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## Five Dharma Transmission Robes at the Zen Temple Tōfukuji

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IN COMMON Japanese parlance, the phrase, “to inherit the robe and bowl” (*ehatsu o tsugu* 衣鉢を継ぐ), refers to the receipt of special or advanced knowledge or practices from a teacher or patriarchal ancestor.<sup>1</sup> Its origin lies, however, in the lexicon of Chan/Zen Buddhism, where it concerns the conferral of a monastic vestment, known in Japanese as *kesa* 袈裟 (Skt. *kāṣāya*, Ch. *jiasha*), and begging bowl (Jp. *teppatsu* 鉄鉢) by a master upon a monk or nun as a sign of dharma transmission.<sup>2</sup> In orthodox Chan terms, such transmission signified the disciple’s attainment of awakening and consequent spiritual fraternity with other awakened members of the Buddhist community and patriarchal ancestors stretching back to the Buddha.

In recent times, these transmission *kāṣāya* have come to be referred to as *denpōe* 伝法衣, or “dharma transmission robes.” The term combines *denpō*/*denbō* 伝法, or “transmission of the dharma,” with *hōe* 法衣, a generic reference to “priest’s robes,” and a more traditional term *den’e* 伝衣, or “transmitted robe.” One might question what precisely the transmission implies: Is it a single robe passed down from generation to generation, and reaching back to Bodhidharma (c. fifth century)? A contact memento of one’s master

<sup>1</sup> The author wishes to thank Gregory Levine and Monica Bethe for translating and adapting this essay.

<sup>2</sup> *Kāṣāya*, part of the *hōe* 法衣 or basic robe worn by Buddhist monks, come in many varieties but tend to be flat, rectangular (or close to rectangular) cloths consisting of a number (5, 7, 9 or more) of panels that have been patched together. For a diagram of the parts of a *kāṣāya*, see appendix 1.

given to a single disciple as sign of lineage inheritance? A certificate of enlightenment that might be conferred on several adepts over time? A robe bestowed on a formal occasion, such as the founding of a temple? Or a robe that is transmitted within a temple as being associated with a master and treasured as a prestige item or contact relic? As will be seen, the meaning of the transmission, the implications of possessing the robe of a master, and the use to which transmitted robes were put changed over time and differed in China and Japan. This paper aims to show how *kāṣāya* fulfilled a variety of these functions in the history of Japanese Zen Buddhism, particularly by examining the history of certain *kāṣāya* preserved in Kyoto.

Although the transmission of *kāṣāya* plays a particularly important role in Chan/Zen Buddhism, *kāṣāya* are included among the monastic accoutrements of all Buddhist schools. Among the oldest examples of *kāṣāya* preserved in Japan are robes dating to the Asuka (592–710) and Nara (710–784) periods prior to the introduction of Chan Buddhism. These include several seven-panel *kāṣāya*, some in the collection of the monastery Hōryūji 法隆寺, now stored at the Tokyo National Museum, and others owned originally by the Emperor Shōmu 聖武 (701–756) and preserved at the Shōsōin 正倉院 imperial repository.<sup>3</sup> Most are made in the style known as “rag robes” (Jp. *funzōe* 糞掃衣) because they are composed of multiple layers of small irregularly shaped cloth scraps quilted into panels, though some imitate the patched effect of rag robes using tapestry weaves or other techniques.<sup>4</sup> During the Heian period (794–1185), the Japanese pilgrim monks Saichō 最澄 (767–822) and Kūkai 空海 (774–835), patriarchs of the Tendai and Shingon schools respectively, returned from study in China bearing the *kāṣāya* of their continental teachers.<sup>5</sup> That said, from the medieval period, the overwhelming number of *kāṣāya* preserved in Japan today are associated with Zen institutions.

<sup>3</sup> For reproductions of these ancient *kāṣāya*, see Matsumoto 1984, pp. 126, 130.

<sup>4</sup> *Funzōe* (Skt. *pāṃsu-kūla*; Ch. *fensaoyi*) referred originally to the humble robe of a monk, made by piecing together rags reclaimed from refuse. See Lyman 1984, Matsumura 1998.

<sup>5</sup> A yellowish-red, tapestry-weave *kāṣāya* (*kenda kokushi kesa* 犍陀穀糸袈裟) identified as Kūkai’s is stored at Tōji 東寺 in Kyoto. See Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan et al. 1995, pp. 160–61, 236–67 and 2010, pp. 50–51, 222, XVI. A seven-panel *shinō kesa* 刺納袈裟, made of loose threads sewn together with a small running stitch to form a *funzōe*-style robe, bears inscriptions that suggest it was passed on from Jingxi Dashi Zhanran 荆溪大師湛然 (711–782) and given to Saichō in China. It is now stored at Enryakuji in Shiga Prefecture. See Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 2005, pp. 66–67, 312 and 2010, pp. 44–45, 220, XVI.

Although it is nearly miraculous that objects as perishable as damask and brocaded robes have survived for five hundred and sometimes even one thousand years through preservation within monastic communities (as opposed to having been enclosed within tumuli or stūpa), these old *kāṣāya* are typically so severely damaged as to be too frail to unfold, let alone wear. What is striking, nevertheless, is that successive generations of recipients protected these robes from natural disaster and military or sectarian conflict for reasons independent of their elementary function as monastic clothing. Within Japanese institutional Zen, these garments came to function not only as potent symbols of the transmission of the dharma from teacher to disciple but also as embodiments of the teacher's presence as a contact relic in a way we might imagine as being analogous to a memento of a cherished friend or family member.

Among the members of the Chan tradition to extol the *kāṣāya* as proof of dharma transmission was the Tang-dynasty master Heze Shenhui 荷沢神会 (684–758).<sup>6</sup> By Shenhui's time, Chan had split into Northern and Southern factions, each trying to establish its own authenticity. In order to promote Southern Chan and his own legitimacy as the seventh Chan patriarch, Shenhui spread the idea that his teacher, Caoqi Huineng 曹溪慧能 (638–713), was the legitimate sixth patriarch by virtue of his having possessed the very robe that symbolized dharma transmission from the first patriarch, Bodhidharma. Thereafter, with the decline of the Northern faction and the rise of the Southern, Huineng came to be accepted as the sixth patriarch within Chan circles and proof of dharma transmission (Jp. *denpō*) was associated with the "dharma transmission robe" (Ch. *chuanfayi*; Jp. *denpō'e*).

The distinctive relationship between *kāṣāya* and dharma transmission within the Chan/Zen tradition has attracted the attention of modern historians of religion, such as Anna Seidel and Bernard Faure, whose principally textual studies have identified a critical set of scriptural prescriptions, historical reference points, and interpretive positions regarding the institutional, symbolic, and magical meanings of such robes.<sup>7</sup> Historical surveys of extant *kāṣāya* associated with Chan/Zen as well as other Buddhist schools have been undertaken by Japanese scholars including Izutsu Gafū and Kawaguchi Kōfū.<sup>8</sup> Art historians such as Kiriata Ken and myself, meanwhile, have

<sup>6</sup> See Cheng 2003.

<sup>7</sup> See Seidel 1981, 2003; Faure 1995; Matsumura 1998.

<sup>8</sup> See Izutsu 1965, 1974; Kawaguchi 1976. Japanese-language studies related to *kesa* are summarized briefly in Matsumura 1998.

analyzed individual robes from the standpoint of textile history.<sup>9</sup> A significant number of the oldest *kāṣāya* preserved in Japan have been exhibited in museums and reproduced with commentary in exhibition catalogues.<sup>10</sup>

Despite this body of scholarship and the introduction of important surviving robes to the scholarly community and public, the coordinated study of historical records together with textile analysis of extant *kāṣāya* has lagged behind the more prevalent text-based studies and research focused on individual robes. Thus, this essay attempts two things: first, to present an overview of historical records regarding dharma transmission robes and the growth of Zen lineages in Japan from the twelfth to fourteenth centuries as related to extant *kāṣāya*; and second, to provide a case study of a set of *kāṣāya* that is preserved at the Zen monastery Tōfukuji 東福寺 in Kyoto and was previously introduced in Japanese.<sup>11</sup> Close analysis of this remarkable set of robes from the perspective of textile history in conjunction with textual evidence regarding the robes' institutional transmission and preservation will enable us to gain a more concrete understanding of *denpōe* within the Japanese Zen tradition.

### *Denpōe and Medieval Japanese Zen*

Today, some fifty medieval *kāṣāya* associated with Chan/Zen are preserved in Japan. The history of these robes and their transmission as emblems of dharma transmission can be organized, to some extent, in relation to three major generations of Zen masters who studied in China or in Japan with immigrant Chan masters and later established prominent Japanese lineages.<sup>12</sup> The Rinzai 臨濟 (Ch. Linji) master Min'an Yōsai 明庵栄西 (1141–1215) and Sōtō 曹洞 (Ch. Caodong) master Kigen Dōgen 希玄道元 (1200–1253) are notable among the first generation of monks who returned from study at monasteries in Song China during the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. The second generation includes those monks who studied in China during the first half of the thirteenth century such as Enni 円爾 (1202–1280) and Muhon Kakushin 無本覚心 (1207–1298). The third generation includes Mukan Fumon 無関普門 (1212–1291) and Nanpo Jōmyō 南浦紹明 (1235–1308) who were trained by Enni, and also by the Chinese masters Lanqi

<sup>9</sup> See Kiriata 1979, Yamakawa 2002.

