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1. On the relevance of the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* in South and Central Asia, see Gergely Hidas, *Mahāpratisarā-Mahāvidyārājñī = The Great Amulet, Great Queen of Spells: Introduction, Critical Editions and Annotated Translation* (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture and Aditya Prakashan, 2012). Hidas translates and analyzes five Gilgit fragments and fifteen selected eastern Indian and Nepalese manuscripts. The non-East Asian materials are quite different than those found in China and Korea. For the case of medieval China, see Jean-Pierre Drège, “Les Premières Impressions des *Dhāraṇī* de *Mahāpratisarā*,” *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 11 (1999–2000): 25–44; Katherine R. Tsiang, “Buddhist Printed Images and Texts of the Eighth–Tenth Centuries: Typologies of Replication and Representation,” in *Esoteric Buddhism at Dunhuang: Rites and Teachings for This Life and Beyond*, ed. Matthew T. Kapstein and Sam van Schaik (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010), 201–252; Paul F. Copp, “Altar, Amulet, Icon Transformation in *Dhāraṇī* Amulet Culture, 740–980,” *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 17 (2008) [2010]: 239–264; and Copp, *The Body Incantatory: Spells and the Ritual Imagination in Medieval Chinese Buddhism*, Sheng Yan Series in Chinese Buddhist Studies (New York and Chichester, West Sussex: Columbia University Press, 2014), 59–140.

(Bukong 不空, 705–774) titled \**Samanta-jvalāmālā viśuddhaisphūritacintāmaṇi-mudrā-hṛdayāparājitā mahāpratisāraṇī* (Pubian *guangming qingjing chisheng ruyi baoyinxin wunengsheng damingwang dasuiqiu tuoluoni jing* 普遍光明清淨熾盛如意寶印心無能勝大明王大隨求陀羅尼經, T. 1153),<sup>2</sup> the primary *dhāraṇī* spell itself was relevant to a broad range of practitioners in Korea because multiple versions of the primary *dhāraṇī* were published and circulated in a variety of forms in the Chosŏn 朝鮮 period (1392–1910).

In this essay, I will first briefly describe the contents of the two Chinese recensions of the sutra. Second, I trace the history of the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* in China and Korea prior the Chosŏn period. Third, I will describe the various recensions of the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī*, attributed to Amoghavajra, in Chosŏn-period Buddhist literature and analyze an introductory petition (*adhyeṣanā*) also attributed to Amoghavajra. Fourth, I translate and analyze the “Efficacious Resonance of the Mahāpratisarā,” a short prose text advocating use of the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* that circulated in various contexts in the Chosŏn period. A recension of the great *dhāraṇī* attributed to Amoghavajra gained ascendancy in medieval Korea because it was linked to a Siddham version of the *dhāraṇī* that circulated in a variety of forms. Bilingual and trilingual transliterations of the *dhāraṇī* in Siddham, Korean, and Buddhist-Chinese were published repeatedly in a variety of woodblock and metal-type formats, either individually or as part of collections of mantras, during the Chosŏn. This material provides evidence that certain members of the royalty and monks were interested in making the spell accessible to a broader group of Korean practitioners, and that the primary practice associated with this *dhāraṇī* was carrying a copy of the spell on one’s person like a charm or talisman (*pujök* 符籍).

2. See *Foshuo suiqiu jide dazizai tuoluoni shenzhou jing* in *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經 (Taishō edition of the Buddhist canon), ed. Takakasu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 et al., 100 vols. (Tokyo: Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai, 1924–1932 [–1935]) (hereafter T.), T. 1154, 20.637b–644b; and *Pubian guangming qingjing chisheng ruyi baoyinxin wunengsheng damingwang dasuiqiu tuoluoni jing*, 2 rolls, T. 1153, 20.616a–632a.

## THE CHINESE TRANSLATIONS OF THE MAHĀPRATISARĀ-DHĀRAṆĪ

In premodern Korea, as in the rest of East Asia, people generally believed illness, trouble, disorder, and woe to be the result of unfortunate and ill-starred encounters with shadowy spirits and noxious demons. Likewise, the blessing and control of such vexing entities through spells and ritual procedures was believed to confer all manner of benefits in this life and preferred status in future births. The extensive adoption and adaptation of Buddhism in the Sinitic cultural sphere in the medieval period, roughly the fourth to the tenth centuries CE, and beyond played a significant role in the development of these beliefs. Numerous gods, beings, spirits, and creatures that populated the Hindu and Buddhist pantheons and pan-Indian cosmology were introduced in various stages into China first and then into Korea and Japan, where they merged with the animistic beliefs of local peoples and eventually came to dominate East Asian demonology. Alan Watts famously described this process as “Buddhism is Hinduism stripped for export.”<sup>3</sup>

Monk-thaumaturges from India and Central Asia introduced a host of ritual practices and procedures so that individuals might avail themselves of the power of these beings, and these practices eventually combined with native East Asian approaches to spells and incantations. The primary vehicle by which these practices were made accessible to East Asian Buddhists was *dhāraṇī-sūtras*. In essence, *dhāraṇī-sūtras* were modeled on Vedic mantra rituals and translated into a Buddhist context. In effect, *dhāraṇīs* were the Buddhist response to Vedic or Hindu mantras because “*dhāraṇī*” (*tuoluoni*, Kor. *tarani* 陀羅尼; *chi* 持; and *zongchi*, Kor. *ch’ongji* 總持) is a distinctively Buddhist term. Chinese practitioners embraced these efficacious incantations and seamlessly amalgamated them with traditional Chinese spell procedures, calling them “spells” (*zhou*, Kor. *chu* 呪), “spirit spells” (*shenzhou*, Kor. *sinju* 神呪), and “spell techniques” or “spell-craft” (*zhoushu*, Kor. *chusul* 呪)

3. Alan Watts, *Buddhism, the Religion of No-Religion: The Edited Transcripts* (Boston: C.E. Tuttle, 1996), 6. The related expression “Buddhism is Hinduism for export” and “Buddhism was Hinduism for export” are, according to Robert E. Morrell, offhand remarks attributed to T. R. V. Murti (Tirupattur Ramaseshayyer Venkatachala Murti), which are often cited as being in his *Central Philosophy of Buddhism: A Study of Mādhyamika System* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1955; rev. ed. 1960; repr. Munshirm Manoharal, 2003). However, neither statement appears in Murti’s book.

術). By the early eighth century, however, when the Indian proponents of what some scholars call tantric or esoteric Buddhism, such as Śubhākarasimha (Shanwuwei 善無畏, 635–735), began arriving in the Tang capital of Chang’an, these ritual masters favored the word “mantra,” which was translated into Chinese as “true word” (*zhenyan*, Kor. *chinŏn* 眞言). In actual translation practice, however, all words referring to *dhāraṇī* and spells—including *vidyā*, rendered as “clarity” or “knowledge” (*ming*, Kor. *myōng* 明); “esoteric word” (*miyan*, Kor. *mirŏn* 密言); “esoteric speech” (*miyu*, Kor. *mirŏ* 密語)—were used interchangeably.<sup>4</sup> The *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* dates from this seminal period in East Asian Buddhism, when ritual specialists and proponents of tantric or esoteric practices made available variant versions of *dhāraṇī* and procedures for their use.

Although Baosiwei apparently translated the *dhāraṇī-sūtra* as early as 693 at Tiangong Monastery 天宮寺 in Chang’an, it was not officially published until 712. Baosiwei’s translation of the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* contains a short introduction, a list of gods, ghosts, ghouls, and demons that afflict and torment people in various ways, and a brief introduction to the benefits of the *dhāraṇī*, which concludes with the statement:

Noxious poisons (*yan’gu* 厭蠱) and curses (*zhouzu* 呪詛) will not be able to harm you. [The karmic retribution coming from] sins that you previously committed will all be eradicated. Poison will not be able to harm you and fire will not be able to burn you. Blades will not be able to cut you and water will not be able to drown you. You will not be diminished or injured by thunder and lightning, thunderbolts, and unseasonable storms and tempests.<sup>5</sup>

Baosiwei’s recension presents the long “basic spell” (*genben zhou*, Kor. *kūnbon chu* 根本呪) in 250 phrases and seven smaller spells, a note on pronunciation, several stories and tales illustrating the power of the *dhāraṇī*, and how to avail oneself of the power of the *dhāraṇī*, which provide greater detail regarding the benefits of the sutra. Individuals are encouraged to write or inscribe it on a scarf or sash and wear it

4. See Richard D. McBride II, “Dhāraṇī and Spells in Medieval Sinitic Buddhism,” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 28, no. 1 (2005): 85–114; Richard D. McBride II, “Practical Buddhist Thaumaturgy: The Great Dhāraṇī on Immaculately Pure Light in Medieval Sinitic Buddhism,” *Journal of Korean Religions* (Seoul) 2, no. 1 (March 2011): 33–73.

5. T. 1154, 20.637 b27–c4.

around their necks or arms.<sup>6</sup> The scripture concludes with detailed instructions on how to write or inscribe the spell and the construction of the altar (*tan* 壇; *maṇḍala*) needed to be able draw fully on the powers invested in this spell. Separate instructions are given on the deity to draw or inscribe in the heart of the spell in accordance to the social status or caste of the individual who would wear it on his person.<sup>7</sup>

Even less is known about Amoghavajra's retranslation of the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī*. Although no date of translation for this work in two rolls has been preserved, we know that it must have been translated after the publication of the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄 (Catalog of Śākyamuni's Teachings Compiled in the Kaiyuan Reign Period) in 730. Amoghavajra's master Vajrabodhi (Jin'gangzhi 金剛智, 671–741) reportedly amended Baosiwei's translation, having found a few passages missing.<sup>8</sup> Amoghavajra himself was a practitioner of a "Mahāpratisarā-mantra" (Ch. *dasuiqiu zhenyan* 大隨求真言), having chanted it for himself in 741 during a storm at sea. He presented a copy of the *dhāraṇī* in Indic script, probably in Siddham, to his royal patron the Emperor Suzong 肅宗 (r. 756–762) in 758, and chanted the spell in about 760 and 761 at the time of Suzong's passing, but no information remains as to when he might have translated the sutra.<sup>9</sup> Thus, Amoghavajra's translation probably dates from the late 750s and early 760s, although it could conceivably have been executed as late as prior to his passing in 774.

Amoghavajra changes the location where the Buddha preaches the *dhāraṇī-sūtra* as well as the types of beings who are in attendance so as to have the Buddha be abiding in *mahāvajrasamādhi* (*da jin'gang sanmodi* 大金剛三摩地, great adamant absorption) and to include several figures all prefixed with the word *vajra*, who specialize in the *mahāvajra-vimokṣa-mukha-samādhi* (*da jin'gang jietuo sanmodi* 大金剛解脫三摩地), and practice in places that use the word *vajra*.<sup>10</sup> He also expands the list of gods, spirits, and entities who participate in the assembly far beyond that of Baosiwei's translation, and includes

6. T. 1154, 20.637c6–24.

7. T. 1154, 20.641c29–642b4.

8. *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 1, T. 2061, 50.712a8; cf. Chou Yi-liang, "Tantrism in China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 8 (1945): 241–332, esp. 282.

9. *Song gaoseng zhuan* 1, T. 2061, 50.713a3–4; cf. Chou, "Tantrism in China," 295.

10. T. 1153, 20.616a–b.

the maiden \*Vajra-sanggara (Jin'gang shangqieluonü 金剛商羯羅女) along with sixty-four vajra-maidens (*jin'gangnü* 金剛女).<sup>11</sup> Simply stated, Amoghavajra impregnates the text with the rhetoric of things “vajra-esque” (*jin'gang* 金剛).

Although Baosiwei's translation is written in a prose format, much of Amoghavajra's translation is presented in *gāthā*-verse, and most of the second roll is presented entirely in verse.<sup>12</sup> Although in many other Mahāyāna sutras, most notably the *Lotus Sutra*, these *gāthā* passages are believed to have been the earliest literary strata and a holdover from the verbal transmission of the text, in Amoghavajra's translation, the use of *gāthās* appears to be deliberate.

