Politeja
No. 1(95), 2025, pp. 87-104
https://doi.org/10.12797/Politeja.22.2025.95.06

Dominik RUTANA
SWPS University
drutana@swps.edu.pl

Roman HUSARSKI
Jagiellonian University
roman.husarski@uj.edu.pl

COMFORTING SPIRITS, IMPOSING GUILT

THE MODERN TRADITION OF *T'AEA YŎNGGA CH'ŎNDOJAE* AT KUDAM TEMPLE

ABSTRACT The purpose of this study is to examine the elements and mediums through which Korean monks legitimize and popularize the newly invented tradition of *t'aea yŏngga ch'ŏndojae* – the Korean Buddhist death rite for sending the spirit of the unborn child, that has developed in Korea over the past three decades. This article will focus on the *t'aea yŏngga ch'ŏndojae* tradition from Kudam Temple, and on several elements, like scriptures, belief in a deity called Kwijamosin, and miraculous narratives that play a key role in the process of creating and establishing a new sacred tradition.

Keywords: *t'aea yŏngga ch'ŏndojae*, Kwijamosin (Hārītī), invention of tradition, abortion, death rituals

INTRODUCTION[1]

Within the discipline of religious studies, it is common to argue that a religious ritual has potential to help in coping with stressful life events.[2] It is also well documented that some individuals turn to religious rituals during high stress to improve their emotional health, and to adapt to a new situation over which they have little control.[3] One situation in which religion has proven to be a possible source of comfort is the loss of a child.[4] This study analyzes a particular ritual related to such a loss from the Korean Buddhist context called *t'aea yŏngga ch'ŏndojae* (胎兒靈駕薦度齋, ritual for the liberation of the fetal spirit).

The article is based on the findings from the Kudam temple, one of the representative temples of Korean fetal spirit rituals, and the in-depth interview with the temple abbot – Ven. Chiyul, as well as previous research on the subject. While practitioners assert that the Korean death rite for sending the spirit of the unborn child has ancient origins, empirical evidence suggests that it is a relatively recent development, emerging in South Korea over the past three decades, influenced by the Japanese equivalent *mizuko kuyō* (水子供養). For that reason, we propose an understanding of *t'aea yŏngga ch'ŏndojae* as a contemporary invented tradition,[5] and we link its popularity to the shifts

[1] The transliteration in this text follows the McCune–Reischauer (MR) system, except for some names that were transcribed according to existing standards and have been retained in their original form. Korean names appear in their traditional order, with the family name preceding the given name.

[2] K.I. Pargament, *The Psychology of Religion and Coping: Theory, Research, Practice*, Guilford 1997; N. Krause, C.G. Ellison, "Forgiveness by God, Forgiveness of Others, and Psychological Well-Being in Late Life," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, vol. 42, no. 1 (2003), pp. 77-93; N. Krause, "Lifetime Trauma, Prayer, and Psychological Distress in Late Life," *International Journal for the Psychology of Religion*, vol. 19, no. 1 (2009), pp. 55-72.

[3] H.G. Koenig, "Religion as Cognitive Schema," *International Journal for the Psychology of Religion*, vol. 5, no. 1 (1995), pp. 31-37; H. Hustoft, K.A. Hestad, L. Lien, P. Møller, L.J. Danbolt, "If I Didn't Have My Faith I Would Have Killed Myself!": Spiritual Coping in Patients Suffering from Schizophrenia," *International Journal for the Psychology of Religion*, vol. 23, no. 2 (2013), pp. 126-144.

[4] D.N. McIntosh, R.C. Silver, C.B. Wortman, "Religion's Role in Adjustment to a Negative Life Event: Coping With the Loss of a Child," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, vol. 65, no. 4 (1993), pp. 812-821

[5] See E. Hobsbawm, T. Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge 2012. The concept introduced by Hobsbawm and Ranger has garnered significant scholarly attention within the field of Korean Studies. A notable illustration is the recently published volume (A.D. Jackson et al. (eds), *Invented Traditions in North and South Korea*, Honolulu 2022). This work explores the creation and modification of various traditions during recent Korean history. It draws upon the notion of cultural revival, which posits that the invention of traditions entailed not only the rediscovery and reinterpretation of traditional cultural practices in the context of modernization and social change but also their utilization by the so-called 'elites' in both North and South Korea. These elites employed the invention of traditions to mobilize populations and to legitimize established institutions and the newly formed state (A.D. Jackson, "Invented Traditions in Korea – Contention and Internationalization," in A.D. Jackson et al. (eds), *Invented Traditions*..., pp. 6-7). This was often achieved through references to a fabricated past. Notably, the invention of tradition became a means of reasserting national cultural identity following decades of foreign intervention and colonial rule, as well as of differentiating the cultural identity of North Korean citizens from that of their counterparts in the South (Ibid., pp. 28-29).

in gender equality in South Korea. We are arguing that the ritual settled on Korean soil as it met the psychological needs of the public, especially women with abortion or miscarriage experiences. However, we also highlight the paradoxical nature of the ritual, which, while offering solace, reinforces traditional moral frameworks that often assign blame to women for these experiences. By examining the narrations around *t'aea yŏngga ch'ŏndojae* we present the factors that justify, legitimize, and popularize this ritual tradition. Moreover, we observe that the ritual continues to evolve in response to contemporary social changes. For instance, individuals can now commission a ritual for a deceased fetus without physically attending the ceremony.

Regardless of demand, each ritual grows out of a specific cultural context, and its character is mediated by the doctrine of religion in question. Religious specialists are on the quest to find traditional explanations of new rituals to satisfy the religious beliefs and expectations of fellow believers. *T'aea yŏngga ch'ŏndojae* is directly connected to the Buddhist concept of death, which is rooted in the ancient Indian philosophy of samsara (*yunhoe*, 輪廻), the cycle of rebirth. Samsara posits that individuals are perpetually reincarnated into various states of existence based on the karmic (*ŏp*, 業)[6] consequences of their actions in this life. In early Buddhist scriptures, the realm of existence was divided into five states (*och'wi*, 五趣) or *gati*: hell (*chiok*, 地獄), the realm of the hungry ghosts (*agwi*, 餓鬼), the animal realm (*ch'uksaeng*, 畜), the human realm (*in'gan*, 人間), and the heavenly realm (*ch'ŏnsang*, 天上). In Chinese and Korean Buddhism, a sixth realm, the asura realm (*asura*, 阿修羅), is added, collectively forming the concept of the Six Paths (*yukto*, 六道).[7] According to one's karma accumulation, one can be reborn into a more (human, heavenly, asura realm) or less (animal, ghost realm, hell) favorable place. The Buddhist understanding of death, therefore, is not an end in itself, but rather a transition within the endless cycle of samsara. The quality of one's next rebirth is entirely dependent on the karma they have cultivated in their current life. This profound realization serves as a powerful motivator for Buddhists to strive for ethical conduct and spiritual development, aiming to break free from the shackles of samsara and attain ultimate liberation, nirvana.[8]