<sup>10</sup> See Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 1983; Gotō Bijutsukan Gakugeibu 2007; Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 2007; Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 2010, pp. 112–27, 242–47, XX–XXI; Yamakawa 2015, pp. 99–135.

<sup>11</sup> Brief mention of three of the five Tōfukuji *kāṣāya* appears in Kiriata 1979, p. 106.

<sup>12</sup> For selected lineage charts, see appendix 2.

Daolong 蘭溪道隆 (1213–1278; arrived in Japan in 1246), Wuxue Zuyuan 無學祖元 (1226–1286; arrived in Japan in 1274), and Xutang Zhiyu 虛堂智愚 (1185–1269).<sup>13</sup>

Yōsai, representative of the first generation, was accepted into the dharma line of Xuan Huaichang 虛庵懷敞 (n.d.) during the second of his trips to China in 1187 (Bunji 文治 3) and is said to have received Huaichang's *kāṣāya*.<sup>14</sup> This robe no longer survives, but records indicate that the robe of the master Huanglong Huinan 黃龍慧南 (1002–1069), which Yōsai conferred upon his disciple Eichō 榮朝 (d. 1247), was preserved at the subtemple Daikōan 大光庵 within the monastery Chōrakuji 長樂寺 in present-day Gunma Prefecture. It would seem reasonable to infer from this case that Yōsai's dharma transmission robe was passed down within his lineage.<sup>15</sup> To judge from an incident recounted in the *Genkō shakusho* 元亨積書, in which Yōsai was criticized for wearing an oversized robe that supposedly triggered a typhoon that devastated the capital, the Zen master adopted a distinctive *kāṣāya* that differed from the robes worn by the members of other Buddhist schools.<sup>16</sup>

Dōgen, having traveled to China with Yōsai's disciple Myōzen 明全 (1184–1225) in 1223 (Jōō 貞応 2), received a seal of acknowledgement from the master Changweng Rujing 長翁如淨 (1163–1228). In the chapters “Kesa kudoku” 袈裟功德 (The Merits of the *Kāṣāya*) and “Den'e” 伝衣 (Transmitting the Robe) of the *Shōbōgenzō* 正法眼藏, Dōgen expresses considerable respect for the significance of *kāṣāya*, although there is no clear evidence that he returned from China with a dharma transmission robe from his master Rujing.<sup>17</sup> Although the “Shisho” 嗣書 (Inheritance Certificate) chapter of the *Shōbōgenzō* recounts that the dharma robe of Furong Kaizu 芙蓉楷祖

<sup>13</sup> For the history of medieval Japanese Zen and its pilgrim monks and immigrant Chinese masters, see Takenuki 1989; for brief biographies of Chinese and Japanese monks, see Tamamura 2003 and *Zengaku daijiten* 禅学大辞典, ed. Komazawa Daigaku Nai Zengaku Daijiten Hensansho 駒沢大学内禅学大辞典編纂所 (Tokyo: Daishūkan Shoten, 1978).

<sup>14</sup> Yōsai's first trip to China occurred in 1168 (Nin'an 仁安 3). For his journeys to and from China and receipt of a robe, see Yosai's biography in *Genkō shakusho* 元亨積書 (Kokan Shiren 1913, pp. 122–27).

<sup>15</sup> The most important text in this regard is the *Rengein kechimiyaku utsushi* 蓮華院血脉写, published in *Dai Nihon shiryō* 大日本史料, ed. Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo 東京大学史料編纂所 (Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1966), vol. 5, bk. 22, p. 376. For Yōsai's lineage, see appendix 2.

<sup>16</sup> Kokan Shiren 1913, p. 126.

<sup>17</sup> *Shōbōgenzō*, chapters 12 and 13; Nishijima and Cross 1994, pp. 119–66; Faure 2003, p. 217.

(1043–1118) had been transmitted to Rujing’s community, there are no other references in Dōgen’s writings or in contemporary records to the transmission of either Furong or Rujing’s *kāṣāya*.<sup>18</sup> Nevertheless, the legend that Dōgen returned to Japan with Furong’s *kāṣāya* circulated in the early Sōtō institution, despite comments by Dōgen’s principle disciple Ejō 懷奘 (1198–1280) that he was unaware of such a robe.<sup>19</sup> Later documents indicate that Furong’s *kāṣāya* was preserved at the Sōtō school headquarters Eiheiji 永平寺 and the temple Senpukuji 泉福寺 in present-day Oita Prefecture (see Nakaseko 1997).<sup>20</sup> Although Nakaseko asserted that he could find no evidence of such a robe at Eiheiji, in 2007 I examined a *kāṣāya* associated with Furong there that was in such a dire state of disintegration that it was little more than dust, so I was unable to judge its authenticity.

Dainichibō Nōnin 大日房能仁 (n.d.), the Daruma 達磨 school master whose community had a certain degree of influence (and notoriety) within medieval Zen, also merits attention as a less representative figure of this first generation of Japanese monks.<sup>21</sup> Nōnin dispatched two disciples to Song China, where they met the master Zhuoan Deguang 拙庵德光 (1121–1203) and requested his acknowledgment of Nōnin’s spiritual understanding. Zhuoan is said to have confirmed Nōnin’s understanding and to have presented the Japanese emissaries with a dharma transmission robe and portrait of Bodhidharma bearing Zhuoan’s encomium as well as a self-inscribed portrait to be conferred upon Nōnin.<sup>22</sup> Although Nōnin’s acquisition of Zhuoan’s confirmation was criticized in medieval Japan, a nine-panel *kāṣāya* said to be the dharma transmission robe conferred by Zhuoan upon Nōnin is preserved at the temple Shōbōji 正法寺 in Kyoto Prefecture.<sup>23</sup> Woven in a twill damask, as is typical of the oldest surviving Chan/Zen *kāṣāya*, this robe

<sup>18</sup> *Shōbōgenzō*, chapter 16; Nishijima and Cross 1994, pp. 189–202.

<sup>19</sup> See Tettsū Gikai 徹通義介 (1219–1309), *Eihei shitsuchū kikigaki* 永平室中問書, in Nakaseko 1997, p. 148.

<sup>20</sup> Nakaseko 1997, pp. 148–93. Nakaseko does refer to a damaged *kāṣāya* at Senpukuji said to be associated with Furong. This *kāṣāya* is reproduced in Fukuoka-shi Bijutsukan 2002, p. 148, pl. 72, where it is introduced as the *kāṣāya* of Muchaku Myōyū 無著妙融 (1333–1393).

<sup>21</sup> Another figure during this early period that merits consideration is Kakua 覺阿 (1143–n.d.), a disciple of Xiatang Huiyuan 瞎堂慧遠 (1103–1176). See Kokan Shiren 1913, p. 207; Nakao 2005, pp. 77–78.

<sup>22</sup> See Faure 1987. *Honchō kōsō den* 本朝高僧伝 (Biographies of Eminent Priests in Japan, in Dai nihon bukkyō zensho, 63, p. 273. Faure used the translation kindly provided by Philip Yampolsky in a paper first delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, Philadelphia, March 1985, and titled “Some Problems in Zen History.”

<sup>23</sup> Nakao 2005, pp. 79–112.

may indeed date to the late twelfth century. Despite Nōnin's marginalization within the history of Zen—because of what was deemed the inadequacy of his confirmation by a master from whom he had not directly received dharma transmission—if we provisionally accept the Shōbōji robe as the *kāṣāya* granted to him by Zhouan, it merits attention as what would be the oldest extant *denpōe* brought to Japan.

Enni, one of the most prominent Japanese masters of the second generation, traveled to China in 1235 (Katei 嘉禎 3) accompanied by the monk Jinshi Eison 神子栄尊 (1195–1272).<sup>24</sup> Both studied under the master Wuzhun Shifan 無準師範 (1177–1249), though Eison returned to Japan prior to obtaining confirmation of his awakening from Wuzhun. Enni, on the other hand, completed his training, became Wuzhun's dharma successor, and is said to have received from the master a lineage chart (Jp. *shūhazu* 宗派図) and dharma transmission robe.<sup>25</sup> Reference to this robe is made in a letter written to Enni by Wuzhun around 1242, leaving little reason to doubt that the transmission took place.<sup>26</sup> As I discuss in the following section, a corresponding robe appears to be preserved among Tōfukuji's "Five Dharma Transmission Robes."

