

UC Berkeley

UC Berkeley Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Title

The Visionary Landscape of Wutai Shan in Tibetan Buddhism from the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Century

Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/6zh1k9c2>

Author

Chou, Wen-Shing Lucia

Publication Date

2011

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

The Visionary Landscape of Wutai Shan in Tibetan Buddhism
from the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Century

By

Wen-Shing Lucia Chou

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
in

History of Art

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Patricia Berger, Chair

Professor Gregory Levine

Professor Robert Sharf

Professor Raoul Birnbaum

Spring 2011

Abstract

The Visionary Landscape of Wutai Shan in Tibetan Buddhism
from the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Century

by

Wen-Shing Lucia Chou

Doctor of Philosophy in History of Art

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Patricia Berger, Chair

The sacred mountain range of Wutai Shan 五臺山 (known in Tibetan as Riwo Tsegna) on the northern frontier of China offers a unique site for examining the religious culture of the Qing empire. Not only did it become one of the most important pilgrimage sites for Tibetans and Mongolians, it is also the location where Tibetan and Chinese Buddhist cosmographies converged. While surviving texts and images of Wutai Shan from medieval China have attracted considerable scholarly attention, artistic and literary representations of the mountain range in the later periods have rarely been studied. Drawing on a panoply of textual, pictorial, and architectural sources from Qing dynasty (1644-1912) onward, this dissertation explores the shifting dynamics of this holy site as a geographical, visual, and visionary destination in Tibetan Buddhism. Primary objects of my analysis include pilgrims' maps, mural programs that include Wutai Shan, praise poems, travel narratives and guidebooks, as well as sculptural and architectural replicas of the mountain range by Tibetan Buddhists in Tibet, Mongolia, the Manchu court in Beijing, and at Wutai Shan itself.

Each chapter coheres around individual(s) responsible for producing knowledge about Wutai Shan. Taken together, these case studies reveal the building blocks of Wutai Shan's visionary landscape: the discourse of visionary encounters, memories of previous masters, rituals, travel, and cosmography. I show that representations of these seemingly ephemeral or intangible histories, concepts, and experiences constitute the core of the mountain's religious identity, defining the ways Wutai Shan came to be viewed in the Tibetan Buddhist world with a potency and persistence that outstrips its physical topography and material structure or holdings. I argue that these ideas and visions of the mountain range significantly reconfigured sacred cosmography and political identities of the Qing empire and beyond.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is with great pleasure that I reflect on the support of mentors, friends, and family during the dissertation research and writing. My deepest gratitude goes to Professor Pat Berger, whose Clear and Cool wisdom guided me through every stage of this project. Whenever I had trouble moving forward, and those moments were many, a meeting with Pat never failed to magically open up new paths of inquiry and horizon of ideas. Professor Greg Levine's thoughtful and insightful reading of drafts of this dissertation significantly improved my writing. Professor Bob Sharf has been a trove of stimulating perspectives and practical advice. Professor Raoul Birnbaum nurtured this project with his wealth of knowledge of and experience from Wutai Shan. Professors Michael Nylan and Yeh Wen-hsin have also provided counsel and support over the years. I am also grateful to Professor Wu Hung for steering me to the path of art history, Professor Jenny Purtle for preparing me well for graduate work, and Professor Sarah Fraser for taking me to Dunhuang—the beginning of this extraordinary journey in the study of Buddhist art.

I have benefitted from the help of innumerable people in the last few years of research. From Isabelle Charleux I learned as much about the subject of my research as I did about the discipline and dedication required for the scholarly endeavor. Gray Tuttle generously shared his research with me, and encouraged me to pursue this topic from the very beginning. Thanks to a conference on Qing-dynasty Wutai Shan he and Johan Elverskog organized in 2007, many important issues came to a focus through the gathering of specialists in the field of Qing history and religion. I also thank Karma Ngodup and Ben Bogin for taking the time to read texts with me, Susan Meinheit for introducing me to valuable sources at the Library of Congress, and Karl Debreczeny and Kristina Dy-Liacco for all their help in New York. I cannot forget the many precious hours spent with the late Gene Smith, and hope my work can be a tribute to his kindness and erudition.

