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

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### **Summary**

Toward the end of his life, in the second month of the year 667, the eminent vinaya master Daoxuan (596~667) had a visionary experience in which gods appeared to him and instructed him. The contents of this divine teaching are reproduced in several works, such as the Daoxuan lüshi gantonglu and the Zhong Tianzhu Sheweiguo Zhihuansi tujing. The Fayuan zhulin, compiled by Daoxuan's collaborator Daoshi, also preserves several passages, not paralleled in these works, but said to be part of Daoxuan's visionary instructions. These passages appear to have been taken from another record of this same event, titled Daoxuan lüshi zhuchi ganying ji. The Fayuan zhulin was completed in 668, only several months after Daoxuan's death. The Daoxuan lüshi zhuchi ganying ji, from which the various Fayuan zhulin passages on Daoxuan's exchanges with deities were taken, must have been compiled some time between the second lunar month in 667 and the third month in the following year.

The quotations in the Fayuan zhulin from the Daoxuan lüshi zhuchi ganying ji take the form of newly revealed sermons of the Buddha and tell stories about various objects used by the Buddha during his life time. 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. What motivated Daoxuan and his followers to carry out this

construction? What resources, available to medieval Chinese Buddhist monks, were used? What were the possible consequences of this project?

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 some clues that throw light on the way in which the records of the instruction Daoxuan received from the gods developed. In the first part of this paper a brief description of these passages is followed by a more focused examination of the passages on the robe Kāśyapa Buddha handed over to Śākyamuni.

Subsequent sections of the paper are devoted to two attempts to place these passages on Kāśyapa's robe within the larger context of medieval Chinese Buddhism. I first trace how distinctively soteriological discourses on the robe emerged in two places: 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 Aśokāvadāna. I offer here the suggestion that in Daoxuan lüshi zhuchi ganyingji, the Aśokāvadāna'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 paper concludes with brief comments on the possible significance of this discussion in the light of the prominent role that the account of the transmission of Bodhidharma's robe played in early Chan.

**Keywords:** 1.Daoxuan 2.monastic Robe 3.Fayuan Zhulin 4.Aśokāvadāna  
5.Vision

## I. The Revelation of the Divine Scripture

### 1. The Circumstances of the Revelation and the Sources of Its Record

Toward the end of his life the eminent monk Daoxuan (596~667) had a visionary experience in which gods appeared to him and instructed him.<sup>[1]</sup> Daoxuan was a well-known authority on vinaya, or monastic rules, and had by then also compiled a massive biography of the lives of monks. He had also been appointed as the head monk of the Ximing temple in 658, when this temple was established in the capital city by Emperor Gaozong (reign: 649~683) at his old residence. In the summer of 664 Daoxuan left this temple and returned to Jingye temple on MT. Zhongnan. Daoxuan produced a number of exhaustive works in the last years of his life. He appears to have continued this work at MT. Zhongnan, and his collection of stories of Chinese Buddhist miracles was completed there in 664. But Daoxuan's primary preoccupation was to construct an ordination platform at this temple. 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 temple, and an

ordination ceremony was performed there in the fourth month of the same year (T.1892: 45.818b17). Daoxuan died in the 10th month of the same 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, such as “The Record of Miraculous Instruction Given to Vinaya Master Daoxuan” (Daoxuan lüshi gantonglu, T.2107: 52. 435-442; also T.1898:874-882), “Jetavana Diagram Scripture” (Zhong Tianzhu

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Sheweiguo Zhihuansi tujing, T.1899: 45. 883-896), both of which claim to reproduce parts of this instruction, and “The Platform Diagram Scripture” (Guanzhong chuangli jietan tujing, T.1892: 45. 807-819).

The Jade Forest of Dharma Garden, or the Fayuan zhulin (T.2122), an encyclopaedic anthology of scriptural passages and miracle stories compiled by Daoshi (dates unknown), a close collaborator of Daoxuan at the Ximingsi, also contains long passages that parallel parts of the record of the divine instruction presented in the essays attributed to Daoxuan himself. In addition, the Fayuan zhulin preserves several passages, not paralleled in these essays, but also attributed to Daoxuan’s visionary instruction. These appear to have been taken from another record of this same event.<sup>[2]</sup> The title of this record appears to have been “Vinaya Master Daoxuan’s Record of the Miraculous Instruction on the Preservation of the Buddha’s Teaching” (Daoxuan lüshi zhuchi ganying ji). According to its preface, the Fayuan zhulin was completed in 668 (269b10, 11), only several months after Daoxuan’s death.<sup>[3]</sup> The sources from which these various Fayuan zhulin passages on Daoxuan’s exchanges with deities were taken must have been compiled sometime between the second lunar month in 667 and the third month in the following year.

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In this paper I would like to focus my attention on the Miraculous Instruction on Preservation, preserved 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 (Appendix, I, 1); the complete work, if it existed at all, appears to have described how the Buddha’s teaching is preserved after his death. The passages in question 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. Focusing our attention 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 these imaginary objects. What could have motivated Daoxuan and his followers to carry out this construction? What resources, available to medieval Chinese Buddhist monks, were used? What were the possible consequences of this project?

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 some clues that throw light on the way in which the records of the instruction Daoxuan received from gods 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 will first describe briefly the content of these passages, and then focus my attention on the passages on the robe Kāśyapa Buddha handed over to Śākyamuni. A description of the remarkable story of the robe will be followed by two attempts to place the religious world represented in these passages within the larger context of medieval Chinese Buddhism: an investigation of the treatment of robe in Daoxuan's vinaya commentary and related

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works, and then a discussion of the stories about the robe in the Aśokāvadāna. I will conclude by noting the possible significance of this discussion in the light of the prominent role that the story of the transmission of Bodhidharma's robe plays in early Chan. Furthermore, issues that closely parallel those in the following discussion also appear in Bernard Faure's insightful discussion of Dōgen's essays on monastic robe (Faure 1995).

## **2. The Buddha's Sermons in the Revealed Scripture**

The passages written as records of the Buddha's sermons, preserved in heaven and revealed to Daoxuan, may be read as remarkable examples of Chinese attempts to create a Buddhist scripture; unlike the other so-called Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha, the unusual circumstances of Daoxuan's miraculous experience enabled the author(s) of these passages to present this new "scripture" as clearly a revelation received in China, but nevertheless, as a record based on a scripture kept in heaven, even more authentic than the more familiar translations of Indian scriptures that are preserved in the human world (Campany 1989).

These sermons are written following a clearly recognizable format. They first note the circumstances under which the Buddha gave the sermon, the occasion of the sermon, and the composition of the assembly, are all often described in some detail (354b, 362b, 367c, 560a, 562a, 1008a). 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, such as a razor, a robe, or a bowl. The deity explains that the object had been passed from Buddha to Buddha during the present Cosmic Age of the Wise, and that he was entrusted with it by a previous Buddha so that he could give it to Śākyamuni. The message here is clearly that the object, used by previous Buddhas at crucial point in their life, was also used by Śākyamuni at the corresponding point and that it is

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preserved further for future Buddhas who will again use it in the same way. The focus of the sermon then shifts to a discussion of the stūpa in which the object is placed. Sometimes a stūpa is presented to the Buddha by a deity; sometimes the Buddha gives

instruction to deities and other Buddhas to have the stūpas constructed. The elaborate account of the stūpa is followed by Buddha's instruction entrusting the stūpa to someone who is to guard it after the Buddha enters nirvāṇa. Various locations where the stūpa is to be kept is also mentioned, and in this context the Buddha frequently predicts that some time after his death, evil monks and rulers will attack the True Teaching. Often bodhisattvas are instructed to take copies (or replicas? ) of the stūpa to all places, where it will serve to help preserve the True Teaching.

As this basic formula of the Buddha's sermons is repeated from passage to passage, each of which tells the story of different cultic objects, a picture of the preservation of the Buddha's teaching envisioned in the Zhuchi ganying ji emerges: the True Teaching that is revealed from time to time when a Buddha appears in the world is preserved at the present time in the stūpa in which various objects used by all the Buddhas of the present cosmic age are placed. After Śākyamuni enters nirvāṇa, there will be times when the existence of the True Teaching will be seriously threatened by hostile kings or evil monks who follow wrong teachings and violate monastic rules. Even at such times the True Teaching is preserved securely in these stūpas, and it can be re-established by building numerous copies of these stūpas everywhere.

Although this basic message appears unambiguously as the Buddha's sermons are reproduced repeatedly according to a set formula, these sermons also contain some ambiguities and tensions. Often scriptures which recorded the Buddha's teaching, particularly the vinaya or monastic rules, are mentioned prominently in describing the contents of the stūpa along with the main cultic object around which the stūpa is constructed. As many stories

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develop in this direction, it becomes unclear whether it was the objects used by the Buddhas and placed in the stūpa or these scriptures themselves that were meant to preserve the True Teaching.[4]

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 temple (ref., T.1892: 45. 807c), and performs certain rites.[5] Sometimes the Buddha instructs that the cultic object, around which the story turns, is to be taken to the ordination platform at the Jetavana (560c22, 561c27, 589b28, 1008c17). The records of the instruction Daoxuan received from gods often mention that Daoxuan was given information about the Jetavana. In the Jetavana Diagram Scripture, which he claims is a summary of a massive work also called the Jetavana Diagram Scripture, which exists in heaven (890a24b2, also 882c10), Daoxuan offers a detailed description of this temple. In this imaginary Jetavana, the ordination platforms occupy an important place (890b-892a; also ref. 887bc) (Shinohara 1994). As I noted earlier, Daoxuan was also preoccupied with the establishment of an ordination platform at his own temple 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

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where various objects used by the Buddha are kept and the ordination platform at the Jetavana temple also became unclear.

In order to more thoroughly examine the contents of the Buddha's sermon 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 stūpa appears conspicuously.

