

The *Kāśāya* Robe of the Past Buddha Kāśyapa in the Miraculous Instruction Given to the Vinaya Master Daoxuan (596–667)*

THE TEXT

Toward the end of his life, in the second month of the year 667, the eminent Vinaya Master Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667) had a visionary experience in which gods appeared to him and instructed him. The contents of this divine teaching are recorded in several works, such as the *Daoxuan lüshi gantong lu* 道宣律師感通錄 [Record of the Miraculous Instruction Given to Vinaya Master Daoxuan] and the *Zhong Tianzhu Sheweiguo Qihuan si tujing* 中天竺舍衛國祇洹寺圖經 [Jetavana Diagram Scripture]. The *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林 [A Forest of Pearls from the Dharma Garden], compiled by Daoxuan's collaborator Daoshi 道世 (?–683), also preserves several passages which are said to be part of Daoxuan's visionary instructions. These passages appear to have been taken from another record of the same event, titled *Daoxuan lüshi zhuchi ganying ji* 道宣律師住持感應記 [Record of the Miraculous Instruction on

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the Preservation of the Buddha's Teaching Given to Vinaya Master Daoxuan].

The quotations from the *Daoxuan lüshi zhuchi ganying ji* take the form of newly revealed sermons of the Buddha; and they tell stories about various objects used by the Buddha during his lifetime. Focusing our attention on these objects, we may read these stories and the elaborate frames within which they are presented as attempts to construct imaginary cultic objects.

Though these stories about imaginary cultic objects are put together with considerable care, the passages that contain them show a degree of confusion and offer clues that shed light on the way in which the records of the instruction Daoxuan received from the gods developed. In the first part of this chapter, a brief description of these passages will be given, followed by a more focused examination of the passages on the robe Kāśyapa Buddha handed over to Śākyamuni.

Subsequent sections of the chapter are my two attempts to place these passages on Kāśyapa's robe within the larger context of medieval Chinese Buddhist discourse on monastic robes. I first trace how distinctively soteriological discourses on the robe emerged in two texts: Daoxuan's *vinaya* commentary and the account of the dharma robe in the *Fayuan zhulin*. I then turn to a discussion of the stories about the robe in the *Ayuwang zhuan* 阿育王傳 [Skt. *Aśokāvadāna*; Legend of King Aśoka]. I offer here the suggestion that in the *Daoxuan lüshi zhuchi ganying ji*, the *Ayuwang zhuan*'s story of the Buddha's disciple Kāśyapa's robe was reshaped into a story of the robe of the previous Buddha of the same name, Kāśyapa. The chapter concludes with brief comments on the possible significance of this discussion in light of the prominent role that the account of the transmission of Bodhidharma's robe played in early Chan.

***Daoxuan lüshi zhuchi ganying ji* 道宣律師住持感應記: The Revelation of a Heavenly Scripture**

Daoxuan was a well-known authority on the *vinaya*, i.e., the monastic rules, and had by then also compiled a massive biographical collection of the lives of monks. He had also been appointed as the head

monk of the Ximing si 西明寺 in 658, when the monastery was established in the capital city by Emperor Gaozong 高宗 (r. 649–683) at his old residence. In the summer of 664, Daoxuan left the monastery and returned to the Jingye si 淨業寺 on Mount Zhongnan 終南. Daoxuan produced a number of exhaustive works in the last years of his life. He appears to have continued this work at Mount Zhongnan, and his collection of stories of Chinese Buddhist miracles was also completed there in 664. But Daoxuan's primary preoccupation was to construct an Ordination Platform at the Jingye Monastery. In the second month of 667, around the time when he said he received his instruction from gods, Daoxuan established the first Ordination Platform in Central China at the Jingye Monastery, and an ordination ceremony was performed there in the fourth month of the same year.¹ Daoxuan died in the tenth month that year.

It was in the second month of 667, only several months before his death, that deities visited Daoxuan. The contents of this divine instruction are reproduced in several works. References to the divine instruction appear in essays attributed to Daoxuan himself, the aforementioned *Daoxuan lüshi gantong lu*² and the *Zhong Tianzhu Sheweiguo Qibuan si tujing*,³ both of which claim to reproduce parts of this instruction, in addition to the *Guanzhong chuangli jietan tujing* 關中創立戒壇圖經 [The Platform Diagram Scripture].⁴

The *Fayuan zhubin* 法苑珠林 [A Forest of Pearls from the Dharma Garden], an encyclopedic anthology of scriptural passages and miracle stories compiled by Daoshi 道世 (?–683), a close collaborator with

¹ *T* no. 1892, 45: 818b17. On Ordination Platforms, see Toru Funayama, 'Gunaṅvarman and Some of the Earliest Examples of Ordination Platforms (*jietan*) in China', in *Images, Relics, and Legends: The Formation of Buddhist Sacred Sites*, eds. James Benn, Jinhua Chen, and James Robson (Oakville, Ontario: Mosaic Press, 2012), 21–45.

² *T* no. 2107, 52: 435–442. The work is also known as *Lüxiang gantong lu* 律相感通錄 [The Record of Miraculous Instructions on *Vinaya* Matters], *T* no. 1898, 45: 874–882.

³ *T* no. 1899, 45: 883–896.

⁴ *T* no. 1892, 45: 807–819.

Daoxuan at the Ximing Monastery, also contains long passages that parallel parts of the record of the divine instruction presented in the essays attributed to Daoxuan himself.⁵ In addition, the *Fayuan zhulin* preserves several passages which are not paralleled in these essays but are also considered part of Daoxuan's visionary instruction. These appear to have been taken from another record of this same event.⁶ The full title of this record seems to have been *Daoxuan lüshi zhuchi ganying ji* 道宣律師住持感應記 [The Record of the Miraculous Instruction on the Preservation of the Buddha's Teaching Given to Vinaya Master Daoxuan]. According to its preface, the *Fayuan zhulin* was completed in 668, only several months after Daoxuan's death.⁷ These various passages in the *Fayuan zhulin* which bear on Daoxuan's exchanges with deities must have been taken from sources that were compiled sometime between the second lunar month of 667 and the third month of the following year.

In this chapter I focus on the *Daoxuan lüshi zhuchi ganying ji* that

⁵ *T* no. 2122, 53: 10.353c–355b (Passage A); 10.362b–363c (Passage B); 11.367c–368b (Passage C); 12.376a–378a (Passage D); 35.560a–563b (Passage E); 38.589b–591a (Passage F); 98.1008a–1009a (Passage G). See Appendix below for further details.

⁶ The title of the source for the long introductory passage in *T* no. 2122, 53: 10.353c22–354b19 is not given, and other passages mention slightly different titles: 'Daoxuan lüshi ganying ji' 道宣律師感應記 (*T* no. 2122, 53: 10.362b17; 12.376a25; 39.597c28–29), 'Xuan lüshi zhuchi ganying ji' 宣律師住持感應記 (*T* no. 2122, 53: 11.367c16; 99. 1017a17), 'Xuan lüshi zhuchi ganying' 宣律師住持感應, (*T* no. 2122, 53: 38.589b14), 'Daoxuan lüshi zhuchi ganying' 道宣律師住持感應, (*T* no. 2122, 53: 98.1008a16). The passages in *juan* 11 and 35 refer to the first passage in *juan* 10 as explaining the context (*yinyuan* 因緣) of the exchanges quoted there (*T* no. 2122, 53: 367c16, 17/560a25).

⁷ *T* no. 2122, 53: 1.269b10, 11. The date of completion is given here as the 30th day of the third month of the first year of Zongzhang 總章 period (668–669). According to his biography in the *Song Gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 [Song Biography of Eminent Monks], Daoxuan died on the third day of the tenth month of the Qianfeng 乾封 period (667) (*T* no. 2061, 50: 14.791a20).

survived as a series of quotations in the *Fayuan zhulin*. The first of these passages offers a detailed account of the circumstances of Daoxuan's vision; the complete work, if it existed at all, appears to have described how the Buddha's teaching is to be preserved after his death. Subsequent passages tell stories about various objects used by the Buddha during his lifetime and the fate of the scriptures containing his teaching. These imaginary cultic objects (or 'contact relics') are the principal subject matter of these stories.⁸ By focusing on these objects, we may thus read these stories, as well as the larger framework of the Buddha's sermon and the story about the miraculous instruction gods offered to Daoxuan, as elaborate attempts to construct imaginary objects.

As noted above, these stories about imaginary cultic objects show a degree of confusion and offer clues that shed light on how the records about the instruction that Daoxuan received from deities developed. These records appear to have been produced in stages. Sometimes different stories appear to have been written on a given object, and sometimes the clumsy hand of the editor is visible, especially when stories told in the same passage do not fit together properly. I first describe briefly the content of these passages, and then focus on the passages on the robe that Kāśyapa Buddha handed to Śākyamuni. Śākyamuni entrusted this robe to Mañjuśrī who would in turn transmit the robe to the Buddha Maitreya when he appears in the future. Śākyamuni also instructed the Buddhas gathered from all ten directions to make the gift of their robes and arranged to preserve them in newly constructed jewel-*stūpas*.

The stories in the *Daoxuan lüshi zhuchi ganying ji* did not emerge in a vacuum. Two sources shed light on the construction of its robe story: first, the treatment of the monastic robe in Daoxuan's *vinaya* commentary and the related *Fayuan zhulin*, and second, the stories about the robe in the *Ayuwang zhuān* 阿育王傳 [Skt. *Aśokāvadāna*; Legend of King Aśoka]. In Daoxuan's commentary, practical instructions on monastic robes are combined with striking accounts

⁸ I thank James Benn for drawing my attention to the concept of contact relics.

of the robe's distinctly soteriological significance. Stories about the extensive construction of *stūpas* all over the world and about the transmission of Śākyamuni's robe appear in *Ayuwang zhuān*. The robe story in the *Zhuchi ganying ji* help explain the prominent role that the story of the transmission of Bodhidharma's robe played in early Chan. Issues that closely parallel those in the following discussion also appear in Bernard Faure's insightful discussion of Dōgen's 道元 (1200–1253) essays on monastic robe.⁹

The Buddha's Sermons in the *Daoxuan lüshi zhuchi ganying ji*

The *Daoxuan lüshi zhuchi ganying ji* presents the Buddha's sermons preserved in heaven and only revealed to Daoxuan. These passages may be read as remarkable examples of Chinese Buddhist attempt to create a Buddhist scripture of their own; the unusual circumstances of Daoxuan's miraculous experience enabled the author(s) of the passages to present this new scripture as clearly a revelation received in China, *and* as a record based on a scripture kept in heaven, which could be even more authentic than the translations of Indian scriptures that are preserved in the human world.¹⁰

These sermons are written following a clearly recognizable format. They first note the circumstances under which the Buddha gives the sermon, the occasion of the sermon, and the composition of the assembly, all of which are often described in detail.¹¹ The Buddha begins his sermon by recalling how, at one time, either shortly after he had left his father's palace or shortly before he achieved enlightenment, some deity appeared and presented him with an object, which could be a razor, a robe, or a bowl. The deity explains that the object

⁹ Faure, 'Quand l'habit', 335–69.

¹⁰ Robert F. Campany, 'Buddhist Revelation and Taoist Translation in Early Medieval China', *Taoist Resources* 4 (1989): 1–30.

¹¹ *T* no. 2122, 53: 10.354b (passage A), 362b (passage B); 11.367c (passage C); 35.560a, 562a (passage E); 98.1008a (passage G).

has been passed from one Buddha to another Buddha during the present Cosmic Age of the Wise, and that he, the deity, was entrusted with the object by the previous Buddha, so that he could give it to Śākyamuni. The message here is clearly that the object, used by the previous buddhas at crucial point in their lives, would also be used by Śākyamuni at a certain point in his own life and that it would also be preserved for the future Buddhas who would again use the object in the same way. The focus of the sermon then shifts to a discussion about the *stūpas* where the object is placed. Sometimes a *stūpa* is presented to the Buddha by a deity; sometimes the Buddha instructs deities to have the *stūpas* constructed. The elaborate account of the *stūpas* is followed by the Buddha's entrustment of the *stūpas* to someone who would guard the object after the Buddha enters *nirvāṇa*. Various locations where the *stūpas* are to be kept are also mentioned, and in this context, the Buddha frequently predicts that sometime after his death, evil monks and rulers will attack the True Teaching (*zhengfa* 正法). Furthermore, bodhisattvas are instructed to take the *stūpas* to numerous places where they would serve to help preserve the True Teaching.

This basic formula regarding the Buddha's sermons is repeated in several passages, each telling a story about different cultic objects. In this process, a vision surrounding the preservation of the Buddha's teaching starts to emerge, that is, the True Teaching revealed by the Buddha from time to time when he appears in the world is preserved at the present time in the *stūpas* that house the various objects used by all the Buddhas of the present cosmic age. After Śākyamuni enters *nirvāṇa*, there would be times when the existence of the True Teaching is seriously threatened by hostile kings or evil monks who follow wrong teachings and violate monastic rules, but even at such times, the True Teaching would be preserved securely in these *stūpas*, and it could be re-established by building numerous copies of these *stūpas* everywhere.¹²

Although the Buddha's sermons are reproduced repeatedly accord-

¹² The preservation of the Teaching was an important topic for Daoxuan, who introduced the category of 'Protection of the Dharma' (*hufa* 護法)

ing to a set formula, these sermons also contain some ambiguities and tension. Often scriptures which record the Buddha's teaching, particularly the *vinaya*, are mentioned prominently in describing the contents of the *stūpas* along with the main cultic objects around which the *stūpas* are constructed. However, as many stories develop in this direction, it becomes unclear whether it is the objects used by the Buddhas and placed in the *stūpa* or the scriptures themselves that are meant to preserve the True Teaching.¹³

Some of the sermons are said to have been given at the Jetavana residence (Passages B, E, and G). In these sermons, the Buddha turns to the Ordination Platform, which Daoxuan believed to have been first established at this monastery,¹⁴ and performs certain rites.¹⁵ Sometimes the Buddha instructs that the cultic object, around which the story turns, is to be taken to the Ordination Platform at the Jetavana.¹⁶ The records of the instruction Daoxuan received from gods often mention that Daoxuan was given information about the Jetavana. In the *Zhong Tianzhu Sheweiguo Qihuan si tujing* which he claims to be a summary of a massive work with the same title and to be existing in heaven, Daoxuan offers a detailed description of this

in his biographical collection *Xu Gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳, *T* no. 2060, 50: 23.624b13–24.643b22.

¹³ The exchange between Daoxuan and the god in Passage D centers around the story of the compilation of the scripture after the Buddha's death and the preparation of various copies (*T* no. 2122, 53: 12.376a25–c10 and 377b24–c26). This set of exchanges is interrupted by a long section, which I believe was inserted by a later editor, that centers around the topic of a jewelled *stūpa* (*T* no. 2122, 53: 12.376c11–377b25). The last section of Passage D (*T* no. 2122, 53: 12.377c27–378a25) appears also to be a later addition.

¹⁴ *T* no. 1892, 45: 807c3–15.

¹⁵ The Ordination Platform is mentioned in Passage B (*T* no. 2122, 53: 10.363a21, 22, 24), Passage E (*T* no. 2122, 53: 35.560c3, 17, 20, 23, 28; 561c24, 27; 562a22, b16; 563a14), and Passage G (*T* no. 2122, 53: 98.1008a19, b25, b29, c3, c8, c15).

¹⁶ *T* no. 2122, 53: 35.560c22, 561c27 (passage E); 38.589b28; 98.1008c17 (passage G).

monastery.¹⁷ In this imaginary Jetavana, the Ordination Platforms occupy an important place.¹⁸ As I noted earlier, Daoxuan was also preoccupied with the establishment of an Ordination Platform at his own monastery when he had the vision of deities visiting and instructing him. This preoccupation may have been reflected in his account of the instruction he received from gods. But as a consequence, the relationship between the *stūpas* where various objects used by the Buddha are kept and the Ordination Platform at the Jetavana Monastery also became unclear.

In order to more thoroughly examine the contents of the Buddha's sermons in the heavenly scripture revealed to Daoxuan, I will now turn to the sermon on the robe passed on from the past Buddha Kāśyapa to Śākyamuni. In this sermon, the ambiguity about the relationship between the Ordination Platform and the *stūpa* looms large.