Within the cycle of samsara, each sentient being undergoes four types of existential transformations, collectively known as the 'four existences' (*sayu*, 四有). The first is *saengyu* (生有), and refers to the moment of conception. The second is life (*ponyu*, 本有) encompassing the entirety of one's existence from birth until death. The third is death (*sayu*, 死有), the instantaneous cessation of life. The fourth is the intermediate state *antarābhava* (*chungyu*, 中有), the transitional period between death and rebirth.[9]

[6] According to *Taeabidalma pibasaron* (阿毘達磨大毘婆沙論) karma has three meanings. The first means 'action,' the second means 'to have a sense of a universal law,' and the third means 'to discern what is right or wrong.' In other words, good and bad actions brings corresponding consequences (Sun-il Chŏng, *Pulgyoindosa: Kŭ Sasangjŏk Ihae* (History of Buddhism in India: Understanding of Ideas), Seoul 2004, pp. 286-287).

[7] Ibid., p. 274.

[8] Jogye Buddhism Propagation Center, *Pulgyo Ŭi Ihae Wa Sinhaeng* (Buddhism: Understanding and Practice), Sŏul 2013, p. 180.

[9] A. Nanda, "The Concept of Intermediate Existence in the Early Buddhist Theory of Rebirth," *Asian Philosophy*, vol. 29, no. 2 (2019), pp. 144-159.

Buddhism proposes various explanations of the intermediate state, but the 'seven--week' (*ch'ilch'iril*, 七七日) theory is the most prevalent. This theory posits that the duration between a person's death and their subsequent rebirth is a mere 49 days, with their new existence determined by their karma. If the deceased committed numerous misdeeds during their lifetime, they fall into the realms of suffering after 49 days. However, if their relatives perform *ch'ŏndojae* (薦度齋), a ritual of merit on their behalf, the deceased may be reborn into a more favorable realm, even in the heaven of Buddha Amitabha, the Pure Land (*kŭngnak*, 極樂). *Ch'ŏndojae* has many forms, such as the '49-days ritual' (49*jae*, 四十九齋) or 'water and land ritual' (*suryukchae*, 水陸齋), and can involve music, dance, drama, and various texts.[10]

As is customary, funeral rites such as 49-days ceremony are performed by family members for those who have been born into this world and subsequently passed away after receiving human karma. However, there are also those who have received human karma but have not been able to complete it, because of miscarriage or abortion. These beings are referred to as *sujaryŏng* (水子靈), *t'aearyŏng* (胎兒靈), or *t'aeayŏngga* (胎兒靈駕). Nowadays in Korea, memorial services for *sujaryŏng* can be performed at most temples, but there are also temples which specialize in these rituals like Kudamsa Chamoam (瞿曇寺慈母庵) in Namyangju city (Kyŏnggi Province). The function of the temple can be easily understood even for non-Buddhist because of the theme park with hundreds of statues on behalf of the deceased and statues celebrating motherhood.

This study is largely divided into two parts. First, by using the existing research, we provide a background history of the development, its characteristics and relation to Japanese *mizuko kuyō*. Second, we analyze the justification provided by Buddhist monks and nuns for the necessity, justification, and popularization of the ritual. The findings from Kudamsa show the richness of stories related to *t'aea yŏngga ch'ŏndojae*, the importance of the guardian deity Kwijamosin (鬼子母神, Hārītī), and the doctrine emphasizing the sin of abortion – which highlights the ambivalent nature of the ritual in question, which has the same capabilities of comforting, as it does arousing trauma and guilt.

THE CREATION OF *T'AEA YŎNGGA CH'ŎNDOJAE* AND ITS DEVELOPMENT

The history of rituals held for fetal spirits began in Japan. The Korean word *suja* is an equivalent of Japanese *mizuko.* It literally means 'water child' and refers to an aborted or stillborn child.[11] The ritual of *mizuko kuyō* spread all over Japan after it was popularized in a Japanese press and TV programs in the early 1970s. By 1979 *mizuko kuyō*

[10] An Gyeong-Sik, "Pulgyo Ch'ŏndojae Ŭi Kyoyuk Chŏk Ŭimi" (A Study on Educational Meaning of Chondojae in Buddhism), *Chonggyo Kyoyuk Hagyŏn'gu*, vol. 46 (2014), pp. 97-121.

[11] Woo Hai Ran, "Ch'ŏndojae ŭi saeroun yangt'ae: nakt'aea rŭl wihan ch'ŏndojae" (A New Type of Buddhist Death Ritual: the Ritual for the Unborn Dead), *Chonggyo Munhwa Pip'yŏng*, vol. 16 (2009), p. 172.

was so popular that it was not uncommon for patients in some hospitals to learn about it from medical personnel as an 'extra medical service' after miscarriage or abortion.[12] As such, *mizuko kuyō* is an invented tradition, a newly created rite with self-references to the past. Rapid social change often necessitates the creation of new traditions to replace outdated ones that no longer align with social realities. These new traditions may be rooted in existing traditions or draw upon elements from other rituals, symbols, or religious and folkloric traditions.[13]

Traditionally, Japanese Buddhism acknowledged the existence of an unborn soul, yet aborted fetuses, not deemed fully formed living entities, were excluded from ritual practices.[14] However, in *mizuko kuyō* the fetus is recognized as a living organism. The new understanding was shaped by the rapid changes in Japanese society, societal transformations and shifts in public perception. In Japan, the enactment of the 'National Eugenics Law' (國民優生法), and the 'Eugenic Protection Law' (優生保護法) in 1948 aimed to curb hazardous illegal procedures and protect maternal health. Abortion of fetuses under 22 weeks was legalized as an exception based on economic or physical circumstances. Subsequently, in 1952, a revision to the law simplified abortion screening procedures.[15] However, during the 1970s and 1980s, another revision to the Japanese Eugenic Protection Law mandated cremation or burial for aborted fetuses beyond four months of gestation.[16]

The primary reason for conducting *mizuko kuyō* is to escape from unhappiness and negative karmic outcomes after losing a child. It was argued that *mizuko kuyō* is an empowering act which restores female agency in a patriarchal society.[17] On the other hand, the ritual has also been criticized for capitalizing on women's feelings of guilt.[18] The paradoxical nature of the ritual was noticed by Igeta Midori[19]: *in mizuko kuyo, Japanese Buddhism claims to offer salvation and consolation on the one hand, whereas on the other hand it stirs up women's sense of guilt*.[20] Nevertheless, the popularity of the ritual meant it transferred to other Buddhist countries including South Korea.