### 3. The Sermon on Kāśyapa Buddha's Robe

This long quotation on the Buddha's robe from Daoxuan's Zhuchi ganying ji is appended to the miracle stories section of the entry on the "dharma garment" (fafu) in the Fayuan zhulin, fascicle 35 (560a-563b). 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 (E/1/1: 560a24-561a12).[6]

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The subject of the sermon that the Buddha is said to have given three months before his death is the robe that all the Buddhas put on at the time of enlightenment. The Buddha Śākyamuni begins this sermon by reviewing the story of his search for enlightenment. He had left the palace and the city and was practising in the mountains, having traded his invaluable robe for that of a hunter's deer skin garment. A tree deity appeared and passed onto him the saṃghātī robe which he had received from the past Buddha Kāśyapa at the time that Buddha entered nirvāṇa. The tree deity told him that since Prince Siddhārtha 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. The prince then carried this extraordinarily heavy robe on his head, assisted by the Earth Deity, here called Nārāyaṇa. Even while the prince underwent six years of austerities, when his body became very 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 light was restored to the sun and the moon. The prince then explained to Brahmā the meaning of carrying the robe on his head: in the future evil monks and nuns will not honour his dharma robe of liberation. He carries the robe on his head so as to conquer heavenly Māra and non-Buddhist teachings. The reasoning

behind this explanation is not apparent, though it appears to anticipate the role that the Buddha assigns 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 two

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women, and putting on this 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 then says that over the past fifty years since he achieved enlightenment, he has 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 had to carry the robe on his head, thus keeping it from touching the ground, after enlightenment he could place it in a stūpa, which Vajrapāṇi carried off the ground. Every time the Buddha preaches the dharma, he puts this robe on, having worn it fifty times since enlightenment by the time of the present sermon. Then the Buddha says that he is about to enter nirvāṇa and that he has to entrust the robe to someone.

The setting of this sermon is the Jetavana temple, where according to Daoxuan the Buddha established the first ordination platforms (807c3-15). Three months before his death, the Buddha told Mañjuśrī to go to the ordination platform and sound the bell to call the assembly. The text continues with the sermon that was given there; having mentioned entrusting the robe, the Buddha speaks to the assembly, consisting of Mañjuśrī, many monks, gods, dragons, and the rest of the eight divisions of supernatural beings. He speaks about the saṃghātī robe of Kāśyapa Buddha, made of deer skin.[It is so heavy that] only the Tathāgatas can move it; none of the other beings can move it even a hair's breadth. Then the Buddha is said to have taken the robe stūpa to the ordination platform, and circled it three times; he is then said to have gone up the Western staircase, facing the south, to the top of the platform. Then turning to the North, the World Honoured One threw the robe stūpa into the sky. The robe stūpa emitted light, illuminating millions of lands, and all realms of painful rebirths were removed by the light. A scenery comparable to the Pure Land appeared. The

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Buddha then spoke saying, "I am about to enter nirvāṇa. I will entrust the deer skin saṃghātī robe of the ancient Kāśyapa Buddha to those sentient beings who uphold my teaching during the Age of Decline of the Teaching." In this complex 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 have been identified in some way with the robes that newly ordained monks receive. This identification is mediated by an eschatological consciousness; the monks who receive the transmission of the robe are the sentient beings in the future Age of Decline of the Buddha's Teaching.

The Buddha concludes his utterance, requesting the Buddhas in the ten directions to donate one robe each, so that they could assist in the upholding of the teaching in the Age of Decline of the Teaching. The Buddhas take off their saṃghātī robes and donate them to Śākyamuni. The World Honoured One then orders Māra king to build stūpas for these robes and to personally enshrine them inside. This rather confusing story in which the one robe entrusted to the Buddha Śākyamuni by Kāśyapa Buddha becomes identified with numerous saṃghātī robes, all donated by other Buddhas, and thus presumably having the comparable status of the robe of enlightenment, may be related to the setting of the Ordination platform, where each of the many monks receives a set of robes at their ordination. The message may again be that these robes that the newly ordained monks receive are in some way the robes of the Buddhas in which they achieved enlightenment (Faure 1995:345; 350-352). But the repeated references to the stūpa indicate that the robes here are above all relics. The story of the multiplication of the robes may then be read as an equivalent to the story of the division of relics. Just as the relics preserved in different places in stūpas ensure the continuing existence of the Buddha's teaching, the robe stūpas will guard the True Teaching in the Age of Decline of the Teaching (Faure 1995: 357-358; 360-361).

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Māra then asks to whom these stūpas should be entrusted. The Buddha tells Rāhula to bring Ānanda, and when Ānanda arrives, the World Honoured One illumines the chiliocosm, calling millions of Śākyamuni Buddhas to gather at the Jetavana. When these Buddhas gather, the Buddha tells Ānanda to bring Mañjuśrī from a cave on MT. Qingliang in China. When Mañjuśrī swiftly arrives at the ordination platform, the Buddha entrusts the stūpa containing Kāśyapa Buddha's robe to him, telling him to keep the stūpa of Kāśyapa Buddha's robe on the northern side of the ordination platform. The Four Heavenly Kings are also instructed to look after the stūpa.

The Buddha's instruction continues. An evil monk will fight and destroy my True Teaching. An evil king will rule in Northern India, believing in the Smaller Vehicle and reviling the Greater Vehicle. Students of the Mahāyāna tripiṭaka will be killed. For this reason, the Buddha tells Mañjuśrī, "In the course of the 12 years, when the robe stūpa is kept on the northern side of the ordination platform, an evil king will reign over the world and the True Teaching will be destroyed. At that time you should use your supernatural powers to take the robe stūpa and travel all over the king's country. Gather all of the Mahāyāna teachings inside the stūpa. Each of the monks who uphold the precepts and will be killed by the king has saṃghātī robes, which they have received and kept as the dharma. You should gather these robes inside the stūpa.<sup>[7]</sup> If the monks who uphold the precepts are still alive, you should use your supernatural powers to take them to the top of MT. Sumeru."

Then the Māra king said to the Buddha that at the time when that evil king oppresses the Mahāyāna, he will drop a massive rock

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from the top of MT. Sumeru, crushing that king and the evil monk. His one thousand powerful sons will build thousands of temples everywhere in Jambudvīpa and the three others continents, so that concerns about the protection of the True Teaching will be removed. Then the Buddha told Mañjuśrī to take the robe stūpas and place them everywhere in the universe so that his teaching will be preserved.[8]

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

In another Passage (E/2/2, 562c-563a) it is stated that after achieving enlightenment, the Buddha is said to have told his disciples to take off their saṃghātī robes and put them on their heads. The Buddha then took off his own saṃghātī robe and put it on his head. He then told the monks that his saṃghātī robe was worn by all the Buddhas, past and future, in order to achieve liberation. He also told the monks that evil monks in the future will not accept the three stipulated monastic robes and will fail to uphold the precepts; treating the dharma robe with contempt, they will let the teaching disappear. The Buddha then gave them three thousand great robes (saṃghātī robes), telling them to keep them safely. The gods were delighted, [saying] that these were the robes that the World Honoured One entrusted to the Four Heavenly Kings; they were guarded by the Eight Divisions of supernatural beings

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until the time that future Buddha Maitreya appears. The gods Śakra and Brahmā on certain days bring these saṃghātī robes to their heavenly palace and take care of them, washing them with specially prepared fragrant water, drying them, and repacking them with incense. In this passage the Buddha's saṃghātī robe is more explicitly identified with monks' robes, though this identification makes the reading of the second half of the paragraph rather confusing. The robe that the Buddha entrusted to the Four Heavenly Kings to be passed on to the future Buddha Maitreya and which the gods are said to take to their heavenly palace would more naturally be a single robe, though its identification with the three thousand robes that the Buddha gave to the monks suggests that this robe is at the same time a large number of robes. Again the identification of the Buddha's robe with the robes that monks wear appears to lie behind this confusion.

## II. The Discourse on the Robe in Daoxuan's Vinaya School

### 1. Daoxuan's Exegetical Strategy and Two Quotations from Mahāyāna Sūtras

One remarkable feature of the account of Kāśyapa Buddha's robe in Śākyamuni Buddha's sermon, whose record had been 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 it is kept ensures the preservation of the Buddha's teaching. The monastic robe is an important topic in vinaya literature, on which Daoxuan compiled an authoritative commentary. The primary concerns of the discussion on the robe in vinayas are more practical, specifying in great detail what kinds of robes are permitted, how they are to be acquired,

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used and kept.<sup>[9]</sup> 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 Zhuchi ganyin ji passage.

Daoxuan's comprehensive vinaya commentary, *Summarized Account of Monastic Conduct, Based on the Four-part [Dharmagupta] Vinaya, Unnecessary Details Removed and Gaps Filled from Other Sources* (Sifenlüshanfan buque xingshi chao, T.1804) was first drafted around 628, and then expanded and revised in 636, after Daoxuan had consulted several vinaya authorities in the course of his extended travels. Daoxuan based his commentary on the Vinaya of the Dharmagupta school (Sifenlü, T.1428), which by his time had replaced the Sarvāstivāda school's vinaya in popularity; but Daoxuan also supplemented the commentary extensively by citing not only from the vinayas and vinaya commentaries of other schools, but also from 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 (dates unknown), two quotations from the Mahāyāna sūtras, *The Scripture of Great Compassion* (Dabei jing, T.380) and *The Scripture of the [Lotus] Flower of Compassion* (Beihua jing, T.157), regularly appear side by side. Thus, the two quotations appear side by side in Daoxuan's later essay *On the Proper Buddhist robe* (Shimen zhangfu yi, T.1894) compiled in 659 (45.837b) and in the vinaya commentary attributed to Daoshi, *Pini taoyao* (In Search of the Essential

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Teachings of the Vinaya, Xuzangjing, vol.70, 122d). In the entry on "dharma garments" in the *Fayuan zhulin*, which concludes with the quotation from the

Zhuchiganying ji discussed above, the quotations from the Dabei jing and the Beihuajing 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 (53.556bc). Though this grouping 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 group of monks who surrounded Daoxuan and were based at the Ximing temple in the capital city. It is also noteworthy that the subject of the Dabei jing quotation is a false or failed monk, who nevertheless has the external appearance of a monk, and that this monk 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 with the importance of strictly following monastic rules. Here the power of the robe is closely tied to a distinctive soteriology. The exegetical strategy adopted by Daoxuan in his vinaya commentary, thus, enables us to trace how the practical concerns of the vinayas, through two quotations from Mahāyāna sūtras, where the robe is associated with a soteriology, evolved into the remarkable soteriological doctrine of the Zhuchi ganying ji passage.