The Sermon on Kāśyapa Buddha's Robe

This long quotation on the Buddha's robe from Daoxuan's *Daoxuan lüshi zhuchi ganying ji* is appended to the miracle stories section of the entry on the 'dharma garment' (*fafu* 法服) in *juan* 35 of the *Fayuan zbulin*.¹⁹ This quotation (Passage E) in fact appears to consist of a number of disparate fragments, for the most part on the topic of the monastic robe. The contents of these fragments are often chaotic, though a number of very suggestive and important themes appear. I will concentrate on the first fragment in this quotation.²⁰ The Buddha is said to have given the sermon three months before his

¹⁷ *T* no. 1899, 45: 890a24b2, also 882c10.

¹⁸ *T* no. 1899, 45: 890b–892a; also ref. 887b–c.

¹⁹ *T* no. 2122, 53: 35. 560a–563b (passage E).

²⁰ E/1/1: 560a24–561a12. The first two long sermons that appear at the beginning of the robe Passage from the *Zhuchi ganying ji* (E/1/1: *T* no. 2122, 53: 35.560a29–561a12 and E/1/2: *T* no. 2122, 53: 35.561a13–562a20) may have been originally written independently on different occasions by Daoxuan, or his follower, as the story of the Buddha's robe. In both passages, it is the

Tree Deity who presented the *saṃghātī* robe to the Bodhisattva, explaining that the previous Buddha Kāśyapa had entrusted the robe to him (*T* no. 2122, 53: 35.560b1–5 and 561a16–18). In both passages the ground is said to have moved and became secure again when the robe is returned to the correct position, on top of the Bodhisattva prince's head (*E*/1/1: *T* no. 2122, 53: 35/560b16,17), or when only the one robe presented by Brahmā was worn rather than the three robes, two of which were those of the past Buddha Kāśyapa (*E*/1/2: *T* no. 2122, 53: 35.561b14–21). Polemical concerns are evident in both passages, in elaborate predictions about the time when 'evil monks and nuns will not honour the robe of liberation' (*T* no. 2122, 53: 560b19–20) and destroy the True Teaching in the first story (*E*/1/1: *T* no. 2122, 53: 35.560c25–29), and in the preoccupation with the issue of the silken robe in the second story (*E*/1/2: *T* no. 2122, 53: 35/561a18–29, b22–c8). Perhaps one represents a revision of the other, or a common outline lies behind the two.

Later, as a part of a sermon given on a different occasion in Passage E (*E*/2/2), the Buddha orders a monk to place the *saṃghātī* robe on his head, and explains the meaning of this practice, which appears to express the respect for the robe, by predicting that 1,100 years after the Buddha's *nirvāṇa*, many evil monks and nuns will destroy the Buddha's True Teaching and an evil king will murder monks and burn scriptures and images (*T* no. 2122, 53: 562c18–25). Curiously, this passage begins with the expression 'He asked again' (*T* no. 2122, 53: 35.562c18). No question is presented, except for the question that the Buddha puts to the monk later, and no marker for the answer that corresponds to this 'question' is found. This passage that focuses on the practice of placing the robe on top of one's head, nevertheless, appears to be closely related to the long account in the opening passage (*E*/1/1), where the Bodhisattva is said to have placed the robe on top of his head, and the practice is explained in connection with the prediction that evil monks and nuns in the future will fail to honour the Buddha's robe of liberation (*T* no. 2122, 53: 35.560b19–29). I am intrigued by the possibility that the version in Passage *E*/2/2, which begins with a marker for a question, may in fact have been composed earlier, and that the sermon in *E*/1/1 developed later, further elaborating on the theme of placing the robe on one's head.

In *E*/2/2, after explaining the meaning of placing the robe on one's head, the Buddha states that this robe that he placed on his head is the robe worn by the past and future Buddhas to achieve liberation, and that evil monks in a later age will not properly receive the three robes permitted to monks, and fail to

death. The subject is the robe that the Buddha puts on at the time of enlightenment.

In the record in the *Daoxuan lüshi zhuchi ganying ji*, the core story of the sermon appears to be told twice, in two significantly different versions.²¹ The two versions are presented consecutively, without any clear indication that the same story is being told twice. It appears that this story in the *Daoxuan lüshi zhuchi ganying ji* was based on two separate sources. The story must have been told twice, on separate occasions, and both versions were kept in the existing text of the *Daoxuan lüshi zhuchi ganying ji*.

observe the precepts. By treating the robe of dharma with contempt, they let the dharma be destroyed quickly. The Buddha then is said to have given 3,000 robes to monks (*T* no. 2122, 53: 35.562c26–28).

The expression ‘the robe of liberation’ also appears in the opening story (E/1/1: *T* no. 2122, 53: 35.560b20) and in the story that is told immediately after the section under discussion here (E/3/1: *T* no. 2122, 53: 35.563a21). In both passages, the expression is used in a sentence that predicts that future monks and nuns will not honour this robe.

In another section the robe that is passed on from Buddha to Buddha (from the past Buddha Krakucchanda Buddha to the future Buddha Ruci) is identified as an *antarvāsa* (*T* no. 2122, 53: 35.526b27). *Antarvāsa* robe, which is worn while the monks are engaged in daily chores, is a different type of robe from the more elaborate *saṃghāṭī* robe. The robe is here said to have been presented to the Bodhisattva by a River Deity. In the story that precedes this story the *saṃghāṭī* robe is said to have been presented to the Buddha by the Deity of the City Wall (*T* no. 2122, 53: 35.562a28). These stories may also represent separate attempts to write an account of the Buddha’s robe. The story of the robe made of animal skin that is attached at the end of Passage E appears to be a different kind of story; the Buddha’s robe is not mentioned here (E/3/2: *T* no. 2122, 53: 35.563b).

²¹ *T* no. 2122, 53: 35.560a29–561a12 (E/1/1); 561a13–562a20 (E/1/2).

Version One

The Buddha Śākyamuni began this sermon by reviewing the story of his search for enlightenment. He, prince Siddhārtha, had left the palace and the city and was practicing in the mountains, having traded his invaluable robe for that of a hunter's deer skin garment. The Tree Deity appeared and passed onto him the *saṃghāṭī* robe which he had received from the past Buddha Kāśyapa at the time when that Buddha entered *nirvāṇa*. The Tree Deity also told the prince that since he was still a layman, he was not fit to wear this dharma robe. He should carry it on his head; he would then not be bothered by Māra. When the prince placed the robe on his head, the ground shook. With the robe, the prince's body became so heavy that the ground became unstable. Then the Earth Deity Nārāyaṇa appeared and held the prince up, and the ground became stable. Even after the prince had undergone six years of austere practices, and when his body became thin and weak, the robe was still on his head.

When the heavenly king Brahmā took pity on the prince and took the robe to heaven, the earth shook and the sun and the moon lost their light. The Earth Deity told Brahmā to place the robe back on the prince's head, and when this was done, the earth became quiet, and the sun and the moon restored their brilliance. The prince then explained to Brahmā the meaning of carrying the robe on his head: in the future evil monks and nuns will not honor his 'dharma robe of liberation' (*jietuo fafu* 解脱法服). He carries the robe on his head, so as to conquer heavenly Māra and non-Buddhist teachers. The reasoning behind this explanation is not apparent, though it appears to anticipate the role that the Buddha would assign to the robe later in the sermon. A distinctively eschatological theme is already apparent here and is picked up again later in the story.

The prince then bathed in the river, received food from the second daughter of the village head, and—having put on this past Buddha Kāśyapa's robe—obtained the third meditative state. All sufferings were exhausted. The Buddha then sat under the bodhi tree and turned the First Wheel of the Dharma. The Tree Deity brought a *stūpa* and made the Buddha take off the robe and place

it in the *stūpa*. The Buddha, at this point in the sermon, observed that over the past fifty years since enlightenment, he had treated this robe with great respect, letting the god Vajrapāṇi hold the *stūpa* all the time and never letting it touch the ground. The point here might be that while he had to carry the robe himself on his head in order to keep it from touching the ground, after enlightenment, the Buddha could place it in a *stūpa* and let Vajrapāṇi shoulder this responsibility. Every time the Buddha preached the dharma, he put on this robe. By the time of the present sermon, he would have worn it fifty times since enlightenment. Then the Buddha said that he was about to enter *nirvāṇa* and that he had to entrust the robe to someone.

The setting of this sermon is the Jetavana Monastery where, according to Daoxuan, the Buddha established the first Ordination Platform, as noted earlier. Now, three months before his death, the Buddha told Mañjuśrī to go to the Ordination Platform at this monastery and to sound the bell to call the assembly.

The text continues with the sermon that was given at the Jetavana Monastery: predicting the approaching *parinirvāṇa* and recognizing the need to entrust the Buddha Kāśyapa's robe given to him by the Tree Deity, the Buddha Śākyamuni spoke to the assembly that included Mañjuśrī, many monks, gods, dragons, and the rest of the eight divisions of supernatural beings. He spoke about the power of the Buddha Kāśyapa's *saṃghāṭī* robe made of coarse cloth. It was so heavy that only the Tathāgatas could move it; none of the other beings could move it by even a hair's breadth.

Then the Buddha took the 'robe *stūpa*' to the Ordination Platform at the Jetavana Monastery, and circled the *stūpa* three times before going up the western staircase. He faced southward, towards the top of the platform, and then turned to the north, throwing the robe *stūpa* into the sky. The robe *stūpa* emitted light, illuminating millions of lands; all realms of painful rebirths were removed by the light as a result. A scenery comparable to the Pure Land appeared.

In this passage, the transmission of the past Buddha's robe is combined with the setting of the Ordination Platform. We shall see that this robe appears to be intimately connected to the robes that the newly ordained monks receive. This identification is mediated

by an eschatological consciousness; the monks who receive the robe are the sentient beings in the future Age of Decline of the Buddha's Teaching.

Noting that the Buddha Kāśyapa of the past entrusted his *saṃghāṭī* robe to the Buddha Śākyamuni for the purpose of preserving the True Teaching for the sentient beings during the Age of Decline of the Teaching, the Buddha Śākyamuni concluded his utterance by requesting all the Buddhas in the ten directions to follow that example and to donate one robe each, again for the purpose of preserving the True Teaching in the future Age of Decline of the Teaching. The Buddhas took off their *saṃghāṭī* robes and donated them to Śākyamuni.²² The World Honoured One then ordered Māra king to build *stūpas* for these robes and personally placed them in the *stūpas*.

Māra then asked to whom these *stūpas* should be entrusted. The Buddha told Rāhula to bring Ānanda, and when Ānanda arrived, the World Honoured One illumined the chiliocosm, calling millions of Śākya people to gather at the Jetavana. When they gathered, the Buddha told Ānanda to bring Mañjuśrī from a cave on Mount Qingliang in China.

When Mañjuśrī swiftly arrived at the Ordination Platform, the Buddha entrusted the *stūpa* containing the Buddha Kāśyapa's robe to him, telling him to keep the *stūpa* for twelve years on the northern side of the Ordination Platform at the Jetavana Monastery. The Four Heavenly Kings were also instructed to offer music to the *stūpa* that houses the robes donated by the Buddhas of the ten directions.²³

The Buddha also told Mañjuśrī that evil monks would fight with each other and destroy the True Teaching. Moreover, an evil king would rule in North India. He would believe in the Small Vehicle and revile the Great Vehicle, killing the followers of the Mahāyāna *tripitaka*. For this reason, the Buddha told Mañjuśrī, 'In the course of the twelve years, when the robe *stūpa* is kept on the northern side of the Ordination Platform (at the Jetavana Monastery), an evil king will reign over the world and the True Teaching will be destroyed. At

²² T no. 2122, 53: 35.560c7–10.

²³ T no. 2122, 53: 35.560c21–24.

that time, you should use your supernatural powers, take the robe *stūpa*, travel all over the king's country and gather all the Mahāyāna teachings inside the *stūpa*. If monks who uphold the precepts are killed by the king, and if they have legitimately received the *saṃghāṭī* robes, you should gather those robes inside the *stūpa*.²⁴ If the monks who uphold the precepts are still alive, you should use your supernatural powers to take them to the top of Mount Sumeru.²⁵

Then Māra king told the Buddha that he would protect the True Teaching in the future. When the evil kings oppress the Mahāyāna, he would drop massive rocks from the top of Mount Sumeru, crushing the kings and evil monks. Māra's one thousand powerful sons would build thousands of monasteries everywhere in Jambudvīpa and on the three other continents. There should be no concerns about the protection of the True Teaching.

Then the Buddha told Mañjuśrī to take the robe *stūpas* and place them everywhere in the universe.²⁶ In this way, the teaching that Śākyamuni left behind would be preserved. At this point, the text mentions the Aśoka *stūpas*, saying that they would also be constructed throughout the world as a means of promoting the True Teaching.²⁷

Version Two

The Buddha then instructed Mañjuśrī to use his supernatural powers and go to the Jewelled Tower to the west of Jetavana's Central Hall. In this version, the Buddha's sermon appears to have been given there, and not at the Ordination Platform as in the first version summarized above. Mañjuśrī was told to present the Buddha's jewelled box to the assembly. The long section that follows describes the transmission of

²⁴ This instruction again appears to indicate that the *saṃghāṭī* robe worn by a monk who upholds the precepts is in fact identical to the Buddha's robe kept in the robe *stūpa*. The monk may be assumed to have originally received the robe at the Ordination Platform.

²⁵ *T* no. 2122, 53: 35.560c28–561a5.

²⁶ Here the *stūpa* is called 'the robe and bowl *stūpa*,' *T* no. 2122, 53: 561a10.

²⁷ *T* no. 2122, 53: 35.561a12.

the Buddhas' robes. Śākyamuni Buddha spoke extensively about the Buddha Kāśyapa's robe that the Tree Deity had transmitted to him, while also referring to the robes that the Buddhas of the ten directions had donated to him.²⁸ In both cases, the robe is accompanied by a jewelled box which contains scriptures and the Buddha's instruction.

The following section which bears on the Buddha Kāśyapa's robe focuses on discussing the use of silk in monastic robes.²⁹ The Tree Deity first called the Buddha Kāśyapa's robe a silken robe, and the Bodhisattva Siddhārtha refused to wear it. The Tree Deity then told the Bodhisattva to open the jewelled box which contained a large collection of *sūtras* and *vinayas*, a *saṃghāṭī* robe, and a final hand-written instruction left by the Buddha Kāśyapa. Śākyamuni then read the instruction which explained how the robe was produced without the use of silk cocoons, and that after enlightenment, Siddhārtha should take the entrusted robe to Jetavana and wear it while teaching the *vinaya*. The Buddha Kāśyapa's instruction continued: one hundred years after the Buddha Śākyamuni's *parinirvāṇa*, the *vinayas* would be divided into five versions; after another one hundred years, *sūtras* would be divided into numerous versions, leading to disagreements and the decline of the Teaching. The instruction concluded by stating that the Buddha Kāśyapa was entrusting the robe and the scriptures to Śākyamuni, so that Śākyamuni would 'preserve the Teaching' (*zhuchiyifa* 住持遺法).

The Tree Deity then instructed Śākyamuni that he should always carry the robe box on his left shoulder for the protection against Māra and heretics, and for the timely attainment of the Buddhahood. After Śākyamuni had taken milk gruel and was sitting under the tree of enlightenment, deity Śakra came to him and, from the box that Śākyamuni carried on the shoulder, took out the (silken) *saṃghāṭī* robe, telling him to put it on. Śakra also took out the Buddha Kāśyapa's coarse-cloth *saṃghāṭī* robe and let Śākyamuni

²⁸ T no. 2122, 53: 561a14–c15; c16–562a20.

²⁹ Daoxuan famously rejected the use of the silk monastic robes. See *Shimen zhangfu yi* 釋門章服儀 [On the Proper Buddhist Robe], T no. 1894, 45: 834a18, c2, 835a29, 836c23, 837a12.

wear it on top of the silken robe. Through Śakra deity Brahmā donated yet another great robe. Śākyamuni was thus wearing three robes on top of each other. Then, Brahmā came and told Śākyamuni: he had seen that when past Buddhas wore three great robes at the same time, the ground could not hold steady. Brahmā instructed Śākyamuni to take off two of the robes and return them to where they came from, leaving on only the robe he donated.³⁰

A section, possibly inserted later, explains that from enlightenment until *nirvāṇa*, Śākyamuni never wore a silken robe and tells how, in other distant parts of the universe, outside the Jambudvīpa and other continents, threads were obtained from the mouths of young women standing under a mulberry tree. Another passage describes a vision. Mañjuśrī asked the Buddha how a small jewelled box that is described as only measuring three *cuns* 寸 and three *fens* 分 could contain not only one *samghātī* robe but the entire scriptural canon of the Buddha Kāśyapa's teaching. The Buddha spoke of the miraculous powers of the Buddhas, ordered Mañjuśrī to hold up the jewelled box and paid respect to it. When he touched the box with a finger, the cover of the box opened like a city gate. People saw a marvelous sight featuring jewelled towers, silken robes, hundreds of thousands of golden and silver pavilions, each filled with canonical collections. Gods were playing music and presenting offerings. The terraces are forty *li* high, and towers are ten *yojanas* tall. Despite all, the size of the box was unaffected and remained three *cuns*.