---

12 A.P. Brooks, "'Mizuko Kuyō' and Japanese Buddhism," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 8, no. 3 (1981), p. 121.

13 E. Hobsbawm, T. Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*..., pp. 4-6.

14 Choi Kil-sŏng , "Ilbon Ŭi Mijŭkko (水子) Kongyang Kwa Tongasia Ŭi Namasŏnho" (Japan's Mizuko Offerings and East Asian Preference for Boys), *Pigyo Minsokhak*, vol. 16 (1999), p. 200.

15 S. Morikuri, "Mizuko Kuyō no Hassei to Genjō" (The Rise of Mizuko Kuyō: Offering Prayers for the Spirits of Miscarried Babies), *Kokuritsu Rekishiminzokuhakubutsukan Kenkyū Hōkoku*, vol. 57 (1994), pp. 103-104.

16 Ibid.

17 E.G. Harrison, I. Midori, "Women's Responses to Child Loss in Japan: The Case of "Mizuko Kuyō" [with Response]," *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion*, vol. 11, no. 2 (2016), pp. 74-75.

18 G. Tanabe, "Review of William R. Lafleur, Liquid Life: Abortion and Buddhism in Japan," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 21, no. 4 (1994), p. 439.

19 E.G. Harrison, I. Midori, "Women's Responses...," p. 97.

20 This is also evident in the Korean equivalent of the ritual. According to Woo's research (Woo Hairan, "Nakt'aea ch'ŏndojaewa yŏsŏng" (Korean Buddhist Ritual for the Unborn Dead and Women),

The history of the South Korean *t'aea yŏngga ch'ŏndojae* ritual can be traced back to the mid-1980s. During that time, Sŏk Myog-ak, a Chogye Order monk who had studied Buddhism in Japan, experienced the *mizuko kuyo* ceremony performed in Japanese temples. Upon returning to Korea, he felt a similar ritual in Korea was needed. He translated part of a Japanese book on *suja* into Korean and published it in 1985 under the title *Baby, Please Forgive Me* (*agaya yongsŏhaedao*). The book presented various stories of women who experienced misfortune due to the sin of abortion and were able to escape bad luck only after the performance of a *mizuko kuyo* offering.[21] After the publication, Sŏk Myog-ak become one of the main teachers of the *t'aea yŏngga ch'ŏndojae* ritual.[22]

In 1987, Kang Cha-u, head priest of the Kŭmgang Temple located in Seoul, initiated the regular service of *t'aea yŏngga ch'ŏndojae*. He also published a book titled *Leaving into the Light of Darkness: Where Do Fetuses Go?* (*ŏdum ŭi pit ŭro ttŏna t'aeanŭn ŏdiro kanŭn'ga*?) in 1995 and established a dedicated hall for *t'aea yŏngga ch'ŏndojae*. Today, Kŭmgangsa, now known as the 'National Headquarters of *t'aea yŏngga ch'ŏndojae*', conducts the ritual in the form of a 49-day ritual. The participants of the *ch'ŏndojae* gather on the first Sunday of each month and perform a purification ceremony on the 49th day. This highlights the Kŭmgang Temple's role as a prominent temple dedicated to liberating the souls of miscarried and aborted fetuses.[23] However, there are other temples, like Taewŏnsa in South Chŏlla, that perform similar offerings.

Similarly to Sŏk Myog-ak, Ven. Hyangjang, the head monk of Taewŏn Temple, developed an interest in Japanese Buddhism and water child practices in the late 1980s. In 1993, he enshrined the T'aean Chijang Bodhisattva statue (胎安地藏菩薩象) at his temple, the first of its kind in Korea to provide salvation for the souls of lost fetuses. A distinctive feature of the T'aean Chijang Bodhisattva statue is that it holds a *shakujo* (錫杖, a pewter staff) in its right hand and cradles an infant in its left. This suggests that the statue was influenced by the Japanese Jizō sculptures (子安地藏菩薩) that are commonly seen assisting in the safe childbirth of children and by the Mizu Jizō Bodhisattva statues (水子地藏象) that are enshrined in temples where water child practices are performed.[24]

According to Woo,[25] *t'aea yŏngga ch'ŏndojae* was still relatively unknown in South Korea until the late 1990s. This was because the ritual, which had previously been primarily carried out through the efforts and activities by only a few monks of Chogye Order, began to be performed in other Buddhist orders, such as the T'aego Order,

Chonggyowa Munhwa, vol. 17 (2009), p. 162), nearly half of the 115 individuals surveyed indicated that it was only after participating in the ritual and listening to the monk's preaching that they began to perceive abortion as a form of killing.

21 Woo Hai Ran, "Ch'ŏndojae ŭi saeroun yangt'ae...," p. 172.

22 Ibid.

23 See the temple website at http://geumgangsa.or.kr/sub03/sub03.php, 22 IV 2024.

24 See the temple website at http://www.daewonsa.or.kr/coding/sub2/sub4.asp, 22 IV 2024.

25 Woo Hai Ran, "Ch'ŏndojae ŭi saeroun yangt'ae...," p. 173.

Ch'ŏnt'ae Order, Kwanŭm Order, and Pŏphwa Order. Furthermore, New Religious Movements related to Buddhism such as Wŏnbulgyo, Chŭngsando and Sŏn Buddhism also began to conduct similar rituals in the late 1990s.