## **2. The Chapter on “the Two Categories of Robes” in Daoxuan’s Vinaya Commentary**

The section explicitly devoted to the discussion of monastic robes in Daoxuan’s commentary consists of two large parts: the first part is on “stipulated” (zhi) robes, or the “three robes or [more broadly] the six objects” (104c24); the second is on the wide range of “permitted” (ting) robes and possessions (c25). The elaborate organization of this discussion defines the range of Daoxuan’s practical concerns in this vinaya commentary. Thus, the

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discussion of “stipulated” robes is divided into two sub-sections, the first on the robes themselves and the second on the complex issue of boundaries marking the space 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 (104c29-105b15), the making of the robe (105b15-106c2), the receiving of the robe (106c2-107a17), and other miscellaneous matters (107a17-108a29). 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 material is obtained, kinds of materials used, colours permitted, the sizes of the three robes, the number and shapes of pieces they are made of, number of layers, and the method of construction. The passage on the receiving of robes describes the rites of receiving and abandoning different kinds of robes, either in the presence of other monks or by oneself in the case of monks living alone. The passage on miscellaneous matters discusses the circumstances under which one may or may not receive robes, matters concerning repairing, washing, and dyeing of robes, and the various rules about wearing the appropriate robes. The discussion of the seating mat and the bag used for filtering water concludes the section on “stipulated” objects.

The section on “permitted” properties consists of four larger sections: the first long section on a number of objects monks are permitted to keep (109b8-112a4) is followed by a section on pāmsu kūlika, or the robe made of rags (112a4-b5), then by one on robes given by donors (112b5-c26), and finally by one on objects left by the dead (112c26-117a9). A large part of the first section is devoted to the discussion of the practice of “pure giving” (jingshi, vikalpa), through which monks are allowed to keep forbidden objects by nominally donating them to others (110c4-112a4).

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In addition to numerous quotations from the vinayas and vinaya commentaries, this discussion of the monastic robe contains a variety of quotations from other types of Buddhist literature. Āgamas and an Avadāna collection are cited: Zhong ahan (106a28, 108a2, 110a5, 28), Za ahan (105a8, 108a28), Zengyi ahan (105a10), Xianyu jing (109a12, 108a29). Among the variety of Mahāyāna sūtras quoted (Huishang pusa jing, T.345, 105a24; Dabeijing, T.380, 105b3; Beihua jing, T.157, 105b6; Rulengqie jing, T.671, 115a28; Huayan jing, T.278, 105a10) the Nirvāṇa sūtra stands out by the frequency of quotation (105b25; 109b1; 110c18; 111a7, 27). Another notable pattern is that six of the ten citations from Mahāyāna sūtras listed above occur in the introductory discussion of the three robes (105ab); several other quotations from sources other than vinayas and vinaya commentaries also appear there. It is perhaps natural that quotations from these sources appear in this part of Daoxuan’s vinaya commentary. While the main body of his discussion is devoted to the clarification of rather technical issues that characterize the vinaya, in this introductory section Daoxuan 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 discussion. A closer examination of the context of these quotations might throw 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 (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, on the reasons for stipulation, consists of ten quotations. Six of these quotations are from vinayas and vinaya commentaries (i, 1, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10 in the list

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in the Appendix, II, 1). A quotation from an āgama text (i, 5), one from a commentary on a different āgama text (i, 2), a quotation from the Huayan jing, a Mahāyāna sūtra (i, 6) and a quotation from the Dazhidu lun, a commentary on the Larger Perfection of Wisdom Scripture (i, 3) constitute the remaining four. The idea that the robes are meant to distinguish Buddhists from followers of other teachings appears in the vinaya quotations (i, 1, 4) as well as in the quotation from the Dazhidu lun. The practical consideration of protecting the body against the cold appears in two quotations (i, 2, 8). In three quotations, from the Huayan jing, the Dharmagupta vinaya and the Mahāsaṃghika vinaya (T.1425) respectively, the robe is associated

with reducing desire (i, 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 *Dharmagupta vinaya*, though I could not locate it in the *Taishō* version of this work, the *kāṣāya* 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 *kāṣāya* robe, here wearing this kind of robe appears to have become a condition for liberation.

The second part of the introductory discussion, on the names of the robe, contains three quotations, one from an *āgama* text, one from a *vinaya* text, and one from a *Mahāyāna sūtra*. In this discussion, the term *kāṣāya* is explained as being based on the robe’s colour, and the names for the three kinds of robes are listed and explained. A statement, “The robe the Tathāgata wears is called the *kāṣāya* robe,” is quoted from the *Zengyi ahan jing*.

The two quotations, from the *Dabei jing* and the *Beihua jing* respectively, appear in the third part of the introductory discussion, on the merit and function of the robe. In the *Dabei jing* quotation, the Buddha predicts that even monks who defile the monk’s practice, yet call themselves monks, and put on the appearance of monks, so long as they wear the monk’s *kāṣāya* robe, will achieve

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nirvāṇa under [one of] the future [996] Buddhas, from Maitreya on to the last Ruci, or Vairocana, Buddha. The *Beihua jing* quotation 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 a respectful attitude and honour the Buddha or the Dharma or the Saṃgha, and [in this way] obtain the prediction of attaining Buddhahood (*vyākaraṇa*) of the Three Vehicles; (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) 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 (3.220a11-b2). Another quotation, from the *Mahāsaṃghika vinaya*, specifies 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 function from that of the reasons, or the purpose, of stipulation appears to highlight 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* scripture speak of the miraculous or magical powers of the robe; both passages emphasize that those who wear the robe will achieve salvation in the future, even if they had 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 themselves that

nullifies even the gravest consequences of violating the precepts. In the remarkable doctrine presented here the robe is a condition for salvation,

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apparently more powerful than the precepts.[\[10\]](#)

### 3. The Entry on “Dharma Garments” in the Fayuan zhulin

The Fayuan zhulin, compiled by Daoshi, is an encyclopaedic anthology of scriptural quotations and miracle stories, organized

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around 100 topics. In the entry on the topic of “dharma garments” (fafu) the group of rather distinctive quotations from Mahāyāna scriptures collected in the introductory section of Daoxuan’s commentary appears again: from the Huayan jing (i, 6), the Dabei jing (iii, 1), and the Beihua jing (iii, 2). In the Fayuan zhulin these quotations appear grouped together at the beginning of the subsection on the “function,” or the benefit, of the dharma garment (53.556bc). In Daoxuan’s commentary the quotations from the Dabei jing and Beihua jing similarly appear in the section on the “merit and function” 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 zhulin is a later work, completed in 668 according to its preface (269b10), it probably owes this set of references to Mahāyāna sūtras on the “function” of the monastic robe to the vinaya commentaries by Daoxuan and Daoshi.[\[11\]](#) The quotation from the Dabei jing in the Fayuan zhulin follows the original scriptural passage more closely, though it too is a summary, which makes use of the five-fold scheme Daoxuan used in his summary in the vinaya commentary. The editor of the Fayuan zhulin was familiar with the passage in the vinaya commentaries, though he expanded the quotation by going back to the scripture itself.[\[12\]](#) The Fayuan zhulin, on the other hand, is not a vinaya commentary, and thus the editor would not necessarily have been

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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 and 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 function and benefits” of the dharma garment, as mentioned above. Here the Beihua jing quotation is followed by a quotation from the Zhengfanian jing (T.721: 17.129b22-c5; 134b4-135a5); two passages from different parts of the scripture are combined here, each promising rebirth in heaven either for those who

make a donation toward securing monastic robes for monks 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 zhulin passage has been taken from the corresponding sections "explaining the names" of monastic robes in the vinaya commentaries by Daoxuan (105ab) and Daoshi (122d-123a). The Fayuan zhulin, nevertheless, quotes for the most part 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 Mahāsaṃghika vinaya and the other from a Mahāyāna sūtra, Hailongwang jing (The Scripture of Ocean Dragon King, T.598). Both these passages tell the story about dragons that escape from the garuḍa birds with the help of the kāṣāya robe, though the idea

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that the robe has such miraculous power does not appear in the vinaya passages collected by Daoxuan and Daoshi. The Mahāsaṃghika vinaya 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 which 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 (22. 238a-239b, 240a18-b23). The Hailongwang jing quotation (151ab) tells the story of a dragon king plagued by four garuḍa birds that ate dragons, their wives and their children. 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 obeyed 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 will 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 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 made a donation of 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, or Avadānaśataka (T.200).

The two quotations in the sixth section, titled "violation (weisun)", 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 story collection, the Scripture of the Wise and the Ignorant, or Xianyu jing (T.202) a story is quoted about a hunter who, wearing a kāṣāya robe, kills a lion of golden colour. Hit by the arrow of the hunter, the lion wakes up and is about to attack him, but when he sees the kāṣāya robe of the hunter he says to himself, “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 he thought this, the lion 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 (4. 438bc). This story needs to be read with the awareness that the hunter is someone who is bound to violate the precept of no killing. The long Daji yuezang jing (or Candragarbhavaipulyasūtra, T.397 [15]) describes the benefit of renouncing the householder’s life under the Buddha, shaving the head and face and wearing the kāṣāya robe. Those who take care of the needs of such people, even if they have not received precepts or have violated them, will be afforded great merit. The punishment for those who trouble, revile, and beat them will be much greater than for those who draw the Buddha’s blood (13. 354a26-c6; 359a15-c7).

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 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 by now familiar manner by focusing on its effects even 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, entries in the Fayuan zhulin typically conclude with sets of Chinese Buddhist miracle stories. The miracle story section for the “dharma garment” begins with a quotation from a work called The Gazetteer of the Western Regions, or Xiyuzhi, describing several miraculous robes in India. An unattributed story about a miraculous robe that had been presented by a country in the west under Wei Dynasty (220~265) that did not burn. Then it is followed by two stories taken from biographies of monks. The section then culminates with the long remarkable selection from the Zhuchi ganying ji, which has been 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.