The Buddhas of the ten directions praised Śākyamuni, each donating a *samghātī* robe and a jewelled box in order to assist Śākyamuni in preserving the Teaching. The Buddha then instructed Mañjuśrī to open the boxes, each of which contained a great robe, terraces and pavilions, and canonical collections, just like the *stūpa* of the Buddha Kāśyapa (referring to the jeweled box?).

The Buddha instructed Mañjuśrī to take the *stūpa* (original jeweled box?) to the Ordination Platform at the Jetavana Monastery and keep it at the northern terrace. He also said that three years after his *parinirvāṇa*, it should be moved to the southeast corner and be

³⁰ T no. 2122, 53: 561b21.

kept there for 31 years. Then, the *stūpa* should be moved to the south of the Lake Guangming 光明池 on Mount Pinqieluo 頻伽羅 (Skt. Piṅgala) in West India.

The Buddha continued. 45 years after the Tathāgata's *parinirvāṇa*, an evil king would appear in the world and persecute monks and nuns. Soldiers commanded by Māra and the Four Heavenly Rulers would kill this evil king by dropping a large rock. The Dragon King Suojie 娑竭 (Skt. Sāgara) would turn the evil king's palace into a large lake. The king's clan would be exterminated, and Buddhism in West India would prosper, while the robe *stūpa* on the mountain would remain there. 1,750 years after the *parinirvāṇa*, the Age of Counterfeit Dharma would end and evil monks would fill the Jambudvīpa. They would build monasteries but fail to cultivate meditation and wisdom, and, being illiterate, would not study scriptures. Only one or two out of every one thousand monks would be learned.

At that time, Mañjuśrī carried the robe box *stūpa* and travelled among many countries, making people construct the robe *stūpas*. Wherever he travelled in the universe, he would let evil monks perform good deeds, study scriptures, making sure that the Teaching would remain for a long time. Having done all this, Mañjuśrī would return. When Maitreya appears in this world, Mañjuśrī is to entrust the robe *stūpa* to that Buddha.³¹

In this complex story, the Buddha's teaching is embodied in his *samghātī* robe which he put on every time he taught the dharma. The Buddha Śākyamuni received this robe from the Buddha Kāśyapa which he then entrusted to Mañjuśrī. The Buddha Śākyamuni also caused the robe to multiply by requesting numerous other Buddhas to donate their robes of enlightenment. These robes, each placed in a *stūpa*, would be taken all over the world at a future occasion when an evil king, misled by an evil monk, would oppress the Mahāyāna teaching. The True Teaching left by the Buddha Śākyamuni could thus be protected.

Both versions tell the story of the Buddha Kāśyapa entrusting the robe to the Buddha Śākyamuni and then carefully explain the

³¹ T no. 2122, 53: 562a19.

relationship between this robe and the robes that the Buddhas of the ten directions later donated. Even though the two versions appear to be telling the same story, some details are strikingly different. For example, while the first version emphasizes the extraordinary weight of the robe, the second version is preoccupied with the prohibition against silken monastic robes. The two versions seem to be based on separate sources.

In another passage (E/2/2), it is stated that after achieving enlightenment, the Buddha told his disciples to take off their *saṃghāṭī* robes and put them on their heads. The Buddha then took off his own *saṃghāṭī* robe and put it on his head. He then told the monks that his *saṃghāṭī* robe had been and would be worn by all the Buddhas, past and future, in their achievement of liberation. He also told the monks that evil monks in the future would not accept the three stipulated monastic robes and would fail to uphold the precepts; they would instead treat the dharma robe with contempt and bring about the disappearance of the Teaching. The Buddha then gave the gods three thousand robes which the Buddha asked them to safekeep. The gods were delighted, saying that these were the robes that the World Honoured One had entrusted to the Four Heavenly Kings and were to be guarded by the Eight Divisions of supernatural beings. When the future Buddha Maitreya appears, the robes would be entrusted to the Buddha Maitreya and to the deity Śakra and Brahmā. On certain auspicious days, heavenly palace buildings would be swept clean and these *saṃghāṭī* robes would be brought out and worshipped. The robes would be washed with specially prepared fragrant water, dried, repacked with incense, and placed in jewel containers.³² In this passage, the Buddha's *saṃghāṭī* robe is assimilated to monks' robes. In other words, the robes that the Buddha entrusted to the Four Heavenly Kings and brought to their heavenly palace are now said to be the robes that were given to the monks.

³² T no. 2122, 53: 562c18–563a12.

THE CONTEXT

The Discourse on the Robe in Daoxuan's *Vinaya* School

One remarkable feature of the account of the Buddha Kāśyapa's robe as it is presented in Śākyamuni Buddha's sermon, which is said to be preserved in heaven and revealed to Daoxuan shortly before his death, is the distinctively soteriological significance attributed to the robe. The robe is worn by all the buddhas at the time of their respective enlightenment and the *stūpa* in which the robe is kept ensures the preservation of the Buddha's teaching. The monastic robe is an important topic in *vinaya* literature, on which Daoxuan has composed an authoritative commentary. The primary concerns of the discussion on the robe in *vinayas* are more practical, elaborating on what kinds of robes are permitted, and how they are to be acquired, used and kept.³³ It is, nevertheless, still possible to trace a connection between Daoxuan's *vinaya* commentary, for the most part concerned with these practical matters, and the elaborate soteriological discussion in the *Daoxuan lüshi zhuchi ganying ji*.

Daoxuan's Exegetical Strategy and Two Quotations from Mahāyāna Sūtras

Daoxuan's comprehensive *vinaya* commentary, the *Sifen lü shanfan buque xingshi chao* 四分律刪繁補闕行事鈔 [Notes on Monastic Conducts Based on the Four-Part *Vinaya*, with Unnecessary Details Removed and Gaps Filled from Other Sources] was first drafted

³³ Monastic robes appear in a number of places in Daoxuan's commentary. For example, his discussion of the 11th *naihsargika-prāyaścittika* precept interprets the original precept prohibiting the use of silk for blankets as a prohibition of silk robes (*T* no. 1804, 40.68c–69a). Suwa Gijun has discussed this issue, placing Daoxuan's position in the context of a larger development in Chinese Buddhism. See Suwa, *Chūgoku chūsei Bukkyōshi kenkyū*. Bernard Faure comments on Dōgen's rather different treatment of this issue. See Faure, 'Quand l'habit fait le moine', 346–349, 367.

around 628, and then expanded and revised in 636, after Daoxuan had consulted several *vinaya* authorities in the course of his extended travels.³⁴ Daoxuan based his commentary on the *vinaya* of the Dharmagupta school, the *Sifen lü* 四分律 [Skt. **Dharmaguptakavinaya*; Four-Part *Vinaya*]³⁵ which, by his time, had replaced the Sarvāstivāda school's *vinaya* the *Shisong lü* 十誦律 [Skt. *Daśabhāṇavāravīnaya*?; Ten Recitations *Vinaya*]. Moreover, Daoxuan greatly enriched the commentary by citing from not only the *vinayas* and the *vinaya* commentaries of other schools, but also other kinds of Buddhist literature, including Mahāyāna *sūtras*.

In the discussion of the monastic robe in Daoxuan's *vinaya* commentary and in related works by his collaborator Daoshi, two quotations from the Mahāyāna *sūtras* appear regularly side by side: the *Dabei jing* 大悲經 [Great Compassion *Sūtra*] and the *Beihua jing* 悲華經 [The Scripture of the [Lotus] Flower of Compassion]. Furthermore, the same two quotations appear side by side in Daoxuan's later work *Shimen zhangfu yi* 釋門章服儀 [On the Proper Buddhist Robe] compiled in 659;³⁶ and in the *vinaya* commentary attributed to Daoshi, the *Pini taoyao* 毗尼討要 [In Search of the Essential Teachings of the *Vinaya*].³⁷ In the entry on the 'dharma garments' in the *Fayuan zhubin*, which concludes with the quotation from the *Daoxuan lüshi zhuchi ganying ji* discussed above, the same two quotations from the *Dabei jing* and the *Beihua jing* appear and are followed by a number of other quotations from a variety of sources, many of which also speak about the extraordinary power of the robe.³⁸ Though this pairing of the two quotations may have had an earlier origin, an understanding of the doctrinal meaning and salvific power of the robe clearly existed amongst the monks who surrounded Daoxuan at the Ximing Monastery in the capital. It is also noteworthy that the protagonist featured in the quotation from

³⁴ T no. 1804, 40: 1a–156c30.

³⁵ T no. 1428, 22: 567a1–1014b20.

³⁶ T no. 1894, 45: 837b.

³⁷ ZZ 1: 70.

³⁸ T no. 2122: 53.556bc.

the *Dabei jing* is a pseudo-monk who nevertheless has the external appearance of a monk, and is said to enter *nirvāṇa* under a future Buddha. Buried in the context of monastic rules that stipulate the treatment of the robe in great detail, this quotation contrasts the power of the robe against the importance of strictly following monastic rules. Here the power of the robe is closely tied to a distinctive soteriology. Thus, by citing two quotations from Mahāyāna *sūtras* and thereby highlighting the soteriological importance of the robe, Daoxuan implemented an exegetical strategy that enables us to trace how the practical concerns of the *vinayas* evolved into the remarkable soteriological doctrine we see in the *Daoxuan lüshi zhuchi ganying ji*.

*The Chapter on ‘The Two Categories of Robes’ in
Daoxuan’s Vinaya Commentary (T no. 1804)*

In Daoxuan’s commentary, one section is explicitly devoted to discussing monastic robes. The section consists of two parts: the first is concerned with the ‘stipulated’ (*zhi* 制) robes, or the ‘three robes or [more broadly] the six objects’;³⁹ the second with a wide range of ‘permitted’ (*ting* 聽) robes and possessions.⁴⁰ The elaborate structure of this discussion defines the range of Daoxuan’s practical concerns in this *vinaya* commentary. Furthermore, the discussion of the ‘stipulated’ robes is divided into two sub-sections, the first being on the robes themselves and the second on the complex issue of marking the boundaries, outside of which monks are not allowed to spend the night without carrying all three stipulated robes. The first sub-section which discusses the robes themselves consists of four parts: the general introductory discussion,⁴¹ the making of the robe,⁴² the receiving of the robe,⁴³ and other miscellaneous matters.⁴⁴

³⁹ T no. 1804, 40: 104c24.

⁴⁰ T no. 1804, 40: 104c25.

⁴¹ T no. 1804, 40: 104c29–105b15.

⁴² T no. 1804, 40: 105b15–106c2.

⁴³ T no. 1804, 40: 106c2–107a17.

The general introductory discussion touches on the reasons for stipulation, the names of the three robes, and the merit and function of these robes. The discussion of the making of the robe comments on such topics as the way that the materials are obtained, the kinds of materials used, the colours permitted, the sizes of the three robes, the number and shapes of pieces they are made of, the number of layers, and the method of fabrication. The passage on the receiving of the robes describes the rites of receiving and abandoning different kinds of robes, either in the presence of other monks or—in the case of monks living alone—on one’s own. The passage on miscellaneous matters discusses the circumstances under which one may or may not receive robes, and matters concerning the repairing, washing, and dyeing of the robes, as well as various rules about wearing appropriate robes. The discussion of the seating mat and the bag used for filtering water concludes the section on the ‘stipulated’ objects.

The section on ‘permitted’ properties consists of four major sections: the first is a long section bearing on a number of objects that monks are permitted to keep,⁴⁵ which is followed by a section on *pāmsu-kūlika*, or the robe made of rags,⁴⁶ then by the section on the robes given by donors,⁴⁷ and finally by the section on the objects left by the dead.⁴⁸ A large part of the first section is devoted to discussing the practice of ‘pure giving’ (*jingshi* 淨施; Skt. *vikalpa*), through which monks are allowed to keep forbidden objects by nominally donating them to others.⁴⁹

In addition to numerous quotations from the *vinayas* and the *vinaya* commentaries, this discussion of the monastic robe contains a variety of quotations from other types of Buddhist literature. For instance, the *Āgamas* and an *Avadāna* collection are cited, including the *Zhong aban jing* 中阿含經 [Skt. *Madhyamāgama*;

⁴⁴ T no. 1804, 40: 107a17–108a29.

⁴⁵ T no. 1804, 40: 109b8–112a4.

⁴⁶ T no. 1804, 40: 112a4–b5.

⁴⁷ T no. 1804, 40: 112b5–c26.

⁴⁸ T no. 1804, 40: 112c26–117a9.

⁴⁹ T no. 1804, 40: 110c4–112a4.

Middle Collection],⁵⁰ *Za aban jing* 雜阿含經 [Skt. *Samyuktāgama*; Miscellaneous Collection],⁵¹ *Zengyi aban jing* 增一阿含經 [Skt. *Ekottarikāgama*; Incremental Collection],⁵² and the *Xianyu jing* 賢愚經 [Skt. *Damamūkanidānasūtra*; *Sūtra* on the Wise and the Fool].⁵³ In addition, a variety of Mahāyāna *sūtras* such as the *Huishang pusa jing* 慧上菩薩經 [Skt. (*Upāyakaśālyā*) *jñānottarabodhisattvaparipṛcchā*; Bodhisattva Supreme Wisdom *Sūtra* or Skill-in-Means *Sūtra*],⁵⁴ the *Dabei jing*,⁵⁵ the *Beihua jing*,⁵⁶ the *Ru lengqie jing* 入楞伽經 [Skt. *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*; Descent into *Laṅkā Sūtra*];⁵⁷ the *Huayan jing* 華嚴經 [Skt. *Āvataṃsaka Sūtra*; Flower Garland *Sūtra*]⁵⁸ the *Niepan jing* 涅槃經 [Skt. *Nirvāṇa sūtra*] stand out by the frequency of quotation.⁵⁹ Another notable pattern is that six of the ten citations from Mahāyāna *sūtras* listed above occur in the introductory discussion of the three robes,⁶⁰ while several other quotations from sources other than *vinayas* and the *vinaya* commentaries also appear there. It is perhaps natural that the quotations from these sources appear in this part of Daoxuan's *vinaya* commentary, because while the main body of his discussion is devoted to clarifying rather technical issues that characterize the *vinaya*, the introductory section addresses the more general issue of the meaning of the monastic robe. Doctrinal concerns, of the kind often found in Mahāyāna *sūtras*, are more likely to arise in connection with this more general issue. The two crucial quotations, from the *Dabei jing* and the *Beihua jing*, also appear in this introductory

⁵⁰ T no. 1804, 40: 106a28, 108a2, 110a5, a28.

⁵¹ T no. 99; T no. 1804, 40: 105a8, 108a28.

⁵² T no. 125; T no. 1804, 40: 105a10.

⁵³ T no. 202; T no. 1804, 40: 109a12, 108a29.

⁵⁴ T no. 345; T no. 1804, 40: 105a24.

⁵⁵ T no. 380; T no. 1804, 40: 105b3.

⁵⁶ T no. 157; T no. 1804, 40: 105b6.

⁵⁷ T no. 671; T no. 1804, 40: 115a28.

⁵⁸ T no. 278; T no. 1804, 40: 105a10.

⁵⁹ T no. 374 (or 375), 12; T no. 1804, 40: 105b25; 109b1; 110c18; 111a7, a27.

⁶⁰ T no. 1804, 40: 105ab.

discussion. A closer examination of the context of these quotations may shed some light on the relationship between the practical concerns of the *vinayas* and the soteriological concerns highlighted in these quotations.