The primary internal evidence suggesting the relevance of this *dhāraṇī* is found in the prose stories that are presented in Amoghavajra's translation immediately after the “great *dhāraṇī*” (*tae tarani*, Ch. *da tuoluoni* 大陀羅尼), which Baosiwei had called the “basic spell.” Like Baosiwei's translation, the Buddha explains the *dhāraṇī* and its lofty merits primarily to the god Mahābrahmā, and similarly he prefaces the stories by saying that

if people who even so little as hear this *dhāraṇī*, all of their sins and hindrances will all be eradicated. If they are able to read aloud and intone [this *dhāraṇī*] and receive and maintain it in their minds, you should know that these people will precisely [obtain] a body that is strong and firm as *vajra*, fire will not be able to burn them, knives will not be able to injure them, and poison will not be able to have toxic effect on them.<sup>13</sup>

Space does not permit a detailed comparison of the presentation of the stories in Baosiwei's translations to those in Amoghavajra's. What is most relevant is that for the most part the differences are minor and focus primarily on details. There is one major difference, nevertheless: Baosiwei's translation provides detailed instructions for the erection of an altar-space, a *maṇḍala*, and gives different instructions on objects and deities that are to be drawn on that space, invoked, and worshipped in the altar depending on one's sex or caste status, i.e., whether one is a wheel-turning king, a monk, a brahman, a *kṣatriya*, a commoner,

11. T. 1153, 20.617a1–2.

12. T. 1153, 20.617b–618b, 621a–b, 622b, 20.623b, and 623c–626a.

13. T. 1153, 20.620b19–21.

a young man or woman, a wife, and so forth.<sup>14</sup> No such altar or differences in procedures according to social status and sex is discussed in Amoghavajra's translation of the *dhāraṇī-sūtra*, although there are several descriptions of general ritual procedures aspirants are encouraged to follow to avail themselves of the power of the *dhāraṇī*. These prescriptions, which are discussed below, are very straightforward and need no explanation. Of course, it is possible that Amoghavajra merely crafted a separate text for use with a *maṇḍala* because such texts have been transmitted in Japan and discovered at Dunhuang.<sup>15</sup>

For instance, the first story, which illustrates the power of the *dhāraṇī* over fire, is the story of the Buddha's son Prince Rāhula.<sup>16</sup> When Rāhula was in his mother's womb in the great city of Kapilavastu, his mother, Yasodharā, threw herself into a fire pit. At that time Rāhula was inside his mother's womb contemplating and recollecting this *dhāraṇī*. The great fire pit instantly, spontaneously, became clear and cold, and the eight-foot-long pit immediately transformed into a pond of lotus flowers in blossom.<sup>17</sup> To illustrate the power of the *dhāraṇī* over poison, the story of the son of the Elder Bhogavati (Fengcai changzhezi 豐財長者子) is told. Bhogavati had learned an "esoteric word" from the Buddha and used the *vidyā* to lure the Dragon King Takṣaka to do his bidding. But because he did not place the *nāga* in a sphere of binding, the vicious snake bit him and he was on the verge of death. In his city there was an *upāsika* named Immaculate Purity (Wugou Qingjing 無

14. T. 1154, 20.641c29–642b4.

15. For the ritual text preserved in Japan, see *Jin'gangding yuga zuisheng mimi chengfo suiqiu zede shenbian jiachi chengjiu tuoluoni yigui* 金剛頂瑜伽最勝祕密成佛隨求即得神變加持成就陀羅尼儀軌, T. 1155, 20.644b–649b; Chen Huaiyu 陳懷宇, "Dunhuang P. 2058V wenshu zhongdi Jie dasuiqiu tan fayuanwen" 敦煌 P.2058V 文書中的《結大隨求壇發願文》[The vow text for binding the altar of Mahāpratisarā in Dunhuang manuscript P. 2058V], *Dunhuangxue* 敦煌學 27 (2008): 167–185.

16. Rāhula (Luohouluo 羅羅) was regarded as "first in esoteric practices" (*mixing diyi* 密行第一) among the Buddha's disciples. See *Zaoxiang liangdu jingjie* 造像量度經解 1, T. 1419, 21.949b12–13. He was the son of Śākyamuni, born, according to tradition, after his parents sought to bind the young Siddhārtha to life in the mundane world by marrying him to the beautiful young virgin Yasodharā. Soon after his son Rāhula's birth, Śākyamuni left the householder way of life and became a *śramaṇa*.

17. T. 1153, 20.620b.

垢清淨) who always chanted and carried this *Mahāpratisarā-vidyārāja-dhāraṇī* (Suiqiu daming tuoluoni 隨求大明陀羅尼). Because that *upāsika* was accomplished in great compassion, she had compassion for and took pity on him and went to where he was. By means of the empowerment of this *dhāraṇī*, suddenly, all at one time, the poison was eradicated and he was at peace once again as before. This is because, at that time, the elder's son received this *dhāraṇī* from Immaculate Purity and remembered and recollected it in his mind.<sup>18</sup>

Next is a story illustrating how one who possesses the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* can single-handedly protect his country from military invasion by making his body impregnable. In the city of *Vārāṇasī*, there was a king named Bestowed of Brahmā (Fanshi 梵施). At that time, the kings of neighboring countries formed an alliance, raised a great army, and came to conquer the king's lands. His counselors were distraught, but Bestowed of Brahmā told his ministers, "Do not be too hasty or agitated. I possess the *Mahāpratisarā-vidyārāja-dhāraṇī*. By means of the power of this *dhāraṇī* we will be able to smite our enemies from the outside and cause them to be burned to ashes." When the king's men declared that they had never heard of such a spell, Bestowed of Brahmā showed them the procedures:

Bestowed of Brahmā immediately bathed using perfumed water and put on new, clean clothes. According to the procedure, he inscribed this *dhāraṇī*, entered into a chest, and placed [the *dhāraṇī*] on top of his head. He regarded this *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* as armor for the protection of his body and forthwith went to the battlefield. The king, by himself, engaged in battle with the fourfold army and caused them to capitulate and take refuge in Bestowed of Brahmā.<sup>19</sup>

The closest Amoghavajra's translation comes to providing detailed ritual instructions is the following passage, which follows directly after the story of Bestowed of Brahmā:

O Mahābrahmā, you should know that this great unconquerable *dhāraṇī* that grants according to one's wishes (*dasuiqiu wunengsheng tuoluoni* 大隨求無能勝陀羅尼) is that which is empowered by the mind seal of all the *tathāgatas* and is possessing of great spiritual efficacy (*shenyan* 神驗). You should receive and maintain this [*dhāraṇī*] and you should know that this *dhāraṇī* is equal to all the

18. T. 1153, 20.620b–c.

19. T. 1153, 20.620c.

buddhas. Thereafter, during the time of the final dharma,<sup>20</sup> because people have short lifespans, slight merit, no merit, and do not cultivate merit, to sentient beings like these he provides these benefits, O Mahābrahmā, if you inscribe this *dhāraṇī* according to the procedure and bind it on to your shoulder or place it below your neck, you should know that these people become empowered by all the *tathāgatas*. You should know that these people become equal to the bodies of all the *tathāgatas*. You should know that these people become bodies firm and strong as *vajra*. You should know that these people become bodies of the womb of all the *tathāgatas*. You should know that these people become the eyes of all the *tathāgatas*. You should know that these people become the bodies of the flaming glory of all the *tathāgatas*. You should know that these people become [as if wearing] armor and helmets that cannot be penetrated. You should know that these people will be able to crush all their enemies. You should know that these people will be able burn away all of their sins and hindrances. You should know that these people will be able to purify the destiny of rebirth in hell.<sup>21</sup>

The anecdotal evidence supporting this assertion is the account of a monk who defied the teachings of the Buddha and broke monastic precepts by misappropriating the possessions of the sangha. The monk misused the property of the sangha for a long time, and afterwards was taken ill with a serious disease and received great pain and

20. The age of the final dharma (*malpōp*, Ch. *mofa* 末法) refers to the periodization developed to describe changes in the *buddhadharma* in the periods of time after the quiescence of the Buddha. These periods were differentiated into a three-era scheme of the age of the true dharma (*chōngbōp sidae*, Ch. *zhengfa shidai* 正法時代; Skt. *saddharma*), the age of the semblance dharma (*sangbōp*, Ch. *xiangfa* 像法), and the age of the final dharma (*malpōp*, Ch. *mofa* 末法). The final dharma is also called the age of the decline of the dharma (*maltae* 末代, *malse* 末世). In this time the *buddhadharma* declines. Although the teachings still remain, it is deprived of the practices that accompany the teachings and the realization of enlightenment (*chūng* 證) that is associated with the fruits (*kwa* 果) acquired by means of the causes (*in* 因) of those practices. There are many theories associated with this threefold periodization. The most prevalent has been that the age of the true dharma lasted for the first five hundred years after Śākyamuni's *parinirvāṇa*, the period of the semblance dharma lasted for the next thousand years, and the age of the final dharma follows that for the next ten thousand years. See also Jan Nattier, *Once Upon a Future Time: Studies in a Buddhist Prophecy of Decline* (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1991).

21. *T.* 1153, 20.620c–621a.

affliction. At that time because there was no one who could save that *bhikṣu* he let out a great scream of agony. In that place there was a certain *upāsaka* Brahman who heard his scream of agony and went to where this sick *bhikṣu* was. He aroused great compassion in him and wrote this *Mahāpratisarā-vidyārāja-dhāraṇī* and attached it below his neck. The monk's pain and affliction all ceased. Immediately his life came to an end and he was reborn in Avīcī hell.<sup>22</sup> The *bhikṣu*'s corpse was buried inside a *stūpa* and the *dhāraṇī* was worn on his body. As a result of this the *bhikṣu* entered hell, and all those who committed sins, those who were in pain and suffering, all of them were able to make it end and obtain peace and bliss. The fierce fires that exist in Avīcī hell, as a result of the power of the majestic virtue of this *dhāraṇī*, all were completely eradicated. Instead of using prose, Amoghavajra employs a *gāthā* to present Yama's jailor's assessment of the situation and his report of how the powers of all the Buddhist hells have been overturned by this one *dhāraṇī*. Thus, this *bhikṣu* who availed himself of the power of the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* was eventually reborn as "the godling Mahāpratisarā of the first body" (*xianshen sui qiu tianzi* 先身隨求天子), thus describing the genesis of a new deity.<sup>23</sup>

More promised protections, such as safety from lightning, thunder, and other natural troubles, are described in the stories that come at the conclusion of the first roll. There is the story of an elder named Vimala-śamkha (Weimoluoshangqu 尾羅商佉), a wealthy merchant prince who protected himself and his merchant companion from the

22. Avīcī hell (*mugan chi*, Ch. *wujian di* 無間獄; also *abi chiok*, Ch. *abi diyu* 阿鼻地獄) is the last and largest of the eight hot hells. It is shaped like a cube, twenty thousand *yojanas* long on each side, and its bottom is forty thousand *yojanas* beneath the earth's surface. People who commit the five heinous crimes, destroy *stūpas*, slander the holy community of monks and nuns, or wantonly waste materials gifted to the monastic community are reborn in this hell. Its name, which means "no intermission," derives from the fact that the suffering and torture that take place in this hell are constant. The denizens are stripped of their skins; their skins are tanned and turned into leather straps that are used to bind them. They are loaded like carts, and their bodies are cast into the flames. The *yakṣas* who guard and torture them heat up iron spears and poke them through the nose, mouth, stomach, and so forth, all over their bodies, and also throw them into the air. See *Chang ahan jing* 長阿含經 (*Dirghāgama*) 19, T. 1, 1.124c28–125a27.

23. T. 1153, 20.621a–b.

treacherous *timingila* fish<sup>24</sup>—which sought to destroy his boat by instigating a lightning storm—by attaching the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* to the mast of the boat.<sup>25</sup>

The sutra promises that if you inscribe this *dhāraṇī* and place it on the flag pole, you will be able stop all evil wind, hail, rain, unseasonal coldness and heat, thunder and lightning. You will be able to stop the battles and verbal disputes of all the gods. You will be able to get rid of all mosquitos and gnats, locusts, and all other kinds of insects that eat sprouts and crops; all should withdraw and scatter. The sharp teeth and claws of all evil beasts will not be able to injure you. All sprouts, crops, flowers, fruits, and medicinal herbs will increase and grow in their taste, fragrance, beauty, softness, luster, and smoothness. If within a country drought and flood have not been brought under control, as a result of the majestic power of this *dhāraṇī*, the dragon kings will joyfully send rain and moisture in their appointed times.<sup>26</sup>

Another general procedure Amoghavajra's translation provides is an explanation of how the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* would grant people anything in accordance to their wishes.