In this references to the soteriological significance of the robe, particularly those highlighted in two Mahāyāna sūtras quoted in the vinaya commentary, were augmented with additional quotations. The Dabei jing's prediction that those wear the robe will enter nirvāṇa under one of the future Buddhas may have partly inspired the remarkable sermon of the Buddha in the Zhuchi ganying ji. The setting of this scripture, translated by Narendrayaśas (490 or 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 Shanzhu (Śārthavāha?), the god Śakra, and the disciples Rāhula, Kāśyapa, and Ānanda. The

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quoted passage appears in the section where the Buddha instructs Ānanda about the 996 Buddhas who are to appear in the present kalpa. The prediction about the future time when the True Teaching will be destroyed appears in the final section of this scripture (972ab). Narendrayaśas is particularly known as the translator of the Candragarbhaipulya sūtra, which influenced a great deal of speculation about the Age of the Decline of the Teaching in China (as we saw above, a passage from this scripture is quoted in the Fayuan zhulin).

### **III. The Robe in the Aśokāvadāna, or the Biography of King Aśoka**

The Buddha's sermons on a variety of cultic objects, reproduced in the passage from the Zhuchi ganying ji, uniformly develop into elaborate comments on stūpas in which these cultic objects used by the succeeding Buddhas are preserved. 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 (561a12, 1008c29).

In 664, a few years before Daoxuan received the divine instruction, he compiled a collection of miracle stories in three fascicles (Ji shenzhou sanbao gantong lu, Collected records of Three Treasure miracles that occurred in China, T.2106). The first fascicle, devoted to stories of stūpa miracles, begins by summarizing the story that is told in the opening section of the Chinese translations of Aśokāvadāna, or the Biography of King Aśoka (T.2042; T.2043): in his previous life King Aśoka as a child, was once playing with dirt at the road side; making food with dirt, he presented it to the Buddha who happened to be begging for food. The Buddha accepted it and made the prediction: 100 years after the Buddha's nirvāṇa, this child as king will rule over supernatural beings in the Jambudvīpa, and opening the eight previous stūpas, will place the relics obtained there inside the 84,000 stūpas that he

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would construct in one day with the help of these supernatural beings (404a).[\[13\]](#) The collection of miracle stories that follows in this fascicle is devoted for the most part to

stories of Aśoka stūpas in China. The second fascicle of the same work is devoted to stories about miraculous images, and several stories here again center around images attributed to King Aśoka (Shinohara 1998).

Stories of Aśoka stūpas and images that were discovered in China appear in the *Biographies of Eminent Monks* (compiled some time around 531); sometimes these stories can be traced to earlier sources (Shinohara 1988; 1992). As the compiler of *Further Biographies of Eminent Monks*, which presented itself as a sequel to the earlier biographical collection, Daoxuan was familiar with these stories, and sometimes referred explicitly to them (eg., 644c21). In his miracle story collection, Daoxuan expanded this tradition of 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.[14]

Daoxuan thus appears to have been keenly interested in stories about Aśoka stūpas, many of which he believed existed in China; in addition to preparing a more extensive list of these stūpas and bringing the stories about them up to date, he later obtained hitherto unknown stories about them from the miraculous instruction he received from gods. One of the records of this instruction, titled *Daoxuan lüshi gantonglu* (T.2107), is divided into

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two parts: Daoxuan first asked questions about Buddha images and stūpas in China (foshi, or “matters that have to do with the Buddha”: 436a8-439c25); he then moved to topics on monastic rules (lüxiang, 439c25-442b14). References to King Aśoka appear in the discussion of stūpas and images, which often presents 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 at MT. Wutai (437a26). In answering Daoxuan’s question affirmatively whether the Mao stūpa in Yangdu was really an Aśoka stūpa, the god also mentions another Aśoka stūpa at Mao District in Linhai (439a1-6). The god tells Daoxuan of the Aśoka stūpa at the Xiangsisi in Fuzhou (438c3 and 5). The god also mentions 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 in a forest of massive trees five or six hundred miles to the South of MT. Heng (439a24). In his question, Daoxuan refers to a local tradition on the stūpa at Wugong in Qinchuan, which claimed it to be an Aśoka stūpa (439b25). 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 discussing the veracity of this legend (438a8 and 439b9-22).[15]

In the Chinese version of the Aśokāvadāna, known as the *Biography of King Aśoka* (T.2042) or the *Scripture of King Aśoka* (T.2043), 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

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(50.102b12, 13; 135b14; ref., Strong 1983: 238-244; Strong 1992: 146-147).

When Upagupta sees Aśoka, he tells the king that the Buddha had entrusted the True Teaching to the king as well as to himself (103a4; 136b1, 2). Aśoka then says that he wishes to build stūpas in places where the Buddha travelled and stayed (103a22, 23; 136c1-8; Strong 1983: 244). Upagupta takes 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, appears and exchanges words with the king (103b; 137a; Strong 1983: 245-246). The king builds a stūpa at this location. Upagupta then takes the king to Kapilavastu and shows 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 temple where he was shown to gods, as the images in the temple came and paid respect to him; the place 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 places where the Prince entered the forest, cut his hair with a razor and threw it into the sky, where the razor was received by Indra; the place where the Prince exchanged his jewelled clothes for the kāṣāya; and the places where he practised austerities for six years and received food from the dragon kings Nanda and Upananada; and where the Bodhisattva faced the tree of enlightenment. These locations are described in the Biography of King Aśoka with phrases that often parallel those used in the Buddha's sermons in the passages reviewed above from the Zhuchi ganying ji. At the sight of the Buddha's enlightenment, King Aśoka asks Upagupta to let him see the Dragon King Kalika who had witnessed the Buddha achieve enlightenment, and when the dragon king appears, he exchanges words with him. The location where the kings of the Four Heavens presented the bowls,

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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 asks to be taken to the stūpas of the Buddha's prominent disciples (104a29; 136a19; Strong 1983: 252). Upagupta then takes the king to the Jetavana and shows him the stūpa 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 makes generous donations at each of these stūpas.

Since Daoxuan most certainly was familiar with the Biography of King Aśoka as the source that explains the origin of Aśoka stūpa and images, I suspect that the Buddha's sermons that are told in the 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 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 Biography of King Aśoka. In this Biography a tree deity, who was present at the time the Buddha was born, and the dragon king Kalika, who was present when the Buddha achieved enlightenment, appear in front of King Aśoka and exchange

words with him.[16] In the Buddha's sermons reproduced in the 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 deities who had witnessed events in the life of the

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previous Buddha.

In the Aśokāvadana the emphasis on stūpas built by King Aśoka is combined with a persistent concern for the entrusting of the Buddha's teaching to disciples ("transmission"). 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 and through another disciple Ānanda (114b7-12; 152c12-28; 152a21-29), then Śāṅkavāsin (114b13, 14; 115c10-19; 155a8-19),[17] and finally to Upagupta (121a23-28). The account of this transmission is given, following a long section on the compilation of the scriptures in which disciple Kāśyapa played the leading role (112b-114a). Kāśyapa then is said to have realized that it was the 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 specifies that Ānanda should entrust the dharma to Śāṅkavāsin. After he had entrusted the dharma to Ānanda, Kāśyapa visits the four stūpas, which marked the sites of central episodes in the Buddha's life (?), and the eight stūpas where the remains of the Buddha were preserved (114b15-19; 153a29-24). Kāśyapa then flew first to the great ocean and paid respect to the Buddha's teeth kept at Dragon king Sāgara's palace, and then to Trāyastratīṃśa heaven, where he told the god Śakra (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 MT. Kukkuṭapada, which had covered Kāśyapa's body, opened

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up when Ānanda and the king came there belatedly. Just before he entered 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" (114c18-21; 153c13-17; also 104b21). 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 meditative state waiting for Maitreya, and at that time 9,600,000,000 monks would come to the mountain. When they see him, they will think contemptuously that the hearer Kāśyapa's body is small (as human bodies in the age of degeneration become small, Faure 1995; 340), and that the Buddha, whose robe Kāśyapa is wearing, is also small. Kāśyapa will then jump up in the sky, performing magical feats and his body will become large. At that time Maitreya will receive from Kāśyapa Śākyamuni's saṃghātī robe. Seeing this, the monks will repent deeply and become arhats (115a16-28; 154a14-b2).

The name Śāṅakavāsin is explained by referring to śāṅa robe, which is made from hemp (114b11, 115b17, 117a5-b1; 153a25; 154b26; 156b22-c19). Śāṅakavāsin, in his previous life as a merchant, is said to have met a Pratyeka Buddha who was ill. The merchant, who was on his way to the ocean in the company of 500 other merchants, offered food and medicine and helped the Pratyeka Buddha recover. The Pratyeka Buddha wore a śāṅa robe and refused to accept the woolen one that the merchant offered him. He explained that it was the śāṅa robe that he wore when he renounced the householder's life, and that he was now about to enter nirvāṇa wearing the same śāṅa robe. Refusing also the merchant's invitation to come to the ocean, to be looked after until the end of his life, the pratyeka Buddha praised the merchant for the merits he had accumulated, and entered nirvāṇa. After taking

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care of his remains (relics), 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 this 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 Pratyeka Buddha" (117a24-26; ref., 156c1217). Because of this vow in the previous life, from the time of his birth Śāṅakavāsin always wore clothing made of śāṅa, and when he received the complete precepts for monks, he pledged to wear a śāṅa robe until the end of his life.

A tradition about the Buddha's robe already existed when the various stories about the robe in the Zuchi ganying ji (Passage E) was written. The story about the "new yellow robe, embroidered in gold" that the Buddha's aunt Mahāprajāpatī presented to the Buddha is found in one of the Chinese Āgama collections, Zhong ahan, which is said to have been translated by Saṃghadeva in 397-398 (fascicle 47, T.26: 1.721c23-722a4). This robe is also mentioned in the vinaya of the Mahīśāsaka school, also preserved in Chinese (Wufen lü, fascicle 29 (T.1421: 22.185b) and a collection of didactic stories (Xianyu jing, fascicle 12, T.202: 4. 434a).[18] The story of Śākyamuni's robe entrusted to the great disciple Kāśyapa, who is waiting in a trance at Mt. Gr̥dharakūta 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 Buddha that Kumārajīva (344~413, or 350~409) translated (T.456: 14.433bc).[19] The story of the robe that the Buddha gave to Kāśyapa also appears in other places: in the vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivāda school, translated by Yijing (635~713) (T.1451:

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24.409a15-18), Dazhidulun (fascicle 3, T.1509: 25. 78c-79a).[20] In Xuanzang's record of his travels, which was presented to the court in 646, Mahāprajāpatī'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 (T.2087: 51.919bc; Ji Xianlin, 706; Mizutani, 278).