As noted above, Daoxuan's introductory discussion is divided into three parts (see Appendix II.1): the reasons for stipulation, the meaning of the names of the three robes, and the merit and function of these robes. The first part, regarding the reasons for stipulation, consists of ten quotations. Six of these quotations are from *vinayas* and the *vinaya* commentaries (see the quotation 1, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10 in Appendix II.1); one from an *Āgama* text (5), one from a commentary on a different *Āgama* text (2), one from the *Huayan jing* which is a Mahāyāna *sūtra* (6) and one from the *Da zhidu lun* 大智度論 [Skt. **Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa*; Treatise on the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra*], a commentary on the *Da Banruo jing* 大般若經 [Skt. *Mahāprajñāpāramitā sūtra*; Large Perfection of Wisdom *Sūtra*] (3). The idea that the robes are meant to distinguish Buddhists from the followers of other teachings appears in the *vinaya* quotations (1, 4) as well as in the quotation from the *Dazhidu lun* (3). The practical consideration of protecting the body against the cold appears in two quotations (2, 8). In three quotations that are from the *Huayan jing*, the *Sifen lü*, and the *Mobe sengqi lü* 摩訶僧祇律 [Skt. *Mahāsaṃghikavinaya?*; *Vinaya* of the Great *Samgha*]⁶¹ respectively, the robe is associated with reducing desires (6, 7, 9). Daoxuan comments that in the *Za ahan jing* passage which mentions the 'four limitless minds', the monastic robe is designated as the robe of compassion. In one quotation, said to be from the *Sifen lü* (even though I could not locate it in the *Taishō* version of this work), the *kāśāya* robe is said to be the robe that the Buddhas of the past, present, and future all wear. Though the quotation does not speak of a specific *kāśāya* robe, wearing this kind of robe appears to have become a condition for liberation.

The second part of the introductory discussion, regarding the names of the robe, contains three quotations: one from an *Āgama*

⁶¹ T no. 1425.

text, one from a *vinaya* text, and one from a Mahāyāna *sūtra*. In this discussion, the term *kāśāya* is explained as being based on the robe's colour, and the names for the three kinds of robes are listed and explained. One statement—'The robe the Tathāgata wears is called the *kāśāya* robe' 如來所著衣, 名曰 '袈裟'—is quoted from the *Zengyi aban jing*.⁶²

The two quotations from the *Dabei jing* and the *Beihua jing* appear in the third part of the introductory discussion, on the merits and functions of the robe. In the *Dabei jing* quotation, the Buddha predicts that even the monks who defile the monastic practices, yet call themselves monks, and put on the appearance of monks, so long as they wear the monk's *kāśāya* robe, will achieve *nirvāṇa* under one of the (996) future Buddhas from Maitreya to the last Buddha, the Buddha Ruci. The *Beihua jing* quotation speaks of the five merits of the *kāśāya* robe: (1) By wearing the robe, even those who have committed grave sins (Skt. *pārājika*) or fallen into wrong views may come to have a respectful attitude and honour the Buddha, the Dharma or the *Samgha*, and still could, in this way, obtain the prophecy of attaining Buddhahood (Skt. *vyākaraṇa*) of the Three Vehicles; (2) if gods, dragons, human beings, and *yakṣas* honour (or see a small part of this *kāśāya* robe), then obtain the status of non-retrogression; (3) if *yakṣas* (and other beings) obtain a small part of this *kāśāya* robe, food and drink would become abundantly available; (4) in the middle of the conflicts among sentient beings, the thought of this robe gives rise to the mind of compassion; (5) on the battle field, if one takes a small portion of this robe and pays respect to it, one is bound always to emerge victorious over others.⁶³ Another quotation, from the *Mobe sengqi lü*, specifying how monks and nuns must make pieces of the robe available to laymen who wish to use it for magical purposes, concludes this part. The organization of Daoxuan's presentation that separates the discussion of the merits and functions from that of the reasons, or the purpose, of stipulation appears to highlight

⁶² T no. 1804, 40: 105a19.

⁶³ T no. 1804, 40: 105b6–14; T no. 157, 3: 220a11–b2.

the significance of these quotations and may give us a clue as to his real interest in the robe.

The two passages from the Mahāyāna scriptures speak of the miraculous or magical powers of the robe; and both emphasize that those who wear the robe would achieve salvation in the future, even if they have violated the precepts and committed grave sins. Thus, Daoxuan's discussion in this introductory section, which explains the meaning of monastic robes largely from the perspective of the *vinayas*, somewhat paradoxically concludes by highlighting the magical power of robes that nullifies even the gravest consequences of violating the precepts. In the remarkable doctrine presented here, the robe is a condition for salvation, apparently more powerful than the precepts.⁶⁴

⁶⁴ The *vinaya* commentary attributed to Daoshi (for his biography, see the *Song Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2061, 50: 726c–727a), titled *Pini taoyao* [In Search of the Essential Teachings of the *Vinaya*] also contains a section on the monastic robe (ZZ 1: 70). Its second sub-section, on the stipulation of robes, closely parallels Daoxuan's introduction to the discussion of the robe in his commentary. Many of the quotations in Daoxuan's presentation appear here: from the *Sapoduo pini piposha* 薩婆多毘尼毘婆沙 [Skt. *Sarvāstivādavinayavibhāṅga?*; Commentary on the *Daśabhānavāravīnaya*] (II.1.1), the *Da zhidu lun* (II.1.3), the *Fenbie gongde lun* 分別功德論 [Commentary on the *Ekottarikāgama*], a commentary on an *āgama* text (II.1.2), the *Sifen lü* (II.1.10), the *Huayan jing* (II.1.6), the *Dabei jing* (II.3.1), the *Beibua jing* (II.3.2) and the *Sarvāstivāda vinaya* (II.3.3). The third subsection, explaining the various names, consists of two quotations: from the *Sifen lü* (II.2.2), with the same editorial comment as in Daoxuan's commentary, and from the *Huishang pusa jing* (II.2.3), again with the same extended editorial comment.

The six-juan *Pini taoyao* is probably closely related to a five-juan *vinaya* commentary with a slightly different title, the *Sifeng lü taoyao* 四分律討要 [Discussing the Essential Teachings of the *Dharmagupta Vinaya*], mentioned in the biography of Daoshi in the *Song Gaoseng zhuan* (T no. 2061, 50: 726c28–29). The close parallel between the scriptural passages quoted by Daoxuan and Daoshi in their respective discussions of the monastic robe suggests that this common group of quotations has become, in some sense, a standard set. At least, in the group of monks gathered around Daoxuan and Daoshi, the meaning

The Entry on 'Dharma Garments' in the Fayuan zbulin

The *Fayuan zbulin*, compiled by Daoshi, is an encyclopedic anthology of scriptural quotations and miracle stories, organized around 100 topics. In the entry on the topic of 'dharma garments' (法服 *fafu*), the group of rather distinctive quotations from Mahāyāna scriptures that appear in the introductory section of Daoxuan's commentary—the *Huayan jing* (II.1.6), the *Dabei jing* (II.3.1) and the *Beihua jing* (II. 3.2)—appear again. (See Appendix III for the list of scriptural quotations). In the *Fayuan zbulin*, these quotations appear grouped together at the beginning of the subsection on the 'functions and benefits' of the dharma garment.⁶⁵ In Daoxuan's commentary, the quotations from the *Dabei jing* and *Beihua jing* similarly appear in the section on the 'merits and functions' of the robe, though the quotation from the *Huayan jing* appears in the first subsection on 'the reasons for stipulation'. The relationship between these passages is unmistakable, and since the *Fayuan zbulin* is a later work, completed in 668 according to its preface,⁶⁶ it probably owes this set of references to the *vinaya* commentaries by Daoxuan and Daoshi. The quotation from the *Dabei jing* in the *Fayuan zbulin* follows the original scriptural passage more closely, though it, too, is

of monastic robes is routinely presented in the light of this more or less fixed set of quotations.

Sato Tatsugen suggests that the comparison between Daoxuan's commentary and Daoshi's enables us to reconstruct, in broad outline, the position of Zhishou 智首 (567–635), under whom both Daoxuan and Daoshi had studied. See Sato, *Chūgoku Bukkyō ni okeru kairitsy no kenkyū*, 64. Zhishou's extensive *vinaya* commentary, in 21 *juan*, is mentioned in the biography that Daoxuan included in his biographical collection, but it is no longer extant (*T* no. 2060, 50: 614b19). Parallels between the *vinaya* commentaries by Daoxuan and Daoshi may go back to this common source. In that case, the quotations, some with editorial comments shared by the two commentaries, may well have been borrowed from Zhishou's earlier commentary.

⁶⁵ *T* no. 2122, 53: 556bc.

⁶⁶ *T* no. 2122, 53: 269b10.

a summary, which makes use of the five-fold scheme that Daoxuan used in his summary in the *vinaya* commentary. The editor of the *Fayuan zhubin* was familiar with the passage in the *vinaya* commentaries, though he expanded the quotation by going back to the scripture itself.⁶⁷ The *Fayuan zhubin*, on the other hand, is not a *vinaya* commentary, and thus the editor would not necessarily have been compelled to repeat Daoxuan's earlier discussion; this clustering of passages about miraculous or magical powers of the robe suggests that a distinctive idea about the robe, more doctrinal in nature and of wider interest than those concerned with the *vinaya*, had developed by the time this work was compiled.

According to the table of contents that appears at the beginning of the entry, this entry consists of six sections: the introductory essay on the meaning of the topic constitutes the first section which is followed by five sections, each consisting of a set of scriptural quotations. The first set of scriptural quotations appears in the second section, under the theme of 'the functions and benefits' of the dharma garment, as mentioned above. Here the *Beihua jing* quotation is followed by a quotation from the *Zhengfanian jing* 正法念經 [Skt. (*Saddharma*) *smṛtyupasthānasūtra*; *Sūtra* on the Right Mindfulness of Dharma];⁶⁸ two passages from different parts of the scripture are combined here, each promising rebirth in heaven either for those who make a donation for purchasing a dharma garment or for those who dye and repair a monk's robe.

In the third section, on 'the names' of monastic robes, none of the four quotations in the *Fayuan zhubin* passage has been taken from the corresponding sections 'explaining the names' of monastic robes in the *vinaya* commentaries by Daoxuan⁶⁹ and Daoshi.⁷⁰ The *Fayuan*

⁶⁷ In contrast, the corresponding quotation in Daoshi's *vinaya* commentary (*ZZ* 1: 70, 61b5–13) follows Daoxuan's quotation closely, reproducing the radically summarized version of the scriptural passage; a closer relationship appears to have existed between these two works.

⁶⁸ *T* no. 2122, 53: 556c21–28; *T* no. 721, 17: 129b22–c5; 134b4–135a5.

⁶⁹ *T* no. 1804, 40.105ab.

⁷⁰ *ZZ* 1: 70, 61d–62a.

zbulin, nevertheless, quotes mostly from the *vinaya* literature, commenting on a wide range of topics, from the names to the colours of the robe and the conditions under which monks are not required to wear the robe in foreign countries.

The fourth section, on miraculously ‘escaping from difficulties’ with the help of the monastic robe, consists of two quotations, one from the *Mohe sengqi lü* and the other from a Mahāyāna *sūtra*, the *Hailongwang jing* 海龍王經 [Skt. *Sāgaranāgarāja pariṣṛcchā sūtra*; The *Sūtra* of the Ocean Dragon King].⁷¹ These passages tell stories about dragons that escape from the *garuḍa* birds with the help of the *kāṣāya* robe, though the idea that the robe has such miraculous power does not appear in the *vinaya* passages collected by Daoxuan and Daoshi. The *Mohe sengqi lü* recounts the story of Elder Dhaniya who, in this *vinaya*, is said to have been a dragon in a previous life. Fleeing from the *garuḍa* bird that was about to eat it, the dragon held a *kāṣāya* robe on its head. In that life as a dragon, and then in the life as Dhaniya, who once wore the monk’s robe and stole lumber from King Bimbisāra but was forgiven, the *kāṣāya* robe protected him.⁷² The *Hailongwang jing* quotation tells the story of a dragon king plagued by four *garuḍa* birds that ate dragons, their wives and their children.⁷³ The Buddha took off his black robe and gave it to the dragon king, telling him to divide it into small pieces and give pieces to his fellow dragons. Even a thread of the robe will protect them against *garuḍa* birds. If the dragons obey the precepts, their wishes would all be fulfilled. As the dragon king divided the robe into numerous pieces, the original robe spontaneously became whole again. The robe was worshiped as if it was the World Honoured One himself, or the *stūpa*. The Buddha predicted that by seeing this robe, dragons would be released from their dragon bodies and, in the course of the World Age of the Wise, enter *nirvāṇa*. *Garuḍa* birds, each accompanied by a thousand attendants, were also converted. Thus, in the stories presented in this section, the idea that the robe

⁷¹ T no. 2122, 53: 557b3–22; b23–c19.

⁷² T no. 1425, 22: 238a–239b, 240a18–b23.

⁷³ T no. 598, 15: 151a–b.

that monks or the Buddha wear have miraculous protective power is again highlighted.

The fifth section, on ‘miraculous karmic effects from previous lives,’ consists of stories about two women and a boy born with a robe on their body. The women and the boy are said to have donated cloth or robes to previous Buddhas and their monks, and for that reason they were reborn in heaven wearing robes. All three stories are taken from the *Baiyuan jing* 百緣經 [Skt. *Avadānasataka; Sūtra* on One Hundred Karmic Cases].⁷⁴

The two quotations in the sixth section, titled ‘violation’ (*weisun* 違損), return to the theme of the miraculous power of the monastic robe, showing how even those who have not received the precepts or those who have violated them may still be protected and enter *nirvāṇa*. From the *Xianyu jing* one story is quoted about a hunter who, wearing a *kāṣāya* robe, kills a lion of golden colour.⁷⁵ Hit by the arrow of the hunter, the lion wakes up and is about to attack him, but when the lion sees the *kāṣāya* robe of the hunter, it says to itself, ‘This robe is the mark of a holy man of all times. If I were to harm him, I would have directed an evil thought against holy men.’ As the lion thought this, it died, uttering several syllables. Later, a holy man explained to the king that the syllables indicate that the lion was about to achieve liberation from life and death, enter *nirvāṇa*, and be honoured by gods and men. This story needs to be read with the awareness that the hunter is someone who is bound to violate the precept of no killing. In addition, the passages cited from long *Daji Yuezang jing* 大集月藏經 [Skt. *Candragarbhavaipulya sūtra*; Bodhisattva Candragarbhava *Sūtra* of the *Mahāsamnipata Sūtra*] describes the benefit of renouncing the householder’s life under the Buddha, shaving the head and face, and wearing the *kāṣāya* robe.⁷⁶ Those who take care of the needs of such people, even if they have not received precepts or have violated them, would be granted great merit. The punishment for those who trouble, revile,

⁷⁴ T no. 2122, 53: 557c21–558b28; T no. 200, 4: 203a2–257a2.

⁷⁵ T no. 2122, 53: 558b25–559a5; T no. 202, 4: 438bc.

⁷⁶ T no. 2122, 53: 559a6–b13; T no. 397, 13: 354a26–c6; 359a15–c7.

and beat them would be much greater than for those who draw the Buddha's blood.

This review of the scriptural passages collected in the 'dharma garment' entry in the *Fayuan zhulin* indicates that the theme of the miraculous powers of the *kāṣāya* robe, highlighted in the quotations from the *Dabei jing* and the *Beihua jing* in the *vinaya* commentary, is here developed considerably. Stories that elaborate on the miraculous powers of the robe are collected from a wide range of scriptures. The two quotations in the concluding section highlight the power of the robe in a familiar manner by focusing on its effects for those who do not accept the monk's precepts, or for those who violate the precepts they have accepted. This would be an appropriate conclusion, if we read this expanded collection in the *Fayuan zhulin* as an elaboration of the familiar set of passages from the *Dabei jing* and the *Beihua jing* that appear at the beginning of this collection.

Although not mentioned in the table of contents that appears at the beginning of each entry, the entries in the *Fayuan zhulin* typically conclude with certain sets of Chinese Buddhist miracle stories. The miracle story section for the 'dharma garment' begins with a quotation from the *Xiyu zhi* 西域志 [Gazetteer of the Western Regions] which describes several miraculous robes in India. The section continues with an unattributed story about a miraculous robe that had been presented by a country in the West under the Wei Dynasty (220–265) that did not burn. This story is then followed by two stories taken from the biographies of monks. The section culminates with the long quotation from *Daoxuan lüshi zhuchi ganying ji* that we discussed above.