Another example of a temple famous for *t'aea yŏngga ch'ŏndojae* is Kudamsa, which is led by a female monastic head. The temple is often referred to as a *sanctuary for fetal liberation ceremonies and repentance for parents*.[26] The temple was founded in 1993 by Ven. Chiyul, and initially functioned as a preaching hall before evolving into a centre for *t'aea yŏngga ch'ŏndojae*. Held three times a year, the ceremonies follow a collective 49-day format.[27] Kudamsa presents itself as a temple which addresses contemporary social concerns, particularly those related to reproductive health and emotional well-being.[28]

COMFORTING THE FETAL SPIRITS IN KUDAM TEMPLE: THE JUSTIFICATION AND LEGITIMIZATION OF THE TRADITION

1. Doctrinal Basis of *T'aea Yŏngga Ch'ŏndojae*

A number of scholars who study the Japanese practice of *mizuko kuyo* have criticized the ritual, arguing that it cannot be found in the Buddhist doctrine and that it was invented as a solution to certain problems by religious experts.[29] In other words, it is difficult to justify the ritual because it has no doctrinal basis. In contrast to Japan, however, Buddhist experts in Korea have sought to identify the doctrinal basis for the fetal sacrifice in Buddhist sutras, which discuss the sin of abortion and the evil karma that results from it. This association of the ritual with the elements that were integrated into Korea's religious tradition at an early stage not only assisted Buddhist elites in ensuring the ritual's authenticity for Korean believers, but also enabled the differentiation of the ritual from its Japanese counterpart.

In Buddhism, abortion is considered a violation of the first of the Five Precepts (*ogye* 五戒), the precept of non-violence or non-killing.[30] Consequently, it is strictly prohibited. This is confirmed by a short scripture, popularly known as *T'at'aegyŏng* (墮胎經).

Once, when the Buddha was residing in the castle of Rajagriha in the East, he observed a sentient being flying through the air from the East. The creature's immense body was entirely covered only in flesh, lacking any skin.

[26] *Kudam Temple*, at http://www.gudamsa.org/, 27 IV 2024.

[27] Also, see the temple website at ibid.

[28] Ven. Chiyul, abbot of Kudam Temple, in discussion with the author, 19 II 2023.

[29] H. Hardacre, *Marketing the Menacing Fetus in Japan*, Berkeley 1997, pp. 251-258, as cited in H. Woo, "Nakt'aea ch'ŏndojaewa yŏsŏng...," pp. 147-148.

[30] The Five Precepts of Buddhism refers to the abstention from taking life (*pulsalsaeng* 不殺生), theft (*pult'udo* 不偸盜), sexual misconduct (*pulsaŭm* 不邪淫), false speech (*pulmangŏ* 不妄語), and intoxication (*purŭmju* 不飮酒).

The Buddha then instructed the monks, 'Look! In the past, the sentient being had aborted a fetus by herself in this castle of Rajagriha. This act resulted in her being cast into hell and enduring an immeasurable amount of suffering for a hundred thousand years. Now, despite acquiring a body, she will continue to experience this torment due to the accumulation of her past sins'.[31]

This passage serves to illustrate the karmic consequences of abortion. It can be found on the official website of Kudam Temple.[32] The reason behind posting the sutra on the website is to inform visitors that abortion is regarded as a grave sin in Buddhism and to instil a sense of fear regarding the consequences of abortion in their consciousness. At the same time, the website also provides guidance on how to avoid such consequences. This entails repentance for one's wrongdoings and the offering of prayers to the unborn child.[33]

Furthermore, the same page links the spontaneous miscarriage of a fetus to the karmic consequences of sins committed in a previous life and presents another Buddhist scripture to support this view. The sutra, called *Ipt'aejanghoegyŏng* (入胎藏會經), can also be found in the 56-volume *Taebojŏkkyŏng* (大寶積經). Moreover, it is one of the scriptures read by Ven. Chiyul during the ritual of *t'aea yŏngga ch'ŏndojae*.[34] One of the passages of the sutra states: *If the child in the womb has committed numerous sins in a previous life or has caused others to have abortions, when its time to be born will come, a karmic bond may result in the child being restrained in a peculiar position and unable to move its hands and legs, and it will soon die in mother's womb*.[35]

According to Ven. Chiyul,[36] miscarriage should be regarded as a more serious sin than abortion. This is because it is a direct consequence of past transgressions, and therefore people should be aware of this.

The sinfulness of abortion and its consequences are also described in a sutra called *Changsumyŏlchoehojedongjadaranigyŏng* (長壽滅罪護諸童子陁羅尼經). The sutra explains that killing an unborn child by abortion is one of the gravest sins, and that those who accumulate such karma are doomed to endless suffering in the lower hells.[37] However, the same sutra also teaches a method of washing away this karma. This involves repentance, reciting sutras for seven days, and making offerings to the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas.[38]

The *Changsumyŏlchoegyŏng* posits that the cause of a child's sudden illness or death may be the resentment of the unborn child who was the victim of abortion.[39] It sug-

31 See T 99, 2:136a28–136b6.

32 *Kudam Temple*...

33 Ibid.

34 Ven. Chiyul, abbot of Kudam Temple, in discussion with the author, 19 II 2023.

35 See T 310, 11:330c26-330c28.

36 Ven. Chiyul, abbot of Kudam Temple, in discussion with the author, 19 II 2023.

37 See X 17, 1:394b13-394b21.

38 See X 17, 1:394c13-394c18.

39 See the chapter "Miracle Stories" of this study.

gests that appeasing this aggrieved soul may be achieved through the recitation of the '*changsumyŏlchoe hojedongja tarani'* mantra. This mantra is also believed to have the power to ensure a safe delivery, extend life, and cure disease.[40]

In conclusion, the practice of reading the aforementioned scriptures during the ritual serves few purposes. Firstly, it aims to permeate the participants' consciousness with the idea of abortion as the gravest sin. Secondly, it teaches how to deal with that bad karma. Moreover, it also provides an opportunity for the participants to engage with the sutra in a contemplative and reflective manner. Furthermore, during the ritual, the sutra is explained in-person by a monk, which imbues it with greater conviction and impact. Conversely, it also allows Buddhist religious practitioners to believe that the sinfulness of abortion stems from a transcendent source (the words of the Buddha) that has been transmitted through Buddhist scriptures since the old days. This, in turn, becomes a crucial vehicle for the transmission of religious traditions.[41] In other words, the explanation that religious traditions are transmitted from a transcendent source is not only universal, but also an integral part of the process of transmitting and legitimisation of each religious tradition.