Muhon Kakushin, who studied under Yōsai's disciple Taikō Gyōyū 退耕行勇 (1163–1241) at Mt. Kōya 高野, traveled to China in 1249 (Hōji 宝治 3) and studied with various teachers before returning to Japan with a self-inscribed portrait of the master Wumen Huikai 無門慧開 (1183–1260) and a copy of the latter's koan collection *Wumenguan* 無門関 (Jp. *Mumonkan*).<sup>27</sup> Then, in 1260 (Bun'ō 文応 1), the year of his master's death, Kakushin is said to have received Wumen's dharma robe and other items as evidence of his having become the master's dharma successor.<sup>28</sup> According to temple legend, this robe corresponds to a nine-panel *kāṣāya* preserved at Myōkōji, founded by Kakushin in Kyoto.<sup>29</sup> Written in ink on the robe, in Kakushin's hand, are the phrases: "Kakushin who traveled to Song [China]";

<sup>24</sup> For Enni's biography, see Tetsugyū Enshin 1970, pp. 129–50. Eison later founded the temple Manjuji 万寿寺 in present-day Saga Prefecture.

<sup>25</sup> Tetsugyū Enshin 1970, pp. 183–84.

<sup>26</sup> *Bujin Shihan bokuseki yo Shōichi Kokushi sekitoku* 無準師範墨蹟与聖一國師尺牘. Important Cultural Property. Hatakeyama Kinenkan, Tokyo. Reproduced in Mainichi Shinbunsha 1977, pp. 184–85.

<sup>27</sup> See Jinan Shōkun 1977, pp. 346–61.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 353–54.

<sup>29</sup> The robe, designated an Important Cultural Property, is reproduced in Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 2007, pp. 65, 288.

“The [Three] Treasures, Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha”; and “Tenth day, twelfth month, second year of the Einin 永仁 era [1294].” Although the last inscription establishes a *terminus ante quem* for the robe’s production and secures the robe a place of considerable importance in textile history, there is no consensus today as to whether it is actually the *denpōe* given to Kakushin by Wumen or simply a robe owned by Kakushin.<sup>30</sup>

During the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, Zen institutions expanded dramatically in Japan through the activities of numerous charismatic Chinese and Japanese masters from whom prominent lineages descend. As in prior generations, dharma transmission from master to disciple was frequently accompanied by the conferral of the master’s dharma robe. In addition to the representatives of this third generation cited above, we can also point to figures such as Tōgan Ean 東巖慧安 (1225–1277) who received the robe of his master, the immigrant Wuan Puning 兀庵普寧 (1197–1276), as well as the robe of Wuan’s teacher Wuzhun Shifan.<sup>31</sup> Enni, meanwhile, conferred upon his disciple Nanzan Shiun 南山士雲 (1254–1335) a robe purportedly acquired from Wuzhun Shifan; the robe is said to be preserved in Shiun’s mortuary site, Denshūin 伝宗院, within the Kamakura monastery Engakuji 円覺寺.<sup>32</sup>

During this generation, however, the role of *denpōe* in Japan began to shift from that of an object transferred from teacher to disciple to signify dharma succession to one where the robes functioned as contact relics of a given master. This change resulted partly from the official sponsorship of Zen by the warrior and aristocratic elite, which facilitated the expansion of the Zen institution and the increase in monasteries and monastic founders. The change was also linked to the proliferation in Japan of semi-autonomous subtemples (*tatchū* 塔頭) that functioned within larger monasteries as mortuary sites (*tassho* 塔所) of prominent teachers. Within Chan monastic institutions, regardless of how eminent a master may have

<sup>30</sup> Kiriata 1979, pp. 102–4. The fact that Kakushin had a *kāshāya* of Chinese manufacture—indeed thought to have been made during the Southern Song dynasty—is made clear by the *kāshāya* depicted in the Zen portrait of Kakushin at Kōkokuji 興国寺 in Wakayama Prefecture. The peony arabesque design depicted there typifies a style that appears only on patterned gauze of the Southern Song. A detailed analysis of this textile style appears in Kawakami 1989. It is possible that the *kāshāya* represented in the portrait is the *denpōe* that was transmitted to Kakushin by Wumen and that Kakushin bequeathed this robe to Kōkokuji, the temple most important to him.

<sup>31</sup> Preserved at Tōgan’s Kyoto temple Shōdenji 正伝寺, the two nine-panel *kāshāya* are designated Important Cultural Properties. Reproduced in Bunkachō 1999, p. 124 and Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 2010, pp. 104–5.

<sup>32</sup> See Chikuan Daien 1977, p. 407.

been, he was generally expected to return to the communal life of the monastery following retirement or to reside only temporarily within a personal retreat. In Japan, in contrast, following the deaths of former abbots and elite monks their retreats were frequently converted into mortuary sites that were controlled by the master's disciples and ensuing lineage, often with patronage and land holdings independent from the monastery.<sup>33</sup> The Zen "subtemple system" (*tatchū seido* 塔頭制度) generated physical locations for the ongoing veneration of such prominent masters as lineal patriarchs as well as the consequent expectation that the master's contact relics, including his robe, be preserved at the site. In effect, this alignment of site and robe effectively terminated the personal transferal of dharma transmission robes that were passed on through generations and at the same time increased the number of "*denpōe*" preserved, now operative as contact relics or prestige items related to the founder. In many cases, these robes were *kāshāya* a founder had worn rather than *kāshāya* he had received as authentication of his dharma succession.<sup>34</sup>

In short, the prevailing Chan pattern of the conferral from master to disciple of *kāshāya* as emblems of dharma transmission was incorporated into early Japanese Zen during its first and second generations but was joined in the third by the practice of enshrining the *kāshāya* of prominent masters as contact relics within mortuary subtemple sites in Japan. This development of *denpōe* qua patriarchal treasures, which is specifically Japanese, undoubtedly contributed to the preservation of many medieval transmission *kāshāya*.

### *The Tōfukuji Denpōe Chest and Its Five Dharma Transmission Robes*

The Zen monastery Enichizan Tōfukuji 慧日山東福寺, in southeast Kyoto, famous for its autumn maple foliage, was established in the Enchō 延長 era (923–930) by Fujiwara no Tadahira 藤原忠平 (880–949) as the Fujiwara clan temple Hosshōji 法性寺. Hosshōji's conversion from a Hossō school temple into Tōfukuji by the Zen monk Enni in 1255 depended in large measure upon the patronage of the powerful aristocrat Kujō Michiie 九条道家 (1193–1252). Enni, born in present-day Shizuoka Prefecture in 1202, began his religious training as a Tendai monk but converted to Zen under the tutelage of Yōsai's disciple Eichō. In 1235, at age thirty-four, Enni traveled to China and studied with Wuzhun Shifan at the temple Wanshousi 万寿寺 on Mt. Jing 徑. Enni returned to Japan in 1241 after receiving Wuzhun's confirmation

<sup>33</sup> See Kawakami 2005.

<sup>34</sup> For selected robes enshrined in mortuary sites, see appendix 3.

of dharma transmission. Upon arriving in Kyoto, Enni's introduction and dissemination of Chan encountered the resistance of previously established Buddhist schools. While monasteries such as Jufukuji 寿福寺 in Kamakura and Kenninji 建仁寺 in Kyoto combined Zen practices with those of Tendai and other traditions, Enni's establishment of Tōfukuji with the backing of Michiie gave Zen a stronger foothold in the capital and, with the repeated travels of Enni's disciples to train in China, led toward exclusive emphasis on the monastic practices found in the major Song Chan monasteries. The privilege of appointing its successive abbots exclusively from among members of Enni's dharma lineage, meanwhile, strengthened Tōfukuji's institutional authority and distinguished it from other Zen monasteries in Kyoto such as Kenninji.<sup>35</sup> Needless to say, this preserved and fostered Enni's line, an important factor when considering the monastery's "Five Dharma Transmission Robes."

The five robes are stored in a brown lacquered wood chest (figure Y1) whose front sliding cover is inscribed in ink, "Transmission Robe Chest" (*den'e bako* 伝衣箱). The chest has five shallow drawers, each of which contains a single *kāśāya* and is inscribed in gold with the name of the robe's owner as it was identified at the time of the chest's production. From the top drawer downward, the titles read: (1) "Robe of Abbot Yangqi 楊岐"; (2) "Robe of Abbot Mian 密庵"; (3) "Robe of Abbot Poan 破庵"; (4) "Robe of Zen Master Fojian 仏鑑"; and (5) "Robe of National Master Shōichi 聖一 [Enni]" (appendix 4, text 1). The chest visually and materially embodies five generations of Chan/Zen dharma lineage, including contiguous teacher-disciple generations, concluding with Tōfukuji's founder Enni:

Drawer 1. Yangqi Fanghui 楊岐方会 (993–1046)

Drawer 2. Mian Xianjie 密庵咸傑 (1118–1186)

Drawer 3. Poan Zuxian 破庵祖先 (1136–1211)

Drawer 4. Wuzhun Shifan (1177–1249)

Drawer 5. Enni (1202–1280)

Inscriptions on the rear and bottom of the chest document its production by two Tōfukuji monks, Ungan Ryūso 雲岩龍楚 (n.d.–1710) and Senkei Shujin 千溪守似 (n.d.) under the patronage of the abbot of an Ōbaku 黄檗 school temple and its donation to the monastery on a calendar date corresponding to the day of Enni's death:

<sup>35</sup> This practice, known in Japanese as *toteiin* or *tsuchien* 度弟院, was in sharp contrast to the appointment regulations of Chan monasteries in the Wushan 五山 system in China and the Gozan 五山 system in Japan that mandated that successive abbots be selected from different lineages (*jippō jūji sei* 十方住持制). See *Zengaku daijiten*, pp. 455, 956.