This review of the treatment of the monastic robe in Daoxuan's *vinaya* commentary and related works suggests that the elaborate story about the robe, told in the Buddha's sermon in the divine scripture that Daoxuan claimed to have received from gods towards the end of his life, may have evolved as a culmination of a long process. References to the soteriological significance of the robe, particularly those highlighted in the two Mahāyāna *sūtras* quoted in the *vinaya* commentary, were augmented with additional quotations. The *Dabei jing*'s prediction that those wear the robe would enter *nirvāṇa* under one of the future Buddhas may have partly inspired the remarkable sermon of the Buddha in the *Daoxuan lüshi zhuchi*

ganying ji. The setting of the *Dabei jing*, translated by Narendrayaśas (490/517–589), is the scene of the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa*, and the main body of the scripture consists of a variety of instructions and predictions that the Buddha is said to have given to the god Brahmā, a Māra called Shangzhu 商主 (Skt. Śārthavāha?), the god Śakra, and the disciples Rāhula, Kāśyapa, and Ānanda. The quoted passage appears in the section where the Buddha told Ānanda about the 996 Buddhas who are to appear in the present *kalpa*. The prediction about the future time when the True Teaching would be destroyed appears in the final section of this scripture.⁷⁷ Narendrayaśas is particularly known as the translator of the *Daji Yuezang jing* which influenced the speculation about the Age of the Decline of the Teaching in China (and as we saw above, a passage from this scripture is quoted in the *Fayuan zhubin*).

The Robe in the *Ayuwang zhuan*

The Buddha's sermons on a variety of cultic objects, reproduced in the passages from the *Daoxuan lüshi zhuchi ganying ji*, uniformly develop into elaborate comments on *stūpas* that store the cultic objects used by the succeeding Buddhas. In many cases, numerous copies of these *stūpas* are said to have been made; sometimes the Buddha instructs that these *stūpas* should be placed in kingdoms all over the world. King Aśoka's name is mentioned occasionally.⁷⁸

In 664, a few years before Daoxuan received the divine instruction, he had compiled a collection of miracle stories in three *juan*, titled the *Ji Shenzhou sanbao gantong lu* 集神州三寶感通錄 [Collected Records of Three Treasure Miracles that Occurred in China].⁷⁹ The first *juan*, devoted to the stories of *stūpa* miracles, begins by summarizing the story that is told in the opening section of the Chinese translations of *Ayuwang zhuan*:

⁷⁷ T no. 380, 12: 972a–b.

⁷⁸ T no. 2122, 53: 561a12, 1008c29.

⁷⁹ T no. 2106, 52.404a7–435a19.

In his previous life, King Aśoka, as a child, was once playing with dirt by the roadside. Making food with dirt, he presented it to the Buddha who happened to be begging for food.⁸⁰ The Buddha accepted it and made the prediction: 100 years after the Buddha's *nirvāṇa*, this child would rule over supernatural beings in the Jambudvīpa as a king, and would open the eight previous *stūpas* and redistribute the relics obtained inside the *stūpas* among 84,000 *stūpas* that he would construct, in one day, with the help of these supernatural beings.⁸¹

The collection of miracle stories that follows in this *juan* is devoted, for the most part, to stories of 'Aśoka *stūpas*' in China. The second *juan* of the same work is devoted to stories about miraculous images, and several of these stories again centre around the images attributed to King Aśoka.⁸²

Stories of Aśoka *stūpas* and images that were discovered in China appear in the *Gaoseng zhuān* compiled sometime around 531.⁸³ Sometimes these stories can be traced to earlier sources.⁸⁴ As the compiler of *Xu Gaoseng zhuān* 續高僧傳 [Continued Biography of Eminent Monks]⁸⁵ which presented itself as a sequel to the earlier biographical collection, Daoxuan was familiar with these stories, and sometimes referred explicitly to them.⁸⁶ In the *Ji Shenzhou sanbao*

⁸⁰ T no. 2042, 50.99b9–c15; T no. 2043, 50: 131c9–c17.

⁸¹ T no. 2106, 52.404a. *The Legend of King Aśoka* was first translated into Chinese by An Faqin 安法欽 (active 281–306) as *Ayuwang zhuān* 阿育王傳 [Biography of King Aśoka; T no. 2042]. The second translation *Ayuwang jīng* 阿育王經 or the *Scripture of King Aśoka* (T no. 2043) was translated by Sengqiepoluo 僧伽婆羅 (Saṃghabhara or Saṃghavara?; 460–524) in the early sixth century. In the Sanskrit version of the *Legend of King Aśoka*, the story of the gift of dirt appears later; see Strong, *The Legend of King*, 198–201.

⁸² Shinohara, 'Changing Roles for Miraculous Images in Medieval Chinese Buddhism'.

⁸³ T no. 2059, 50: 322c2–423a19.

⁸⁴ Shinohara and Granoff, *Monks and Magicians: Religious Biographies in Asia*; and Shinohara, 'Changing Roles for Miraculous Images in Medieval Chinese Buddhism'.

⁸⁵ T no. 2060, 50: 425a2–707a27.

gantong lu, Daoxuan expanded this tradition of the Aśoka *stūpa* and image stories by introducing a large number of stories about other Aśoka *stūpas* and images in China, and adding new details to stories known from earlier sources.⁸⁷

Daoxuan thus appears to have been keenly interested in the stories about Aśoka *stūpas*, many of which he believed existed in China. Moreover, Daoxuan not only prepared an extensive list of these *stūpas* and updated the stories about the *stūpas*, he also told stories about them that had been hitherto unknown and which he claimed to have received from the miraculous instruction by gods. One of the records of this instruction, the *Daoxuan lüshi gantong lu* 道宣律師感通錄 [Record of the Miraculous Instruction Given to the Vinaya Master Daoxuan], is divided into two parts: Daoxuan first asked questions about the Buddha images and *stūpas* in China, or ‘matters that have to do with the Buddha’ (*foshi* 佛事);⁸⁸ he then moved to ‘vinaya matters’ (*lüxiang* 律相).⁸⁹ References to King Aśoka appear in the discussion of *stūpas* and images, which often presents the cosmic histories of these objects going as far back as the time of the past Buddha Kāśyapa. King Aśoka is said to have built a *stūpa* on Mount Wutai 五臺山.⁹⁰ In answering Daoxuan’s question affirmatively whether the ‘Mao *stūpa*’ 鄆縣塔 in Yangdu 楊都 was really an Aśoka *stūpa*, the god mentioned another Aśoka *stūpa* at the Mao District in Linhai 臨海.⁹¹ The god moreover told Daoxuan about one more Aśoka *stūpa* at the Xiangsi si 相思寺 in Fuzhou 涪州.⁹² The god also mentioned a large *stūpa* built by King Aśoka that is found to the south of a square pond, to the south of a large river that flows

⁸⁶ E.g., *T* no. 2060, 50: 644c21.

⁸⁷ Daoxuan also produced a separate essay on Aśoka *stūpas* that existed in China during the Tang Dynasty; the essay also listed miraculous images, many of which are also said to have been produced by Aśoka (*T* no. 2103, 52: 201b–203c9).

⁸⁸ *T* no. 2107, 52: 436a8–439c25.

⁸⁹ *T* no. 2107, 52: 439c25–442b14.

⁹⁰ *T* no. 2107, 52: 437a26.

⁹¹ *T* no. 2107, 52: 439a1–6.

⁹² *T* no. 2107, 52: 438c3 and 5.

in a forest of massive trees five or six hundred miles to the south of Mount Heng 衡. In his question, Daoxuan referred to a local legend about the *stūpa* at Wugong 武功 in Qinchuan 秦川 which is also said to be an *Aśoka stūpa*.⁹³ The miraculous images that the fourth daughter of King *Aśoka* is said to have produced are mentioned in two places, once in the god's answer about the identity of a known image in China and then in a discussion about the veracity of this legend.⁹⁴

In the two Chinese versions of the legend of King *Aśoka*, respectively titled the *Ayuwang zhuan* 阿育王傳 [Biography of King *Aśoka*] and the *Ayuwang jing* 阿育王經 [Scripture on King *Aśoka*], the opening story of the gift of dirt, which culminates in the construction of 84,000 *stūpas*, is followed immediately by the account of *Aśoka*'s encounter with Upagupta, whose future had been predicted by the Buddha in a manner similar to that of King *Aśoka*.⁹⁵

When Upagupta saw *Aśoka*, he told the king that the Buddha had entrusted the True Teaching to the king as well as to himself.⁹⁶ *Aśoka* then said that he wished to build *stūpas* in places where the Buddha had travelled and stayed.⁹⁷ Upagupta took *Aśoka* to the site of the Buddha's birth, where the deity of the *Āmra* tree, who is said to have been present when the Buddha was born, appeared and exchanged words with the king. The king built a *stūpa* at this location.⁹⁸ Upagupta then took the king to Kapilavastu and showed

⁹³ T no. 2107, 52: 439a28 and 439b25.

⁹⁴ T no. 2107, 52: 438a8 and 439b9–22. The origin of the miraculous images that appeared at a place in Liangzhou 涼州 to which Liu Sahe 劉薩訶 paid respect is also explained in this work (437b13–c5). Liu Sahe was closely associated with *Aśoka stūpas* and images in the South, though this image in Liangzhou was not an *Aśoka* image.

⁹⁵ T no. 2042, 50: 102b12, 13; T no. 2943, 50: 135b14; cf. Strong, *The Legend of King Aśoka*, 238–244; and *The Legend and Cult of Upagupta*, 146–147.

⁹⁶ T no. 2042, 50: 103a4; T no. 2943, 50: 136b1, 2.

⁹⁷ T no. 2042, 50: 103a22, 23; T no. 2943, 50: 136c1–8; Strong, *The Legend of King Aśoka*, 244.

⁹⁸ T no. 2042, 50: 103b; T no. 2943, 50: 137a; Strong, *The Legend of King Aśoka*, 245–246.

him the locations where various recorded episodes in the Buddha's life are said to have occurred: the place the newly born prince was shown to his father, King Śuddhodana, and the monastery where he was shown to gods, while the images in the monastery came to pay him respect; the place where the prince was shown to a magician who read his features; the place where Asita predicted that he would become a Buddha. The list of locations continues, reviewing the life of the Buddha in some detail. The locations mentioned here include the place where the Prince entered the forest, cut his hair with a razor and threw it into the sky, the place where the razor was received by Indra, the place where the Prince exchanged his jewelled clothes for the *kāṣāya*, the place where he practised asecism for six years and received food from the dragon kings Nanda and Upananada, and the place where the Bodhisattva faced the tree of enlightenment. At the site of the Buddha's enlightenment, King Aśoka asked Upagupta to let him see the Dragon King Kalika who had witnessed the Buddha achieving enlightenment. When the dragon king appears, he exchanged words with him. The location where the kings of the Four Heavens presented the bowls which the Tathāgata turned into one bowl is also mentioned. After seeing the location of the Buddha's death in Kusinagara where the king is said to have fainted, King Aśoka asked to be taken to the *stūpas* of the Buddha's prominent disciples.⁹⁹ Upagupta then took the king to the Jetavana and showed him the *stūpas* of the leading disciples of the Buddha Śāriputra, Maudgalyāya, Kāśyapa (where it is briefly notated that the Buddha gave his robe to this disciple), Dvākula, and Ānanda. The king made generous donations at each of these *stūpas*.

Since Daoxuan most certainly was familiar with the *Ayuwang zhuān* which served as his source for explaining the origin of Aśoka *stūpa* and images, I suspect that the Buddha's sermons that are told in the *Daoxuan lüshi zhuchi ganying ji* may have been partly inspired by the story of Aśoka's visits to the important sites in the life of the Buddha where the king constructed *stūpas*. These sermons in the

⁹⁹ T no. 2042, 50: 104a29; T no. 2943, 50: 136a19; Strong, *The Legend of King Aśoka*, 252.

Daoxuan lüshi zhuchi ganying ji specify the occasions when the objects were presented to the Bodhisattva by referring to crucial episodes in the life of the Buddha, and these episodes are marked in phrases that parallel closely those in the *Ayuwang zhuan*. In the *Ayuwang zhuan*, the Tree Deity who was present at the time when the Buddha was born, and the Dragon King Kalika who was present when the Buddha achieved enlightenment, appeared in front of King Aśoka and exchanged words with him.¹⁰⁰ In the Buddha's sermons reproduced in the *Daoxuan lüshi zhuchi ganying ji*, similar exchanges with local deities occur, though here words are exchanged between the Bodhisattva who is to become the present Buddha, and the deities who had witnessed the events in the life of the previous Buddha.

In the legend of King Aśoka, the emphasis on *stūpas* being built by King Aśoka is combined with a persistent concern for the entrusting of the Buddha's teaching to disciples. Thus, the second half of this Chinese version, in which stories appear in a different order from the Sanskrit version and contain additional material, is organized around the line of transmission from the Buddha's disciple Kāśyapa, through another disciple Ānanda,¹⁰¹ then Śāṅkavāsin,¹⁰² and finally to Upagupta.¹⁰³ The account of this transmission is given, following a long section on the compilation of the scriptures in which the disciple Kāśyapa played the leading role.¹⁰⁴ Kāśyapa then is said to

¹⁰⁰ The idea of meeting someone who had seen the Buddha is further highlighted in the *Ayuwang zhuan* in the story it tells of Piṇḍola-Bhāradvāja. Piṇḍola appears accompanied by millions of Arhats, and answering Aśoka's question about whether he had seen the Buddha in his life here, says that he had seen the incident in which the king in his former life presented the gift of dirt to the Buddha in Rājagṛha and the Buddha predicted the king's achievement in a future life. *T* no. 2042, 50: 105b9–c4; *T* no. 2943, 50: 139c22–140b24.

¹⁰¹ *T* no. 2042, 50: 114b7–12; *T* no. 2943, 50: 152c12–28; 152a21–29.

¹⁰² *T* no. 2042, 50: 114b13, 14; 115c10–19; *T* no. 2943, 50: 155a8–19.

¹⁰³ *T* no. 2042, 50: 121a23–28. Madhyāntika is also said to have received the transmission to spread it in Jībin (Kashmir/Gandhāra) (*T* no. 2042, 50: 116b1–4 describes the transmission of the dharma to Ānanda).

have realized that it was time for him to enter *nirvāṇa*. Saying that he wants to enter *nirvāṇa*, Kāśyapa entrusted to Ānanda the ‘storehouse of dharma’ which the Buddha had entrusted to him. Kāśyapa here also specified that Ānanda should entrust the dharma to Śāṅkavāsin. After he had entrusted the dharma to Ānanda, Kāśyapa visited the four *stūpas*, which marked the sites of the key episodes in the Buddha’s life, and the eight *stūpas* where the remains of the Buddha were preserved.¹⁰⁵ Kāśyapa then flew to the great ocean and paid respect to the Buddha’s teeth kept at the Dragon King Sāgara’s palace, and then to the Trāyastriṃśa heaven, where he told the god Śakra (i.e., Indra) and others that he wished to pay respect to the Buddha’s teeth, hair, heavenly crown, and bowl.

A complex story about Kāśyapa’s death is then told, explaining how King Ajātaśatru failed to see Kāśyapa before he entered *nirvāṇa*, and how Mount Kukkuṭapada which had covered Kāśyapa’s body opened up when Ānanda and the king came there belatedly. Just before he entered the *nirvāṇa*, Kāśyapa sat on the grass, entertaining the following thought: ‘In this present body, I wear the robe of rags that the Buddha gave me and I hold my own bowl. Until the time Maitreya comes, my body will not rot. When Maitreya’s disciples see my body, they will be disgusted by it’ 我今此身著佛所與糞掃衣，自持己鉢，乃至彌勒，令不朽壞。使彌勒弟子，皆見我身而生厭惡。¹⁰⁶ When the mountain opened and the king, accompanied by Ānanda, saw Kāśyapa’s body, he began collecting firewood to cremate it. Ānanda stopped him, saying that Kāśyapa was in a meditative state waiting for Maitreya, and at that time, 9,600,000,000 monks would come to the mountain. When they see him, they would think contemptuously that the hearer Kāśyapa’s body is small (as human bodies in the Age of Degeneration become small),¹⁰⁷ and that the Buddha whose robe Kāśyapa is wearing is also small. Kāśyapa would then jump up to

¹⁰⁴ T no. 2042, 50: 112b–114a.

¹⁰⁵ T no. 2042, 50: 114b15–19; T no. 2943, 50: 153a29–24.

¹⁰⁶ T no. 2042, 50: 114c19–21; T no. 2943, 50: 153c13–17; also T no. 2042, 50: 104b21.