In the Biography of King Aśoka 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 next Buddha Maitreya. In the Zhuchi ganying ji sermons (Passage E) the

Buddha's robe is identified as the robe that the past Buddha Kāśyapa handed over to Śākyamuni Buddha through the Tree Deity, and in turn passed on to the future Buddha Maitreya through Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī (56218-19, b22, 563a6). In one story the previous Buddha Kāśyapa's robe is said to have been kept at the mountain cave in MT. Qingliang in China, presumably guarded by Mañjuśrī (560c18-20). I am tempted to speculate that Daoxuan, or the author of the Zhuchi ganying ji sermons, was well acquainted with the account of the Buddha's disciple Kāśyapa's robe in the Biography of King Aśoka 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 (Faure1995: 340). As the horizon is expanded, the story becomes less an account of events that occurred only in India, and China becomes as much a part of the cosmic theatre as India. Just as Aśoka stūpas, whose origins are described in the Biography of King Aśoka, are located at certain places in China, reaffirming Aśoka's status as a Universal Monarch (Strong, 49-56), so the robe the Buddhas wear at the time of their

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enlightenment is currently guarded by Mañjuśrī at MT. Qingliang.

Here I have attempted to read the passages from Zhuchi ganying ji as compositions that have been inspired by the Biography of King Aśoka. 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 in the instruction he claimed to have received from gods into a larger vision; here 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 Buddhas, are kept are no longer Aśoka stūpas. Perhaps Daoxuan's new vision also included the Jetavana, in which he sought the ultimate locus of the ordination platform, which he was re-establishing in central China.

I suspect that Daoxuan and his followers may not have been able to complete the work that represented this new vision fully and adequately. What has survived may best be read as incomplete and sometimes confused 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 survived.[21]

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## IV. Concluding Comments

When Shenhui of the Heze temple (684~758) declared in 732 at Huatai that his teacher Huineng (d.713) was the correct Sixth Patriarch in Bodhidharma's southern school, he spoke of the robe which Bodhidharma gave to Huike and had been passed from Huike through Sengcan, Daoxin, and Hongren to Huineng (Hu Shi, 161-162 [P3047]; 281 [P2045]; Tanaka207), and compared this robe to Śākyamuni's robe embroidered in gold, which Kāśyapa is still guarding at MT. Kukkuṭapada, waiting for the appearance of Maitreya Buddha (Hu Shi, 284-285; Tanaka, 221). Like Śākyamuni's robe that is passed on to the next Buddha Maitreya, Huineng's robe has been passed on from Patriarch to Patriarch and proved Huineng's status as the Sixth Patriarch.<sup>[22]</sup> Although scholars have read this reference to Kāśyapa's robe simply as an allusion to the story in the Biographical Account of the Transmission (Fufa yinyuan zhuan), which had in turn been copied from the Biography of Aśoka, these stories about the robes and their

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transmissions may have been rooted in a broader religious culture. The Buddha's sermon on Kāśyapa Buddha's robe, as presented in a newly created scripture, or a record of the divine instruction given to Daoxuan, may represent a striking and earlier 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 wore this robe when they attained enlightenment. The robe may thus serve as a proof of enlightenment and 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 his temple Jingyesi on MT. Zhongnan. The setting of the Buddha's sermon as represented in the Zhuchi ganying ji, reflects this duality: the sermon on the soteriology of the robe, worn by succeeding Buddhas at the time of their enlightenment, is given in the Jetavana temple and culminates in a ritual gesture at the original ordination platform established there. 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 of the vinaya rules and the other of 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 (Yanagida 1985: 406). The polemic against the so-called "Northern School," on the other hand, reminds one of the rhetoric about the Age of Decline of the Teaching in Buddha's sermon newly revealed to Daoxuan. The significance of Shunhui's story of Bodhidharma's robe might thus

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be better understood when it is placed in the larger context examined in this paper.

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

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## APPENDIX

### I. Sources for the Zhuchi ganying ji

#### 1. The Revelation

The long introductory passage in the Fayuan zhulin describes the instruction Daoxuan received from gods in considerable detail (Passage A: Fayuan zhulin, fascicle 10, 353c-354b).

The virtue of Vinaya Master Daoxuan at the Ximing temple of Chang'an set an example for the monastic society; his achievements were lofty among Buddhist monks. All his life he engaged in difficult practices diligently and with sincerity. He found a teacher early in his life and for over fifty years zealously sought the Way. His intention was to preserve the Way and he paid attention only to this one goal. In this manner he contributed to the cause of the Three Treasures. He compiled ritual works in over one hundred fascicles (ref., 53.1023c13); the lofty models he gathered together carried profound implications.

In mid-spring of the second year of the Qianfeng period (667), he was staying in the Qinggong Residence, that is, the former Jingye temple, to the south of the capital city [on MT. Zhongnan]. Here he sought quietude and cultivated the Way. Since he was old, his energy was in decline. He was meditating single-mindedly on the four kinds of living beings that are born in different manners, and reflecting on the Buddha's three great sessions of preaching. Suddenly, he achieved a contact with mysterious spirits by virtue of his previous karmic conditions. His sickness gradually receded, and he diligently practised devotion. He obtained a mysterious communication.

At that time a subordinate of the Four Heavenly Kings appeared at the entrance of the vinaya master's residence. He behaved like a man, walking in short steps and speaking. The vinaya master

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asked, "Who are you?" He answered, "I am Zhang Qiong, who is a disciple of the Buddha." The vinaya master asked again, "Where do you live, dānapati?" He answered, "I am the fifteenth son of the King of the Southern Heaven in the first Realm of Desire. The king has 91 sons. They are all extraordinary strategists and



warriors. They rule over kingdoms and cities; in the realm over which they rule, both land and sea, monks and laymen are distinguished and those who preserve the Buddhist teaching and those who do not are clearly separated. These sons of rulers all accept the Buddhist teaching themselves, and maintain the proper treatment of good and evil conducts, thus permitting the transmitted teaching to prosper and themselves to accumulate merits. According to the names mentioned in the scripture, I am the son of the Vaidurya king of the Southern realm. I am on guard constantly and my office is not in name only.”The vinaya master asked again, “You, the lay supporter, not forsaking me because of my inferiority in virtue, came to see me. Why do you not come in through the front gate? ”The apparition answered, “I, as a disciple of the Buddha, would not dare to enter unless I am instructed to do so by you.”The vinaya master said, “Please come in and take a seat.”He came in, and having paid respect to the vinaya master, he sat down with his head lowered.

The vinaya master asked again, “You believe in the Three Treasures and are protected by the word of the Buddha. It is good that you came to see me. Why don’t you show your true form? ”The apparition answered, “My retribution body is different from the bodies of other people. The light that shines from it is also unusual. It might disturb ordinary people. It is sufficient to discuss matters over with the master. I need not bother showing my true form.”

The vinaya master asked again, “Since this spring my vitality has been declining. Medicine has no effect. I do not know whether the end of my life, determined by karmic conditions, is near or far.”

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The apparition answered, “The life of the vinaya master is about to end. Do not trouble yourself with medicine.”The vinaya master asked again, “When is the date predetermined by my karma for the end of my life? ”The apparition answered, “Why should I be able to tell the time? I only know that the vinaya master’s life will end soon. You will be reborn in the Fourth Heaven where Maitreya Buddha dwells.”

The vinaya master asked again, “Who will be my company? ”The apparition said, “It will be my third brother Zhang Yu. He is very intelligent and has achieved superior enlightenment. He has faith in the Buddhist teaching and has compiled the Jetavana Diagram Scripture in over 100 fascicles. The work describes rows of tall heavenly palace buildings, [magnificent] beyond anything that have been heard of in connection with earthly cities.”When the vinaya master heard this, he was delighted and requested the apparition to describe all of these in detail so as to instruct the monks and laymen.

There was also the god Wei Kun, who was one of the eight generals of the king of the Southern Heaven. The Four Heavenly Kings have 32 generals altogether. This god was the head among them. He is intelligent by nature and had renounced the impurities of desire early in his life. He practises the pure disciplines of a Buddhist monk and performs the duties of a youthful disciple attendant upon a Buddha. Having received directly from the Buddha the Buddha’s last instruction before leaving this world, he made protection of the teaching where ever it exists his main concern. Ruling over the Three Continents, he was foremost in preserving the traditions about

[sacred sites] (zhuchi). Selfless and faultless, he was greatly concerned about the fortunes of the Fourfold Congregation. Having realized the principles of all things and all cosmic processes, he assisted the Five Vehicles. He was versed in all forms of the Buddha's teaching, and at times when the Monastic Community and Buddha images faced dangers, always

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came to their assistance. This god often discussed things with Daoxuan, going into details about the Great Endeavour.

This deity admired the Vinaya Master's historical writings and his effort to preserve traditions of sacred sites and objects (zhuchi). The deity compiled a collection on these matters and entrusted it to the Vinaya Master, who rose from his sick bed and copied it down. He wrote down what was dictated to him and produced a record consisting of ten fascicles. The vinaya Master was fearful either that his life might end or that the deity might return to heaven before he completed this task. The material to be copied was massive. He concentrated on this task, neglecting everything else, and wrote in a simplified style, reaching for the sacred intention behind the message and not following formal conventions. All the essential points were preserved in summary. When he was not sure about the point of the teaching on preserving the traditions (zhuchi), he always asked the deity and removed his doubts. Altogether, there were 3,800 items, which were distributed into ten chapters:

- i) the first chapter described the ceremonies concerning the compilation of the Buddhist scripture;
- ii) the second chapter described the verses of heavenly maidens;
- iii) the third chapter described the circumstances under which the Buddha's relics were entrusted;
- iv) the fourth chapter described circumstances under which the Buddha's robe and bowl were entrusted;
- v) the fifth chapter described the circumstances under which the Scripture and Images were entrusted;
- vi) the sixth chapter described the circumstances under which the Buddha's possessions were entrusted;
- vii) the seventh chapter described the circumstances that preceded the compilation of the scripture and the consequences of this event;

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- viii) the eighth chapter (note: lacuna in the text here),
- ix) the ninth chapter (note: lacuna in the text here),
- x) the tenth chapter described the sacred sites where traces of the Buddha's teaching were preserved.