Korean Buddhist elites use the doctrine to elucidate the karmic implications of abortion and to propose various strategies for its eradication, including *t'aea yŏngga ch'ŏndojae*. In doing so, they seek to demonstrate not only the necessity and the importance of the ritual, but above all the legitimacy of its ritual tradition. The following chapter will examine one of the most distinctive symbols of the Kudam Temple ritual: the guardian deity, known as Kwijamosin.[42]

2. Kwijamosin belief

Kwijamosin is the guardian deity of children. Although it is widely known and worshipped in India and Japan,[43] it was not recognized in Korea until Ven. Chiyul introduced it in her Buddhist temple.[44] A small statue of Kwijamosin can currently be found on the altar in the main hall of this temple, and the beliefs associated with it

40 See X 17, 397a2-397a13.

41 The debate over whether divine revelation is real or fabricated is irrelevant within the boundaries of academic discourse (J.R. Lewis, O. Hammer, *The Invention of Sacred Tradition*, Cambridge 2007, p. 2).

42 This has other consequences. Research conducted by Woo (Woo Hairan, "Nakt'aea ch'ŏndojaewa yŏsŏng...") indicates that approximately half of the individuals who participated in the ritual at Kudam Temple did not previously consider abortion to be a form of murder. Instead, they had come to recognize this as a consequence of the ceremony. Woo (ibid., p. 162) posits that the participants' sense of guilt was either renewed or strengthened by their participation in the ritual, and that the influence of the ritual expert was significant.

43 Chiyul, *Agaya Mianhada* (I'm Sorry my Baby), Sŏul 2021, p. 58.

44 According to Ven. Chiyul, she was encouraged to enshrine Kwijamosin in her temple by Pak Ch'an-su – the founder of the Museum of Wooden Crafts (*Mogabangmulgwan*) in Yŏju. Recognised as 'Korean Intangible Cultural Property No. 108' Pak Ch'an-su is also the author of the wooden statue of Kwijamosin from Kudam Temple (Ven. Chiyul, abbot of Kudam Temple, in discussion with the author, 19 II 2023).

continue to be passed on to the younger generation. The origin of the deity is recounted in numerous Buddhist scriptures. The following is an abridged version of the story from *Chappojanggyŏng* (雜寶藏經), which is also read by Ven. Chinul during the *t'aea yŏngga ch'ŏndojae ritual*.[45] *The mother of Kwija (鬼子) was the wife of an old ghost king, Pansaga (般闍迦), and the mother of ten thousand sons. Her youngest, beloved son was named Pingara (嬪伽羅). Kwija was ugly, fierce, and enjoyed eating children. People were terrified of her, and therefore, decided to ask Buddha for help. He listened to them, took Pingara from his mother, and hid him. A distraught mother searched for her beloved son for two years, but she failed to find him. She then heard about the Buddha, and decided to ask him for help. The Buddha said, 'You have lost only one son out of ten thousand sons, so why are you troubled and anxiously searching for him, while the rest of the people had only one, or three, or five sons, and you have eaten them all?' Kwijamo then replied, 'If you assist me in locating my son, I pledge that I will never harm another child again.' The Buddha responded, 'If you turn to the Three Noble Truths and the Five Precepts and refrain from taking a life until the end of your life, I will return your son to you.' Kwijamo complied with the Buddha's instructions and, the son was returned to her. He then proceeded to elucidate that in her previous existence, she had been the daughter of a king, yet had not adhered to the tenets of Buddhism. Consequently, she had been reincarnated in her present form*.[46]

Kwijamo was originally one of the *yakshas*, deities of indigenous Indian beliefs, and a child-eating smallpox demigod[47] that was later adopted by Buddhism. This is confirmed by the aforementioned narrative. The tale introduces Kwijamo as a yaksha who, following an encounter with Buddha, turns into Buddhism. This can be read as an explanation of the adoption process of an indigenous Indian deity into Buddhism through a mythological story. Moreover, the narrative also portrays Kwijamo as a maternal figure and a symbol of love. This is evident in the motif of her love for her son, which led her to break with the evil habits and embrace Buddhism. Similar images of Kwijamo can be found in different Buddhist scriptures. For example, in the *Mahamayagyŏng* (摩訶摩耶經), her love for her son also led her to stop killing and convert to Buddhism. However, in this instance, the narrative of Kwijamo is introduced by Buddha's mother Maya, which suggests that she holds a high opinion of deities' maternal qualities.[48] Conversely, in the *Chabahamgyŏng* (雜阿含經), the deity is introduced as an ordinary ascetic and is depicted as a loving mother who comforts and teaches her son.[49]

The Kwijamosin deity is represented in the Kudam Temple by a frightening *yaksha* statue (Figure 1).

[45] Ven. Chiyul, abbot of Kudam Temple, in discussion with the author, 19 II 2023.

[46] See T 203, 4:492a12–492a29.

[47] Cho Seung Mee, "Pulgyoŭi Moshin Harit'i Sinangŭi Hyŏngsŏnggwa Pyŏnch'ŏn yŏn'gu" (Study of the Origin and Development of the Mother Goddess Hārītī in the Buddhist Tradition), *Pulgyoyŏn'gu*, vol. 41 (2014), p. 109.

[48] Ibid., pp. 118-119.

[49] Ibid., p. 118.

Figure 1. Statue of Kwijamosin from Kudam Temple, picture by Dominik Rutana, 19 II 2023

This statue embodies the Kwijamosin faith and provides temple visitors with an opportunity to experience the deity first-hand. In the tradition of the Kudam Temple, Kwijamosin is also referred to as 'Aejamo' (愛子母, son's loving mother) and worshipped as a protector of babies and the god of safe delivery and nurturing. It is also believed that the deity can fulfill the wishes of those parents who pray for a child. What is of greater significance, however, is that in the Kudam Temple tradition of *t'aea yŏngga ch'ŏndojae* Kwijamosin is often referred to as 'Aejamo Chijangbosal' (愛子母地藏菩薩), which suggests that she is recognized as the embodiment of Chijang Bodhisattva. This Aejamo Chijang Bodhisattva is a guardian deity of aborted children and a symbol of the Kudam Temple.[50]

[50] Chiyul, *Agaya Mianhada*..., p. 61.

In Buddhism, Chijang Bodhisattva is a deity who has pledged to save all sentient beings from the suffering of hell and lead them to paradise.[51] Consequently, in each of the *ch'ŏndojae*, his role is very similar, namely that of a savior of condemned souls and a guide to the Pure Land of Amitabha. However, due to the influence of Japanese tradition of *mizuko kuyo*, its Korean equivalent also started to emphasize the role of Chijang as a guardian deity of children. As Woo[52] has observed, this is the reason why many statues of the Bodhisattva are found enshrined in Korean temples, where rituals dedicated to liberating the souls of miscarried and aborted fetuses are observed (Figure 2).