¹⁰⁷ Faure, ‘Quang l’habit fait le moine’, 340.

the sky, performing magical feats and his body would become large. At that time Maitreya will receive, from Kāśyapa, the Buddha Śākya-muni's *saṃghāṭī* robe. Seeing this, the monks would repent deeply and become arhats.¹⁰⁸

The name Śāṅakavāsin is explained by referring to the *sāṇa* (hemp) robe which is made from hemp.¹⁰⁹ Śāṅakavāsin, in his previous life as a merchant, is said to have met a Pratyekabuddha who was ill. The merchant, on his way to the ocean in the company of 500 other merchants, offered food and medicine and helped the Pratyekabuddha recover. The Pratyekabuddha wore a *śāṇa* (linen) robe and refused to accept the woolen one that the merchant offered him. He explained that it was the linen robe that he wore when he renounced the householder's life, and that he was now about to enter *nirvāṇa* wearing the same linen robe. Refusing also the merchant's invitation to come to the ocean, to be looked after until the end of his life, the Pratyekabuddha praised the merchant for the merits he had accumulated, and entered *nirvāṇa*. After taking care of his remains, the merchant made a vow, 'Let me encounter in a future life a holy teacher and obtain merits millions of times greater than those I obtained under the present teacher. In the place in which I will be born in the future, let my behavior, the teaching I follow, and the clothing I wear be like those of this Pratyekabuddha' 願使我未來遭值聖師，復過於是百千萬億。如今聖師所得功德，我悉得之。使我將來所生之處威儀法則，及以衣服，如辟支佛。¹¹⁰ Because of this vow in the previous life, from the time of his birth, Śāṅakavāsin always wore clothing made of linen, and when he received the complete precepts for monks, he pledged to wear a linen robe until the end of his life.

A tradition about the Buddha's robe already existed when the various versions of the story were written in the *Daoxuan lüshi zhuchi ganying ji* (Passage E). The story about the 'new yellow robe, embroidered in gold' that the Buddha's aunt Mahāprajāpatī presented to the

¹⁰⁸ *T* no. 2042, 50: 115a16–28; *T* no. 2943, 50: 154a14–b2.

¹⁰⁹ *T* no. 2042, 50: 114b11, 115b17, 117a5–b1; *T* no. 2943, 50: 153a25; 154b26; 156b22–c19.

¹¹⁰ *T* no. 2042, 50: 117a24–26; ref., *T* no. 2943, 50: 156c1217.

Buddha is found in one of the Chinese *Āgama* collections, the *Zhong aban* which is said to have been translated by Saṃghadeva in 397–398.¹¹¹ This robe is also mentioned in the *vinaya* of the Mahīśāsaka school, in the Chinese *Wufen lü* 五分律 [Skt. *Mahīśāsakavinaya?*; Five-Part *Vinaya*] and in the *Xianyu jing*, a collection of didactic stories.¹¹² The story of Śākyamuni’s robe entrusted to the great disciple Kāśyapa, who is waiting in a trance at Mount Gṛdhra-kūṭa for the appearance of the future Buddha Maitreya, appears in one of the two versions of the *sūtra* that speaks of the future appearance of Maitreya Kumārajīva (344–413, or 350–409) translated.¹¹³ The story of the robe that the Buddha gave to Kāśyapa also appears elsewhere, such as in the *vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda school, translated by Yijing 義淨 (635–713), and the *Da zhidu lun*.¹¹⁴ In Xuanzang’s 玄奘 (602?–664) record of his travels, which was presented to the court in 646, Mahāprajāpati’s robe embroidered in gold is identified with the robe that the Buddha entrusted to his disciple Kāśyapa who was told to keep it until Maitreya appears.¹¹⁵

In the *Ayuwang zhuan* and other related sources, the Buddha’s robe is identified as the one that the Buddha gave to his disciple Kāśyapa, who waits to pass it on to the Buddha Maitreya. In the

¹¹¹ *T* no. 26, 1: 47.721c23–722a4.

¹¹² *T* no. 1421, 22: 29.185b; *T* no. 202, 4: 12.434a. A reference to this robe appears in Passage E, 561b6.

¹¹³ *T* no. 456, 14: 433bc. The robe is not mentioned in the corresponding passage in the shorter version (*T* no. 454, 14: 425c), though Kāśyapa’s *saṃghāṭī* robe is mentioned explicitly in the earlier translation of the same work produced by Dharmarakṣa or Zhu Fahu 竺法護 (239–316) (*T* no. 453, 14: 422c4).

¹¹⁴ *T* no. 1451, 24: 409a15–18; *T* no. 1509, 25: 3.78c–79a. The passage on Kāśyapa’s robe in the *Ayuwang zhuan* (*T* no. 2042, 50: 114c–115a) is reproduced as a part of the *Fu fazang yinyuan zhuan* 付法藏因緣傳 [Biographical Account of the Transmission of the Dharma], *T* no. 2058, 50: 300c–301. This is the work on which the later Tiantai and Chan Buddhism would base their discussions of the transmission of the robe.

¹¹⁵ *T* no. 2087, 51: 919bc; Ji et al., coll. & annot., *Da Tang Xiyu ji jiaozhu*, 706; Mizutani, *Daitō Seiki ki*, 278.

Daoxuan lüshi zhuchi ganying ji sermons (Passage E), the Buddha's robe is identified as the robe that the past Buddha Kāśyapa handed over to the Buddha Śākyamuni through the Tree Deity, and would be passed on to the future Buddha Maitreya through Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī.¹¹⁶ In one story, the Buddha Kāśyapa's robe is said to have been kept at a mountain cave at Mount Qingliang 清涼 in China, presumably guarded by Mañjuśrī.¹¹⁷ I am tempted to speculate that Daoxuan, or the author(s) of the *Daoxuan lüshi zhuchi ganying ji* sermons, was well acquainted with the account of the Buddha's disciple Kāśyapa's robe in the *Ayuwang zhuan* and reshaped it into a story of the previous Buddha Kāśyapa's robe, greatly expanding the cosmic horizon of the transmission of the Buddha's robe.¹¹⁸ As the horizon is expanded, the story becomes less an account of the events that occurred only in India, and China becomes as much as an integral part of the cosmic theatre as India. Just as the Aśoka *stūpas*, whose origins are described in the *Ayuwang zhuan*, are located at certain places in China, reaffirming Aśoka's status as a Universal Monarch,¹¹⁹ so the robe the Buddhas wear at the time of their enlightenment is currently guarded by Mañjuśrī at Mount Qingliang.

Here I attempted to read the passages from the *Daoxuan lüshi zhuchi ganying ji* as compositions inspired by the *Ayuwang zhuan*. Since Daoxuan's other work, compiled only a few years earlier, on miraculous *stūpas* in China begins with a summary of the story that led King Aśoka to construct *stūpas*, this reading also suggests that Daoxuan's interest in Aśoka *stūpas*, some of which Daoxuan believed to have existed in China, expanded dramatically into a cosmic vision in the instructions he claimed to have received from gods toward the end of his life. In this large vision Daoxuan went back beyond King Aśoka to the life of the Buddha, and further to the entire sequence of the Buddhas who are to appear in the present Cosmic Age of the Wise. The *stūpas* in which the cosmic objects used by succeeding

¹¹⁶ T no. 2122, 35: 562a18–19, b22, 563a6.

¹¹⁷ T no. 2122, 35: 560c18–20.

¹¹⁸ Faure, 'Quand l'habit fait le moine', 340.

¹¹⁹ Strong, *The Legend of King Aśoka*, 49–56.

Buddhas are kept are no longer *Aśoka stūpas*. Perhaps Daoxuan's new vision also includes the Jetavana, in which he sought the ultimate locus of the Ordination Platform, which he was attempting to re-establish in Central China.

I suspect that Daoxuan and his followers may not have been able to complete a work that represents this new vision fully and adequately. What has survived may best be read as incomplete and sometimes confusing drafts produced as Daoxuan groped for a fuller presentation of this vision. Varying titles that different catalogues of scriptures use for the works on Daoxuan's writings on miracle stories and the record of his own miraculous experience suggest that complex changes may have occurred as Daoxuan's record crystallized in the various forms in which it has survived.¹²⁰

¹²⁰ The titles of the existing works which record the miraculous instruction that Daoxuan received from gods may have evolved slowly. The *Daoxuan lüshi gantong lu* (*T* no. 2107, 52) is also known as *Lüxiang gantong zhuan* 律相感通傳 [The Record of Miraculous Instruction on *Vinaya* Matters] (*T* no. 1898, 45). The *Fayuan zhulin* (*T* no. 2122, 53), in *juan* 14, mentions a *Xuanshi gantong ji* 宣師感通記 [Record of Miracles Attributed to Master Daoxuan], with quotations paralleling major sections of these two works. See *T* no. 2122, 53: 394a2–397a4 parallels *T* no. 2107, 52: 436a9–438c20/ *T* no. 1898, 45: 875b1–878c (with some variation); *T* no. 2122, 53: 397a13–27 parallels *T* no. 2107, 52: 439b10–22/ *T* no. 1898, 45: 879a16–29. In addition, the *Fayuan zhulin*, *T* no. 2122, 53: 392b19–c29 parallels *T* no. 2107, 52: 435b24–436a4/ *T* no. 1898, 45: 874c13–875a22, though this passage appears before the title of the source is mentioned in the *Fayuan zhulin*. A short passage in the *Fayuan zhulin*, *juan* 35, is attributed to the *Daoxuan lüshi gantong lu* (*T* no. 2122, 53: 568a18–24 parallels *T* no. 2107, 52: 438b18–22, 878b1–6). The remaining part of the discussion of the sacred sites in the *Daoxuan lüshi gantong lu* and *Lüxiang gantong zhuan*, not overlapping the passages in the parallels cited above, appears in the *Fayuan zhulin* in Passage F as a quote from a work called *Xuanshi zhuchi ganying* (*juan* 38, 590b11–591a5, paralleling 438c19–439c9/878c1–879a16 and 439c21–25/879b28–c4). These parallels suggest that, since a part of it quoted in the *Fayuan zhulin* under a more distinctive title *Xuanshi gantong ji*, while another is not, the work now known as *Daoxuan lüshi gantong lu*/*Lüxiang*

gantong zhuan may have been beginning to separate itself from a larger collection of miscellaneous records, to which the various other records of the instruction Daoxuan received from gods belonged.

Both the *Xuanshi gantong ji* quotation and the paralleling passage in the *Daoxuan lüshi gantong lu/Lüxiang gantong zhuan* mention a source called *Fuzhu yi* 付囑儀 [Paradigms of Transmission]. (*T* no. 2107, 52: 396c23, 27, 438c5 and *T* no. 1898, 45: 878b17, 25). This source is also mentioned in the biography of Daoxuan in the *Song Gaoseng zhuan* as a work of orally transmitted verses, also called *Fuzhu yi* which consists of 10 *juan* (*T* no. 2061, 50: 791a8). This might have been an earlier title of the 10-*juan* work that included both the materials now known in the work *Daoxuan lüshi gantong lu/Lüxiang gantong zhuan* and in the quoted passages from the *Daoxuan lüshi zhuchi ganying ji*.

The *Fayuan zbulin* also mentions the title *Xuan lüshi Qihuan si gantong ji* (*T* no. 2122, 53: 591b3). The quote attributed to this title (53.591b3–26) parallels the opening section of the *Zhong Tianzhu Sheweiguo Qihuan si tujing* 中天竺舍衛國祇洹寺圖經 [*Jetavana Diagram Scripture*] (*T* no. 1899: 45: 883b6–4). Immediately after this quotation, the titles of two heavenly scriptures are mentioned, one on the *Jetavana* compiled by a god of the Southern Heaven in 100 *juan* and the other on five great *vihāras* compiled by a god of the Northern Heaven in 200 *juan*. This may suggest that at the time this quotation was prepared, the title of the surviving version of the *Zhong Tianzhu Sheweiguo Qihuan si tujing* may not have existed. The *Song Gaoseng zhuan* passage, mentioned above, names the *Zhong Tianzhu Sheweiguo Qihuan si tujing* as a separate work presenting a summary of the heavenly *Jetavana Diagram Scripture* (*T* no. 2061, 50: 791a6–8).

The list of Daoxuan's works in the catalogue of scriptures that appears at the end of the *Fayuan zbulin* mentions three works on the miraculous instruction: the *Gantong ji* 感通記 [Record of Miraculous Communication] in one *juan*, the *Qihuan tu* 祇洹圖 [*Jetavana Diagram*] in two *juan* and the *Yifa zhuchi ganying* 遺法住持感應 [Miraculous Preservation of the Teaching of the Buddha] in seven *juan* (*T* no. 2122, 53: 1023c10–12). The third title is similar to *Daoxuan lüshi zhuchi ganying ji* which is the title mentioned as the source for the several passages quoted in the *Fayuan zbulin*. A very tentative hypothesis emerges from this exploration: from a fairly large body of records of instruction that Daoxuan was supposed to have received from gods, two separate works ultimately emerged: the *Daoxuan lüshi gantong lu*, commenting on cosmic origins of sacred sites in

CONCLUSION

When Shenhui 神會 (684–758) of the Heze 荷澤 Monastery declared in 732 at Huatai 滑台 that his teacher Huineng 慧能 (d.713) was the true Sixth Patriarch in Bodhidharma's southern school, he spoke of the robe which Bodhidharma gave to Huike 慧可 (487–593) and that the robe had been passed from Huike through Sengcan 僧璨 (510–606), Daoxin 道信 (580–651), and Hongren 弘忍 (601–674) to Huineng,¹²¹ and compared this robe to Śākyamuni's robe embroidered in gold, which Kāśyapa is still guarding at Mount Kukkuṭapada, waiting for the appearance of the Buddha Maitreya.¹²² Like Śākyamuni's robe that would be passed on to the next Buddha Maitreya, Huineng's robe has been passed on from one patriarch to another and proved Huineng's status as the Sixth Patriarch.¹²³ Although scholars have read this reference to Kāśyapa's robe simply as an allusion to the story in the *Fu fazang yinyuan zhuan* 付法藏因緣傳 [Biographical Account of the Transmission of the Dharma] which, in turn, drew from the *Ayuwang zhuan*, these stories about the robes and their transmissions may have been rooted in a broader religious culture. The Buddha's sermon on the Buddha Kāśyapa's robe, as presented in a newly created scripture, or a record of the divine instruction given to Daoxuan, may

China and certain issues regarding the *vinaya*, and the *Zhong Tianzhu Sheweiguo Qibuan si tujing* which is a summary of the heavenly *Jetavana Diagram Scripture*. The *Daoxuan lüshi zhuchi ganying ji* may have been yet another possibly earlier work. It may not have been fully completed.

¹²¹ Hu, *Shenhui heshang yiji*, 161–162 [P.3047], 281 [P.2045]; Tanaka, *Tonkō zenshū bunken no kenkyū*, 207.

¹²² Hu, *Shenhui heshang yiji*, 284–285; Tanaka, *Tonkō zenshū bunken no kenkyū*, 221.

¹²³ Elsewhere Shenhui explains that there was no robe of transmission in India (Hu Shi, *Shenhui heshang yiji*, 296; Tanaka, *Tonkō zenshū bunken no kenkyū*, 230). Though it resembles a proof of the authenticity of the Buddhahood, the robe that the Buddha gave to Kāśyapa appears not have been considered to be a 'robe of transmission' by Shenhui.

represent a striking example of this religious culture. In Daoxuan's record, the Buddha is reported to have instructed the monks by saying that all the Buddhas in the past and the future have and will wear this robe when they attain enlightenment. The robe may thus serve as a proof of enlightenment and thus authenticate the correct transmission.

Around the time Daoxuan was said to have received his divine instruction, he was also deeply involved in the project of establishing an Ordination Platform at the Jingye si 淨業寺 on Mount Zhongnan 終南山. The setting of the Buddha's sermon as represented in the *Daoxuan lüshi zhuchi ganying ji* reflects this duality: the sermon on the soteriology of the robe, worn by the succeeding Buddhas at the time of their enlightenment, is given at the Jetavana Monastery and culminates in a ritual gesture in the original Ordination Platform that was established in the monastery. The meaning of this ritual gesture in which this robe of Kāśyapa Buddha is transformed into numerous robes, presented by the Buddhas of all directions, is ambiguous. The site of this transformation suggests that these numerous robes may stand for robes worn by newly ordained monks, and more generally for the precepts they receive, while in the prediction about the future Age of the Decline of the Teaching, the robes are treated as relics preserved in *stūpas*. The two kinds of discourse about the robe, the one being about the *vinaya* rules and the other being of a more doctrinal or soteriological nature, are held closely together in this sermon.