O Mahābrahmā, and again, if there is a place where this great *dhāraṇī* has been circulated, once all sentient beings know this, they should make offerings of all kinds of the most sublime incense, flowers, banners, and canopies. They should take the most superior brightly colored silks and wrap them up and bind them together and enshrine them inside a *stūpa* or place them in a flag pole. With all manner of music, songs, offer praises, circumambulate, and make offerings. If with prudence and sincerity they bow in worship, the things those sentient beings fervently desire in the contemplations of their hearts will all be satisfied. If they are able to inscribe it according to the procedure and carry it on their bodies, they will obtain what they desire. If they desire a son, they will obtain a son. If they desire a daughter, they will obtain a daughter. If they cherish them in their

24. The *timingila* fish (*dimiyu* 低彌魚, *dimiliyu* 低彌黎魚, also *dimiyiluo* 低迷宜羅 and *dimiqiluo* 低彌祇羅) is translated into Chinese as “swallow fish” (*tunyu* 吞魚). It is imagined to be a great and large fish, so large that it can swallow other fish and sea creatures whole. See *Yiqie jing yinyi* 一切經音義 26, T. 2128, 54.480a8.

25. T. 1153, 20.621b–c.

26. T. 1153, 20.621c.

wombs tranquilly they will increase gradually, and when they reach their fullness they will be born with peace and bliss.<sup>27</sup>

Although there are a few more stories illustrating the power of the *dhāraṇī*, the language of the sutra is abundantly clear. The *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* is both a spell and a talisman. It is a text that the mere possession of which grants protection and blessings, and the ritualized use of this talismanic text confers all things necessary for one to prepare for buddhahood. The stories I have presented clearly illustrate that one does not have to be a monk initiated into any “esoteric” rites to enjoy the protection and blessing of this *dhāraṇī*. Even Amoghavajra’s translation of the text, which, at the beginning at least, seems to be “esotericized” because of its rhetorical use of *vajra*-this and *vajra*-that, ultimately focuses on very mundane and straightforward ritual practices. This is not “esoteric” or “tantric” Buddhism, which promotes transgressive behavior or ritual that empowers an individual to become a *tathāgata* through the ritualized recreation of the body, speech, and mind of the Buddha;<sup>28</sup> rather, it is the practical Buddhist thaumaturgy of mainstream Mahāyāna Buddhist ritual.

#### THE MAHĀPRATISARĀ-DHĀRAṆĪ IN MEDIEVAL SINIC BUDDHIST HISTORY

The famous Huayan 華嚴 exegete Fazang 法藏 (643–712) seems to have had access to an early version of Baosiwei’s translation of the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī*. The Silla literatus Ch’oe Ch’iwŏn 崔致遠 (857–d. after 908), who was educated in China from age twelve, passed the Tang civil service exam, and served in the Tang bureaucracy until 885, wrote a separate biography (*biezhuan* 別傳) of Fazang prior to his return to Silla Korea. Ch’oe reports that due to the lack of snow in the winter and rain in the spring of the second year of the Jingyun reign period (January 24–April 22, 711), a severe drought was imminent in the region surrounding the Tang capital Chang’an. Emperor Ruizong

27. T. 1153, 20.622c.

28. Ronald M. Davidson, *Indian Esoteric Buddhism: A Social History of the Tantric Movement* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 2002), 113–144. For a general discussion of the connection between tantra and transgressive behavior, see Paul Williams with Anthony Tribe, *Buddhist Thought: A Complete Introduction to the Indian Tradition* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), 192–244, esp. 231–242.

睿宗 (r. 684–690, 710–712) summoned Fazang to the inner palace for recommendations on efficacious rituals by which snow or rain could be summoned and the calamity averted. Fazang reportedly recommended using the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī*, which Ch’oe Ch’iwŏn calls the *Suiqiu zede Dazhizai tuoluoni* 隨求則得大自在陀羅尼. Although the title is slightly different, it is probably the same text as Baosiwei’s translation.<sup>29</sup> Fazang advised that an altar be erected so that Buddhist monks could copy and recite the sutra before throwing texts of the *dhāraṇī* into the dragon pool, and he predicted that following these ritual procedures would cause some snow to fall. Having faith in Fazang’s advice, Ruizong ordered that these *dhāraṇī* procedures be carried out under Fazang’s supervision beside the dragon pool in the vicinity of Wuzhen Monastery 悟真寺 in the Lantian 藍田 Valley on Mt. Zhongnan 終南山, the most sacred mountain in the capital region. The ritual employing the *Mahāpratisarā* to pray for snow was a success, and the emperor encouraged Fazang to continue performing the ritual until it had snowed six times and snow was plentiful throughout the realm.<sup>30</sup>

A few intriguing and problematic elements are found in this anecdote. Although Baosiwei’s translation describes several uses of the *Mahāpratisarā* for practical Buddhist thaumaturgy, nowhere does the text describe utilizing the *dhāraṇī* in ritual procedures to supplicate for rain or snow. Apparently a truly efficacious *dhāraṇī* can be applied in any way to any circumstances, not merely those described by the Buddha in the text of the sutra itself. Furthermore, this anecdote demonstrates that Buddhist exegetes such as Fazang, as Chen Jinhua has cogently argued, could be and were much more than mere philosophers—and that efficacious ritual procedures were familiar to eminent monks of intellectual traditions.<sup>31</sup>

In addition, Fazang’s use of this text may explain why the Silla monk Poch’ŏn 寶川 (fl. 691–737) was familiar with it in his Hwaŏm community on Mt. Odae 五臺山, in the northeastern region of Silla Korea, during

29. See Chen Jinhua, “More Than a Philosopher: Fazang (643–712) as a Politician and a Miracle Worker,” *History of Religions* 42, no. 4 (May 2003): 320–358, esp. 354–355.

30. See *Tang Taech’ŏnboksa kosaju pŏn’gyŏng Taedŏk Pŏpchang hwasang chŏn* 唐大薦福寺故寺主翻經大德法藏和傳, T. 2054, 50.284b22–29.

31. See Chen Jinhua, “More Than a Philosopher”; and Chen, *Philosopher, Practitioner, Politician: the Many Lives of Fazang (643–712)*, *Sinica Leidensia* 75 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2007).

the first half of the eighth century. According to the *Samguk yusa* 三國遺事 (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms), a late thirteenth-century collection of tales and narratives compiled by the Buddhist monk Iryōn 一然 (1206–1289) and edited further by his disciple Hon'gu 混丘 (also called Mugŭk 無極, 1250–1322) and perhaps also by other later editors, the monk Poch'ōn, a royal prince of the Silla 新羅 kingdom (ca. 300–935), established a hermitage where he worshipped manifestations of buddhas and bodhisattvas associated with the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, such as Mañjuśrī, Avalokiteśvara, Amitābha, and Vairocana, on Mt. Odae, the Mt. Wutai located in Silla. Iryōn reports that in the first half of the eighth century this monk chanted the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* “as his task (ōp 業) both day and night” and that he explained its meaning to a deity (*sin* 神) in a cave where he had experienced strange phenomena. If this anecdotal account is historically accurate, the version of the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* that Poch'ōn would have had access to would have been Baosiwei's translation made at Tiangong Monastery.<sup>32</sup>

Ŭisang 義湘 (625–702), the recognized founder of the Hwaōm 華嚴 tradition in Silla, was a colleague of Fazang; both were students of the Huayan master Zhiyan 智嚴 (602–668) during the 660s. Although Ŭisang returned to Silla after Zhiyan's passing, he and Fazang kept in touch by means of letters carried by Ŭisang's disciples who were sent to study in Tang. An example of one such letter from Fazang to Ŭisang has been preserved and was studied in detail by Antonino Forte.<sup>33</sup> Although the connections between Ŭisang and Poch'ōn are tenuous and depend solely on their shared interest in the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, it is possible that either Fazang or Fazang's disciples recommended the text to Ŭisang's disciples, or that news of Fazang's successful use of the *Mahāpratisarā* in making snow in 711 was reported to the Silla court and introduction of the *dhāraṇī* followed soon thereafter. Silla monks are known to have been interested in *dhāraṇī* texts. For instance, a well-known account recorded in the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* describes the

32. *Samguk yusa* 3, T. 2039, 49.998c–999b.

33. See Antonino Forte, “Un gioiello della rete di Indra. La lettera che dalla Cina Fazang inviò a Ŭisang in Corea,” in *Tang China and Beyond: Studies on East Asia from the Seventh Century to the Tenth Century*, ed. Antonino Forte (Kyoto: Istituto Italiano di Cultura Scuola di Studi sull'Asia Orientale, 1988), 35–93; and Forte, *A Jewel of Indra's Net: The Letter of Fazang in China to Ŭisang in Korea*, ISEAS Occasional Papers Series 8 (Kyoto: Italian School of East Asian Studies, 2000).

otherwise unknown Silla monk Myōnghyo's 明曉 traveling to Tang China and requesting the imperial sutra-translation bureau to translate the *Amoghapāśa-dhāraṇī* (*Bukong juansuo tuoluoni jing* 不空羼索陀羅尼經, T. 1096) in the third month of 700.<sup>34</sup>

Vajrabodhi is said to have reviewed Baosiwei's translation in about 730 and noticed that some passages were missing. He amended the missing portions of the work. Zanning 贊寧 (919–1001) goes on to note that all of the *dhāraṇīs* and mantras translated by Vajrabodhi were effective whenever they were applied.<sup>35</sup> As mentioned above, Amoghavajra chanted the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* to calm a raging storm at sea during a voyage to what was probably the Malay Peninsula in 741.<sup>36</sup> In 758, Amoghavajra presented to Tang emperor Suzong a copy of the *dhāraṇī* in Indic script, probably Siddhaṃ, and requested that he carry it with him.<sup>37</sup> Later, in 760–761, just before Suzong's passing, the emperor was ill, and Amoghavajra exorcised the afflicting spirits by chanting the “Mahāpratisarā-mantra” seven times.<sup>38</sup>

Aside from these few narratives describing the use of the spirit-spell in extant Buddhist literature, a number of impressive woodblock prints of the *dhāraṇī* were discovered at Dunhuang by Paul Pelliot and are presently preserved in the Musée Guimet in France: EO 3639, dated to 980; MG 17688; and MG 17689. These first two prints contained a passage in Chinese that appears to be a paraphrase or a pastiche of phrases from Baosiwei's translation.<sup>39</sup> Two prints of the *dhāraṇī* dating to 1001 and 1005 are preserved in a Suzhou museum. These are related to Amoghavajra's translation of the sutra. One print dated to 926–927 was discovered in a tomb in Luoyang in 1985; it seems related to the Dunhuang prints. Two prints were discovered in tombs in Xi'an, one of

34. *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 9, T. 2154, 55.566b16–24.

35. *Song gaoseng zhuan* 1, T. 2061, 50.712a8; cf. Chou, “Tantrism in China,” 282.

36. *Da Tang gudade zeng sikong dabian zhengguangzhi Bukong sanzang xingchuang* 大唐故大德贈司空大辨正廣智不空三藏行狀, T. 2056, 50.292c27; and *Song gaoseng zhuan* 1, T. 2061, 50.712b23.

37. *Daizong chao zeng sikong dabian zhengguangzhi sanzang heshang biaozi ji* 代宗朝贈司空大辨正廣智三藏和上表制集, T. 2120, 52.829b2 (進虎魄像并梵書隨求真言狀一首); cf. Chou, “Tantrism in China,” 322 (Appendix N).

38. *Song gaoseng zhuan* 1, T. 2061, 50.713a3–4; cf. Chou, “Tantrism in China,” 295.