The Vinaya Master received the mysterious transmission personally, and as he received these instructions left behind by the deity, he was delighted at each revelation, and though his eyes and ears were tired, he did not feel weary. He only

regretted that if he had learned these things earlier so that he might have been able to record them more completely. What the god said at that time did not contradict the teaching of the Scriptures. So he recorded all of it. Though the teaching was received from a god, it was still identical with what the Buddha taught. From the second month until the sixth month, the deity came every day to confer the message, and no moment passed idly.

On the third day of the tenth month, the Vinaya Master's vitality declined gradually. Fragrances and banners filled the sky. A holy congregation of gods spoke simultaneously, "We have come from the Tuṣita Heaven to welcome the Vinaya Master." The Vinaya Master sat in the upright position and meditated, holding his palms together. Maintaining this reverent attitude, he passed away. At the time of his death over one hundred monks and lay people saw fragrant flowers welcome him and accompany him as he went up into the sky.

The Vinaya Master and I [ie., Daoshi, the compiler of the Fayuan zhulin] were formerly fellow students. On the day when we went up to the ordination platform, we received instruction from the same teacher. Though his conduct was particularly virtuous, he was also incomparable as a collector of records. He gathered together a variety of records that he saw and heard, some on abstract matters of principles of teaching and others on concrete historical facts and, summarizing their essential points, organized them into sections and chapters. In this way he contributed to the

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preservation of the transmitted teaching and preserving [sacred sites and objects].

## **2. The Seven Passages from the Zhuchi ganying ji**

Seven passages from the Miraculous Record on Preservation appear in different parts of the Fayuan zhulin. I have designated them as Passages A to G, following the sequence in which they appear in this massive work:

### **Passage A: fascicle 10 (353c-355b)**

The introductory passage translated above (Passage A/1), the sermon on the golden jar, entrusted to Gandharava king by the past Buddha Krakucchanda and used by Śākyamuni at the time of enlightenment (abhiṣeka). The sermon was given at the time of parinirvāṇa at the Oxhead temple, situated to the east of the Anata-vapta pond at the top of MT. Gandhamādhana.

### **Passage B: fascicle 10 (362b-363c)**

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

### **Passage C: fascicle 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. Past Buddha Krakucchanda had created the water bucket and entrusted it to a mountain deity; Past Buddha Kāśyapa entrusted the incense burner and a golden box to the same deity, saying these objects were originally made by

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

**Passage D: fascicle 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 (376c11-377c6).

**Passage E: fascicle 35 (560a-563b)**

A sermon on Kāśyapa Buddha's robe, given three months before his parinirvāṇa at the Jetavana (E/1, discussed in some detail in this paper) 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 (562a21-22) and then at the ordination platform, presumably near the top of MT. Sumeru where Ānanda sounded the bell to gather monks together. The year of this second occasion is not indicated (563a13).

**Passage F: fascicle 38 (589b-591a)**

Question and answer between Daoxuan and a god, on a variety of topics, including the Buddha's saṃghātī robe, begging bowl, staff, nails, and some sacred sites in China.

**Passage G: fascicle 38 (589b-591a)**

A sermon on the Buddha's begging bowl, which Past Buddha Kāśyapa had entrusted to a mountain god. The mountain god

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presented it to Prince Siddhārtha when he entered the forest, instructing him to carry it on his head until the time of enlightenment, when the prince put the robe on.

These passages are written in a highly formulaic manner, using two different formats. The remaining 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 (590ab). The exchanges between Daoxuan and the god in Passage D are interrupted when the Buddha's speech is introduced abruptly (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, Daoxuan lüshi gantonglu (T.2107), which also claims to be a record of the instruction Daoxuan received from gods. In fact, the last part of Passage F parallels a part of this work better known today (438c19-439b29, c21-25; 878c1-879a8, b28-c4). At one time, or in the hand of one writer, the instruction 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 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, saṃghātī 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

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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, 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 six years of austerities. At the time 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 (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 somewhat; the exchanges here focus on stūpas in China. It is these exchanges that are found in parallel passages in Daoxuan lüshi gantonglu. In Passage F, which discusses various cultic objects used by the Buddha and 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 (589b20, c1) is the topic of the sermon in Passage E; his bowl (589b20 and c9) in Passage G; the Buddha's four milk teeth (590a4) are discussed in the sermon in Passage E/3/2 (563b11-17). In Passage F, the exchange between Daoxuan and the god centers around the location where these objects were kept after the Buddha had entered nirvāṇa. The god summarizes his answer in one sentence: "The World Honoured One's saṃghātī robe was first kept at the Jetavana for 12 years, the bowl at the Gr̥dhraakūṭa and the staff at Dragon's Well for 40 years" (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

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of the Teaching (mofa) (589b26, c1, 2) the robe was placed at the monk's ordination platform for six years and then at the nun's ordination platform for six years (ref., T.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 Passage E/1 (560a24-561a12), 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 Kāśyapa Buddha so that he would preserve it among the sentient beings who live in the Age of the Decline of the Teaching (560c8), should be placed at the northern end of the ordination platform for 12 years (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.

Passage G also speaks eloquently of the age when the True Teaching will be destroyed (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. Whereas Passage F specifies that the bowl was kept at the Gr̥dhrakūṭa 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 was to be given to the dragon king Soujie (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 Mt. 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 (1008c16-24).

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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.<sup>[23]</sup> 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 (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 Honoured One by "the kings of the

Four Heavens” at the time when he achieved enlightenment (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, 589c29-590a17) is presented as words spoken by the king of the Brahma heaven to the Buddha. After the World Honoured One had 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

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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 (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 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 Maudgalyāyana 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

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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 Soujie (Sāgara?). 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 tripitaka 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

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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.

## **II. Scriptural Quotations on the Monastic Robe in Daoxuan's Vinaya Commentary and the Fayuan zhulin**

### **1. The "Two Categories of Robe" Section in Daoxuan's Vinaya Commentary (T.1804: 40. 104c-117c)**

#### **(i) The "reasons for stipulation" section**

(1) Sarvāstivāda vinaya commentary (105a2-4; T.1440): 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 (23.527b15-17).

(2) Fenbie gongde lun (105a4; T.1507), which comments on the opening section of the Zengyi ahan (T.125): 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 (2.44c1-5).

(3) Dazhidu lun (or Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa, 105a5-7; T.1509) by Kumārajīva (350~409): the Buddha's disciples follow the Middle Path, wearing the three robes, unlike the non-Buddhist

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teachers who are naked and shameless or lay people who are greedy and wear many layers of clothes (25, 538b4-5).

(4) Sarvāstivāda vinaya (105a7-8; T.1435): 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 (unidentified).

(5) Za ahan jing (or Samyuktāgama, 105a8-10; T.99): the quotation from this scripture speaks of “cultivating the four kinds of limitless compassion, shaving head and face and putting on three dharma robes” (ref.2278a1-3); Daoxuan concludes from this that the robes may be called the clothing of compassion.

(6) Huayan jing (or [Buddha] avatamsakasūtra, 105a10; T.278): 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 (9.430c24-25).

(7) Dharmagupta vinaya (105a10; T.1428): the quotation states that if bound by desires, one should not wear the monastic robe (22.882c10-11).

(8) Sarvāstivāda vinaya commentary (105a10-14; T.1440): 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 (23. 530a1-6).

(9) Mahāsaṃghika vinaya (105a15-17; T.1425): the 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 (the first half of the quotation on the robes unidentified; the statement on the bowl, 462a21; also, ref.,

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293c29, 294a8).

(10) Dharmagupta vinaya (105a17-18; T.1428): this second quotation from the Dharmagupta vinaya notes that Tathāgatas of the past, present, and future all wear

such robes (unidentified).

**(ii) The explanation of the names section**

(1) Zengyi ahan (or Ekottarāgama, 105a18-20; T.125): 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.

(2) Dharmagupta vinaya (105a21-22; T.1428): 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: antar-vāsa, which is worn immediately over the skin, uttarāsaṅga and saṃghātī, which are worn when the monks go into villages (22.855b4, 6). An editor's comment appears here, saying that these terms are not translated in the vinaya of any school.

(3) Huishang pusa jing (reconstructed as [Upāyakaśālyā] jñānottarabodhisattvaparipṛccha, 105a24, T.345): [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" (unidentified; ref. Yuanjiao's commentary, T.1805: 40.360c4-5, where Yuanjiao says that the quotation occurs in the second fascicle of the scripture). A version of this Mahāyāna sūtra appears in the Ratnakūṭa collection, though the quoted passage is also absent here (T.310: 11.594-607).

This quotation is followed by what appears to be an editor's explanation, listing different "translations" (yifan) for the "great robe," referring to the saṃghātī robe, as "the robe for the occasion when the assembly gathers," or "the robe made of numerous broken pieces," or in terms of its usage, "the robe worn when monks enter the king's palace or villages." The robe made of seven columns of

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cloths is called the "middle value robe" and worn when monks appear in the assembly; the robe made of five columns is called the "under robe" 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 ("man sengqieli," paṭasaṃghātī ?) is also mentioned at this point.

**(iii) The merit and function section**

(1) Dabei jing (reconstructed as mahākaruṇāpūṇḍarīkasūtra, 105b3, T.380; Tohoku 111): 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 96 Buddhas from Maitreya on to the last Ruci, or Vairocana, Buddha (12.958a24-28, ref., 40.360c23).

(2) Beihua jing (105b6-14, reconstructed as karuṇāpūṇḍrīka-sūtra, T.157; Tohoku 112): a long quotation from this Mahāyāna scripture speaks of the five merits of the kāṣāya robe: 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 Saṃgha, and [in this way] obtain the prediction of attaining the Buddhahood (vyākaraṇa); if gods, dragons, human beings, and yakṣas honour, [or see a small part of this kāṣāya robe], then they can obtain the same prediction; if yakṣas [and other beings] obtain a small part of this kāṣāya robe, food and drink become available plentifully; in the middle of conflict among sentient beings, the thought of this robe gives rise to the mind of compassion; in battle field, if one takes a small portion of this robe and pays respect to it, one is bound always to

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emerge victorious over others (3. 220a11-b2).