The Ordination Platform is a familiar setting for the new Chan discourse on Bodhidharma's robe of transmission.¹²⁴ The polemic against the so-called Northern School, on the other hand, is reminiscent of the rhetoric about the Age of Decline of the Teaching found in the Buddha's sermon revealed to Daoxuan. The significance of Shunhui's story of Bodhidharma's robe may thus be better understood when it is placed in the larger context examined in this chapter.

Finally, we noted that certain aspects of Dōgen's essays on

¹²⁴ Yanagida, 'Goroku no Rekishi,' 406.

robes, as discussed by Bernard Faure, closely parallel those in the passages in the miraculously revealed scriptures attributed to Daoxuan. The treatment of the robe in Dōgen and the Sōtō tradition that evolved after him may better be understood in the light of this larger context.

Appendix I. The Seven Passages from the *Daoxuan lüshi zhuchi ganying ji*

Seven passages from the *Daoxuan lüshi zhuchi ganying ji* appear in different parts of the *Fayuan zbulin*. I have designated them as Passages A to G, following the sequence in which they appear in this massive work.

Passage A: *juan 10 (T no. 2122, 53: 10.353c–355b)*

An introduction describing the circumstances of revelation (Passage A/1) is followed by the sermon on the golden jar that was entrusted to the *gandharava* king by the past Buddha Krakucchanda and offered to Śākyamuni shortly after he left the palace. Śākyamuni underwent the Esoteric Buddhist *abhiṣeka* initiation. The sermon was given at the time of the *parinirvāṇa* at the Oxhead temple, situated to the east of the Anatavapta pond at the top of Mount Gandhamādhana.¹²⁵

Passage B: *juan 10 (T no. 2122, 53: 10.362b–363c)*

The sermon on the seven-jewel knife and the diamond tray that the Past Buddha Krakucchanda entrusted to the Dragon King who, in turn, presented it to Śākyamuni, so that he could keep it on his right knee to keep Māra away, and use it to shave his head and face before achieving enlightenment. The sermon was given at the Jetavana Monastery in the 13th year after the Buddha's enlightenment.

Passage C: *juan 11 (T no. 2122, 53: 11.367c–368b)*

The sermon on a water bucket with a pattern of two dragons on top, an incense burner with an elaborate animate sculpture built into it, and a golden box containing a very large version of the Perfection of Wisdom literature. The Past Buddha Krakucchanda created the water bucket and entrusted it to a mountain deity. And the Past Buddha Kāśyapa entrusted the incense burner and the golden box to the same deity, saying these objects were originally made by

¹²⁵ Shinohara, *Spells, Images, and Maṇḍalas*, 28–88.

Krakkucchanda and were meant to be passed on through all the Buddhas all the way to the last Buddha Ruci of the present cosmic age. The deity appeared to Siddhārtha as an ox-herding maiden, predicted that the prince would attain enlightenment, and instructed him to guard it carefully. The sermon was given in the villa of the Elder Soma (?) in Rājagṛha in the 11th year after the Buddha's enlightenment.

Passage D: *juan 12* (*T no. 2122, 53: 12.376a–378a*)

An exchange between Daoxuan and a god, regarding the compilation of scriptures after the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa*. A long passage that appears to have been excerpted from a record of the Buddha's sermon is inserted in the middle of this exchange (*T no. 2122, 53: 35.376c11–377c6*).

Passage E: *juan 35* (*T no. 2122, 53: 35.560a–563b*)

A sermon on the Buddha Kāśyapa's robe, given three months before his *parinirvāṇa* at the Jetavana (E/1, discussed in some detail in this chapter) is followed by other sermons on related topics. Two separate occasions for these sermons are mentioned, first in the 21st year after enlightenment at the Jetavana (*T no. 2122, 53: 35.562a21–22*) and then at the Ordination Platform, presumably near the top of Mount Sumeru where Ānanda sounded the bell to gather monks together. The year of this second occasion is not indicated (*T no. 2122, 53: 35.563a13*).

Passage F: *juan 38* (*T no. 2122, 53: 38.589b–591a*)

Questions and answers between Daoxuan and a god, on a variety of topics, including the Buddha's *saṃghāṭī* robe, begging bowl, staff, nails, and some sacred sites in China.

Passage G: *juan 98* (*T no. 2122, 53: 98.1008a–1009a*)

A sermon on the Buddha's begging bowl, which the Past Buddha Kāśyapa had entrusted to a mountain god. The mountain god then presented it to Prince Siddhārtha when the latter entered the forest, instructing him to carry it on his head until the time of enlightenment, at which point the prince could put on the robe.

These passages are written in a highly formulaic manner, using two different formats. The second part of Passage A, Passages B, C, E, G are written as records of the Buddha's sermons given on different occasions. In contrast, Passages D and F are written as sets of Daoxuan's questions and the god's answers to them. Sometimes the two formats are mixed. Thus, Passage F contains sections that use standard conventions that appear in the Buddha's sermons (*T* no. 2122, 53: 38.590a–b). The exchanges between Daoxuan and the god in Passage D are interrupted when the Buddha's speech is introduced abruptly (*T* no. 2122, 53: 12.376c11–377b25).

The format of a series of exchanges between Daoxuan and a god that appears in Passage D and Passage F is the format that is used in another independent work, the *Daoxuan liushi gantong lu* which also claims to be a record of the instruction that Daoxuan received from gods. In fact, the last part of Passage F parallels a part of this work that is better known today (*T* no. 2107, 52: 438c19–439b29, c21–25; *T* no. 1898, 45: 878c1–879a8, b28–c4). At one time, or in the hand of one writer, the instruction that Daoxuan received from gods was recorded as a set of questions and answers. This record and the record that took the form of reproducing the Buddha's sermons, reviewed above, may have resulted from two separate attempts at creating the record of the instruction that Daoxuan was believed to have received from gods; they may have been produced at different times, and possibly by different writers. This hypothesis appears to be partly confirmed by the following evidence.

In Passage F, Daoxuan's questions center around the Buddha's relics and ashes, *samghāṭī* robe, bowl, and staff. At one point in Passage F, questions and answers on these objects are abruptly interrupted by paragraphs written in the style of the Buddha's sermons. The king of the gods in the Brahma heaven comes to the Buddha and tells a story of four milk teeth of the Buddha (F/2) (*T* no. 2122, 53: 589c20–590a17). This section is then followed by another in which the Buddha who appears abruptly as the speaker tells Ānanda a story about the long nails that grew while he was practising ascetic practices for six years. At the time when the Prince achieved enlightenment, he washed himself in the river, and the king of the gods in Brahma Heaven cut the Prince's nails with a seven-jewelled sword (*T* no.

2122, 53: 590a18–b10). After these paragraphs, the earlier format, in which Daoxuan presents questions to be answered by the god, is resumed, though the topics of the exchanges shift to the *stūpas* in China. It is these exchanges that are found in parallel passages in the *Daoxuan lüshi gantong lu*. In Passage F which discusses various cultic objects used by the Buddha and the *stūpas* in China, relevant stories written in different formats appear to have been placed side by side clumsily.

Many of the topics that appear in the first two sections in Passage F are also discussed in detail in Buddha's sermons in other passages: the Buddha's *saṃghātī* robe (*T* no. 2122, 53: 589b20, c1) is the topic of the sermon in Passage E; his bowl in Passage G (*T* no. 2122, 53: 589b20, c9); the Buddha's four milk teeth (*T* no. 2122, 53: 38.590a4) are discussed in the sermon in Passage E/3/2 (*T* no. 2122, 53: 563b11–17). In Passage F, the exchange between Daoxuan and the god centres around the location where these objects were kept after the Buddha had entered the *nirvāṇa*. The god summarizes his answer in one sentence: 'The World Honoured One's *saṃghātī* robe was first kept at the Jetavana Monastery for 12 years; the almsbowl was kept at the Vulture Peak for 12 years and the staff at Dragon's Well for 40 years' 世尊僧伽梨先遣在祇桓, 十二年中住; 鉢盂在鷲頭山, 十五年中住; 錫杖在龍泉, 四十年中住 (*T* no. 2122, 53: 589b22–24). It probably is a significant clue for tracing the evolution of this material that the discussion of these objects in Passage F does not always agree with the corresponding discussion given in Buddha's sermons reproduced in other passages.

In Passage F, the deity explains that in order to guard against the evil monks and nuns who are to appear in the Age of the Decline of the Teaching (*mofa* 末法) (*T* no. 2122, 53: 38.589b26, c1–2), the robe shall be placed at the monk's Ordination Platform for six years and then at the nun's Ordination Platform for six years (*T* no. 1892, 45: 807c5–6). It is the breach of the precepts received by the monks and nuns at the Ordination Platform that makes them evil, and the choice of the Ordination Platform as the location where the Buddha's robe is kept appears to emphasize the importance of the precepts and the location where they are received by the followers of the Buddha's teaching. In the Passage E/1 (*T* no. 2122,

53: 560a24–561a12) that was written as a record of the Buddha’s sermon, the Buddha instructs that after he enters *nirvāṇa*, the *stūpa* of the robe—which was entrusted to him by the Buddha Kāśyapa in order for him to preserve it for the sentient beings who live in the Age of the Decline of the Teaching (*T* no. 2122, 53: 560c8)—should be placed at the northern end of the Ordination Platform for 12 years (*T* no. 2122, 53: 560c21–24, 28–29). This statement is followed by a long passage describing the events that occur when the True Teaching is destroyed. The accounts in Passage F and Passage E appear to agree that the robe was to be kept for 12 years at the Jetavana Monastery.

Passage G also speaks eloquently of the age when the True Teaching will be destroyed (*T* no. 2122, 53: 1008b8–17, c17). However, the location of the Buddha’s bowl, which is the topic of this passage, is here specified differently from the corresponding section in Passage F. While Passage F specifies that the bowl was kept at the Gṛdhrakūṭa for 15 years, in Passage G, the Buddha instructs that after he enters *nirvāṇa*, the bowl is to be taken to the southern end of the Ordination Platform and kept there for 12 years. After these 12 years, it should be given to the Dragon King Suojie 娑竭 (Sāgara?) who would place it in the hall in his palace where the *vinaya* is kept. After another 12 years the bowl was to be given to the god Indra and the kings of the Four Heavens, who were to take it to the top of Mount Sumeru. It would be placed at the southern end of the pond of golden sands in Indra’s Nandanavana garden, and various heavenly beings were to perform music and make offerings to it (*T* no. 2122, 53: 1008c16–24).

The account of the location of the bowl in Passage G appears to be related to the account of the Buddha’s robe in Passage E/1: the bowl is said to have been kept for 12 years at the southern end of the Ordination Platform at the Jetavana, while the Buddha’s robe was kept at the northern end for the same period of time (In the middle passage in Passage D, which appears to have been inserted later in the middle of a passage reproducing exchanges between Daoxuan and the god, the jewelled *stūpa* that the Buddha produced with material donated by gods and first placed at the Mount Gandhamādana is said to have been taken to the south of the Ordination Platform, presumably at the Jetavana (*T* no. 2122, 53: 376c19–21). One further detail

may throw some light on the relationship between the account of the Buddha's bowl in Passages F and G: a phrase 'the bowl of the kings of the Four Heavens' appears abruptly in Passage G (*T* no. 2122, 53: 1008b1) and is clearly out of place in this context, where a Mountain Deity is speaking to the Prince about the bowl entrusted to him by the ancient Kāśyapa Buddha. The passage on the bowl in Passage F describes the bowl as one that was presented to the World Honored One by 'the kings of the Four Heavens' at the time when he achieved enlightenment (*T* no. 2122, 53: 38.589c14). The abrupt and obscure phrase in Passage G may have been added to the passage as a later gloss to identify the bowl in this passage as the very bowl which is described as the one presented by the kings of the Four Heavens in Passage F.

The section in Passage F that comments on the Buddha's four milk teeth (F/2) (*T* no. 2122, 53: 38.589c29–590a17) is presented as words spoken by the king of the Brahma heaven to the Buddha. After the World Honoured One left his father's palace and entered Bimbisāra's kingdom, he asked the Tree Deity for direction. The Tree Deity invited the Buddha to his palace and said, 'It has been 20 *kalpas* since I assumed the form of this deity. Past Buddhas all came here. In this palace there are 1,400 *stūpas* of the four teeth of the past Buddhas. I now request the Buddha to confer four teeth on me.' The Buddha then ordered Ānanda to go to his father's palace and obtain his four milk teeth. When the teeth were brought back, the Buddha instructed the Tree Deity to construct *stūpas* for them and copy scriptures; the Buddha also made four of the Buddha's disciples stay in the *stūpas* in the state of meditative concentration. The Tree Deity constructed four elaborate *stūpas*. The Buddha instructed further, saying that after he has entered *nirvāṇa* and his disciple Kāśyapa has compiled scriptures, the Tree Deity was to copy the great *vinaya* and place the copies in these *stūpas*. The section ends by stating that these *stūpas* will bring benefits at the time in the Age of the Decline of the Teaching when the Buddha's teaching will be destroyed.

In Passage E/3/2 (*T* no. 2122, 53: 35.563b1–29), where a variety of stories about the Buddha's robe is told side by side, the story of the Buddha's four milk teeth appears in the story about robes made of animal skin. By the time seven years have passed after the World

Honoured One had achieved enlightenment and brought salvation to the first five monks, the number of his disciples had gradually increased. Among them was Caṇḍāla, a merchant who came to India from a kingdom called Jutuoluo 瞿陀羅 in the North of Jambudvīpa; having met the Buddha he renounced the householder's life. In his country people did not have cloth and everyone wore coats made of animal skin. Caṇḍāla asked a layman to make a robe made of animal skin for him. When a monk asked the Buddha about this, the Buddha mentioned that there were 200,000 kingdoms in the entire cosmos where animal skin was used as a monk's robe and that after he had entered *nirvāṇa* many evil monks would commit murder in order to make robes from skin. The Buddha then told Caṇḍāla to go to the Buddha's father and transmit the following words, 'When I was an infant I broke four front teeth, and asked you to keep them for me. Please give them back to me now. I want to preserve them until the Age of the Decline of the Teaching for the purpose of protecting my teaching.' When Maudgalyāyana brought the teeth back, the Buddha told other buddhas as well as his many transformation bodies each to donate a tooth and a diamond *stūpa*. He also told supernatural beings and the dragon king to produce *stūpas* to enshrine his four milk teeth (divided into multiple parts?). These teeth *stūpas* were then taken to the ocean and worshipped by the dragon king Soujīe. The Buddha then instructed Mañjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara that after the Buddha has entered *nirvāṇa*, they should use their supernatural powers to appear in many bodies and take the Buddha's teeth *stūpas* to [Caṇḍāla's] kingdom and place them in all the monasteries. Each of the *stūpas* would issue light, and cloth would appear in the light. Mañjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara were instructed to take the appearance of a merchant and either sell or donate dharma robes, and then transform themselves into monks of the *tripiṭaka* and instruct monks in that kingdom not to wear robes of animal skin.

There is a common core to the two stories about the Buddha's four milk teeth in Passage F/2 and Passage E/3/2: the focus on this unusual subject itself suggests some connection between them; in both versions the Buddha sent his own disciple, though a different one, to his father's palace to bring the teeth to him; deities constructed *stūpas* for the teeth. Both passages make direct reference to the Age

of the Decline of the Teaching. Yet, the story is otherwise told very differently. Here we may have the outcome of two more or less independent efforts to tell a story around a common core.

These examples of divergent stories about various cultic objects used by the Buddha suggest that as the tradition about Daoxuan's exchanges with deities on matters that have to do with the preservation of the Buddha's teaching evolved, different stories were composed around these objects. The stories reproduced in the opening questions and answers in Passage F, for example, might represent an earlier form of these stories, while those in other passages given in the form of the Buddha's sermon may have been written later. The story about the Buddha's milk teeth in Passage F/2 utilizes the format of Buddha's sermon, and thus the two versions of the story on this subject, one in Passage F/2 and the other in Passage E/3/2 may represent the outcome of two independent efforts both at a later stage of the evolution of stories.

In both Passage D and F the exchange of questions and answers between Daoxuan and the god is interrupted when paragraphs written in the format of the Buddha's sermon are introduced abruptly in the midst of the exchanges. These paragraphs may have been inserted by a later editor, who attempted to harmonize the two different ways in which the content of the instruction Daoxuan received from gods had been recorded.