39. Cf. T. 1154, 20.641b; see also Jean-Pierre Drège, “Les Premières Impressions des *Dhāraṇī* de Mahāpratisarā,” *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 11 (1999–2000): 25–44.

which was discovered in 1967. A final print was discovered in Sichuan in 1944, and although some scholars presented arguments for it being the oldest woodblock printed material dating to the middle of the eighth century, Jean-Pierre Drège argues persuasively on stylistic grounds that it was probably not carved and printed before the tenth century.<sup>40</sup> In his recent book, Paul Copp weaves translations from salient passages in *dhāraṇī-sūtras* and ritual manuals together with descriptions of cultic artifacts found in funerary contexts to discuss the wearing of *dhāraṇī* amulets, incantation cords and armllets, amulet sheets, manuscripts, and their relationship with various types of altars to present a dynamic image of a host of ritual and devotional practices associated with the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī*.<sup>41</sup>

In 2000, several sheets of the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* printed in Koryŏ in 1184 were discovered in the chest cavity storehouse (*pokchang* 伏藏/腹藏) of a wooden seated image of Amitābha at Chaun Monastery 紫雲寺 in Kwangju 光州, South Korea, when it was scheduled to be re-gilded. The Korean woodblock print has the title “Yŏŭi poin taesugu tarani pŏmja kundara sang” 如意寶印 大隨求陀羅尼梵字 軍陀羅相 (As You Wish Jeweled Seal, *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* in Brahmā script [Siddham], *kuṇḍala-lakṣana* [in the form of a ring]). The *dhāraṇī* in Siddham is in a circle around an image of a bodhisattva in the center, and a colophon with a date is in bottom left corner.<sup>42</sup> Therefore, this material evidence suggests that there was an audience for the *dhāraṇī* and its procedures because woodblock editions would not have been carved for the sutra

40. See Drège, “Les Premières Impressions des *Dhāraṇī* de Mahāpratisarā,” 25–44. For earlier scholarship on the woodblock prints of the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* discovered in Dunhuang, see Matsumoto Eiichi 松本英一, *Tonkōga no kenkyū* 敦煌畫の研究 [Research on Dunhuang Paintings], 2 vols. (Tokyo: Tōhō Bunka Gakuin, 1937), 2:598–609; and Jiang Fu 蔣斧, *Shazhou wenlu* 沙洲文錄 [Literary Records of Shanzhou] (Shangyu: Luoshi 羅氏, 1924), 42b.

41. Copp, *The Body Incantatory*, 59–140.

42. See Song Ilgi 宋日基, “Kwangju Chaunsa Mokcho Amit’abul chwasang ūi pokchang chŏnjŏk ko” 光州 紫雲寺 木造阿彌陀佛坐像의 伏藏典籍考 [A study of the records found in the chest cavity storehouse of the seated wooden image of Amitābha at Chaun Monastery in Kwangju], *Sŏji hakpo* 書誌學報 28 (2004): 79–113; and *Chisim kwimyŏngnye-Han’guk ūi pulbokchang* 至心歸命禮-韓國의 佛腹臟 [Rites of Embracing Buddhism with an Utmost Mind: Chest Cavity Storehouses of Korea] (Yesan County, South Ch’ungch’ŏng Province: Sudeoksa Kŭnyŏk Sŏngbogwan [Sudeoksa Museum], 2004), 95–123.

if there were not a market for it. This is perhaps the strongest evidence of the popularity of the *dhāraṇī*. Furthermore, that a few prints have been found in tombs suggests that the practice of burying people with a print of the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī*, an adaptation of the story in the sutra regarding the evil monk who was saved from hell, might have been a common Buddhist funerary practice in the early Song 宋 period (960–1279).<sup>43</sup> The ritual placement of the *dhāraṇī* in the chest cavity to empower a buddha image, however, shows that it was believed to possess great talismanic power.<sup>44</sup>

The Bodhisattva Mahāpratisarā (Dasuiqiu pusa, Jpn. Daizuiku bosatsu 大隨求菩薩), other than his appearances in the two recensions of the sutras, is depicted on several of the printed *dhāraṇī*. He first appears in other Buddhist literature in works by Yicao 義操 (d. 830) and Faquan 法全 (fl. 800–870) in the ninth century.<sup>45</sup> Whether the Bodhisattva Mahāpratisarā, who is typically depicted as a female in Japan, is an evolutionary development from the godling Mahāpratisarā (Suiqiu tianzi 隨求天子) of Baosiwei's and Amoghavajra's translations is uncertain. The Bodhisattva Mahāpratisarā is depicted on a number of the woodblock prints: the Dunhuang print dated to 980, Musée Guimet's EO 3639 and MG 17689, and the *dhāraṇī* dated to 926–927 discovered in

43. See Katherine R. Tsiang, “Buddhist Printed Images and Texts of the Eighth–Tenth Centuries: Typologies of Replication and Representation,” in *Esoteric Buddhism at Dunhuang: Rites and Teachings for This Life and Beyond*, ed. Matthew T. Kapstein and Sam van Schaik (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010), 201–252; Paul F. Copp, “Altar, Amulet, Icon Transformation in *Dhāraṇī* Amulet Culture, 740–980,” *Cahiers d'Extreme-Asie* 17 (2008) [2010]: 239–264.

44. Although some scholars assert that the earliest known example of *pokchang* in Korea dates to the mid-eighth century, due to inscriptional evidence that a *Wugou jingguang datuoluoni jing* 無垢淨光大陀羅尼經 (*Dhāraṇī* Sutra on Immaculately Pure Light, also known as the Pure Light *Dhāraṇī* Sutra) was enshrined in an image of Vairocana in 766, the term *pokchang* seems to date from the Koryŏ period, from which there are several material examples. See Lee Seonyong, “History of the *Bokjang* Tradition in Korea,” *Journal of Korean Art & Archeology* 7 (2013): 60–75.

45. See, for instance, *Taizang jin'gangjiao faminghao* 胎藏金剛教法名號, T. 864B, 18.204a10; and *Dapiluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing lianhua taizang beisheng manduoluo guangda chengjiu yigui gongyang fangbianhui* 大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經蓮華胎藏悲生曼羅廣大成就儀軌供養方便會 1, T. 852A, 18.115b6.

Luoyang.<sup>46</sup> The gender of the bodhisattva on these prints, however, appears to be male, or his sex is ambiguous. He is represented with eight arms: the main right hand holds a five-pointed *vajra* (thunderbolt) to his breast; the main left hand holds a lotus surmounted by a *cakra* (wheel). The remaining right hands hold a rope, a sword, and an elephant goad. The remaining left hands hold a trident, a *cintāmaṇi* (wish-fulfilling gem), and a sutra roll. This iconography was then transmitted to Japan, but in Japan, the Bodhisattva Daizuiku was depicted in female form and confused with the Bodhisattva *Simhanāda* (Jpn. Shishiku bosatsu 獅子吼菩薩). *Simhanāda* typically carries a pronged staff and is an incarnation of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara.<sup>47</sup> The image of the bodhisattva depicted in the Korean woodblock print of 1184 might be the Bodhisattva *Mahāpratisarā*, but he only has two arms and does not appear to be holding anything in his hands.

If, as I reported above, Vajrabodhi supplemented or corrected Baosiwei's translation, what version of Baosiwei's translation was preserved in the Chinese Buddhist canon as Baosiwei's translation (T. 1154): Baosiwei's original translation or Vajrabodhi's corrected version? If it is Baosiwei's original edition, what happened to Vajrabodhi's corrected version? Was Vajrabodhi's corrected version really a completely revised and new translation, like the translation attributed to Amoghavajra (T. 1153), or has it been lost? Many texts and translations attributed to Amoghavajra are thought by scholars to be either forgeries or misattributed.<sup>48</sup> The circumstances surrounding the received edition of Amoghavajra's translation are completely unknown. Could the translation attributed to Amoghavajra actually

46. See Drège, "Les Premières Impressions des *Dhāraṇī* de *Mahāpratisarā*," 37 fig. 2, 39 fig. 4, and 42 fig. 7.

47. See Mochizuki Shinkō 望月信亨, *Bukkyō daijiten* 佛教大辭典 [Encyclopedia of Buddhism], rev. ed., 10 vols. (Kyoto: Seikai Seiten Kankō Kyōkai, 1954–1963), 4:3292–3294. See also Louis Frédéric, *Buddhism: Flammarian Iconographic Guides* (Paris and New York: Flammarian, 1995), 230.

48. Because little critical research has been carried out on Amoghavajra's works, scholars recognize that "a certain portion of the rather technical works was probably fabricated by Amoghavajra's disciples." See Martin Lehnert, "Amoghavajra: His Role in and Influence on the Development of Buddhism," in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia: A Handbook for Scholars*, ed. Charles D. Orzech, Henrik H. Sørensen, and Richard K. Payne (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2010), 351–359, esp. 357–359.

be Vajrabodhi's corrected version? Although it is possible that the received version of Baosiwei's translation (T. 1154) is the edition corrected by Vajrabodhi, Amoghavajra's received translation (T. 1153) is probably not Vajrabodhi's corrected translation because large portions of the narrative are composed in *gāthā* form, not found in Baosiwei's translation, which suggests that it represents an attempt to preserve something more of the language and style of an Indian version of the sutra—or, more likely, it is an elaboration of the earlier text, similar to Amoghavajra's retranslation of the *Sutra for Humane Kings*.<sup>49</sup> Regardless, both translations were probably edited not only by the compilers of the Song Buddhist canon published in 983 but also by Sugi 守其 (fl. 1214–1259), the chief editor of the second Korean Buddhist canon (*Koryŏ taejanggyŏng* 高麗大藏經, K 454 and K 1349, respectively).<sup>50</sup>

#### THE MAHĀPRATISARĀ-DHĀRAṆĪ AND MANTRA COLLECTIONS IN CHOSŎN KOREA

In China, the received edition of Baosiwei's translation of the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* appears to have been just as important if not more important than the received version of Amoghavajra's translation. In Korea, however, the received edition of Amoghavajra's translation—or at least the name Amoghavajra—was more favored in the Buddhist community during the Chosŏn period. Special collections including a transliteration of the main *dhāraṇī* attributed to Amoghavajra and related ritual texts continued to be published in Korea at least six times. Although the dates of two editions are unclear or unknown, woodblocks were cut, and the *dhāraṇī* was published either by itself or

49. For a study of both versions of the *Sūtra for Humane Kings*, see Charles D. Orzech, *Politics and Transcendent Wisdom: The Scripture for Humane Kings in the Creation of Chinese Buddhism* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998).

50. For a discussion of Sugi see Robert E. Buswell, Jr., "Sugi's Collation Notes to the Koryŏ Buddhist Canon and Their Significance for Buddhist Textual Criticism," *The Journal of Korean Studies* 9, no. 1 (Fall 2004): 129–184; See Lewis R. Lancaster with Sung-Bae Park, comp., *The Korean Buddhist Canon: A Descriptive Catalogue* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1979), 156, 440.

as part of a collection of *dhāraṇīs* and mantras in 1476, 1485, 1550, 1569, 1635, 1729, and 1854.<sup>51</sup>

These mantra collections are not usually utilized or analyzed by scholars of Korean religion; rather, they are almost exclusively studied by scholars of linguistics, calligraphy, and those interested in the development and evolution of the Korean vernacular script. (The script was originally called *hunmin chōngūm* 訓民正音 [correct sounds to instruct the people], but now commonly called *han'gūl* in South Korea, although scholars tend to use abbreviation *chōngūm* 正音 to differentiate it from the modern forms of the letters.<sup>52</sup>) Scholars of religion and history have really only looked at these texts in a broad sense to discuss

51. Henrik H. Sørensen, “A Bibliographical Survey of Buddhist Ritual Texts from Korea,” *Cahiers d’Extrême Asie* 6 (1991–92): 159–200, esp. 174n66; Tongguk Taehakkyo Pulgyo Munhwa Yōn’guwōn 東國大學校佛教文化研究院 [Center for Buddhist Culture, Dongguk University], ed., *Kankoku Bussho kaidai jiten* 韓國書解題典 [Dictionary of Synopses of Korean Buddhist Books] (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1982), 371. I would like to thank Sin Haech’ōl, the librarian who controls the old books collection at Dongguk University, for allowing me to view several of these texts in their possession on June 29, 2011 and June 27, 2014.