Figure 2. Sculpture of Aejamo Chijang Bodhisattva from Kudam Temple, picture by Dominik Rutana, 29 IX 2020

In addition to the aforementioned religious elements, the Kwijamosin faith also provides for the education and development of ritual participants on a psychological and ethical level. Firstly, Kwijamosin is not merely a goddess, but also a deity with a strong maternal character. Consequently, for women who have experienced the misfortune of miscarriage or abortion, Kwijamosin is a deity that they can relate to on many levels. Furthermore, women who visit the Kudam Temple and participate in the ritual or simply consult Ven. Chiyul, have the opportunity to learn that a mother's love for her child is boundless. This provides them with the chance to develop their own

[51] For reference, see T 412, 13:778b14–778b16.

[52] Woo Hai Ran, "Ch'ŏndojae ŭi saeroun yangt'ae...," p. 176.

ethical standards.[53] Finally, the story of Kwijamo teaches that even the gravest of sins – murder – can be eradicated by devotion to Buddhism. This makes it similar to the scriptures mentioned in the previous chapter, although it does not explicitly address the sin of abortion. However, the story depicts the killing of numerous children and elucidates the means by which the negative karma accumulated by this sin can be eradicated. The act of repentance for the sin and the subsequent worship of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas constitutes a form of atonement. The *t'aea yŏngga ch'ŏndojae* represent the medium through which this atonement can be fulfilled. The final chapter of this study will focus on the miracle stories associated with the tradition of *t'aea yŏngga ch'ŏndojae* from Kudam Temple. These stories highlight the perceived effectiveness of the ritual and emphasize its necessity.

3. Miracle stories

The role of religious professionals and doctrines in the transmission and dissemination of ritual traditions is of great importance. However, from the perspective of the believer, it is of greater significance that the ritual fulfills their religious and psychological expectations and has factual validity than that it is socially or religiously legitimate. At the religious level, miraculous stories are one of the most effective means of reflecting people's expectations of certain beliefs, rituals, etc. and of determining their factual effectiveness. Today, numerous miraculous accounts related to the ritual for the liberation of the fetal spirits from the Kudam Temple can be easily accessed.[54] In this section, we will present a few examples of these stories. The first account concerns a woman who terminated her pregnancy: *A woman who had terminated her pregnancy on multiple occasions for personal reasons continued to experience miscarriages and was unable to give birth. To identify the underlying cause of these miscarriages, she sought advice from Chiyul, who recommended that she hold the ch'ŏndojae for her aborted children. During the ritual, the woman saw the spirit of a four-month-old child and came to realize that not only the abortion, but her negative thoughts towards the child – as she had revealed to Chiyul that she felt sorry for aborting the baby but at the same time wanted it to die naturally in her womb – this eventually became the reason for her miscarriages. After that, she continued her prayers, which, however, were no longer focused on the desire to conceive another baby in this life. Instead, they were focused on cleansing her karma and requests for rebirth in a better future world.*[55]

This narrative emphasizes the sin of abortion by highlighting the Buddhist view of the fetus as a living being. In essence, the transgression of abortion, regardless of the circumstances, inevitably causes the resentment of the aborted fetus and the misfortune of the

[53] Interestingly, during the interview Ven. Chiyul stated that *nowadays, every mother is like Kwijamoshin* (Ven. Chiyul, abbot of Kudam Templ, in discussion with the author, 19 II 2023).

[54] See Chiyul, *Agaya Mianhada*...; Kudam Temple website.

[55] See the story "Aborted Child and Mother's Heart" (*Nakt'ae aiwa ŏmma maŭm*), available on the Kudam Temple website at http://www.gudamsa.org/.

abortionist, which in this case manifests as a miscarriage. The narrative also reflects the Buddhist perspective on life and death, as evidenced by the motif of the fetus being aware of the mother's emotions. As previously discussed in this study, Buddhism considers the moment of conception (*saengyu*) to be the beginning of life. This implies that abortion is an act which, according to Buddhist teachings, is equivalent to killing a living being.

In contrast to the preceding narrative, the subsequent account introduces a motif of mystical outcomes associated with prayers, repentance, and *ch'ŏndojae*, which was held for the soul of an aborted child. *There was a woman who was a regular visitor to the Kudam Temple and was always willing to help out with the temple's work. She had two daughters. However, her husband wanted to have more children, so they decided to conceive another child. Unfortunately, whenever the woman got pregnant, she miscarried. Upon hearing this, the nun at the temple recommended that the woman hold the t'aea yŏngga ch'ŏndojae to comfort the souls of miscarried children. The woman has held the ritual and subsequently became pregnant again, but miscarried once more shortly thereafter. After this, she met with the nun once more and expressed her sorrow, saying, 'I have once again accommodated bad karma, and I apologize for my child.' The nun responded, 'It is your destiny to have a child, so you should repent for your sins and continue to pray.' The woman followed the nun's advice and eventually gave birth to a handsome son*.[56]

This narrative introduces two interrelated motifs: the miscarriage of a baby and the miraculous results of prayers and penitential offerings performed for the miscarried child. The narrative suggests that sincere devotion and dedication to Buddhism will always bring positive results. It also illustrates people's faith and hope in the miraculous efficacy of a certain ritual. The narrative suggests that the protagonist's misfortune was resolved by repentance prayers and the performance of a ritual for the liberation of the soul of an unborn child. This implies that the ritual is efficacious and can meet people's needs and expectations. In other words, this narrative illustrates the fundamental expectations of the people regarding the tradition of *t'aea yŏngga ch'ŏndojae*. It also conveys the notion that if one is devoted and sincere in their beliefs, their aspirations will be fulfilled. Consequently, these narratives serve as a crucial medium for disseminating the Kudam Temple tradition of the *t'aea yŏngga ch'ŏndojae* among the populace.