**Appendix II. Scriptural Quotations on the Monastic Robe in
the ‘Two Categories of Robe’ Section in Daoxuan’s *Vinaya*
Commentary (T no. 1804: 40.104c–117c)**

II.1. The ‘Reasons for Stipulation’ Section

1. The *Sapoduo pini piposha*: Daoxuan’s quotation states that the names of the three robes are established to distinguish Buddhist teaching from the 96 kinds of non-Buddhist teachings; the original *vinaya* passage has a slightly different focus; the emphasis is on the three kinds of robes Buddhists distinguish with specific names (T no. 1804, 40: 105a2–4; T no. 1440, 23: 527b15–17).
2. The *Fenbie gongde lun* which comments on the opening section of the *Zengyi aban jing*: there are three robes because of the three seasons: in winter one wears the heavy robe, in summer the light robe, and in spring the robe of the middle weight; some also say that it is because of insects (T no. 1804, 40: 105a4; T no. 1507, 25: 44c1–5).
3. The *Da zhidu lun* by Kumārajīva (350–409): the Buddha’s disciples follow the Middle Path, wearing the three robes, unlike the non-Buddhist teachers who are naked and shameless or lay people who are greedy and wear many layers of clothes (T no. 1509, 25: 538b4–5).
4. The *Shisong lü*: the cloth used for robes are cut up with a sword in order to distinguish Buddhist monk’s robes from those of non-Buddhist teachings (T no. 1804, 40: 105a7–8; T no. 1435 (passage unidentified)).
5. The *Za aban jing*: the quotation from this scripture speaks of ‘cultivating the four kinds of limitless compassion, shaving head and face and putting on three dharma robes’ 修四無量者, 並剃鬚髮, 服三法衣; Daoxuan concludes from this that the robes may be called the clothing of compassion (T no. 1804, 40: 105a8–10; T no. 99, 2: 278a1–3).
6. The *Huayan jing*: Daoxuan cites two phrases ‘receiving and putting on robes’, and ‘rejecting the three kinds of poisons [greed, anger, ignorance]’ from the same passage, suggesting

that the two are to be identified (*T* no. 1804, 40: 105a10; *T* no. 278, 9: 430c24–25).

7. The *Sifen lü*: the quotation states that if bound by desires, one should not wear the monastic robe (*T* no. 1804, 40: 105a10; *T* no. 1428, 22: 882c10–11).
8. The *Sapoduo pini piposha*: the second quotation from this work lists the five reasons for stipulating the rule of three robes—as a measure against cold, in order to conduct repentance properly, to go into villages properly dressed, to occasion happy and good sentiments in others, and to maintain the purity of conduct (*T* no. 1804, 40: 105a10–14; *T* no. 1440, 23: 530a1–6).
9. The *Mohe sengqi lü* quotation from this work characterizes the three robes as the mark of sagely monks, and the begging bowl as the utensil of those who have renounced the householder's life. A statement, which appears to be an editorial comment, follows the word-for-word quotation from the *vinaya*, to the effect that here the stipulation is about reducing desires and limiting possessions, whereas in other schools it is for guarding against coldness (*T* no. 1804, 40: 105a15–17; *T* no. 1425, the first half of the quotation on the robes unidentified; the statement on the bowl, 22: 29.462a21; also, ref., 22: 8.293c29, 294a8).
10. The *Sifen lü*: this second quotation from the *Sifen lü* notes that Tathāgatas of the past, present, and future all wear such robes (*T* no. 1804, 40: 105a17–18; *T* no. 1428, 22 (passage unidentified)).

II.2. The Explanation of the Names

1. The *Zengyi aban*: a brief quotation defines the term *kāṣāya* as the robe that the Tathāgata wears. An interlinear note explains that the name comes from the robe's color (*T* no. 1804, 40: 105a18–20; *T* no. 125, 2: 623b6).
2. The *Sifen lü*: this quotation explains that the robes were made of pieces of cloth cut by a sword so that bandits will not steal them. The passage then mentions the names of the three

robes: *antarvāsa*, which is worn immediately over the skin, *uttarāsaṅga* and *saṃghātī*, which are worn when the monks go into villages (*T* no. 1804, 40: 105a21–22; *T* no. 1428, 22: 855b4, 6).

3. The *Huishang pusa jing*: ‘the robe made of five columns of cloth pieces is called ‘the robe worn inside’, and [one made of] seven columns is called the ‘outside robe’. The great robe is worn when the congregation gather together.’ 五條名‘中著衣’, 七條名‘上衣’, 大衣名‘衆集時衣’ (*T* no. 1804, 40: 105a24; *T* no. 345. 12 [passage unidentified]. According to Yuan-zhao’s 元照 [1048–1116] commentary, this quotation occurs in the second *juan* of the scripture. *T* no. 1805, 40: 360c4–5). A version of this Mahāyāna *sūtra* appears in the Ratnakūṭa collection, though the quoted passage is also absent here (*T* no. 310, 11: 594–607).

This quotation is followed by what appears to be an editor’s explanation, listing different ‘translations’ (*yifan* 義翻) for the ‘great robe,’ referring to the *saṃghātī* robe, described as ‘the robe for the occasion when the assembly gathers,’ above as ‘the robe made of numerous broken pieces 雜碎衣,’ or in terms of its usage, ‘the robe worn when monks enter the king’s palace or villages 入王宮聚落衣.’ The robe made of seven columns of cloths is called the ‘middle value robe 中價衣’ and worn when monks appear in the assembly; the robe made of five columns is called the ‘under robe 下衣’ which is worn inside the monastery when monks are engaged in spiritual practices or a variety of daily activities. The editor’s comment notes further that the *vinayas* do not speak of robes made of certain number of columns of cloth, but simply refer to *antarvāsa*, *uttarāsaṅga*, and *saṃghātī*. The way of referring to these robes as ‘seven column robe’ or ‘nine column robe’ was introduced later [in China]. The robe made of one piece of cloth (*mansengqieli* 縵僧伽梨 [*paṭasamghātī?*]) is also mentioned at this point.

II.3. The Merits and Functions

1. The *Dabei jing*: the Buddha predicts that even monks who defile the monk's practice, [calling themselves monks, and putting on the appearance of monks,] if they wear the monk's *kāṣāya* robe, will achieve *nirvāṇa* under the future 996 Buddhas from Maitreya on to the last Ruci Buddha (*T* no. 1804, 40: 105b3–6, 360c23; *T* no. 380, 12: 958a24–28)¹²⁶.
2. The *Beihua jing*: a long quotation from this Mahāyāna scripture speaks of the five merits of the *kāṣāya* robe: 1. wearing the robe, even those who have committed grave sins (*pārājika*) or fallen into wrong views, may give rise to respectful attitude and honour the Buddha, the Dharma or the *Samgha*, and [in this way] obtain the prediction of attaining the Buddhahood (*vyākaraṇa*); 2. if gods, dragons, human beings, and *yakṣas* honour, [or see a small part of this *kāṣāya* robe], then they can obtain the same prediction; 3. if *yakṣas* [and other beings] obtain a small part of this *kāṣāya* robe, food and drink become available plentifully; 4. in the middle of conflict among sentient beings, the thought of this robe gives rise to the mind of compassion; 5. in battle field, if one takes a small portion of this robe and pays respect to it, one is bound always to emerge victorious over others (*T* no. 1804, 40: 105b6–14; *T* no. 157, 3: 220a11–b2)¹²⁷.
3. The *Mobe sengqi lü*: this passage speaks of the rule that when a lay person asks for a piece of *kāṣāya* robe to remove some difficulty, monks and nuns who follow the precepts must let a lay person working in the monastery hand a small piece to him (*T* no. 1804, 40: 105b14–15; *T* no. 1425, 22: 528b2–3).

¹²⁶ Kanakura et al., *Catalogue*, no. 111.

¹²⁷ Kanakura et al., *Catalogue*, no. 112.

**Appendix III. Scriptural Quotations on the Monastic Robe
in the ‘Dharma Garment’ Entry in the *Fayuan zbulin*
(*T* no. 2122, 53: 556a–559b)**

III.1. The Introduction: no scriptural quotations

III.2. On the ‘Functions and Benefits’ of the Monastic Robe:

1. The *Huayan jing* (the same quotation as in the ‘reasons for stipulation’ section in Daoxuan’s commentary; see II.1.6).
2. The *Dabei jing* (the same quotation as in the ‘merits and functions’ section in Daoxuan’s commentary; see II.3.1.)
3. The *Beihua jing* (the same quotation as in the ‘merits and functions’ section in Daoxuan’s commentary; see II.3.2)
4. The *Zhengfanian jing*: those who make a donation toward securing monastic robes for monks and those who dye and repair a monk’s robe are reborn in heaven (*T* no. 721, 17: 129b22–c5; 134b4–135a5).

III.3. On the ‘Names’ of Monastic Robes

1. The *Da fangdeng tuoluoni jing*: an esoteric scripture, a passage is quoted from this text, on the three kinds of robes (*T* no. 1339, 21: 650c–651a).
2. The *Sapoduo pini piposha*: the passage attributed to this work in fact consists of two quotations. The first quotation states that laymen, wearing the white robe, cannot achieve Buddhahood, and that the Buddha, endowed with his 32 distinguishing marks, wore the dharma robe that those who renounce the householder’s life wear, and conducted himself according to proper forms, removing desires, and so the all-encompassing wisdom entered his body. The second quotation explains the term *kāṣāya*, saying that it means dyed robe, while noting that the term *ran* (‘dyeing’) is also used in reference to bondage and attachment. It is also stated that animals do not fear those who wear this robe, and so hunters put it on (*T* no. 1440, 23: 553b11–14, 559a).

3. The *Shelifo wen jing*: a work on the *vinaya*, probably of the Mahāsaṃghika school; the quotation attributes different colours of the robes to five different schools (*T* no. 1465, 29: 900c12–23).
4. The *Sanqian weiyi*: the quotation lists four conditions under which monks may go to other countries without wearing the monastic robe. These are countries where there are *stūpas* and temples, countries where there are no *saṃgha*, or the community of monks, countries where there are robbers, and countries where the ruler does not take pleasure in the Buddhist teaching (*T* no. 1470, 24: 915a18–20).

III.3. On ‘Escaping from Difficulties [with the Help of the Monastic Robe]’

1. The *Mobe sengqi lü*: the story of Dhaniya who in this *vinaya* is said to have been a dragon in a previous life (*T* no. 1425, 22: 238a–239b, 240a18–b23).
2. The *Hai longwang jing*: the story of a dragon king plagued by four *garuḍa* birds that ate dragons, their wives and children. The Buddha took off his black robe and gave it to the dragon king, telling him to divide it into small pieces and distribute them among his fellow dragons (*T* no. 598, 15: 151a–b).

III.4. On ‘Miraculous Karmic Effects from Previous Lives’

1. The *Baiyuan jing*: Śuklā, the daughter of Ghośa in Kapilavastu, was born wrapped in a white robe. When she was taken to the Buddha, her hair fell off, and the white robe became a *kāṣāya* robe. In the past, at the time of the Buddha Kāśyapa, this woman saw monks travelling in the village and made the donation of a sheet of cloth. Consequently, she was reborn among gods, always wrapped in a pure robe (*T* no. 200, 4: 239b–c).
2. The *Baiyuan jing*: a wife of King Brahmadata of Benares gave birth to a girl, who was wearing a *kāṣāya* robe. As this remarkably beautiful girl grew, the robe also became bigger.

When the girl came to the Buddha seeking renunciation, her hair fell off spontaneously, the dharma robe appeared on her body, and she became a nun. In a very distant past, at the time of the Buddha Kanakamuni, a princess saw monks travelling and teaching; she invited them for three months [for the rainy season] and provided them with necessities. Then, [at the end of the summer retreat], she donated a beautiful set of robes for each monk. Consequently, she was reborn among gods as a wealthy and noble being; a *kāṣāya* robe always appeared on her body (*T* no. 200, 4: 240c–241a).

3. The *Baiyuan jing*: the queen of king Prasenajit gave birth to an extraordinarily handsome boy, whose body was covered by a *kāṣāya* robe. The boy asked to have the Buddha and his disciples invited to a vegetarian feast at the palace, and when the Buddha came he recognized the boy as the monk who was known as the learned master of the *tripitaka* under the previous Buddha Kāśyapa. At that time the Buddha accompanied by monks, travelling freely and teaching, came to the kingdom of king Kṛki, who ruled in Kāsi. A prince called Sujāta saw the Buddha, the World Honoured One, and was deeply inspired. He wanted to enter the Way; the king, however, at first did not give permission, and after the prince starved himself nearly to death, the king promised that he would let him renounce the householder's life only when he became well-versed in the *tripitaka*. When this was accomplished, the king was delighted and presented all his wealth to the princely monk, who in turn invited Kāśyapa Buddha with his 20,000 monks for a large feast. Having offered provisions, the new monk also presented each monk with the three robes and the six objects that they are permitted to carry. As a consequence, Sujāta is never reborn in inferior realms; he is reborn in heaven, always wrapped in a *kāṣāya* robe (*T* no. 200, 4: 245c–246b).

III.5. On 'Violation'

1. The *Xianyu jing*: the story of a hunter, wearing a *kāṣāya* robe, who kills a lion of golden colour (*T* no. 202, 4: 438b–c).
2. The *Yuezang jing* of the *Daji jing*: the benefit of renouncing the householder's life under the Buddha, shaving head and face, and wearing the *kāṣāya* robe, even for those who have not accepted the precepts or violated the precepts they accepted (*T* no. 397, 15: 13.354a26–c6; 359a15–c7).

**Appendix IV: Miracle Stories in the ‘Dharma Garment’
Entry in the *Fayuan zbulin* (T no. 2122, 53: 559b–563b)**

1. Stories about several miraculous robes in India are reported in a work called *Xiyu zhi* 西域志. This probably refers to the work called *Xiguo zhi* 西國志, consisting of 60 *juan* of text and 40 *juan* of drawings, compiled in 663 under the imperial order (*Fayuan zbulin*, T no. 2122, 53: 496c12–21; 392c24–26). It is Kuwayama Shōshin 桑山正進 who identified the *Xiyu zhi* mentioned in the *Fayuan zbulin* as the *Xiguo zhi*.¹²⁸
2. An unattributed story about a miraculous robe presented by a country in the West under the Wei Dynasty (220–265): Emperor Wen of Wei 魏文帝 (r. 220–226) heard about the cloth washed in fire that was said to exist in the South, but did not believe in its existence; then a monastic robe from a Western country was presented to his son, Emperor Ming 魏明帝 (r. 226–239). It was made of cloth washed in fire. When the Emperor tested it with fire, the robe did not burn.

The above story is followed by two biographies, both attributed to Daoxuan’s biographical collection:

3. The first biography, that of a monk called Sengmiao 僧妙 (466–581), is not found in the existing version of Daoxuan’s collection. After death Sengmiao returned to his disciple Fazong 法宗 (d.u.), to whom he had entrusted all the wealth he had accumulated, with the instruction to build a lecture hall and a monks’ residence. Fazong had built the lecture hall, but not the monks’ residence, when Sengmiao reappeared in the temple. Sengmiao scolded Fazong for not having built the residence, told him that he himself had been exiled for two years; though he needed to go to the official and present an appeal, he did not have the *kāṣāya* robe to put on for this occasion. When Fazong replied that he could prepare the robe but did not know how he could take it to the master, Sengmiao instructed him to invite monks for a meal and

¹²⁸ Kuwayama, *Kāpishī gandīrashi kenkyū*, 280.

present the robe as an offering. Another monk Daomeng 道猛 (411–475), who had spotted Sengmiao earlier, saw him again, and when the meal was over Sengmiao had put on the robe.

4. The story about a disciple of a monk called Huiguang 慧光 (d.u.) appears appended to the long entry on Sengming in Daoxuan's biographical collection (*T* no. 2060, 50: 29.692a–694a). The disciple's mother, who in dire poverty had stolen her son's *kāṣāya* robe and put it on, was killed by lightning; on her back was written that this was due to the fact that she wore the dharma robe improperly.
5. In the section 'on the miraculous robe of the Tang monk Daoxuan' (*T* no. 2122, 53: 559b17–18), we find the same passage as the Passage E in the *Daoxuan lüshi zhuchi ganying ji* (*T* no. 2122, 53: 35.560a24–564b29).