(3) Mahāsaṃghika vinaya (105b14-15, T.1425): 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 (22. 528b2-3).

## **2. Quotations in the Dharma Garment Entry in the Fayuan zhulin (T.2122: 53.556a-563b)**

### **(a) The main division**

(i) Introductory essay: no scriptural quotations

(ii) On the “function benefits” of the monastic robe

(1) Huayian jing (same as above, I, i, 6)

(2) Dabei jing (same as above, I, iii, 1)

(3) Beihua jing (same as above, I, iii, 2)

(4) Zhengfanian jing (T.721: 17. 129b22-c5; 134b4-135a5): 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.

(iii) On the “names” of monastic robes

(1) Dafangdeng tuoluoni jing (T.1339): from this esoteric scripture a passage is quoted, on the three kinds of robes (21. 650c-651a).

(2) Sarvāstivāda vinaya commentary T.1440: 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 (23.553b11-14). 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

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do not fear those who wear this robe, and so hunters put it on (23.559a).

(3)The quotation from the Selifowen jing (possibly, Śāriputrapariṣecchā, T.1465), a work on the vinaya, probably of the Mahāsaṃghika school, attributes different colours of robe to five different schools (900c12-23).

(4)The list of four conditions under which monks may go to other countries without wearing the monastic robe is quoted from the Sanqian weiyi (T.1470: 24.915a18-20), translated by An Shigao (dates unknown). 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.

(iv)On “escaping from difficulties [with the help of the monastic robe]”

(1)The quotation from the Mahāsaṃghika vinaya (T.1425): the story of Dhaniya, who in this vinaya is said to have been a dragon in a previous life (22.238a-239b, 240a18-b23).

(2)The quotation from the Hailongwang jing (The Scripture of Ocean Dragon King, T.598): 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 (151ab).

(v)On “miraculous karmic effects from previous lives”

(1)The first quotation from the Baiyuan jing, or Avadānaśataka (T.200). Sukkā, 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 (4.239bc). 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 (4.239bc).

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(2)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(4.240c-241a).

(3)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 tripiṭaka 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 tripiṭaka. 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 (245c-246b).

(vi) On “violation (weisun)”.

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(1)The Xianyu jing (T.202): the story of a hunter, wearing a kāṣāya robe, who kills a lion of golden colour (4.438bc).

(2)The Daji yuezang jing (or Candragarbhavaipulyasūtra, T.397:15): 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 (13.354a26-c6; 359a15-c7).

**(b) The miracle story division**

(i) Stories about several miraculous robes in India reported in a work called Xiyuzhi. This probably refers to the work called Xiguozhi, consisting of 60 fascicles of text and 40 fascicles of drawings, compiled in 663 under imperial order (Fayuan zhulin, 496c12-21; 392c24-26). Kuwayama Shōshin identifies the Xiyuzhi mentioned in the Fayuan zhulin, 598a as this Xiguozhi (Kuwayama 1990: 280).

(ii) An unattributed story about a miraculous robe presented by a country in the West under the Wei Dynasty (220~265): Emperor Wen of Wei (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 (r. 226~239), made of cloth washed in fire. When the Emperor tested it with fire, the robe did not burn.

Two biographies, both attributed to Daoxuan's biographical collection, follow:

(iii) The first biography, of a monk called Sengmiao, is not found in the existing version of Daoxuan's collection. After death Sengmiao returned to his disciple Fazong, 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

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

(iv) The biography of monk Huiguang appears in Daoxuan's biographical collection, appended to the long entry on Sengming (692a-694a). Huiming'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.

(v) The passage "on the miraculous robe of the Tang monk Daoxuan" (559b17-18).

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## Chinese Characters

Ayuwang zhuan	阿育王傳	Heng	衡
Beihua jing	悲華經	Heze	荷澤
Baiyuan jing	百緣經	Hongren	弘忍
Chūgoku bukkyoshi kenkyū	中國佛教史研究	Huayian jing	華嚴經
Dabei jing	大悲經	Huiguang	慧光
Dafangdeng tuoluoni jing	大方等陀羅尼經	Huike	慧可
Daji yuezang jing	大集月藏經	Huineng	慧能
Daoshi	道世	Huishang pusa jing	慧上菩薩經
Daoxin	道信	Ji shenzhou sanbao gantong lu	集神州三寶感通錄
Daoxuan	道宣	Jingshi	淨施
Daoxuan lüshi gantonglu	道宣律師感通錄	Jingyesi	淨業寺
Daoxuan lüshi zhuchi ganying ji	道宣律師住持感應記	Liangzhou	涼州
Dazhidu lun	大智度論	Linhai	臨海
Dōgen	道元	Liu Sahe	劉薩訶
Fafu	法服	Lüxiang	律相
Fayuan zhulin	法苑珠林	Lüxiang gantong lu	律相感通錄
Fazong	法宗	Mao	鄧
Fenbie gongde lun	分別功德論	Ming	明
Foshi	佛事	Pini taoyao	毘尼討要
Fufa yinyuan zhuan	付法因緣傳	Qinchuan	秦川
Fuzhou	涪州	Qingliang	清涼
Fuzhuyi	付囑儀	Rulengqie jing	入楞伽經
Gantong ji	感通記	Sanqian weiyi	三千威儀
Gaozong	高宗	Sengcan	僧璨
Guanzhong chuangli jietan tujing	關中創立戒壇圖經	Sengmiao	僧妙
Hailong wang jing	海龍王經	Sengming	僧明
		Selifowen jing	舍利弗問經
		Shenhui	神會
		Shimen zhangfu yi	釋門章服儀
		Sifenlü	四分律
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Sifenglütaoyao	四分律討要	Yifan	義翻
Sifenlü shanfan buque xinghi chao	四分律刪繁補闕行事鈔	Yinyuan	因緣
		Za ahan	雜阿含



Song gaoseng zhuan	宋高僧傳	Zengyi ahan	增一阿含
Suwa Gijun	諏訪義純	Zhang Qiong	張瓊
Ting		Zhang Yu	張璵
Wei		Zhengfania jing	正法念經
Wei Kun	韋琨	Zhi	制
Weisun	違損	Zhihuantu	祇洹圖
Wutail	五臺	Zhishou	智首
Xiangsisi	相思志	Zhong ahan	中阿含
Xianyü jing	賢愚經	Zhong Tianzhu	Sheweiguo
Xiguozhi	西國志	Zhihuansi	tujing
Ximingsi	西明寺	中天竺舍衛國祇洹寺圖經	
Xiyuzhi	西域志	Zhongnan	終南
Xuanshi gantong ji	宣師感通記	Zhu Fahu	竺法護
Yangdu	楊都	Zhuchi	住持
Yifa zhuchi ganying	遺法住持感應	Zhujing yaoji	諸經要集

# 道宣律師所感通的迦葉佛袈裟

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## 提要

西元 667 年 2 月，道宣律師（596~667）晚年時，曾有天人現身為他說法的特殊經驗。這份天啟的內容曾經記載在《道宣律師感通錄》與《中天竺舍衛國祇洹寺圖經》等多部作品裡。道宣的同儕道世所編的《法苑珠林》中，也保留了幾段記錄，雖然內容有些不同，但都是有關道宣的天啟錄。這些記錄顯然是引用自另一部名為《道宣律師住持感應記》的實錄。《法苑珠林》完成於 668 年，正好是道宣逝世後幾個月。由《道宣律師住持感應記》被《法苑珠林》所引用的幾段道宣與天人的對話看來，這部作品應該是在 667 年陰曆二月到隔年三月之間編成。

《法苑珠林》引用《道宣律師住持感應記》的引文，是採佛陀新開示的形式呈現，陳述的是佛陀生前用品的故事。當我們把焦點集中在這些物品上，將發現這些故事與精心設計的情節都是為了建立想像的崇拜物。到底道宣與他的追隨者建立的動機是什麼？中世紀時中國和尚們使用了哪些資料？這個計劃可能的影響又是什麼？

雖然有關這些想像崇拜物的故事被很小心地放在一起，但這些段落某種程度上仍然有些混亂，不過這也提供了我們解答道宣天啟記錄發展的一些線索。本文第一部份先簡短地介紹這些段落，然後將焦點集中在迦葉佛傳袈裟給釋迦牟尼的部份。接著分兩方面將迦葉袈裟的故事放在一個中世紀中國佛教的更大架構下。首先追蹤道宣的律書註釋以及《法苑珠林》，探討有關這些袈裟的救贖教說有何差異。其次轉而討論《阿育王傳》中有關袈裟的故事。筆者認為《道宣律師住持感應記》中有關迦葉佛袈裟的故事，是從《阿育王傳》中同名的佛弟子迦葉的袈裟故事轉化而來。本文結論認為：早期禪宗故事裡有關菩提達磨傳袈裟的說法，可能是受到迦葉傳袈裟故事的影響。

**關鍵詞：**1.道宣 2.袈裟 3.《法苑珠林》 4.《阿育王傳》 5.靈視

[1] I would like to thank Wendi Adamek, James Benn, and Chen Jinhua for their helpful suggestions.

[2] The title of the source for the long introductory passage in fascicle 10, 353c22-354b19 is not given, and other passages mention slightly different titles: “Daoxuan lüshi ganying ji (second passage in fascicle 10, 363b17), “Xuan lüshi zhuchi ganying ji,” (fascicle 11, 367c16), “Daoxuan lüshi ganying ji,” (fascicle 12, 376a25), “Xuan lüshi zhuchi ganying,” (fascicle 38, 589b14), “Daoxuan lüshi zhuchi ganying,” (fascicle 98,1008a16).The passages in fascicle 11 and 35 refer to the first passage in fascicle 10 as explaining the context (yinyuan) of the exchanges quoted there (367c16,17/560a25).

[3] The date of completion is given here as the 30th day of the third month of the first year of Zongzhang period.According to his biography in the Song gaoseng zhuan Daoxuan died on the third day of the tenth month of the Qianfeng period (667) (791a19).