Among the numerous accounts of miraculous occurrences associated with the ritual for the liberation of the fetal spirit from Kudam Temple, one particularly noteworthy example introduces the motif in which the spirit of an aborted baby affects not only the lives of the would-be parents, but also those of their relatives. *A couple met at university and conceived a child together. But because they weren't married and couldn't really afford to raise a child, they decided to have an abortion. Later, when they finally got married and had their first child, they suddenly drifted apart. The relationship between the child and the father was also not good. After a while, the child started having problems at school and his behaviour began to drive his mother crazy. Eventually, the couple began to consider divorce. It was then that they met a nun who told them that the ghost of the aborted child was the reason for all the bad things that were happening, and advised them to do ch'ŏndojae for his*

[56] See the story *Fate* (*Inyŏn*), available on the Kudam Temple website at http://www.gudamsa.org/.

soul. After that, the relations in the family have improved a lot – the couple has become close again, and they have solved all the problems related to their child.[57]

The narrative reflects the traditional Korean worldview of life and death, which posits that the grudges of those who have died from what is perceived as an 'unnatural' or 'bad' death affect the living.[58] One method of avoiding retribution is through the practice of *ch'ŏndojae* for the soul of a vengeful spirit. In other words, if a person has previously aborted a child and subsequently encountered numerous difficulties in life, the cause of this is the spirit of the aborted fetus, which has not been properly appeased after death and sent to the otherworld. Therefore, the conclusion of this story is that the grudge of the aborted soul can only be resolved through the ritual offerings, which ultimately results in the passage of the aborted soul to the next world. Furthermore, the narrative illuminates an additional beneficial aspect of death rituals – psychological healing.

As Michael J. Pettid posits,[59] belief in vengeful ghosts can be understood as an expression of both individual and collective guilt associated with the loss of human life. In essence, vengeful ghosts are a psychological expression of the guilt carried by the living. A parallel argument could be drawn between this belief and the notion that aborted spirits can cause misfortune and unhappiness. Consequently, to overcome this conviction and heal the mind, it is necessary to appease the spirits that are its manifestation. This can be achieved through rituals like *t'aea yŏngga ch'ŏndojae* which act as a therapeutic medium. While the narratives in this chapter emphasize the ritual's effectiveness, they also indirectly suggest its importance in addressing the psychological repercussions of abortion. Moreover, the narratives assign responsibility for miscarriage or abortion to women, condemning both acts as sins. This creates a double burden that they believe can only be alleviated through the rituals offered by the Buddhist institution, making them indispensable.

CONCLUSION

This study examines the genesis of the *t'aea yŏngga ch'ŏndojae* tradition from the Kudam Temple and the factors that justify it and explain the necessity of the ritual. The ritual for the liberation of fetal spirit was introduced to Korea from Japan in the late 1980s.

[57] See story *Happy Family* (*Haengbok'an kajŏng*), available on the Kudam Temple website at http://www.gudamsa.org/.

[58] This type of treatment can also be interpreted as being aimed exclusively at Koreans. The use of elements derived from native beliefs allows the ritual to be popularized as something 'Korean,' thus distinguishing it from other similar traditions. See: M.J. Pettid, "Shamanic Rites for the Dead in Choson Korea," in C. Horlyck, M.J. Pettid (eds), *Death, Mourning, and the Afterlife in Korea: From Ancient to Contemporary Times*, Honolulu 2014, pp. 137-154; Yi Yong Bhum, "Divinities of Korean Popular Beliefs," in Yong Bhum Lee, Kyun Yup Lee, Jong Song Choi (eds), *Korean Popular Beliefs*, Seoul 2015, pp. 161-182.

[59] M.J. Pettid, "Ghostly Encounters: Perceptions of Death and Afterlife in Koryo and Early Choson," in C. Horlyck, M.J. Pettid (eds), *Death, Mourning, and the Afterlife in Korea: From Ancient to Contemporary Times*, Honolulu 2014, pp. 186-187.

This study has argued that in the process of establishing a new, invented sacred tradition, it was essential to identify the tradition's foundation in the long-established doctrine and to link it to the dogma. These three elements were crucial for the creation and evolution of a new sacred tradition and its subsequent justification and legitimization as part of the Korean tradition.

T'aea yŏngga ch'ŏndojae is a relatively new form of Buddhist ritual which had not previously been observed in pre-modern Korea. It gained popularity because it addressed the needs of contemporary Korean society, particularly women who had experienced abortion or miscarriage. However, while the ritual provides comfort for women who have had abortions or miscarriages, it also reinforces a conservative view on morality, placing blame on women for these events. Paradoxically, *t'aea yŏngga ch'ŏndojae* offers a superstructure to women's experiences by inducing guilt while offering relief and security at the same time.

This study concentrated on the ritual for the liberation of fetal spirits from the Kudam Temple. However, as noted in the article, such rituals are not exclusive to the Buddhist community. They constitute a type of invented tradition that transcends cultural or religious boundaries, applying to the expectations of individuals regardless of their personal beliefs. Religious practitioners have recognized this phenomenon and consequently adopted analogous rituals within their own traditions. Comparative research on fetal spirit liberation rituals across different religious traditions would therefore contribute to our understanding of how newly invented sacred traditions are applied in diverse cultural contexts. Moreover, in terms of invented traditions, future research could delve into the specific socio-cultural factors that influenced the ritual's popularisation and dissemination in the 1990s and 2000s. Additionally, one might consider whether recent socio-cultural shifts in South Korea, including a marked decrease in the number of abortions, legislative changes regarding abortion decriminalization, and growing feminist movements, have led to a change in perceptions of abortion and a corresponding decline in interest in or need for rituals like *t'aea yŏngga ch'ŏndojae*. Alternatively, these developments might result in another modernization of the ritual's elements. Further investigation is necessary to address these questions.

REFERENCES

An Gyeong-Sik, "Pulgyo Ch'ŏndojae Ŭi Kyoyuk Chŏk Ŭimi" (A Study on Educational Meaning of Chondojae in Buddhism), *Chonggyo Kyoyuk Hagyŏn'gu*, vol. 46 (2014), pp. 97-121.

Brooks A.P., "'Mizuko Kuyō' and Japanese Buddhism," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 8, no. 3 (1981), pp. 119-147.

Chiyul, *Agaya Mianhada* (I'm Sorry my Baby), Sŏul 2021.

Cho Seung Mee, "Pulgyoŭi Moshin Harit'i Sinangŭi Hyŏngsŏnggwa Pyŏnch'ŏn yŏn'gu" (Study of the Origin and Development of the Mother Goddess Hārītī in the Buddhist Tradition), *Pulgyoyŏn'gu*, vol. 41 (2014), pp. 107-148.

Choi Kil-sŏng, "Ilbon Ŭi Mijŭkko (水子) Kongyang Kwa Tongasia Ŭi Namasŏnho" (Japan's Mizuko Offerings and East Asian Preference for Boys), *Pigyo Minsokhak*, vol. 16 (1999), pp. 195-210.

Chŏng Sun-il, *Pulgyoindosa: Kŭ Sasangjŏk Ihae* (History of Buddhism in India: Understanding of Ideas), Sŏul 2004.