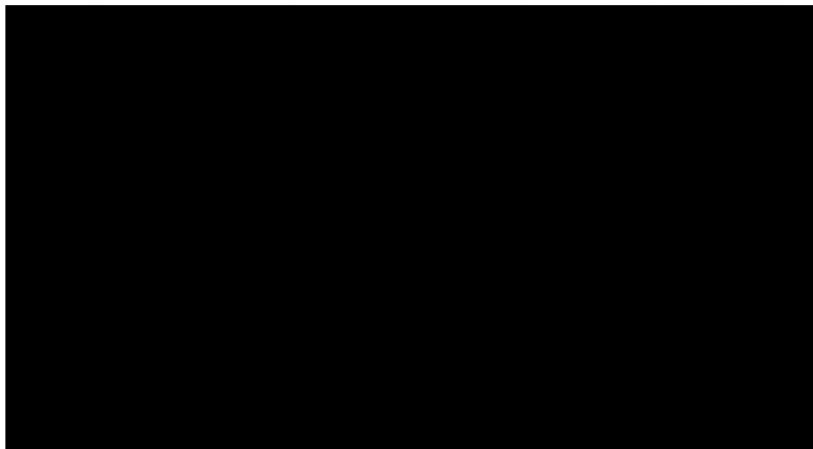


Figure Y1. The transmission robe chest (*den'e bako*)

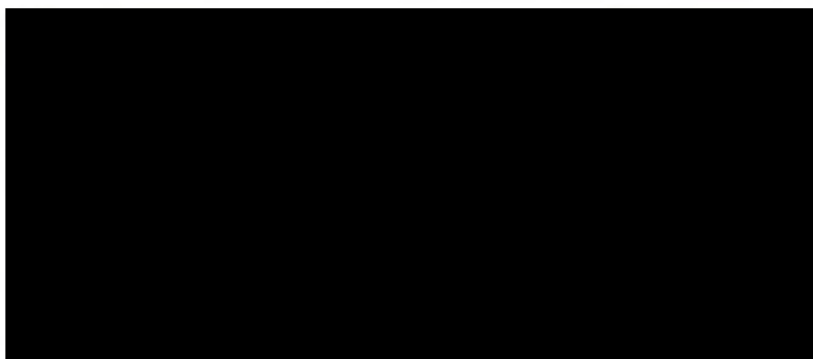


Figure Y2. Nine-panel *kāṣāya* associated with Yangqi Fanhui.  
L: 126.0 cm., W: 343.0 cm. Tōfukuji.

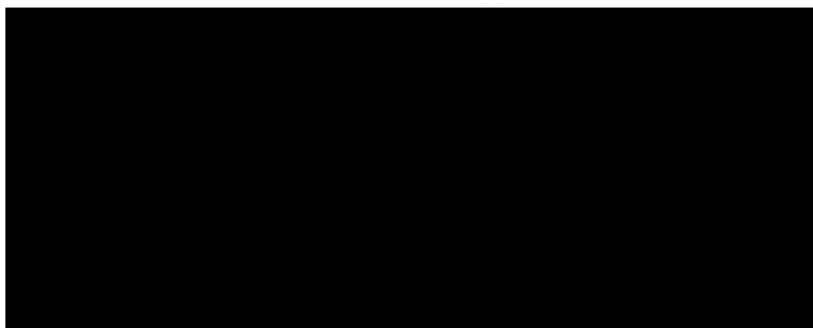


Figure Y3. Nine-panel *kāṣāya* associated with Mian Xianjie.  
L: 150.0 cm, W: 356.5 cm. Tōfukuji.

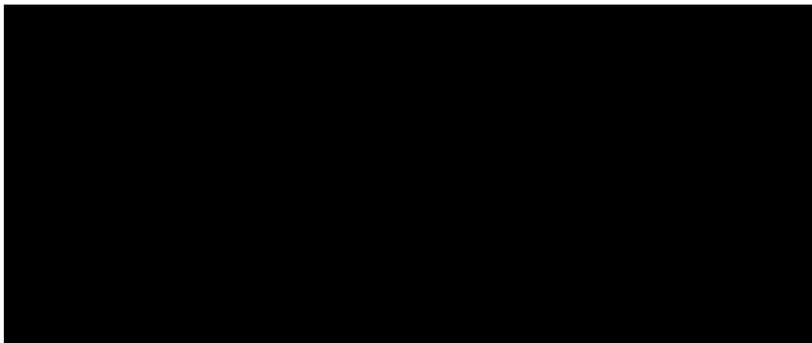


Figure Y4. Nine-panel *kāṣāya* associated with Poan Zuxian.  
L: 129.7 cm, W: 374.0 cm. Tōfukuji.

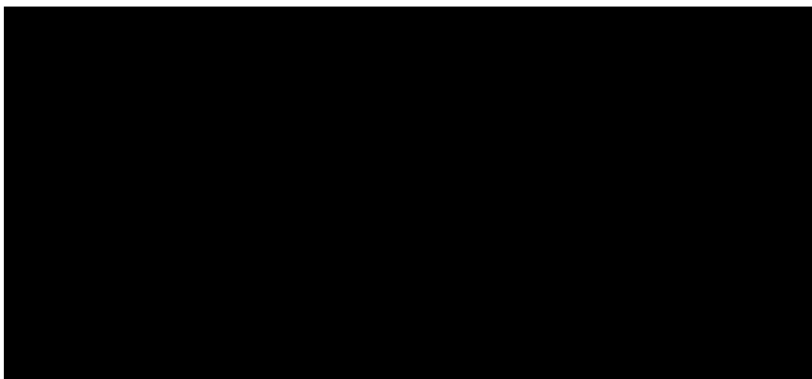


Figure Y5. Nine-panel *kāṣāya* associated with Wuzhun Shifan.  
L: 141.0 cm, W: 329.0 cm. Tōfukuji.

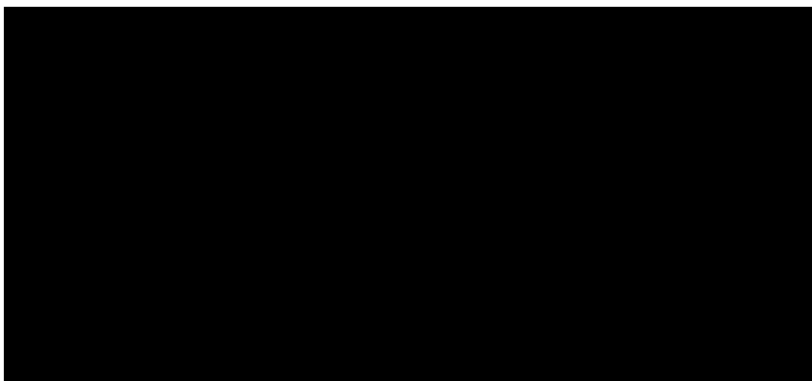


Figure Y6. Nine-panel *kāṣāya* associated with Enni.  
L: 134.1 cm, W: 324.0 cm. Tōfukuji.

[Rear] On the seventeenth day, tenth month, of the fifth year of the Enpō 延宝 era [1677], this chest was donated by Genkaku 玄覚 [1613–1678] of Ōbaku Jusen'an 寿泉庵 for permanent storage at Enichizan Tōfukuji [text 2].

[Bottom] The *seidō* 西堂 [lit. Western Hall, a monastic office] Ryūso 龍楚, the *shuso* 首座 [lit. Chief Seat, another monastic office] Shujin 守僂 [text 3].

The robe in the upper-most drawer, identified as that of Yangqi Fanghui (figure Y2), is an unlined nine-panel *kāṣāya* of yellow-brown simple gauze weave (*sha* 紗), measuring at its greatest length 126.0 cm and at its greatest width 343.0 cm. The *kāṣāya*'s round ornamental ring (*kan* 環) appears to be of ivory but is in fact wood painted to simulate ivory. The fastening cord used to tie the ring to the robe is lost. Given that the particular type of textile employed in this robe was common throughout the medieval period, it is impossible to link the robe specifically with Yangqi's time of activity in the early eleventh century. Furthermore, there are no documents or related objects that might corroborate the association of this *kāṣāya* with Yangqi or suggest a possible date of production.