[4] 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 (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 (376c11-377b25). The last section of Passage D (377c27-378a25) appears also to be a later addition.

[5] The ordination platform is mentioned in Passage B (363a21, 22, 24), Passage E (560c3,17, 20, 23, 28, 561c24, 27, 562a22, b16, 563a14), and Passage G (1008a19, b25, 29, c3, 8, 15).

[6] The first two long sermons that appear at the beginning of the robe Passage from the Zhuchi ganying ji (E/1/1: 560a29-561a12 and E/1/2: 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 (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: 560b16,17), or when only the robe presented by gods was worn rather than the three robes, two of which were those of the past Buddha Kāśyapa (E/1/2: 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” (560b19-20) and destroy the True Teaching in the first story (E/1/1: 560c25-29), and in the preoccupation with the issue of the silken robe in the second story (E/1/2: 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 (562c17-25).Curiously this passage begins with the expression “He asked again” (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 (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 the theme of placing the robe on one’s head further.

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 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 (562c26-28). The expression “the robe of liberation” also appears in the opening story (E/1/1: 560b20) and in the story that is told immediately after the section under discussion here (E/3/1: 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, or Vairocana) is identified as an *antarvāsa* robe. *Antārvāsa* robe, which is worn while the monks are engaged in daily chores, is a different type of robe from the more elaborate *saṃgātī* robe (E/2/2: 25). The robe is here said to have been presented to the Bodhisattva by a River Deity. In the story that precedes this story the *saṃgātī* robe is said to have been presented to the Buddha by the Deity of the City Wall (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: 563b).

[7] This instruction again appears to indicate that the *saṃghātī* 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.

[8] At this point the famous Aśoka stūpas are mentioned (561a12).

[9] Monastic robes appear in a number of places in Daoxuan’s commentary. For example, his discussion of the 11th *naiḥsargika-prāyaścittika* precept, interprets the original precept prohibiting the use of silk for blankets into a prohibition of silk robes (68c-69a). Suwa Gijun has discussed this issue, placing Daoxuan’s position in the context of a larger development in Chinese Buddhism (Suwa 1988). Bernard Faure comments on Dōgen’s rather different treatment of this issue (Faure 1995: 346-349; also 367).

[10] The vinaya commentary attributed to Daoshi (biography in Song *gaoseng zhuan*, 50.726c-727a), titled *Pini taoyao* (In search of the essential teachings of the vinaya,

XZJ, vol.70, 104a-200b) also contains a section on the monastic robe (122c-125b); its second subsection, 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 Sarvāstivāda vinaya commentary (i, 1 above); from the Dazhidu lun (i, 3); from the Fenbiegongde lun, a commentary on an āgama text (i, 2); from the Dharmagupta vinaya (1, 10); from the Huayan jing (i, 6); from the Dabei jing (iii, 1); from the Beihua jing (iii, 2); and from the Sarvāstivāda vinaya (iii, 3). The third subsection, explaining the various names, consists of two quotations: from the Dharmagupta vinaya (ii, 2), with the same editorial comment noted above, and from the Huishang pusa jing (ii, 3), again with the same extended editorial comment.

The Pini taoyao, in six fascicles, is probably closely related to the vinaya commentary, of a slightly different title, Sifenglu taoyao (Discussing the essential teachings of the Dharmagupta vinaya), in five fascicles, mentioned in the Song gaoseng zhuan biography of Daoshi (T.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 had become in some sense a standard set; at least in the group of monks gathered around Daoxuan and Daoshi the meaning of monastic robes was routinely presented in the light of this more or less fixed set of quotations.

Satō Tatsugen (1986:64), suggests that the comparison between Daoxuan's commentary with that of Daoshi enables us to reconstruct, in broad outline, the position of Zhishou (567~635), under whom both Daoxuan and Daoshi studied. Zhishou's extensive vinaya commentary, in 21 fascicles, is mentioned in the biography Daoxuan included in his biographical collection, but it is no longer extant (T.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 might well have been borrowed from Zhishou's earlier commentary.

[11] The entry on "dharma garments" does not appear in the Zhujing yaoji (T.2123), also attributed to Daoshi and considered to represent an earlier stage in the project of compiling an encyclopaedic anthology of scriptural passages. The concern over the doctrinal significance of monastic robes, as represented in the Fayuan zhulin entry, may not have developed at the point where this earlier work was completed.

[12] In contrast, the corresponding quotation in Daoshi's vinaya commentary (122b5-13) 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.

[13] The Aśokāvadāna was first translated into Chinese by An Faqin as Ayuwang zhuan, the Biography of King Aśoka (T.2042). The second translation Ayuwang jing, or the Scripture of King Aśoka (T.2043) was produced by Sengqiepoluo (Saṃghabhara or Saṃghavara?) in early six century. In the Sanskrit version of the Aśokāvadāna the story of the gift of dirt appears later (Strong, 198-201).

[14] Daoxuan also produced a separate essay on Aśoka stūpas that existed in China under the Tang dynasty; the essay also listed miraculous images, many of which are also said to have been produced by Aśoka (T.2103: 52.201b-203c9).

[15] The origin of the miraculous images that appeared at the place in Liangzhou to which Liu Sahe 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.

[16] The idea of meeting someone who had seen the Buddha is further highlighted in the Biography of King Aśoka in the story it tells of Piṇḍola-Bhāradvāja. Piṇḍola appears accompanied by millions of Arhats, and answering Aśoka's question 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 Rājagrha and the Buddha predicted the king's achievement in a future life (105b9-c4; 139c22-140b24).

[17] Madhyāntika is also said to have received the transmission to spread it in Jibin (Kashmir/Gandhāra)(116b1-4, where ānanda is said to have received the dharma from the World Honoured One).

[18] A reference to this robe appears in Passage E, 561b6.

[19] The robe is not mentioned in the corresponding passage in the shorter version (T.454: 14.425c), though Kāśyapa's saṃghātī robe is mentioned explicitly in the earlier translation of the same work produced by Dharmarakṣa, or Zhu Fahu (239~316)(T.453: 14.422c4).

[20] The passage on Kāśyapa's robe in the Biography of King Aśoka (114c-115a) is reproduced as a part of the Biographical Account of the Transmission of the Dharma (Fufa yinyuan zhuan, T.2058: 50.300c-301). This was the work on which later discussions of transmission in Tiantai and Chan schools were largely based.

[21] The titles of the existing works which record the miraculous instruction that Daoxuan received from gods may have evolved slowly. The Record of Miraculous Instruction Given to Vinaya Master Daoxuan (Daoxuan lüshigantong lu, T.2107) is also known as The Record of Miraculous Instruction on Matters of Monastic Rules (Lüxiang gantong Zhuan, T.1898). The Fayuan zhulin, fascicle 14, mentions Xuanshi gantong ji, with quotations paralleling major sections of these two works: 394a2-397a4 parallels 52.436a9-438c20/45.875b1-878c (with some variation); 397a13-27 parallels 52.439b10-22/45.879a16-29. In addition, Fayuan zhulin 392b19-c29 parallels 52.435b24-436a4/45.874c13-875a22, though this passage appears before the title of the source is mentioned in the Fayuan zhulin. A short passage in the Fayuan zhulin, fascicle 35, is attributed the Daoxuan lüshi gantonglu (568a18-24 parallels 52.438b18-22/878b1-6). The remaining part of the discussion of the sacred sites in Daoxuan lüshigantong 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 (fascicle 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 lüshigantong 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.

In two places, the Xuanshi gantong ji quotation and the paralleling passage in the Daoxuan lüshigantong lu /Lüxiang gantong zhuan mention a source called Paradigms of Transmission (Fuzhuyi)(396c23 and 27, 438c5 and 17, 878b17 and 25). This source is mentioned in the biography of Daoxuan in the Song gaoseng zhuan (T.2061) as a work of orally transmitted verses, called Paradigms of Transmission (Fuzhuyi) in 10 fascicles (50.791a8). This might have been an earlier title of the 10 fascicle work that included both the materials now known in the work Daoxuan lüshigantong lu /Lüxiang gantong zhuan and in quoted passages from the Daoxuan lüshizhuchi ganying ji.

The Fayuan zhulin also mentions a title Xuan lüshi Zhihuansi gantong ji (fascicle 39, 591b3). The quote given under this title (53.591b3-26) parallels the opening section of the Jetavana Diagram Scripture (T.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 fascicles and the other on five great vihāras compiled by a god of the Northern Heaven in 200 fascicles. This may suggest that at the time this quotation was prepared, the title of the surviving version of the Jetavana Diagram Scripture, Zhongtian Sheweiguo Zhihuansi tujing, may not have existed. The Song gaoseng zhuan passage, mentioned above, names the Jetavana Diagram Scripture as a separate work presenting a summary of the heavenly Jetavana Scripture (791a6-8).

The list of Daoxuan's works in the catalogue of scriptures that appears at the end of the Fayuan zhulin mentions two works on the miraculous instruction: Record of Miraculous Communication (Gantong ji) in one fascicle, Jetavana Diagram (Zhihuantu) in two fascicles and Miraculous Preservation of the Teaching of the Buddha (Yifa zhuchi ganying) in seven fascicles (53.1023c10-12). The third title is similar to Daoxuan lüshi zhuchi ganying ji, the title mentioned as the source for the several passages quoted in the Fayuan zhulin. A very tentative hypothesis emerges from this exploration: from a fairly large body of records of instruction Daoxuan was supposed to have received from gods, two separate works first emerged, the Daoxuan lüshi gantong lu, commenting on cosmic origins of sacred sites in China and certain issues regarding the vinaya, and the Zhihuantu jing, or the Jetavana Diagram Scripture, as a summary of the heavenly Jetavana Diagram Scripture. The Daoxuan lüshi zhuchi ganying ji may have been a yet another work on its way toward an independent existence.

[22] Elsewhere Shenhui explains that there was no robe of transmission in India (Hu Shi, 296; Tanaka, 230). Though it was similarly the proof of the authenticity of Buddhahood, the robe that the Buddha gave to Kāśyapa appears not have been considered to be a “robe of transmission” by Shenhui.

[23] 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 MT. Gandhamādana is said to have been taken to the south of the ordination platform, presumably at the Jetavana (376c19-21).