In Beijing, Luo Wenhua, Xiong Wenbin, Xie Jisheng, and Shen Weirong have all generously shared their knowledge and research with me. Sharwu Lijia at the library of the Sichuan Minorities University searched through voluminous texts for many useful references. I am also grateful to my friends and family in China, especially Lee Fang, my cousins Wenjian and Wenyi, and my aunt and uncle, who fed me, took care of me, and rescued me when I stranded myself in various locations of research. In India I received helpful advice from Tashi Tsering at Amnye Machen Institute and Lobsang Shastri at Library of Tibetan Works and Archive. My Tibetan teacher Chokey Dolma, a poet in her own right, imparted to me the beauty of the Tibetan language. Damcho Diana Finnegan, Tashi Gyamtso of Kirti Monastery, and Garze Dekyi Dolma of Dolma Ling Institute all made my stay in India a time I will always cherish. At Wutai Shan, I am grateful to Ngawang Keldan for taking an interest in my research back in 2005. All of my subsequent research trips to Wutai Shan have been happy and productive thanks to his help and the help of other Tibetan monks at Shifang tang.

Research for this dissertation was made possible by support from the History of Art Department and the Institute of East Asian Studies at University of California, Berkeley; the Ittleson Fellowship from the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts at the National Gallery of Art in Washington D.C.; and a grant from the Metropolitan Center for Far Eastern Art

Studies in Kyoto. I am extremely grateful for these years of financial and research support that allowed me to explore new fields of study.

I have been privileged to enjoy the friendship of many warm and talented classmates. Early on in graduate school, a trip to the western Himalayas in the fantastic company of my Momo sisters Catherine Becker, Jinah Kim, Nancy Lin (together with our teacher Pat Berger, Charlie Drucker, and leader Christian Luczanits) set the tone and the spirit for all subsequent research trips. Amanda Buster has my deep gratitude for being a fount of bright ideas, cheerful encouragement, and therapeutic diversions; Nancy Lin has lent a helpful ear to the intricacies of this project, providing help, suggestions, and great company whether in catching waves or copying inscriptions; Sonal Khullar, Namiko Kunimoto, Ching-Chih Lin, Filippo Marsili, Sujatha Meegama, and Orna Tsultem all provided excellent council and support that in my memory are infused with aromas from their kitchens. I also thank Jeehee Hong for her advice and humor, fellow pilgrim Susie Andrews for her cheerful encouragement especially during the last stretch of this journey, and my friends Jenny Tsai and Catherine Wu for their caring presence.

Finally, I would like to thank my parents for always having supported my endeavors including this one with their enthusiasm and resourcefulness. My sister Sylvia Chou, brother-in-law Paul Portner, and their boys have been a steady and reliable source of wisdom and happy distractions as this dissertation was being written in Taiwan, D.C., and California. Words cannot express my love and gratitude to my husband Wei-Hung Chen, who nourished me throughout this time with his patience, diligence, and heart-warming meals.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	1
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	i
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	iii
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.....	iv
INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER I Reinscribing a Lineage: Zhangjia Rölpe Dorjé (1717-1786) and the Courtly Reinvention of Wutai Shan.....	14
CHAPTER II Maps of Mediation: Sacred Cartography in the Making of Nineteenth Century Wutai Shan.....	47
CHAPTER III Empirical Visions: Pilgrimage and Cosmography in the Court of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama (1876 – 1933).....	86
CHAPTER IV Epilogue: Khenpo Jikmé Püntsook (1933-2004) and the Late Twentieth Century Revival of Tibetan Buddhism at Wutai Shan.....	120
APPENDICES.....	143
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	163
ILLUSTRATIONS.....	189

LIST of ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1.1	Portrait of Rölpe Dorjé, 1787.....	189
Figure 1.2	Portrait of the Sixth Panchen Lama, 1780.....	190
Figure 1.3	Portrait of Rölpe Dorjé. 18 th century.....	191
Figure 1.4	Portrait of Rölpe Dorjé. Mid 19 th century.....	192
Figure 1.5	Portrait of Rölpe Dorjé. 19 th century?.....	193
Figure 1.6	Zhang Ruo'ai, Zhenhai si, 1746.....	194
Figure 1.7	Zhang Ruocheng, Zhenhai si, 1750.....	195
Figure 1.8	The Qianlong Emperor, Mt. Pan.....	196
Figure 1.9	Golden Stupa of Rölpe Dorjé, Zhenhai si.....	197
Figure 1.10	Pusa ding Monastery, Wutai shan.....	198
Figure 1.11	Stone gate to Baodi si, Xiangshan.....	199
Figure 1.12	Gateway to Pusa ding, Wutai shan.....	199
Figure 1.13	Stone gate to Biyun si, Xiangshan.....	200
Figure 1.14	Shuxiang si, Wutai shan.....	201
Figure 1.15	Mañjuśrī on a lion, Shuxiang si.....	202
Figure 1.16	Inscription for restoration during the reign of Kangxi.....	203
Figure 1.17	Ding Guanpeng, Shuxiang si's Mañjuśrī on a lion.....	204
Figure 1.18	Ding Guanpeng, Shuxiang si's Mañjuśrī on a lion.....	205
Figure 1.19	Main Hall of Baoxiang si, Xiangshan.....	206
Figure 1.20	Shuxiang si, Chengde.....	207
Figure 1.21	Huicheng dian, Shuxiang si, Chengde.....	207
Figure 1.22	Baoxiang lou, Shuxiang si, Chengde.....	208
Figure 1.23	<i>Homage to the dharma-body of the great sage Mañjuśrī</i>	209
Figure 1.24	<i>Homage to the dharma-body of the great sage Mañjuśrī</i>	210
Figure 1.25	Golden stupa of the Sixth Panchen Lama, Xihuang si.....	211
Figure 2.1	View of entire monastic complex, Badγar Coyiling Süme.....	212
Figure 2.2	View of Cogcin dugang, Badγar Coyiling Süme.....	213
Figure 2.3	Exterior corridor, second story of Cogcin dugang.....	214
Figure 2.4	Mural depicting a nunnery near Lhasa.....	215