The robe in the second drawer, identified as belonging to Mian Xianjie (figure Y3), measures 150.0 cm by 356.5 cm. The fabric is so severely damaged that it is difficult to unfold the robe for inspection, but its rectangular fields (*densō* 田相) are of a light brown twill damask (*aya* 文綾) with a pattern of chrysanthemum sprigs, while the remaining areas of fabric are an indigo twill damask woven with a chrysanthemum arabesque pattern. The fabric loops for the cord (*himoza* 紐座) and ornamental ring (*kansa* 環座), are of a multicolored patterned weave (*nishiki* 錦) and a satin weave (*shusu* 繻子); both are probably later replacements.<sup>36</sup> The robe's lining is a green (*moegi* 萌葱) twill damask with a now indecipherable pattern. Although the robe's ring is now lost, the green braided cord remains as does an accompanying unlined five-panel *kāṣāya* (*kara* 掛絡) and cloth hat.

The association of this *kāṣāya* with Mian Xianjie is not supported by the garment's textiles. Although twill damask can be found in many periods, including Mian's lifetime, the specific weave structure found here—damask in a 2/1 twill against a 1/5 twill—became common only after the Kamakura

<sup>36</sup> *Nishiki* is a generic term that refers to a variety of multicolored patterned weaves. Some, particularly those of greater age, are compound weaves like samit, while others employ supplementary weft floats as in brocading.

period (1185–1335).<sup>37</sup> The chrysanthemum design found on the robe, meanwhile, reflects a Japanese aesthetic preference rather than one of Song China.<sup>38</sup> Moreover, an inscription on the garment's reverse dated 1531 (Kyōroku 享祿 4), though obscure in places, states in the first half that Sansō Eun 山叟恵雲 (1232–1301), a disciple of Enni and abbot of Tōshōji 東昌寺 (in present-day Fukushima Prefecture), had this *kāṣāya* made in 1290 (Shōō 正応 3). After Sansō became the fifth abbot of Tōfukuji, he bestowed the *kāṣāya* on someone referred to as Sokan 素簡 (n.d.). The second part relates how, because Tōfukuji incurred great damage during the civil wars, on the occasion of the thirty-third memorial service for the monk Dōkai 道戒 (n.d.) in 1531 (Kyōroku 4) the *kāṣāya* was donated to conduct prayers for him (text 4). Thus we know this *kāṣāya* was created for Sansō in 1290 and donated in 1531 (Kyōroku 4) to the head temple Tōfukuji. If we combine this with corroborating information from Sansō's diary, we find that after he had the *kāṣāya* made in 1290, he also had the subtemple built on Tōfukuji grounds that would become his mortuary temple, Shōkakuan 正覚庵.<sup>39</sup> This suggests the high probability that the *kāṣāya* was created as a prestige *denpōe* to be installed in Shōkakuan.

The third drawer from the top contains a nine-panel *kāṣāya* associated with the master Poan Zuxian that measures 129.7 cm by 374.0 cm (figure Y4, text 5). and is accompanied by a cloth wrapper bearing an undated inscription on the reverse, “Dharma robe (*hōe*) of the abbot Poan. [Wrapper] respectfully donated by En'iku 園育.” Originally the robe was a seven-panel *kāṣāya* with brown-colored rectangular fields. For these, two layers of fabric, one plain weave, the other a four-end gauze weave, were hand-stitched together and subsequent rubbing gives them the appearance of rags. Two extra fields were added later to convert the *kāṣāya* from seven to nine panels. These are brownish ochre plain weave with supplementary weft float pattern that imitates hand stitching. There are now areas of replacement fabric of a yellow-brown plain-weave silk with hand stitching in the same color. The robe's present lining consists of a yellow and a red-brown plain-weave silk on which appears the inscription “Poan, Tōfukuji” (text 6). The

<sup>37</sup> Changes in twill damask structure from the Asuka to Kamakura period in Japan are discussed in Kawakami 1989, pp. 22–25.

<sup>38</sup> As far as I know, there is no definitive work comparing Japanese and Chinese chrysanthemum motifs. That said, I believe that Japanese visual cultures, more than those in China, show a distinct preference for chrysanthemum sprays over chrysanthemum arabesques. For examples of Japanese chrysanthemum motifs, see Yoshioka 2001.

<sup>39</sup> Shiraishi 1979, p. 162.

robe's ring is made of black-lacquered wood with a cloud design in gold paint; the tying cord for the ring is lost.

Although the use of a plain-weave structure with supplemental-weft floats to imitate hand stitching appears to be unique, hand stitching accords with Buddhist scriptural stipulations for monastic robes to be made by sewing together reclaimed rags.<sup>40</sup> The popularity during the Nara and Heian periods of such robes, known as *funzōe*, suggests that the weaving on the Poan robe may have been intended to evoke an antique effect. Given that this simulated weaving technique is relatively simple, it is possible that the robe was made during the period of Poan's activity during the late twelfth to early thirteenth centuries. Although the inscriptions found on the robe's lining and storage wrapper do not appear to be of considerable age, they nevertheless suggest the garment's identification as Poan's *kāṣāya* within Tōfukuji. Even if the robe cannot be confirmed to be that of Poan, it is probably safe to conclude that it is of considerable antiquity.

The chest's fourth drawer contains a nine-panel *kāṣāya* identified as the property of Wuzhun Shifan (figure Y5). Because of considerable damage, including areas of loss on all four sides, the robe's dimensions can only be estimated as 141.0 cm by 329.0 cm. The robe's rectangular fields use three different fabrics (including replacement pieces), but the original fabric appears to have been of a light blue Liao samit, which was woven in East Asia from around the ninth to twelfth centuries.<sup>41</sup> Although difficult to discern, the samit displays an unusual pattern of trailing clouds combined with birds in mirror-image pairs that, when viewed from a distance, appears to form the shape of a monster. The other sections of the robe (vertical and horizontal bands and edging) are of purple four-end gauze. Accompanying the robe is a yellow braided cord and wood ring decorated with a relief carving of a cloud-like design coated in black lacquer and embellished with gold paint. Although both samit and gauze were prevalent as luxury textiles from prior to Wuzhun's time, the robe's particular pattern of clouds and birds finds no extant comparison. Therefore, while it seems safe to identify the robe as being of medieval Chinese manufacture, our present knowledge of textile history does not permit us to date it with greater precision.

Fortunately, hints about the *kāṣāya*'s history are to be found in its lining, which appears to have been repeatedly repaired with various plain-weave silk pieces of light green and yellowish green. Sewn onto the lining is a section

<sup>40</sup> See footnote 4.

<sup>41</sup> See Zhao 2004, pp. 33–41.

of older lining fabric that bears three separate ink inscriptions in different hands. The first, and probably oldest, states simply “Permanently stored at Suijōzan Manjuji 水上山萬壽寺” (text 7), which indicates that the robe was at one point the treasure of the temple Manjuji in present-day Saga Prefecture on the island of Kyushu. The second inscription, and next oldest in date, states that the present robe, having been stored at the neighboring temple Kōjōji 高城寺, was apparently removed to some location but was returned to Kōjōji in 1417 (Ōei 応永 24) (text 8). The final inscription records the donation of the robe from Kōjōji to the Tōfukuji subtemple Yōmyōin 永明院 in 1437 (Eikyō 永享 9) (text 9).

Two additional inscriptions found on the *kāśāya*’s lining and one on the lining of the ring loop offer additional testimony. The longer of the former two recounts that the robe, having become quite damaged, was repaired in 1646 (Shōho 正保 3) through the pledge of the Tōfukuji monk Shōen 正円 (n.d.) (text 10). Contributions for the repair were offered by Nishinotōin Tokiko 西洞院時子 (n.d.–1661), consort of Emperor Go-Yōzei 後陽成 (r. 1586–1611; 1571–1617), her daughter the nun Eisō Joō 永宗女王 (1609–1690) of the imperial convent Daishōji 大聖寺, the nun Tokuei 徳栄 (n.d.), and others. Of equal interest is the brief inscription on the lining that refers to “Three Patriarchal Transmission Robes at Jōraku 常楽” (text 11), the latter site being Tōfukuji’s Founder’s Hall, and Shōen’s wish to additionally repair the *kāśāya* of Enni’s disciple Zōzan Junkū 藏山順空 (Enkan Zenji 円鑑禅師, 1233–1308). On the other hand, the inscription on the lining of the ring loop, also dated 1646, identifies the *kāśāya* as the “Dharma robe of the Founder of Manjuji.” This refers to the monk Jinshi Eison who, along with Enni, studied with Wuzhun in China (text 12).<sup>42</sup>

These sundry texts, when pieced together, suggest several points of historical reference for the robe now stored in the fourth drawer of the Tōfukuji chest. We read of the robe’s ownership by the Saga temple Manjuji, its ensuing placement in the custody of nearby Kōjōji, and its later donation to the Tōfukuji subtemple Yōmyōin. The final text suggests that the *kāśāya* may in fact have been the robe of Manjuji’s founder Eison (rather than of Wuzhun). Indeed, since Eison did not formally become Wuzhun’s dharma successor (and became Enni’s instead), it would be unlikely that the robe in his possession would have been conferred upon him by the Chinese master. Instead,

<sup>42</sup> Although Suijōzan Manjuji was begun by Jinshi Eison, and many documents identify Eison as the founder, its official founder is Enni. It is possible, therefore, that this inscription refers to Enni. In this essay, however, I treat Eison as Manjuji’s founder.