52. See, for example, An Pyōnghūi 安秉禧, “Han’gūlp’an Odae chinōn e taehayō” 한글판 <오대진언 (五大眞言)>에 대하여 [On the Korean print of the *Five Great Mantras*], *Han’gūl* 한글 195 (March 1987): 141–164; An Chuho 안주호 (Ahn Joo Hoh), “Mugyebon *Chinōn chip yōn’gu*” 무계본(無界本) <진언집(眞言集)> 연구 [Research on the borderless recension of the *Mantra Collection*], *Ōnōhak* 언어학 13, no. 1 (2005): 91–105; An Chuho, “Sangwōnsabon *Odae chinōn ūi p’yogibōp yōn’gu*” 상원사본 <오대진언>의 표기법 연구 [Research on the spelling system of the Sangwōnsa recension of the *Five Great Mantras*], *Ōnōhak* 언어학 11, no. 1 (October 2003): 69–87; An Chuho, “Odae chinōn e nat’anan p’yogi ūi t’ūkching yōn’gu: Sōngsambon kwa Sangwōnsabon ūl chungsim ūro” <오대진언>에 나타난 표기의 특징 연구 -성암본과 상원사본을 중심으로 [Research on the special features of the spelling appearing in the *Five Great Mantras*], *Han’guk ōhak* 한국어학 25 (November 2004): 221–248; Nam Kyōngnam 남경란, “Odae chinōn ‘Yōnghōm yakch’o’ ūi kugōhakchōk yōn’gu” << 오대진언 (五大眞言) >> < 영험약초 (靈驗略抄) > 의 국어학적 연구 [Research on the “Efficacious Extracts” of the *Five Great Mantras*], *Han’guk chōnt’ong munhwa yōn’gu* 한국전통문화연구 13 (1999): 231–282; Kim Mubong 김무봉, “Yōnghōm yakch’o ōnhae yōn’gu” 『영험약초언해(靈驗略抄諺解)』 연구 [Research on the *Vernacular Translation of Efficacious Extracts*], *Han’gugō munhak yōn’gu* 한국어문학연구 57 (August 2011): 5–47.

the printing and publication of Buddhist texts in the late Chosŏn period and the popularity of mantra collections.<sup>53</sup>

The *Sugu yŏnghŏm* 隨求靈驗 (Efficacious Resonance of the Mahāpratisarā) is believed by scholars to be one of the oldest Buddhist texts of the Chosŏn period written using both Sino-Korean logographs and the vernacular script, having been first published in 1476.<sup>54</sup> The Dongguk University library preserves an almost complete copy of the 1569 reprinting of this document, which was originally published at Ssanggye Monastery 雙溪寺 in Ŭnjin 恩津 in Ch'ungch'ŏng Province.<sup>55</sup>

53. Nam Hee-sook (Nam Hŭisuk) 南希叔, “Chosŏn hugi Pulsŏ kanhaeng yŏn'gu: Chinin chip kwa Pulgyo ūisik chip ūl chungsim ūro” 朝鮮後期 佛書刊行 研究: 眞言集과 佛教儀式集을 中心으로 [Research on the publication of Buddhist books during the late Chosŏn period: Centered around collections of mantras and Buddhist ritual manuals] (PhD diss., Seoul National University, 2004); Nam Hee-sook, “16–18 segi Pulgyo ūisik chip ūi kanhaeng kwa Pulgyo taejunghwa” 16–18 세기 佛教儀式集의 간행과 佛教大衆化 [The publication of Buddhist ritual procedures during the 16–18th centuries and the popularization of Buddhism], *Han'guk munhwa* 韓國文化34 (December 2004): 97–165; Nam Hee-sook, “Chosŏn sidae tarani kyŏng · chinŏn chip ūi kanhaeng kwa kŭ yŏksajŏk ūi” 朝鮮時代 陀羅尼經·眞言集의 간행과 그 역사적 의의 [The publication of *dhāraṇī-sūtras* and collections of mantras during the Chosŏn period and their historical significance], *Hŏedang hakpo* 회당학보 5 (2000): 67–105. In English see Henrik H. Sørensen, “A Bibliographical Survey of Buddhist Ritual Texts from Korea,” *Cahiers d'Extrême Asie* 6 (1991–92): 159–200; Nam Hee-sook, “Publication of Buddhist Literary Texts: The Publication and Popularization of Mantra Collections and Buddhist Ritual Texts in the Late Chosŏn Dynasty,” *Journal of Korean Religions* 3, no. 1 (April 2012): 9–27.

54. An Pyŏnghŭi 安秉禧, “Han'gŭlp'an Odae chinŏn e taehayŏ” 한글판 <오대진언 (五大眞言)>에 대하여 [On the Korean print of the *Five Great Mantras*], *Han'gŭl* 한글 195 (March 1987): 141–164; Kim Mubong, *Yŏkchu Sangwŏnsa chungch'ang kwŏnsŏnmun Yŏnghŏm yakch'o Odae chinŏn*, 80.

55. Hong Yunsik 洪潤植, “Chosŏn sidae chinŏn chip ūi kanhaeng kwa ūisik ūi milgyohwa” 朝鮮時代 眞言集의 刊行과 儀式의 密教化 [The publication of mantra collections in the Chosŏn period and the esotericization of Buddhist ritual], in *Han'guk Milgyo sasang yŏn'gu* 韓國密教思想研究 [Research on the Esoteric Buddhist thought of Korea], ed. Pulgyo Munhwa Yŏn'guwŏn 佛教文化研究院 [Buddhist Culture Research Center] (Seoul: Tongguk Taehakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu, 1986), 417–454, esp. 421. A photolithographic copy of the 1569 woodblock edition of the *Sugu yŏnghŏm* is published in Kim Mubong, *Yŏkchu Sangwŏnsa chungch'ang kwŏnsŏnmun Yŏnghŏm yakch'o Odae chinŏn*, 86–138 (recto).

The text is divided into four parts. The first part is an introduction that contains a petition informing the buddhas and bodhisattvas and requesting their protection before one chants the sutra (*kyech'ong* 啓請; Skt. *adhyeṣanā*) attributed to Amoghavajra (pp. 1a–3b), a short version of the great *dhāraṇī* that confers whatever one wants (*Taesugu taemyōngwang taedarani* 大隨求大明王大陀羅尼), and a statement that the larger *dhāraṇī* that follows was translated by Amoghavajra (pp. 3b–4b). The second part is comprised of the great *dhāraṇī* from the text written solely in the Korean vernacular (pp. 4a–14b), as well as seven other mantras with their names provided first in the Korean vernacular script in one line and in Sino-Korean in the following line and the spells themselves in the Korean vernacular (pp. 15a–17b). The third part of the text is the “Syugu ryōnghōm” 슈구령험 (Efficacious Resonance of the Mahāpratisarā), which explains why and how to use this spell in an efficacious manner (pp. 18a–26b). This section will be discussed in conjunction with a translation below. The fourth part is a vernacular transcription of the *Uṣṇīṣavijaya-dhāraṇī* (*Pulchōng chonsūng tarani* 佛頂尊勝陀羅尼) (pp. 27a–29a). Although no information is listed regarding who executed the transliteration of the *dhāraṇīs* and wrote the section titled “Efficacious Resonance,” because the material is closely related to material in the *Odae chinōn* published in 1485 under the guidance of Queen Insu 仁粹大妃, which will be treated below, it was probably developed by the influential monk Hakcho 學祖 (fl. 1464–1520).<sup>56</sup>

56. Hakcho was a monk of the early Chosŏn period who renovated Yujōm Monastery on Mt. Kūmgang. His pen names (*ho*) were Tūnggok 燈谷 and “the man from Mt. Hwangak” 黃岳山人. During the reign of King Sejo 世祖 (r. 1455–1468), he published translations of Buddhist scriptures translated into the Korean vernacular script in conjunction with the famous monks of the age. In 1464, he took King Sejo on a trip to Pokch'ōn Monastery 福泉寺 on Mt. Songni 俗離山 and held a great dharma assembly with such monks as Hyegak Sinmi 慧覺信眉 (fl. 1455–1468) and Hagyoŭl 學悅 (fl. 1455–1468). In 1467, he began renovating Yujōm Monastery 楡岾寺 on Mt. Kūmgang 金剛山 under orders from King Sejo. In 1487, he renovated the pavilion for the storage of the woodblocks of the Korean Buddhist canon (*Taejanggyōng p'an'gak* 大藏經板閣) at Haein Monastery 海印寺 under the royal command of Queen Dowager Chōnghŭi 貞喜王后. In 1500, he printed three copies (*sambu* 三部) of the Buddhist canon at Haein Monastery under orders from Sinbi 愼妃 and wrote a postscript (*palmun* 跋文). He also translated the *Nammyōng chip* 南明

Let us return for a moment to the issue of the attribution of this text to Amoghavajra. The petition (*kyech'öng*), which is in the form of a *gāthā*-poem with seven logographs per line, has a title suggesting that it was presented to the Tang court in association with a translation of the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī*: “Official Petition Regarding the *Dhāraṇī* for the Accomplishment of Spiritual Metamorphosis and Empowerment of Conferring Whatever One Wishes, for the Achievement of the Most Superior Esoteric Buddhahood of the Yoga of the Adamantine Pinnacle, Spoken by the Buddha” (*Pulsöl kūmgangjōng yuga ch'oesūng pimil sōngbul sugu chūktūk sinbyōn kaji sōngch'wi tarani kyech'öng* 佛說金剛頂瑜伽最勝秘密成佛隨求即得神變加持成就陀羅尼啓請). This title is different than the received title of Amoghavajra's translation and suggests a link to the so-called Vajraśekhara (*jin'gangding* 金剛頂) family of scriptures.<sup>57</sup> The petition is neither mentioned in *Daizong chaozeng sikong dabian zhengguangzhi sanzang heshang biaozi ji* 代宗朝贈司空大辨正廣智三藏和上表制集 (Collected Documents of the Trepitaka Amoghavajra Bestowed with a Posthumous Title and Honors in the Reign of Daizong, T. 2120), which comprises Amoghavajra's official correspondence with Tang emperors, other letters, documents, and biographical writings, which was compiled by Yuanzhao 圓照 (fl. 785–804), nor is it found in the received Buddhist canon in literary Chinese. The *Collected Documents* reports, however, Amoghavajra's presentation of a Sanskrit version of the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* (*Fanshu dasuiqiu tuoluoni iben* 梵書大隨求陀羅尼一本) to the court in Suzong's reign, the chanting of the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* and the *Mahāpratisarā-mantra* along with other sutras and spells on birthdays, and the intonation of

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集 into the Korean vernacular script. In 1520, he printed another copy (*ilbu* 一部) of the Buddhist canon at Haein Monastery.

57. For a discussion of the so-called Vajraśekhara family of sutras, see Misaki Ryōshū 三崎良周, “Butchōkei no mikkyō: Tōdai Mikkyōshi no isshiten” 頂系の密教—唐代密教史の一視点 (Esoteric Buddhism of the Buddha Crown lineage: A point of view in the history of esoteric Buddhism during the Tang period), in *Dōkyō kenkyū ronshū: Dōkyō no shisō to bunka: Yoshioka Hakushi kanreki kinen* 道教研究論集: 道教の思想と文化: 吉岡博士還 記念 (English title: *Collected Essays on Taoist Thought and Culture*), comp. Yoshioka Yoshitoyo Hakushi Kanreki Kinen Ronshū Kankōkai 吉岡義豊還 記念論集刊行会 (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai 国書刊行会, 1977), 477–499.

a “Mahāpratisarā essay” (*feng Suiqiu zhang* 諷隨求章).<sup>58</sup> A translation of the petition is as follows:

稽首蓮華胎藏教

I humbly kowtow to the teaching of the lotus flower womb treasury,

無邊清淨摠持門

The approach of the *dhāraṇī* of boundless cleanliness and purity,

普遍光明照十方

The ten directions of universal light and radiance,

鬘應化三千界

The three thousand worlds of the response and transformation of flaming fair hair,

如意寶印從心現

The jeweled seal of wish-fulfillment follows the manifestations of the mind,

無能勝主大明主

The lord who is unable to be overcome, the lord of great brilliance,

常住如來三昧中

Who constantly abides in the *samādhi* of the *tathāgata*,

超證瑜伽圓覺位

Transcends to and realizes the level of Yoga and Perfect Enlightenment.

毘盧遮那尊演說

The Honored Vairocana delivered a sermon

金剛手捧妙明燈

Vajradhara held the lamp of sublime brilliance in his hands

流傳密語與衆生

Circulated esoteric words with living beings

悉地助修成熟法

*Siddhis* aid in cultivating ripe *dharmas*

五濁愚迷心覺悟

The five impurities<sup>59</sup> deceive and delude the awakening and enlightenment of the mind.

58. *Daizong chaozeng sikong daban zhengguangzhi sanzang heshang biaozi ji* 1, T. 2120, 52.829b4–15; roll 2, 835c28–836a2, 836a27–b3; and roll 4, 848c5–6.