Harrison E.G., Midori I., "Women's Responses to Child Loss in Japan: The Case of "Mizuko Kuyō" [with Response]," *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion*, vol. 11, no. 2 (2016), pp. 67-100.

Hobsbawm E., Ranger T., *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge 2012.

Hustoft H., Hestad K.A., Lien L., Møller P., Danbolt L.J., ""If I Didn't Have My Faith I Would Have Killed Myself!": Spiritual Coping in Patients Suffering from Schizophrenia," *International Journal for the Psychology of Religion*, vol. 23, no. 2 (2013), pp. 126-144, https://doi.org/10.1080/10508619.2012.688003.

Jackson A.D., "Invented Traditions in Korea – Contention and Internationalization," in A.D. Jackson et al. (eds), *Invented Traditions in North and South Korea*, Honolulu 2022, pp. 1-39.

Jackson A.D. et al. (eds), *Invented Traditions in North and South Korea*, Honolulu 2022.

Jogye Buddhism Propagation Center, *Pulgyo Ŭi Ihae Wa Sinhaeng* (Buddhism: Understanding and Practice), Sŏul 2013.

Koenig H.G., "Religion as Cognitive Schema," *International Journal for the Psychology of Religion*, vol. 5, no. 1 (1995), pp. 31-37, https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327582ijpr0501_4.

Krause N., "Lifetime Trauma, Prayer, and Psychological Distress in Late Life," *International Journal for the Psychology of Religion*, vol. 19, no. 1 (2009), pp. 55–72, https://doi.org/10.1080/10508610802471112.

Krause N., Ellison C.G., "Forgiveness by God, Forgiveness of Others, and Psychological Well-Being in Late Life," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, vol. 42, no. 1 (2003), pp. 77-93, https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-5906.00162.

Kudam Temple, at http://www.gudamsa.org/.

Kŭmgang Temple, http://geumgangsa.or.kr/sub03/sub03.php.

Lewis J.R., Hammer O., *The Invention of Sacred Tradition*, Cambridge 2007.

McIntosh D.N., Silver R.C., Wortman C.B., "Religion's Role in Adjustment to a Negative Life Event: Coping With the Loss of a Child," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, vol. 65, no. 4 (1993), pp. 812-821, https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.65.4.812.

Morikuri S., "Mizuko Kuyō no Hassei to Genjō" (The Rise of Mizuko Kuyō: Offering Prayers for the Spirits of Miscarried Babies), *Kokuritsu Rekishiminzokuhakubutsukan Kenkyū Hōkoku*, vol. 57 (1994), pp. 95-127, https://doi.org/10.15024/00000680.

Nanda A., "The Concept of Intermediate Existence in the Early Buddhist Theory of Rebirth," *Asian Philosophy*, vol. 29, no. 2 (2019), pp. 144-159. https://doi.org/10.1080/09552367.2019.1611999.

Pargament K.I., *The Psychology of Religion and Coping: Theory, Research, Practice*, Guilford 1997.

Pettid M.J., "Ghostly Encounters: Perceptions of Death and Afterlife in Koryo and Early Choson," in C. Horlyck, M.J. Pettid (eds), *Death, Mourning, and the Afterlife in Korea: From Ancient to Contemporary Times*, Honolulu 2014, pp. 171-189.

Pettid M.J., "Shamanic Rites for the Dead in Choson Korea," in C. Horlyck, M.J. Pettid (eds), *Death, Mourning, and the Afterlife in Korea: From Ancient to Contemporary Times*, Honolulu 2014, pp. 137-154.

T = Takakusu J. et. al. (eds)., *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* (Taishō Edition of the Buddhist Canon), 100 vols, Tokyo 1924-1932[-1935].

T 99 = *Za a han hing* 雜阿含經 (Samyuktāgama Sūtra), T 99, 2:1a4–373c29.

T 203 = *Za bao cang jing* 雜寶藏經 (Samyukta Ratnapitaka Sūtra), T 203, 4:453b24–499a29.

T 310 = *Da bao ji jing* 大寶積經 (Mahāratnakūta Sūtra), T 310, 11:1a1–685c29.

T 412 = *Dizang pusa penyuan jing* 地藏菩薩本願經 (Ksitigarbha Bodhisattva Pūrvapranidhāna Sūtra), T 412, 13:777c8–789c29.

Taewŏn Temple, at http://www.daewonsa.or.kr/coding/sub2/sub4.asp.

Tanabe G., "Review of William R. Lafleur, Liquid Life: Abortion and Buddhism in Japan," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 21, no. 4 (1994), pp. 437-440.

Woo Hairan, "Ch'ŏndojae ŭi saeroun yangt'ae: nakt'aea rŭl wihan ch'ŏndojae" (A New Type of Buddhist Death Ritual: the Ritual for the Unborn Dead), *Chonggyo Munhwa Pip'yŏng*, vol. 16 (2009), pp. 170-201.

Woo Hai Ran, "Nakt'a,ea ch'ŏndojaewa yŏsŏng" (Korean Buddhist Ritual for the Unborn Dead and Women), *Chonggyowa Munhwa*, vol. 17 (2009), pp. 133-172.

X = Kawamura K. et al. (eds), *Shinsan Dai Nippon zokuzōkyō* (Newly Compiled Supplement to the Great Japanese Buddhist Canon), 90 vols, Tokyo 1975-1989.

X 17 = *Chang shou mie zui hu zhu tong zi tuo luo ni jing* 長壽滅罪護諸童子陁羅尼經 (The Dharani Sutra on Longevity, the Extinction of Sins and the Protection of Young Children), X 17, 1:394a3-400a24.

Yi Yong Bhum, "Divinities of Korean Popular Beliefs," in Yong Bhum Lee, Kyun Yup Lee, Jong Song Choi (eds), *Korean Popular Beliefs*, Seoul 2015, pp. 161-182.

Dominik RUTANA – an assistant professor in the Department of Asian Studies, SWPS University. He received his PhD degree in Religious Studies from The Academy of Korean Studies in Seongnam, South Korea. His research focuses on Korean Buddhism, Shamanism, New Religious Movements and Korean mythology and folklore.

Roman HUSARSKI – an assistant lecturer at the Institute of the Middle and Far East, Jagiellonian University. He holds a PhD from the Institute of Religious Studies, and two MA degrees in Film Studies and Asian Studies, all from the Jagiellonian University in Kraków. His research interests include modern Korean myths, popular Buddhism, and the relationship between state and religion.