Eison may have acquired a separate robe in China, which he brought to Japan and which was then installed at Manjuji.

The fifth and lowest drawer contains a nine-panel *kāṣāya* said to have been in the possession of Enni (figure Y6). This *kāṣāya* measures 134.1 cm at its greatest height by 324.0 cm at its greatest width. None of the rectangular fields remain; what one sees at present is the dark brown plain-weave silk replacement lining. Other portions of the robe employ pieces of Liao samit with a design of flowers composed of small squares in a checkerboard arrangement. Because the warp threads have been broken extensively, there has been considerable repair; especially noticeable are the three central vertical bands, which were rewoven based on the original fabric. Such deterioration suggests considerable age, but the lack of a dated comparative work that employs a similar mosaic-like pattern of small squares throws the robe's specific date into question. The robe's wood ring imitates tortoiseshell, while its orange braided cord is a later replacement. The lining of the robe, a replacement, is similarly without inscription, thus leaving us with no immediate documentary evidence of the garment's history.<sup>43</sup>

#### *Further Textual Evidence and Implications*

The preceding inspection leads to the following conclusions. In the case of the purportedly oldest robe in the set, that in the first drawer and identified as belonging to Yangqi Fanghui, there is simply no evidence, textual or technical, to determine its date of manufacture. For the *kāṣāya* in the second drawer, considerations of its pattern and inscriptions cast doubt on its association with Mian Xianjie. Rather, it seems more reasonable to identify it as a dharma robe that Sansō Eun received from his teacher Enni previously stored at Sansō's temple Shōkakuan before being donated as Enni's *kāṣāya* to Tōfukuji. The robe in the third drawer is clearly of considerable age, but there is little evidence linking it to Poan Zuxian. Based on its inscriptions, however, we can at least conclude that the robe had long been associated with Poan within Tōfukuji. The fourth drawer robe fits the profile of textiles produced during Wuzhun Shifan's period, but the profusion of inscriptions found on its lining suggests that it may well have been a *kāṣāya* without any direct association with Wuzhun that had been owned by the Manjuji founder Jinshi Eison. That said, the robe was identified at least as early as the fifteenth century as having been owned by Wuzhun, and it was

<sup>43</sup> A storage wrapper survives but lacks evidence of an inscription.

with this designation that it was donated to Tōfukuji. The final robe in the fifth drawer associated with Tōfukuji's founder Enni and with its unusual pattern is clearly a textile of great age but there is no evidence upon which to date it with greater precision.

Of the five, the one *kāṣāya* whose history (as best we can reconstruct it) appears consistent with the name inscribed on its drawer is that associated with Poan Zuxian in the third drawer. The only textual evidence for the identity of the robes in the first drawer (Yangqi Fanghui) and fifth drawer (Enni) is the drawer inscriptions themselves. The robes in the second (Mian Xianjie) and fourth (Wuzhun) drawers, meanwhile, do not correspond with their attributed owners; the former is probably a robe owned by Enni, rather than Mian, and the latter a robe owned by Jinshi Eison, not Wuzhun. That said, the latter robe has been identified with Wuzhun since the fifteenth century, an attribution that was *fait accompli* by the time of the chest's donation in the seventeenth century. It is odd that the robe in the second drawer should bear an inscription identifying it as having belonged to Enni, but as I note below, this might suggest the misplacement of particular robes within the chest.

Despite this somewhat confused situation, some insight can be gained from texts pertaining to Tōfukuji's dharma robes independent from the inscriptions noted earlier. Of particular interest is the aforementioned letter written by Wuzhun to Enni around 1242 (text 13).<sup>44</sup> Wuzhun's letter states that the *nishiki* (multi-colored patterned silk) dharma robe (*hōe*) conferred on Enni had been passed down with care through the generations and that Enni in turn should not pass it on thoughtlessly. This suggests that the robe Enni inherited had been previously inherited by Wuzhun himself from his teacher, and perhaps even prior generations, and clearly states that the robe was woven with *nishiki*.

Furthermore, the oldest chronicle of Enni, *Tōfuku Kaizan Shōichi Kokushi nenpu* 東福開山聖一國師年譜, compiled in 1281 (Kōan 弘安 4) by the monk Tetsugyū Enshin 鉄牛円心 (1254–1326), recounts that on the first day of the third month of 1241, at the time that Enni departed Wuzhun's community to return to Japan, he received from his master a lineage chart and the robe and bamboo stick of Mian Xianjie. This identifies the robe passed on from Wuzhun to Enni as having been transmitted from his master Mian. In addition, in the preface to the entry for the twentieth day of the fourth month

<sup>44</sup> *Bujun Shiha bokuseki yo Shōichi Kokushi sekitoku* (see Mainichi Shinbunsha 1977, pp. 184–85). The transmission of this epistle is discussed in detail in Furuta 1988, pp. 157–62. See footnote 36 for an explanation of *nishiki*.

of the same year, it states that Enni received a robe from Wuzhun that had belonged to Yangqi Fanghui as well as the Daimeiroku 大明錄 (text 14).<sup>45</sup>

It is doubtful that Wuzhun would transmit two robes solely to Enni. An alternative reading is that a single robe had been transmitted through two masters, Mian and Yangqi. In any case, we know from this that, at that time, Enni was thought to have received two robes, one considered transmitted from Mian Xianjie, another believed to be from Yangqi Fanghui.

This may suggest that the otherwise unidentified robe referred to by Wuzhun in his letter to Enni may have been owned originally by Wuzhun's dharma grandfather Mian. It is possible too that this robe corresponds to one of two robes listed in *Enni yuimotsu gusoku mokuroku* 円爾遺物具足目錄, an inventory of Enni's effects compiled in 1316 (Shōwa 正和 5), thirty-six years after his death (text 15), which lists two *kāṣāya*: one *hōe* and one *tsuduri no kesa*.<sup>46</sup> Another record indicates that the robe was lost during civil strife in 1336 (Kenmu 建武 3) but was returned to Tōfukuji the following year, suggesting concern for the preservation of the robe as a monastery treasure.<sup>47</sup>

The place where the transmission robe is thought to have been stored is the "Transmission Robe Chamber" (Dennekaku 伝衣閣) constructed in Tōfukuji's Founder's Hall Jōrakuan 常樂庵. As Enni's mortuary site, Jōrakuan was the focus of memorial attention on the part of his dharma lineage, a fact indicated by a 1343 (Kōkoku 興国 4) compilation of *gāthā* offered by members of Tōfukuji's community to Enni's stūpa (*Jōraku haitō ge* 常樂拜塔偈). Within this collection, a verse by a certain Chōrei 長令 (n.d.) extols Enni's *kāṣāya* (text 16).<sup>48</sup>

Yangqi's *kāṣāya* that passed through ten generations  
Given and received again and again, this beautiful *nishiki*. . .

It identifies Enni's *kāṣāya* stored in Jōrakuan as having been transmitted from Yangqi Fanghui through ten dharma generations, and signifies an awareness of the transmission associating the robe with Yangqi. A further reference to Yangqi's *kaṣāya* being stored in Jōrakuan can be found in the

<sup>45</sup> Tetsugyū Enshin 1970, pp. 133–34.

<sup>46</sup> "Enni yuimotsu gusoku mokuroku" 円爾遺物具足目錄 (Inventory of Enni's Estates) in Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo 1956, pp. 86–88.

<sup>47</sup> "Enni denpōe saishutsugen nikki" 円爾伝法衣再出現日記 (Document of the Reappearance of Enni's *Denpōe*) in Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo 1957, p. 303.

<sup>48</sup> Shiraishi 1979, p. 322.

temple gazetteer, the *Tōfukujishi* 東福寺誌 where it lists a *kāṣāya* box with an inscription dated 1500 (Meiō 明応 9).<sup>49</sup> Here it states that over concern for the deterioration of Yangqi's *kāṣāya*, it should no longer be hung out on a rack for airing, but simply laid on the lid of the box. It is clear then that in 1500 Jōrakuan stored a *kāṣāya* associated with Yangqi. It is also probable that this *kāṣāya* housed in Enni's mortuary site corresponded to the transmission dharma robe he received from Wuzhun.

To summarize the information gathered from the documents related to the transmission *kāṣāya* at Tōfukuji: the *kāṣāya* was made of *nishiki* fabric, there were two stories of its provenance, one associating it as from Mian and the other as from Yangqi, the dharma robes were kept as treasures in Jōrakuan, which was the Founder's Hall inside Tōfukuji, and it can be verified that as of 1500 a *kāṣāya* associated with Yangqi was stored there.

Reviewing the robes in the transmission *kāṣāya* chest, we find the robe in the top drawer is two-end simple gauze weave (*sha*), that in the second drawer is twill damask (*monaya* 文綾), and neither is *nishiki*. The only ones that could be called *nishiki* are the robes in the third drawer associated with Wuzhun and in the fifth drawer associated with Enni. As mentioned above, the robe attributed as Wuzhun's belonged to Jinshi Eison and was donated to the Tōfukuji subtemple Yōmyōin in 1437: it was not a dharma robe transmitted to Enni. Taking all this into consideration, the robe in the fifth drawer labeled as Enni's should perhaps, after all, be thought of as the robe he received from Wuzhun.