59. The five impurities are the impurities of lifespan (*shouzhuo* 壽濁), *kalpas* (*jiezhuo* 劫濁), defilements (*fannaozhuo* 煩惱濁), views (*jianzhuo* 見濁), and

誓求無上大菩薩  
 Swear to seek the unsurpassed great bodhisattvas  
 一常讚念此微詮  
 Who all constantly praise and recollect this subtle explanation,  
 得證如來無漏智  
 Attain the realization of the Tathāgata's knowledge that is devoid  
 of outflows,  
 諦想觀心月輪際  
 True perception visualizes the limits of the moon-wheel of the  
 mind  
 凝然不動觀本尊  
 The Honored One who gazes fixedly, is immovable, and observes  
 the origin,  
 所求願滿稱其心  
 Is he who pursues vows and fully states his mind  
 故號隨求能自在  
 Hence, he is called the Self-Existing One Who Is Able to Confer  
 Whatever One Wants  
 依教念滿洛叉遍  
 Depending on teaching and recollecting the universality of abun-  
 dant *lakṣas*  
 能攘宿曜及災神  
 It is able to resist the lodges, luminaries, and gods of calamities  
 生生值此陀羅尼  
 At the time they are produced, this *dhāraṇī*  
 世世獲居安樂地  
 Obtains residence in the land of peace and bliss generation after  
 generation  
 見世不遭諸枉橫  
 Sees that the world does not encounter all vain and cross things  
 火焚水溺及災殃  
 From being burned by fire and drowned by water to injured by  
 calamities  
 不被軍陣損身形  
 [And] does not suffer injury to one's physical form on the battlefield

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those with feelings (*youqingzhuo* 有情濁). *Apidamo jushelun* 阿毘達磨俱舍論  
 (*Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*) 12, T. 1558, 29.64a21–22.

盜賊相逢自安樂

Thieves and robbers meet each other from peace and bliss,

縱犯波羅十惡罪

Are allowed to break the *pāramitās* and [commit] the sins of the ten evil acts<sup>60</sup>

五逆根本及七遮

The root origin of the five heinous crimes<sup>61</sup> and seven heinous crimes.<sup>62</sup>

聞誦隨求陀羅尼

Hearing and chanting the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī*

應是諸惡皆消滅

Responds to this, all evils, and eradicates them all.

羅尼力功無量

The power and merit of the *dhāraṇī* are limitless,

故我發心常誦持

So I arouse the aspiration to constantly chant it and carry it.

願迴勝力施含靈

I vow to turn its victorious power and bestow it on living creatures

同得無爲超悉地

So that together they may obtain the *siddhi* that transcends the unconditioned.<sup>63</sup>

Although a petition composed in *gāthā* form would be appropriate for many of these occasions, thus serving as circumstantial evidence

60. The ten evil acts (*sibak*, Ch. *shie* 十惡) are (1) killing, (2) stealing, (3) adultery, (4) lying, (5) duplicity, (6) coarse language, (7) filthy language, (8) covetousness, (9) anger, and (10) perverted views. See *Zhong ahan jing* (*Madhyamāgama*) 3, T. 26, 1.437b28–c27.

61. The five heinous crimes (*oyōk*, Ch. *wuni* 五逆) are (1) patricide, (2) matricide, (3) killing an *arhat*, (4) shedding the blood of a buddha, and (5) destroying the harmony of the sangha. See *Apidamo jushe lun* (*Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*) 17, T. 1558, 29.926b27–29.

62. The seven heinous acts (*ch'ich'a*, Ch. *qizhe* 七遮 or *ch'iryōk*, Ch. *qini* 七逆) are shedding the blood of a buddha, killing one's father, killing one's mother, killing a monk, killing one's teacher, disrupting the sangha, and killing an *arhat*. See *Fanwang jing* 梵網經 2, T. 1484, 24.1005b18 and 1008c8–11.

63. Kim Mubong, *Yōkchu Sangwōnsa chungch'ang kwōnsōnmun Yōnghōm yakch'o Odae chinōn*, 171–172 (recto); a photolithographic copy of the woodblock text, 87–93 (verso).

for its authenticity, many works probably not composed or translated by Amoghavajra have been ascribed to him to lend them validity, legitimacy, and authority. An example of this situation will be described in detail below.

The longer version of the great *dhāraṇī* (pp. 4b–14b) starts with the same first lines as the received text of the great *dhāraṇī* as found in a ritual manual (*yigui*, Kor. *ūigwe* 儀軌) attributed to Amoghavajra, but diverges afterwards.<sup>64</sup> Although this ritual manual is not preserved in the Korean Buddhist canon, one like it probably circulated in Silla or Koryō because “Efficacious Resonance of the Mahāpratisarā” begins in the same way.

What is more intriguing is that most of the seven short spells that follow the great *dhāraṇī* in the second section are the same as six of the eight *dhāraṇīs* found after the basic *dhāraṇī* in Baosiwei’s translation of the *Mahāpratisarā*, and one of the short mantras in the ritual manual mentioned above. More precisely, (1) “The true word of the mind of all the *tathāgatas*” (*ilch’e yörae sim chinön* 一切如來心真言, p. 15a–b) in the Chosŏn-period text is the same as “The spell of the mind of all the buddhas” (Ch. *yiqie foxin zhou* 一切佛心呪) in Baosiwei’s translation;<sup>65</sup> (2) “The true word of the seal of the mind of all the *tathāgatas*” (*ilch’e yörae simin chinön* 一切如來心印真言; p. 15b) is the same as “The spell of the seal of the mind of all the buddhas [or spell for sealing the mind of all the buddhas]” (Ch. *yiqie foxin yin Zhou* 一切佛心印呪);<sup>66</sup> (3) “The true word of consecration of the mind of all the *tathāgatas*” (*ilch’e yörae sim kwanjōng chinön* 一切如來心灌頂真言; p. 16a) is the same as “The spell of consecration” (Ch. *guanding Zhou* 灌頂呪);<sup>67</sup> (4) “The true word of the seal of the consecration of all *tathāgatas*” (*ilch’e yörae kwanjōngin chinön* 一切如來灌頂印真言 (p. 16b) is the same as “The spell of the seal of consecration [or spell for sealing the consecration]” (Ch. *guanding yin Zhou* 灌頂印呪);<sup>68</sup> (5) “The true word for drawing a strict line of demarcation for all the *tathāgatas*” (*ilch’e yörae kyōlgye chinön* 一切如來結界真言; pp. 16b–17a) is the same as “The spell for drawing a strict line

64. Cf. *Jin’gangding yuga zuisheng mimi chengfo sui qiu zede shenbian jiachi chengjiu tuoluoni yigui*, T. 1155, 20.645a1–4.

65. T. 1154, 20.639c23–640a3; cf. 644a12–20.

66. T. 1154, 20.640a4–7; cf. 644a21–24.

67. T. 1154, 20.640a8–13; cf. 644, a25–b2.

68. T. 1154, 20.640a14–17; cf. 644b3–5.

of demarcation” (*jiejie zhou* 結界呪, Skt. *sīmābandha*);<sup>69</sup> (6) “The true word of the mind within the mind of all the *tathāgatas*” (*ilch’e yōrae sim-jungsim chinōn* 一切如來心中心真言; p. 17a) is the same as “The spell of the mind within the mind” (Ch. *xinzhongxin zhou* 心中心呪);<sup>70</sup> and (7) “The true word the follows the mind of all the *tathāgatas*” (*ilch’e yōrae susim chinōn* 一切如來隨心真言; p. 17a–17b) is the same as “The true word in the mind” (*xinzhong zhenren* 心中真言) in the ritual manual attributed to Amoghavajra.<sup>71</sup> Thus, the text of the *Mahāpratisarā* that circulated in the Chosŏn period is at least a composite of materials translated or written by—or at least attributed to—Amoghavajra and Baosiwei, and perhaps others writers.

The *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* is also included in the *Odae chinōn* 五大真言 (Five Great Mantras), a woodblock text first published in 1485 by the monk Hakcho under the direction of Queen Insu. Hakcho actively promoted the translation of Buddhist texts into the Korean vernacular. Queen Insu, the more popular title of Queen Dowager Sohye 昭惠王后 (née Han 韓氏, 1437–1508), the mother of King Sŏngjong 成宗 (r. 1469–1494), was a staunch promoter and protector of Buddhism in the fifteenth century.<sup>72</sup> Woodblock texts cataloged in libraries consider her the “translator” of the material into vernacular Korean (*kugyōk* 國譯). However, I take this to mean that she commissioned the work and not that she herself performed the work of translation and transliteration. Her participation in this work is significant because it emphasizes this powerful female patron’s interest in and approbation of Buddhist spells, their accompanying procedures, and supporting literature. The oldest extant edition of the *Odae chinōn* is called the Sangwōnsa edition 上院寺本 (also called the Wōlchōngsa edition 月精寺本) because it is preserved at Sangwōn Monastery, a branch of Wōlchōng Monastery, on Mt. Odae. Although called the *Five Great Mantras*, in many recensions there are actually six *dhāraṇīs* contained in its pages, such as the 1635 woodblock edition preserved in the Kyujanggak at Seoul National

69. T. 1154, 20.640a18–21; cf. 644b6–8.

70. T. 1154, 20.640a25–27; cf. 644b12–15.

71. *Jin’gangding yuga zuisheng mimi chengfo sui qiu zede shenbian jiachi chengqiu tuoluoni yigui*, T. 1155, 20.648b26–c2.

72. For more on Queen Dowager Insu, see Yi Kyōngha 이경하, “15 segi ch’oego ūi yōsōng chisigin, Insu Taebi” 15 세기 최고의 여성 지식인, 인수대비 [The greatest female intellectual in the fifteenth century, Queen Dowager Insu], *Han’guk kojōn yōsōng munhak yōn’gu* 한국고전여성문학연구 12 (2006): 149–177.

University (奎 6749), which was originally printed at Ssanggye Monastery in Ŭnjin. The six *dhāraṇīs* are as follows:<sup>73</sup>

1. *Ch'ōnsu ch'ōnan kwanjajae posal kwangdae wōnman muae taebisim tarani* 千手千眼觀自在菩薩廣大圓滿無礙大悲心陀羅尼 (*Kwanseūm posal sasibisu chinōn* 觀世音菩薩四十二首真言; pp. 1a–23b)<sup>74</sup>
2. *Ch'ōnsu ch'ōnan kwanjajae posal kwangdae wōnman muae taebisin sinmyo changgu taedarani* 千手千眼觀自在菩薩廣大圓滿無礙大悲心神妙章句大陀羅尼 (pp. 24a–29a)<sup>75</sup>
3. *Ch'ōnsu ch'ōnan Kwanjajae posal kūnbon tarani* 千手千眼觀自在菩薩根本陀羅尼 (pp. 29a–32a)<sup>76</sup>
4. *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* (*Pulsōl kūmgangjōng yuga ch'oesūng pimil sōngbul sugu chūktūk sinbyōn kaji sōngch'wi tarani* 佛說金剛頂瑜伽最勝祕密成佛隨求即得神變加持成就陀羅尼; pp. 32a–59a)<sup>77</sup>
5. *Buddhoṣṇīṣa-dhāraṇī* (*Taebulchōng tarani* 大佛頂陀羅尼;

73. A photolithographic copy of the 1635 woodblock edition of the *Odae chinōn* is published in Kim Mubong, *Yōkchu Sangwōnsa chungch'ang kwōnsōnmun Yōnghōm yakch'o Odae chinōn*, 139–358 (recto). I refer to the pages in the woodblock edition below.

74. Although the name of this set of *dhāraṇīs* is similar to the Chinese name of Vajrabodhi's 金剛智 translation of the *Nilakanṭhanāma-dhāraṇī*, it is actually a collection of forty-two mantras (*chinōn* 真言) and their accompanying *mudrās* (*suin* 手印). For Vajrabodhi's translation see *Qianshou qianyan Guanzizai pusa guangda yuanman wuai taebeixin tuoluoni* 千手千眼觀自在菩薩廣大圓滿無礙大悲心陀羅尼, T. 1061, 20.112a3–113c2 (K 1270).

75. This *dhāraṇī* is a variant of the *dhāraṇī* found in the translation of the *Nilakanṭha* by Amoghavajra. See *Qianshou qianyan Guanshiyin pusa dabeixin tuoluoni* 千手千眼觀世音菩薩大悲心陀羅尼, T. 1064, 20.116b10–117a9. Compare with Bhagavadharma's translation, which was probably translated between 650 and 661, see *Qianshou qianyan Guanshiyin pusa guangda yuanman wuai dabeixin tuoluoni* 千手千眼觀世音菩薩廣大圓滿無礙大悲心陀羅尼經, T. 1060, 20.107b21–108a9.

76. This is probably the *dhāraṇī* found in *Jin'gangding yuga qianshou qianyan Guanzizai pusa xiuxing yigui* 金剛頂瑜伽千手千眼觀自在菩薩修行儀軌經 2, T. 1056, 20.79b16–80a5.