Figure 2.5	Mural depicting Wutai Shan.....	216
Figure 2.6	Mural depicting the Potala Palace.....	217
Figure 2.7	Mural depicting the Jokhang Temple.....	218
Figure 2.8	Mural depicting Sera je Monastery.....	219
Figure 2.9	Mural depicting Badyar Monastery.....	220
Figure 2.10	Illustration of Pusa ding from <i>Magnificent Record</i>	221
Figure 2.11	Painting of a famous Tibetan monastery.....	222
Figure 2.12	Painting of a famous Tibetan monastery.....	223
Figure 2.13	Painting of a famous Tibetan monastery.....	224
Figure 2.14	Painting of a famous Tibetan monastery.....	225
Figure 2.15	Painting of a famous Tibetan monastery.....	226
Figure 2.16	Painting of a famous Tibetan monastery.....	227
Figure 2.17	Painting of a famous Tibetan monastery.....	228
Figure 2.18	Outline drawing of the map mural of Wutai Shan.....	229
Figure 2.19	Map of Wutai Shan in <i>Qingliang shan zhi</i>	230
Figure 2.20	Detail of Milarepa.....	231
Figure 2.21	Detail of Mañjuśrī riding on a lion.....	232
Figure 2.22	Detail of pine trees and bird.....	233
Figure 2.23	Detail of peony blossom.....	234
Figure 2.24	Illustration of Baiyun si from <i>Imperial Record</i>	235
Figure 2.25	Illustration of Baiyun si from <i>Magnificent Record</i>	236
Figure 2.26	Detail of Baiyun si.....	237
Figure 2.27	Detail of imperial traveling palace.....	237
Figure 2.28	Pusa Ding from <i>Complete Map</i>	238
Figure 2.29	Map of the <i>Imperially Established Wutai Shan</i>	239
Figure 2.30	Map of Aru qorcin Banner in Inner Mongolia.....	240
Figure 2.31	Gelong Lhundrup, <i>Panoramic View of Wutai Shan</i>	241
Figure 2.32	Gelong Lhundrup, <i>Panoramic View of Wutai Shan</i>	242
Figure 2.33	Gelong Lhundrup, <i>Panoramic View of Wutai Shan</i>	243
Figure 2.34	Gelong Lhundrup, <i>Panoramic View of Wutai Shan</i>	244
Figure 2.35	Gelong Lhundrup, <i>Panoramic View of Wutai Shan</i>	245

Figure 2.36	<i>Panoramic View of Wutai Shan, 1874</i>	246
Figure 2.37	<i>Panoramic View of Wutai Shan, 1874</i>	247
Figure 2.38	<i>View of Wutai Shan, 1908</i>	248
Figure 2.39	Set of original 1846 blocks from Cifu si.....	249
Figure 2.40	Detail of figure 31.....	250
Figure 2.41	Panoramic View of Wutai Shan, 10 th century.....	251
Figure 2.42	Outline drawing of the map mural of Wutai Shan.....	251
Figure 2.43	Hall of Mañjuśrī, Cifu si, Wutai Shan.	252
Figure 2.44	Interior of the Hall of Mañjuśrī, Cifu si.....	253
Figure 2.45	Paintings on beams inside Hall of Mañjuśrī.....	254
Figure 2.46	Detail of figure 31.....	255
Figure 2.47	Detail of figure 32.....	256
Figure 2.48	Detail of figure 32.....	257
Figure 2.49	Detail of figure 32.....	258
Figure 2.50	Detail of figure 31.....	258
Figure 2.51	Details of figure 31.....	259
Figure 2.52	Vision of Khedrup Je.....	260
Figure 2.53	Green Tara’s paradise.....	261
Figure 2.54	Amitabha’s paradise.....	262
Figure 2.55	Tsongkhapa as a Mahasiddha riding a tiger.....	263
Figure 2.56	Tsongkhapa as a monk seated on a throne.....	264
Figure 2.57	Tsongkhapa as a monk riding on an elephant.....	265
Figure 2.58	Tsongkhapa as Mañjuśrī riding on a lion.....	266
Figure 2.59	Tsongkhapa as a monk with a Pandita hat.....	267
Figure 2.60	Avalokitêśvara’s paradise.....	268
Figure 2.61	Kingdom of Shambhala.....	269
Figure 2.62	Detail of figure 41.....	270
Figure 2.63	Detail of figure 32.....	271
Figure 2.64	Details of figures 33.....	272
Figure 2.65	Detail of figure 32.....	272
Figure 2.66	Detail of figure 31.....	273