Then, the reason, I believe, why a *kāṣāya* with an inscription attributing it to Sansō Eun was stored in the drawer marked Mian Xianjie's *kāṣāya* is that in the widely known biography of Enni, *Tōfuku Kaizan Shōichi Kokushi nenpu*, it notes that Enni received two dharma transmission robes, one from Yangqi Fanghui and the other from Mian Xianjie so that followers of the Enni lineage must have thought both these *kāṣāya* by rights should be in Tōfukuji. When they planned to make a chest for the transmission robes, they chose the names to write on each drawer guided not by the dharma robes placed on the transmission robe shelves in Jōrakuan, but by what the Tōfukuji school followers felt ought to be the people associated with the *kāṣāya*. Then the old *kāṣāya* kept in Tōfukuji were distributed according to each of the names and placed accordingly in the drawers of the chest. Of course, if there was a *kāṣāya* that accorded with an owner, it was put in that

<sup>49</sup> Shiraishi 1979, p. 678. The present location of this *kāṣāya* box is unknown.

drawer, but when no applicable *kāṣāya* existed, they must have substituted robes belonging to other people. This must be how Sansō Eun's *kāṣāya* ended up in a drawer marked Mian Xianjie.

After various historical twists and turns, some unclear to us today, five *denpōe* were placed in the Tōfukuji dharma transmission robe chest on the anniversary of Enni's death on the seventeenth day of the tenth month, 1677, a time marked by relative political stability under the Tokugawa shogunate. Given that precisely two years later, Tōfukuji commemorated the momentous four hundredth anniversary of Enni's death, it is likely that the chest was constructed with this observance in mind. Moreover, it was during this period that the Tokugawa government's regulation of monasteries and temples took hold, increasing the financial and religious significance of Tōfukuji as the monastic headquarters of Enni's lineage. In this context, the transmission robe chest may have been conceived as a visual and material embodiment of dharma lineage intended to confirm, even at a glance, the legitimacy of Enni and the monastery's patriarchal ancestry, reaching back to Yangqi, and thereby augmenting Tōfukuji's authority.

### *Conclusion*

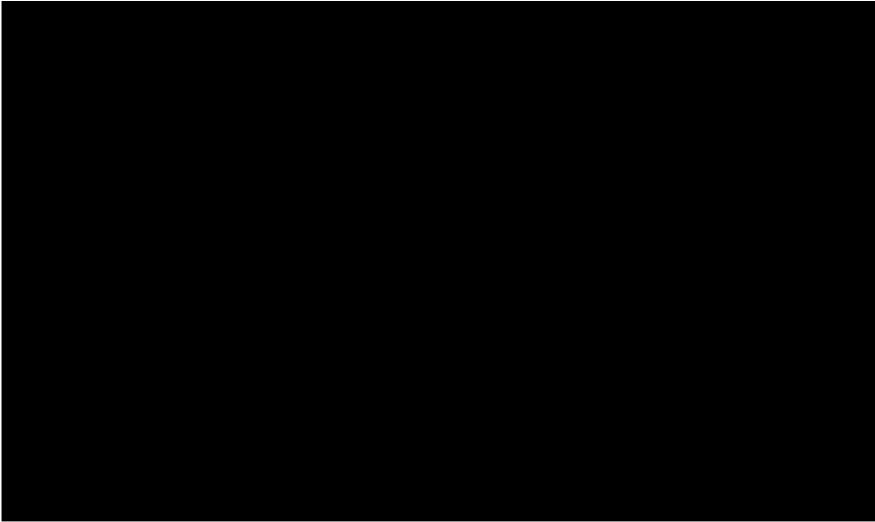
From early in the history of Chan/Zen, *kāṣāya* have served as potent emblems of dharma transmission. In Japan, these vestments also came to be enshrined in the temples established by prominent masters as well as their private retreats and mortuary sites. The endurance of many dharma lineages in Japan from the medieval period to the present has meant that a significant number of such robes have been preserved in the same religious sites for centuries. Notwithstanding, many were also lost with the rise and fall of particular monasteries and subtemples, and others have been removed from their original locations and placed in other temple environments or museum collections. Indeed, two of the robes preserved in the Tōfukuji chest were donated to the monastery from branch temples distant from Kyoto. Judging from dates of donation and inscription, the relocation of these robes may have been motivated by the desire to revive Tōfukuji following its impoverishment resulting from civil unrest, a recuperative process in which the dharma robes of prior patriarchs would have had considerable significance. Such robes have endured as embodiments of orthodox transmission, therefore, amidst varied circumstances of relocation and reception down to the present.

Until recently, *Kāṣāya* studies have tended to concentrate either on textual research or technical analysis of single pieces but have not combined these approaches within the study of the Chan/Zen tradition. As this discussion of the Tōfukuji chest for dharma transmission robes shows, such combinatory study is not simply a matter of matching documents with textiles. A great many factors need to be considered, including the reliability of inscriptions written centuries after the supposed manufacture of the object and the possibility of inadvertent misplacement. While seeking to validate the historical identity of the robes as textiles owned by particular masters, we should also not lose sight of their significance as emblems of authenticity within their religious contexts, regardless of whether or not there is sufficient historical verification for their traditional identifications.

In addition to introducing the previously unpublished Tōfukuji *kāṣāya*, this essay has sought to refine the definition of *denpōe* by showing that its meaning shifted over time. Although the idea of the authentication of dharma transmission is never lost, by the third generation of Japanese Zen masters discussed above, the *kāṣāya* themselves essentially ceased to move from person to person validating a succession of generations; rather they came to rest in specific sites to authenticate their patriarchal identity. The Tōfukuji *denpōe* chest is a prime example of this phenomenon. It should also be borne in mind that at certain times for specific reasons, such *denpōe* qua patriarchal treasures might themselves undergo further relocation and re-identification, thereby presenting new circumstances of signification and preservation.

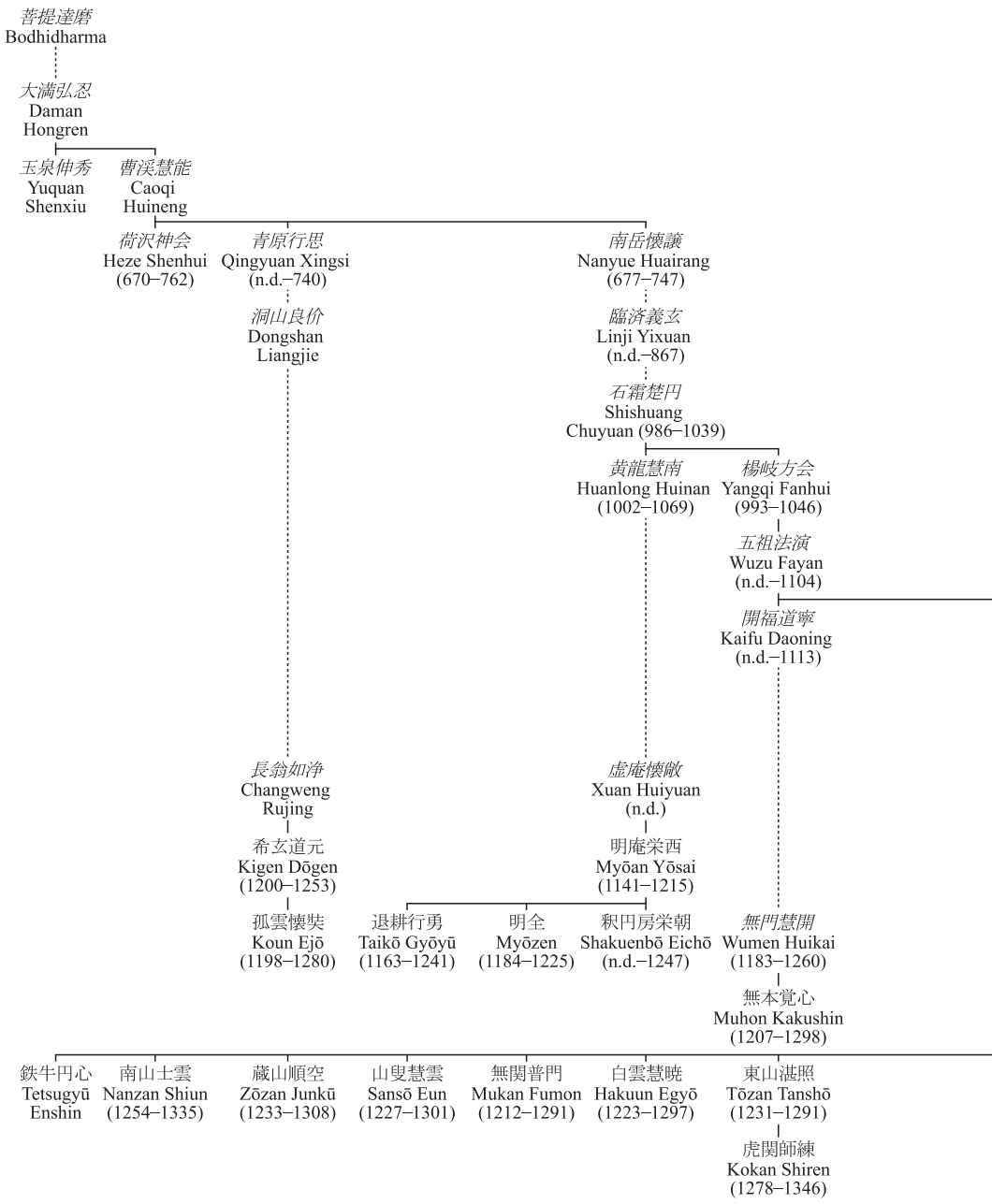
**Appendix 1: Parts of a Nine-panel *Kesa* (*Skt. Kāṣāya*)**