77. This *dhāraṇī* is a variant of the *dhāraṇī* found in *Jin'gangding yuga zuisheng mimi chengfo sui qiu jide shenbian jiachi chengqu tuoluoni*, T. 1155, 20.645a1–647b8.

pp. 59a–92b)

6. *Uṣṇīṣavijaya-dhāraṇī* (*Pulchöng chonsüng tarani* 佛頂尊勝陀羅尼; pp. 93a–97b)

The choice of the title of the text seems to derive from the idea that the five famous mantras (although the contents of the book itself calls them *dhāraṇīs*) are the products of Amoghavajra. This Korean text and later recensions of this type are interesting because they are trilingual, with alternating lines of Siddham, a Korean vernacular transliteration, and the Buddhist-Chinese transliteration. On the surface and in particular because of the title, the Korean *Five Great Mantras* bears some resemblance to the illustrated manuscripts titled *Pañcarakṣā* (Five Great Protectors), known from the Buddhist traditions of Nepal, Tibet, and Mongolia.<sup>78</sup> However, unlike the Nepalese versions, which couch the spells in a narrative framework, most of the Korean prints strip the spells from their prose context and supporting illustrations and present the spells only. Furthermore, unlike the case of China, where the Buddhist-Chinese transliteration of the spell is typically viewed as being as powerful as a Siddham text, Amoghavajra's versions of the spells seem to have gained ascendancy primarily because they are linked to extant Siddham texts. In other words, if a Siddham text exists, Korean Buddhists have presumed that these were produced by Amoghavajra.

In many editions of the *Odae chinön*, such as the 1635 woodblock edition, immediately after the trilingual reproductions of the *dhāraṇī* is a section titled “Yönghöm yakch'o” 靈驗略抄 (Brief Transcriptions of Efficacious Resonance) in literary Sino-Korean. This section explains the efficacy and use of four of the mantras: *Nīlakaṇṭha-dhāraṇī* (*Taebisim*

78. Todd Thornton Lewis, Subarna Man Tuladhar, and Labh Ratna Tuladhar, *Popular Buddhist Texts from Nepal: Narratives and Rituals of Newar Buddhism* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000), 119–164; Pentti Aalto, *Prolegomena to an Edition of the Pañcarakṣā* (Helsinki, 1954); Gerd J. R. Mevissen, *Studies in Pancaraksa Manuscript Painting* (Reinbek: Wezler, 1989); and Mevissen, *Transmission of Iconographic Traditions: Pancaraksa Heading North* (Madison, WI: Prehistory Press, 1992). As an interesting aside, J. W. Hauer (Jakob Wilhelm, 1881–1962), *Die dhāraṇī im nördlichen buddhismus und ihre parallelen in der sogenannten Mithrasliturgie* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1927), finds that the *dhāraṇī* included in the *Pañcarakṣā* texts of Northern Buddhism show parallels with liturgies associated with the veneration of Mitra.

*tarani* 大悲心陀羅尼, pp. 98a–100b), *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* (*Sugu chūkdūk tarani* 隨求即得羅尼, pp. 100b–103a), *Buddhoṣṇīṣa-dhāraṇī* (*Taebulchōng tarani* 大佛頂羅尼, pp. 103a–104b), and *Uṣṇīṣavijaya-dhāraṇī* (*Pulchōng chonsūng tarani* 佛頂尊勝羅, pp. 105a–106b). This may have been the original end of the document as it was created by Hakcho because a colophon written by him follows (p. 107a).

The Sangwōnsa edition of the *Five Great Mantras* published in 1485 is important for another reason. An eighteen-page addendum titled *Yōnghōm yakch'o ōnhae* 영험약초언해 (靈驗略抄諺解; Vernacular Translation of Brief Transcriptions of Efficacious Resonance) is stitched together at the end.<sup>79</sup> This vernacular translation (*ōnhaemun* 諺解文) was printed with moveable metal type (*ūrhaeja* 乙亥字), the metal type produced by the Chosŏn government in 1455. The *Vernacular Translation of Brief Transcriptions of Efficacious Resonance* is a close translation of the Sino-Korean text of the “Yōnghōm yakch'o” mentioned above: *Nīlakaṇṭha-dhāraṇī* (*Taebisim tarani* 大悲心陀羅尼, pp. 1a–5b), *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* (*Sugu chūkdūk tarani* 隨求即得羅尼, pp. 5b–11a), *Uṣṇīṣavijaya-dhāraṇī* (*Taebulchōng tarani* 大佛頂羅尼, pp. 11a–14b), and *Buddhoṣṇīṣa-dhāraṇī* (*Pulchōng chonsūng tarani* 佛頂尊勝羅, pp. 14b–18b). In other words, *Yōnghōm yakcho ōnhae* is a Korean vernacular translation of a set of short prose texts in literary Buddhist-Chinese that briefly explains the efficacy of the four spells and describes how aspirants can use these spells in their lives.

The section of the translation titled *Sugu chūkdūk tarani* presents the same words as “Syugu ryōnghōm” (Efficacious Resonance of the *Mahāpratisarā*), which is believed to have been first published in 1479, suggesting that the Korean vernacular translations found in the *Yōnghōm yakcho* had been in circulation in Korea since at least the late fifteenth century, and were probably executed by Hakcho under the direction of Queen Insu. Although this vernacular text is short, only eighteen pages, it provides an interesting cross-section of the spells that were important in the Buddhist culture of the early Chosŏn period.<sup>80</sup> Korean Buddhist monasteries of the Chosŏn period must have possessed manuscripts of ritual texts attributed to Amoghavajra and other figures that have not been preserved as part of the established

79. A photolithographic reprint is published in Kim Mubong, *Yōkchu Sangwōnsa chungch'ang kwōnsōnmun Yōnghōm yakch'o Odae chinŏn*, 49–84 (recto).

80. Kim Mubong, “Yōnghōm yakch'o ōnhae yōn'gu,” 5–47.

Buddhist canon and, more important, some of these ritual texts were utilized by the Buddhist community.

The Kyujanggak library at Seoul National University has two prints of the *Yŏnghŏm yakch'o* that treat the *Mahāpratisarā*. Both are woodblock editions published at Chŏram 哲庵 on Mt. Sobaek 小白山 in 1550 (가람古 294.3-Y43y and 古 1730-22A). The Dongguk University Library also has a copy of the 1550 woodblock edition of the *Yŏnghŏm yakch'o*, but the cover says *Odae chip* 五大集 (貴 213.19 영P3 C3), suggesting that the *Yŏnghŏm yakch'o* and *Odae chinŏn* were very closely related in the minds of practitioners and manuscript collectors. In the Dongguk University text, the colophon and postscript written by Hakcho are appended to the eighteen-page Korean vernacular rendering of the *Yŏnghŏm yakch'o*.

The *Five Great Mantras* and the *Brief Transcriptions of Efficacious Resonance* were reprinted at least a few times, and later in the Chosŏn period the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* was included in another collection of spells called the *Chinŏn chip* 眞言集 (Mantra Collection). Although the *Mahāpratisarā* was not included in recensions of this text published in the late fifteenth century, 1569, or 1777, it was included in the expansive text published 1800.<sup>81</sup> Here again, the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* is presented in a trilingual format with Siddhaṃ, Korean, and Buddhist-Chinese.

Amoghavajra's recension of the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī*, the spell only, was also included in a short woodblock text published in 1574 titled *Ch'ŏnji myŏngyang suryuk chaeŭi so pangmun ch'ŏp chŏryo* 天地冥陽水陸齋儀疏榜文帖節要 (Text with the Official Instructions of the Essential Procedures for the Ceremony of the Heaven and Earth, Night and Day, Water and Land Ritual). Here it is known by the abbreviated name of *Sŏngbul sugu taedarani* 成佛隨求大陀羅尼 (Great *Dhāraṇī* of Conferring Whatever One Wishes for Achieving Buddhahood), and is one of four *dhāraṇī* chanted at the end of the ritual. The other *dhāraṇīs* are the *Sitāpatra-dhāraṇī* (viz. \**Śūraṃgama-dhāraṇī*), the *Uṣṇīṣavijaya-dhāraṇī*, and the *Nilakanṭha-dhāraṇī*.<sup>82</sup>

The point of this detailed discussion of the publication record of the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* and associated literary material during the

81. An Chuhō, "Mugyebon *Chinŏn chip yŏn'gu*," 97.

82. Sørensen, "A Bibliographical Survey of Buddhist Ritual Texts from Korea," 174–175.

Chosŏn period is this: Buddhist monks and lay people alike, specifically lay women of noble birth, such as Queen Insu, were interested in the *Mahāpratisarā* and other *dhāraṇīs*. The *Five Great Mantras* and *Brief Transcriptions of Efficacious Resonance* texts were extremely popular and were reprinted numerous times during the course of the Chosŏn period. Monks patronized by the court prepared materials that could be utilized by individuals who did not have the ability to read either the Siddhaṃ script or Buddhist-Chinese. Some Chosŏn monks, such as Hakcho and disciples trained by him, probably had the ability to read and write the Siddhaṃ script and developed the trilingual *dhāraṇī* materials for interested persons. The Siddhaṃ source texts and their Buddhist-Chinese readings had probably been handed down since the Koryŏ period—some perhaps even as early as the late Silla period. These source texts usually range from slightly different to quite different than the versions of the *dhāraṇīs* printed in the Koryŏ Buddhist canon (and hence in the *Taishō shinshū dai zōkyō* 大正新修大藏經 [Taishō edition of the Buddhist canon]).

#### EFFICACIOUS RESONANCE OF THE MAHĀPRATISARĀ

How did Korean Buddhists of the Chosŏn period use the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī*? The prose text of “Efficacious Resonance of the Mahāpratisarā” provides some interesting clues. A lightly annotated draft translation of the Korean vernacular text is as follows:

*Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* (*Sugu chūktūk tarani* 隨求即得陀羅尼)

The sutras say that the Bodhisattva Eradicator of the Evil Destinies (Myŏrakch’wi posal 滅惡趣菩薩) addressed the Buddha Vairocana (Pirojanabul 毘盧遮那佛) saying, “By what expedient means can I pull out and liberate living beings [possessing] all weighty sins?” The Buddha said, “There is no method to pull out and liberate living beings who feel no shame, who possess wrong views, and who are debauched; in life one receives several kinds of worries, and in death one falls into Avīcī hell; not only will one not hear even the name of the three jewels for eternity, will they be able to see a buddha and obtain the body of a person again?” The bodhisattva addressed the Buddha again, “The expedient means of the Tathāgata are limitless, and the divine power of the Tathāgata is inexhaustible, and what I desire is that you would please explain methods of definitely attaining buddhahood for the sake [of living beings].” The Buddha said, “I put in place a secret method, which is uncommon in the world. It is first in making sins disappear and attaining buddhahood, and its

name is the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī*. If people hear the name of this true word (*chinōn* 眞言) for a little while, or if they are familiar with or stay with people who recite it by heart, because all [the gods], the god Māra, evil spirits, and good spirit kings (*sōnsinwang* 善神王) will always follow and defend [them], not only will they be free from disasters and be comfortable, not to mention would they themselves recite it by heart?" Although people who recite it by heart and wear it [on their person] commit all manner of weighty sins, they will not fall into hell. People close to attaining buddhahood hear this true word, and people far from attaining buddhahood will not hear [it] for generations. If [someone] wears one logograph or two logographs, one passage or one section of this true word on the crown of his head (*chōngdae* 頂戴), this person will be no different than all the buddhas. This true word is the root/basis of the wisdom of all the buddhas [numbering as] the sands of the Ganges River for numberless *koṭis*. All the limitless buddhas come out and [their] achieving the Way to enlightenment is because they carry this true word [on their person]. Therefore, the Buddha Vairocana made it the basis of the wisdom of the dharma realm (*pōpkye chijung* 法界智中) {[This is] the pure enlightened nature (*kaksōng* 覺性) possessed by the Buddha and living beings.} It was acquired after an exhaustive search over numberless *kalpas*. If all the buddhas do not obtain this true word, they will not accomplish the Way to buddhahood, and if even brahmins of heterodox religions obtain this true word, they will achieve the Way to buddhahood quickly." There was a brahman in the country of Magadha<sup>83</sup> long ago whose name was \*Kobāk (Kubak 俱博). He did not see the Buddha, he did not hear the dharma, and every day he killed pigs, sheep, bears, and deer, so when he died he went to King Yama. The king spoke to Lord Śakra, "What hell should we give this person to?" Lord Śakra replied, "Because the sins of this

83. Magadha (Magadaguk, Ch. Magatuoguo 摩伽他國) is in the southern region of Bihar in eastern India. In the time of the Buddha Śākyamuni, Magadha was regarded as the strongest and most influential of the sixteen large states that occupied central India. Most of the events in the religious life of Śākyamuni took place in this state. In Buddhist literature, it is the location of Mt. Gṛdhrakūṭa (Vulture Peak) and Karaṇḍaveṇuvana, the bamboo grove near Rājagṛha that became the first *saṃghārāma* (monastic complex). In the sixth century BCE, King Bimbisāra made Rājagṛha the state's first capital city; later, Pataliputra (modern Patna) served as the capital. Magadha was also the home of Chandragupta Maurya (r. 321–296 BCE), the founder of the Mauryan empire (322–185 BCE). It was also the place of origination of the Gupta Empire (ca. 280–550 CE).

person cannot be numbered, send him to Avīcī hell quickly!” The jailors grabbed him and put him in that hell, but suddenly it became a lotus pond that was full of the eight meritorious virtues of water.<sup>84</sup> Because sinners were each sitting on top of lotus flowers and they did not have any manner of suffering, the horse-headed jailor (*udu okchol* 牛頭獄卒) said, “We gave this sinner the wrong thing. The hell transformed into a lotus pond.” King Yama spoke to Śakra, “Provided that \*Kobāk is not a sinner, this divine transformation (*sinbyōn* 神變) happened.” Lord Śakra replied, “Because he does not have even as much as one mote of dust of goodness from his previous life and this life, so I would not know.” He promptly went to Śākyamuni and said, “What was the goodness of \*Kobāk so that there was this kind of divine transformation?” The Buddha said, “Merely look at the skull of the man.” Lord Śakra went to the place where \*Kobāk was buried, and there was a monastery a third of a mile away to the west, and one logograph of a decayed Mahāpratisarā True Word (*sugu chinōn* 隨求真言) from there flew in the wind and collided with \*Kobāk’s bones. Lord Śakra returned, moved [him], and placed him in the eight hells, and every hell was altered just like this. At that time \*Kobāk and all the sinners were endowed with all thirty-two major marks and eighty minor marks of a buddha, and became [numbered] with the buddhas and bodhisattvas. The Buddha Upper Region Is Immaculate (Sangbang mugubul 上方無垢佛) is this \*Kobāk. If this true word passes the ears of even birds in flight or beasts one time, they will not be burdened with this body ever again. There was a king in the city of Uḍuyānaka (Osōnnasōng 烏禪那城) long ago whose name was Bestowed of Brahmā (Pōmsi 梵施). Because one guy committed weighty sins, the king said, ‘Kill him.’ A person grabbed a sword and attempted to kill him, but the criminal, from times of old, carried the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* on his arm. Furthermore, he did not forget it in his heart and [always] remembered [it]. Because that sword broke into several pieces by means of this majestic spiritual power, that king was greatly enraged. Also, since he sent him to a cave of *yakṣas* (*yakch’a* 藥叉), the *yakṣas* were happy and sought to eat him. [However], because bright light manifested with splendor on the surface of the criminal’s body, the *yakṣas* were surprised and afraid, and

84. The eight meritorious virtues of water (*p’algongdōk su* 八功德水) are (1) sweet (*kam* 甘), (2) cold (*naeng* 冷), (3) soft (*yōn* 軟), (4) light (*kyōng* 輕), (5) pure (*ch’ōngjōng* 清淨), (6) does not stink (*puch’wi* 不臭), (7) when drinking it does not hurt your throat (*ūmsi puson hu* 時不損喉), and (8) having drunk it, it does not hurt your stomach (*ūmi pusang pok* 已不傷腹). *Apidamojushe lun* 阿毘達磨俱舍論 (*Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*) 11, T. 1558, 29.57c11–13.

circumambulated and worshipped him. The king was even more enraged and threw him into deep water, but the water suddenly dried up. The king was surprised and considered it absurd, so he called the criminal and asked him about the cause. The criminal said, “Not only is there nothing that I know, but I carry the *Mahāpratisarā*.” The king composed a *gāthā* of praise, offered worship, tied the criminal’s head with a bolt of fabric, anointed the crown of his head with water, entrusted him with official rank, and made him the king of that city. {In the laws of India, when [someone] is entrusted with official rank, they first tie a bolt of fabric on that person’s head and anoint the crown of his head with water.}<sup>85</sup>

The received translations of the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* by Baosiwei and Amoghavajra make the *dhāraṇī-sūtra* a text taught by the Buddha Śākyamuni to Mahābrahmā, but the “Efficacious Resonance of the Mahāpratisarā” has the Buddha Vairocana explain the power and importance of the *dhāraṇī* to the Bodhisattva Eradicator of the Evil Destinies, similar to the ritual manual attributed to Amoghavajra.<sup>86</sup> Like both received translations of the sutra, it describes the benefits and protection that will come to people who merely hear the name of the true word, or stay with people who recite it by heart. If people wear or carry the *dhāraṇī* on their person, they will never fall into hell, and people who hear it are assured of achieving buddhahood in the near future. Furthermore, it promises that if a person wears one logograph or two logographs, one passage or one section of this true word on the crown of his head (*chōngdae* 頂戴), he will be no different than all the buddhas. (Amoghavajra’s translation says the Lord Śakra always carries this *dhāraṇī* on his person by placing it within the topknot jewel on the crown of his head.<sup>87</sup>) Something of a Hwaḥm-inspired context is alluded to because it says that the Buddha Vairocana made it the basis of the wisdom of the dharma realm.

The detailed story of the monk who shamelessly steals from the sangha and yet is not reborn in hell, despite the King Yama’s attempts to send him there, because he wears the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* on his person, and eventually becomes the Bodhisattva Mahāpratisarā is

85. Following the transcription found in Kim Mubong, *Yōkchu Sangwōnsa chungch’ang kwōnsōnmun Yōnghōm yakch’o Odae chinōn*, 105–110.

86. *Jin’gangding yuga zuisheng mimi chengfo sui qiu zede shenbian jiachi chengjiu tuoluoni yigui*, T. 1155, 20.644b25.

87. T. 1153, 20.622b21–22.

not alluded to in this text.<sup>88</sup> Neither is the story about Prince Rāhula, the Buddha’s son, who chanted the *Mahāpratisarā* when he was in his mother’s womb, which saved her by turning into a lotus pond when she attempted to commit suicide.<sup>89</sup> Rather, the Chosŏn-period document describes an otherwise unknown brahman of Magadha whose name was \*Kobāk (Kubak) who committed all manner of killing and uncleanness, yet each time King Yama attempted to send him to a hell it transformed into a lotus pond because one decayed logograph of the *dhāraṇī* had settled on \*Kobāk’s head in the tomb. Hence, this evil brahman became the Buddha Upper Region Is Immaculate. One story that appears in Baosiwei’s translation and the “Efficacious Resonance” text is a story about Bestowed of Brahmā, the king in the city of Uḍuyānaka. He sought to execute a criminal who had committed regicide by cutting his head off with a sword and by feeding him to man-eating *yakṣas*. However, the sword did not harm him and broke into several pieces; the *yakṣas* bowed down and worshipped him because the man had the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* attached to his arm.<sup>90</sup> So, the king gave up trying to execute him and instead rewarded him with an official position.

The purpose of these stories in the “Efficacious Resonance of the *Mahāpratisarā*” is simply to encourage ordinary people—lay Buddhist believers—to carry the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* on their person or on their head like a talisman or good-luck charm. This point is repeated over and over again in the brief tales. The “Efficacious Resonance” is different than both Baosiwei’s and Amoghavajra’s translations because there is no description of the procedure to set up an altar, such as in Baosiwei’s translation, and because “esotericized” language, such as the repeated use of “*vajra*,” is entirely missing. Furthermore, all of the people in the “Efficacious Resonance” who carry the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* on their person are not monks, strongly implying that the principal audience of the prose text was lay believers and not the monastic community.

#### CONCLUSION

The *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* was one of the most widely known *dhāraṇīs* in Chosŏn Korea. Anecdotal and material evidence of the use of this

88. T. 1154, 20.640c6–28.

89. T. 1154, 20.640b7–11.

90. T. 1153, 20.623a27–c1; T. 1154, 20.641b22–c8.

*dhāraṇī* dates back to the eighth century, soon after Baosiwei completed the first translation into Buddhist-Chinese. Several great monk-practitioners were associated with its use: In China, Fazang used it to make snow in the early eighth century, and Amoghavajra chanted it during a storm at sea, gave a Siddham copy of the spell to the Tang emperor Suzong, and chanted the “*Mahāpratisarā-mantra*” seven times prior to the emperor’s passing in the mid-eighth century. The Silla monk Poch’ŏn chanted the *Mahāpratisarā* day and night in his hermitage on Mt. Odae, the Mt. Wutai located in Silla, and explained its meaning to a deity that lived in a cave.

The two Chinese translations of the *dhāraṇī-sūtra* describe numerous ways to draw upon the efficacy of the *dhāraṇī*, which promises those who chant it protection from all manner of noxious poisons and curses, storms, tempests, and other dangerous situations, and the fulfillment of the desires and wishes of the practitioner (sŏwŏn sŏngch’wi 誓願成就). Besides encouraging individuals to chant or recite the *dhāraṇī*, Baosiwei’s translation described the procedures for setting up an altar (*maṇḍala*) to invoke the power of the *dhāraṇī*, and different directions are given according to the social status or sex of the practitioner. Although such directions are not found in Amoghavajra’s translation, both translations describe several stories in which people who either chant the *dhāraṇī* or, more simply, wear or carry a copy of the *dhāraṇī* on the person like an amulet or talisman are protected and saved from the results of unwholesome karma.

The popularity of the spell in Korea, however, probably had less to do with recensions of the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* preserved in the Koryŏ Buddhist canon than with short documents and books printed from woodblocks or metal-type that were reprinted numerous times and in different contexts during the Chosŏn period. These texts were probably based on manuscripts or woodblock prints of the spell in Siddham that circulated in the monastic community during the Koryŏ period, such as the woodblock prints dated 1184 discovered in the chest cavity storehouse of a wooden image of Amitābha at Chaun Monastery, which is in many ways similar to woodblock prints discovered in a variety of contexts, including as funeral goods, in the contemporary Song period.

The “great *dhāraṇī*,” attributed to Amoghavajra and linked with a petition in *gāthā* form also attributed to Amoghavajra, was published multiple times in a trilingual format with alternating lines of Siddham, Korean, and Chinese logographs. The influential monk Hakcho

probably executed the original transliteration of a Siddham recension of the *dhāraṇī* into the Korean vernacular in the last quarter of the fifteenth century under the direction of Queen Insu, a great patron and protector of the Buddhist church in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The “great *dhāraṇī*” was published in the *Odae chinŏn* (Five Great Mantras) in 1485 and subsequently reprinted several times over the course of the Chosŏn period in mantra collections. Many editions of the *Odae chinŏn*, such as the 1635 woodblock edition, include a section titled “Yŏnghŏm yakch’o” (Brief Transcriptions of Efficacious Resonance) after the trilingual presentation of the *dhāraṇīs*. This prose text explains the efficacy and use of four of the spells in the collection, one of which is the *Mahāpratisarā*.

Hakcho was also probably responsible for the *Sugu yŏnghŏm* (Efficacious Resonance of the *Mahāpratisarā*), which was first published in both Sino-Korean and the vernacular script in 1479, and subsequently reprinted in 1569. Although this text was printed first, there is no colophon describing who was responsible for the translation and publication. Because the trilingual presentation of the “great *dhāraṇī*” and the “Efficacious Resonance” sections are essentially the same as the 1485 and 1635 editions of the *Odae chinŏn*, all probably trace back to an original Sino-Korean text of the “Efficacious Resonance” and a Korean vernacular translation by Hakcho and/or his disciples made in the second half of the fifteenth century.

The prose text of the “Efficacious Resonance” does not emphasize memorization or chanting of the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī*, although such might seem to be the expected function of the trilingual text often published with it. Though the “Efficacious Resonance of the *Mahāpratisarā*” alludes to benefits and protection deriving from hearing, reciting, and wearing the spell as a talisman, the main thrust of the prose text centers on encouraging aspirants to wear the *dhāraṇī*, at least one or two logographs, on the crowns of their heads or somewhere on their bodies. The stories of the brahman who killed living beings but who was saved from rebirth in Avīcī hell because a scrap of paper with the spell inscribed on it had attached itself fortuitously to his skull in the grave, and anecdote of the criminal who had committed weighty sins who avoided execution because he wore the spell on his arm illustrate the simple devotional or cultic practice of wearing the spell as a charm or talisman.