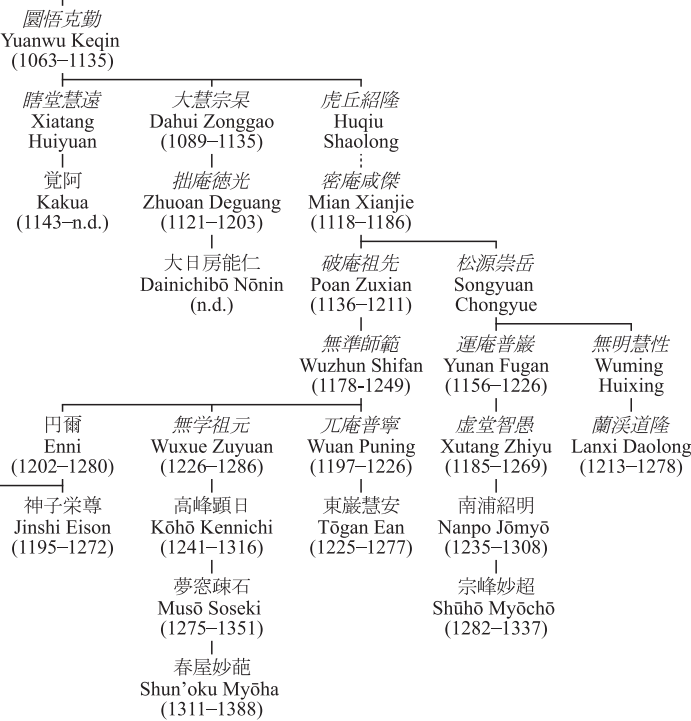
<i>en/fuchi</i> 縁	edging
<i>tatejō</i> 堅条	vertical bands
<i>yokotsutsumi</i> 横堤	horizontal bands
<i>kanza</i> 環座	ring loop
<i>kan</i> 環	ring
<i>himoza</i> 紐座	cord loop
<i>kakuchō</i> 角帖, <i>shiten</i> 四天	corner squares
<i>densō</i> 田柵	rectangular fields
<i>jō</i> 条	panel



Appendix 2: Selected Chan/Zen Lineage Charts

Straight line means direct transmission. Broken line means indirect transmission.





### Appendix 3: Selected Nine-panel *Denpōe* Associated with Mortuary Sites in Medieval Japan

Location	Robe Owner and Location Information
Tenjuan 天授庵, Kyoto	Mukan Fumon 無閑普門; Fumon's mortuary site within Nanzenji.
Rikkyokuan 栗棘庵, Kyoto	Hakuun Egyō 白雲慧暎 (1223–1297); Hakuun's retreat and later mortuary site (present subtemple of Tōfukuji).
Manjuji 万寿寺, Kyoto	Tōzan Tanshō 東山湛照 (1231–1291); temple established by Tōzan (present subtemple of Tōfukuji).
Kōjōji 高城寺, Saga	Zōzan Junkū 藏山順空 (1233–1308); temple established by Zōzan.
Yōmyōin 永明院, Kyoto	Zōzan Junkū; Zōzan's mortuary site within Tōfukuji.
Daitokuji 大徳寺, Kyoto	Nanpo Jōmyō 南浦紹明 (1235–1308); Daitokuji was founded by Nanpo's disciple Shūhō Myōchō 宗峰妙超 (1282–1337).
Rokuōin 鹿王院, Kyoto	Kōhō Kennichi 高峰顕日 (1241–1316); founded by Kōhō's second generation disciple Shun'oku Myōha 春屋妙葩 (1311–1388).

### Appendix 4: Primary Texts

#### Text 1: Drawer Inscriptions, Transmission Robe Chest, Tōfukuji

「楊岐和尚衣」

「密庵和尚衣」

「破庵和尚衣」

「佛鑑禪師衣」

「聖一國師衣」

#### Text 2: Inscription on Rear of Dharma Transmission Robe Chest

「延寶五年丁巳十月十七日 慧日山東福寺常住 此箱黃檗下壽泉庵玄覺寄附」

#### Text 3: Inscription on Bottom of Transmission Robe Chest

「参暇 龍楚西堂 守叡首座」

#### Text 4: Inscription on Robe Identified as Mian Xianjie's

「先師佛智禪師住東昌時

正應三年三月新造住  
 東福入滅時直傳素簡畢  
 寺家一乱後重宗空依失却  
 寄附之右志者為道戒禪門  
 三十三年也  
 享祿四年三月 日 」

Text 5: Inscription on Robe Identified as that of Poan Zuxian

「破庵和尚法衣 園育拜裏」

Text 6: Inscription on Robe Identified as that of Poan Zuxian

「破庵 東福寺」

Text 7: Inscription on Robe Identified as that of Wuzhun Shifan

「水上山萬壽寺常住也」

Text 8: Inscription on Robe Identified as that of Wuzhun Shifan

「應永升四年丁酉三月十五日

春日山高城護國禪寺常住 重歸本寺畢 當住持九舉（花押）」

Text 9: Inscription on Robe Identified as that of Wuzhun Shifan

「無準和尚信衣

奉施入

無準和尚信衣 永明院常住

永享乙卯正月十一日 肥州高城寺住持比丘勇為置之」

Text 10: Inscription on Robe Identified as that of Wuzhun Shifan

「此衣者佛鑑禪師之信衣、肥州水上山萬壽禪寺常住也、應永升四丁酉附托於同鄉同派春日山高城禪寺、永享七乙卯高城又寄附於本寺永明禪院畢矣、自佛鑑至今四百余年其破裂紛乱殆不可理、此時有僧正圓者勸發檀門而修補、常樂祖師傳衣三頂之次欲修此衣并圓鑑相傳之法衣也、傍有僧碧雲者助圓之志而報之於其檀越勘解由局法諱自性大師、之西洞院殿息女 後陽成院之后妃而 姬宮大聖寺門跡永宗大師之母妃也、母姬早入釋門兼好奧福、自性之令弟葛岡某公之妻法諱德榮亦見義勇為於是三尼同志戮力修之、當修之時着淨衣焚妙香玉手親把金針以縫綴之、其敬重者如是、唯願傳信衣於累世扇祖風於万年次冀信心檀越二世安樂乃至法界平等利益、助針比丘尼受清侍者等數輩

願主 龍吟門下野釋正圓 丹岳忠和尚徒弟碧雲

正保三年丙戌九月吉日 守塔比丘 光琳 謹誌」

## Text 11: Inscription on Robe Identified as that of Wuzhun Shifan

「常樂祖師傳衣三頂」

## Text 12: Inscription on Robe Identified as that of Wuzhun Shifan

「萬壽寺開山法衣也」

「此環牌十一歲童女綴補

正保三丙戌九月吉日」

## Text 13: Portion of Letter Written by Wuzhun Shifan to Enni

「就有錦法衣壹頂附去、乃是從上來諸知識所傳者、以表付授不妄」

Text 14: Portion of *Tōfuku Kaizan Shōichi Kokushi nenpu*

「三月一日三鼓。仏鑑召圻爾二侍者。＜中略＞爾汝早歸本土。提唱祖道。自書宗派図。其図画拈花像於上。左右西天四七。唐土二三。其下南嶽以降迄無準。五十四世。不括橫枝。的的相承。其終系曰久能爾禪師。以為伝法之信。竝付密庵法衣。及竹杖。復書勅賜万年崇福禪寺八大事。四月二十日。辭佛鑑。佛鑑出楊岐法衣。竝大明録。」

Text 15: Portion of *Enni yuimotsu gusoku mokuroku*

「法衣一帖」

「綴袈裟一帖」

Text 16: Poem from *Jōraku haitō ge*

「楊岐十世破袈裟、授受重々錦上華、過現未來大寂定、微塵刹土率觀婆」

Text 17: Passage from *Tōfukuji shi*

「楊岐法衣、同箱入之箱狭少混雜故、新作此衣各別入置之、雖後代勿變改、七夕雖曝衣、向後楊岐衣函蓋盛之、勿懸掛櫬架上、為護藕衣爛壞故、顯山相公製金欄衣置也、後來可慎。 明応庚申冬節前一日 住山桂悟 敬白」

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