Figure 2.67	Monks from Eastern Tibet examining map of Wutai Shan.....	274
Figure 2.68	Detail of figure 31.....	275
Figure 2.69	Detail of figure 31.....	276
Figure 2.70	Jebtsundamba of Urga, 19 th century.....	277
Figure 2.71	Detail of figure 32.....	278
Figure 2.72	Detail of figure 31.....	278
Figure 2.73	Detail of figure 31.....	279
Figure 2.74	Detail of figure 32.....	280
Figure 2.75	Mogao Cave 61.....	281
Figure 2.76	Detail of figure 42.....	282
Figure 2.77	Detail of figure 31.....	282
Figure 2.78	Detail of figure 42.....	283
Figure 2.79	Detail of figure 31.....	283
Figure 3.1	Panoramic Map of Wutai Shan, Eastern Sunlight Hall.....	284
Figure 3.2	Drawing of the Potala Palace.....	285
Figure 3.3	Eastern Sunlight Hall.....	286
Figure 3.4	Mural Program of the Eastern Sunlight Hall.....	287
Figure 3.5	The Potalaka, Eastern Sunlight Hall.	288
Figure 3.6	Dhānyakataka stupa, Rtag brtan dpal brtsegs Hall.....	289
Figure 3.7	Rgyal rtse sku 'bum.....	290
Figure 3.8	Bskal bzang bde 'khyil pho brang.....	291
Figure 3.9	East-facing side of the outermost corridor, <i>dbu rtse rigs gsum</i>	292
Figure 3.10	Cakravāla: Buddhist World System.....	293
Figure 3.11	Jambudvīpa, detail of figure 3.10.....	294
Figure 3.12	Mahābodhi Temple of Bodh Gaya, Eastern Sunlight Hall.....	295
Figure 3.13	Mahābodhi Temple of Bodh Gaya, Samye Monastery.....	296
Figure 3.14	Mahābodhi Temple of Bodh Gaya, Potala Palace.....	297
Figure 3.15	Sir Charles Bell, Mahārāja of Sikkim, and the Thirteenth Dalai Lama.....	298
Figure 3.16	The Thirteenth Dalai Lama enthroned, 1910.....	299
Figure 3.17	Devotional image of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama.....	300
Figure 3.18	The Thirteenth Dalai Lama, 1933.....	301

Figure 3.19	Portrait of last Jebtsundamba of Urga.....	302
Figure 3.20	Portrait of Ekh Dagin Dondongdulam.....	303
Figure 3.21	Mural of Wutai Shan, Samye Monastery.....	304
Figures 3.22-3.36	The Fifteen Great Miracles (<i>cho 'phrul dus chen</i>).....	305
Figure 3.37	A Decree announcing the regency of Desi Sanggye Gyatso.....	306
Figure 3.38	Shambhala, Bsam yas Monastery.....	307
Figure 3.39	Battle of Shambhala, Eastern Sunlight Hall.....	308
Figure 3.40	Willem de Pannemaker, <i>Review of the Troops at Barcelona</i>	309
Figure 3.41	Dhānyakataka stupa, Eastern Sunlight Hall.....	310
Figure 3.42	Meeting Between the Fifth Dalai Lama and Qing Shunzhi Emperor.....	311
Figure 3.43	Pencil Drawing of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama.....	312
Figure 3.44	Mausoleum of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama.....	313
Figure 3.45	Pilgrimage to Mahābodhi Temple in Bodh Gaya.....	314
Figure 3.46	The prophecy at Lake Lhamo.....	315
Figure 3.47	Performance of Rope Sliding.....	316
Figure 3.48	Butterlamp offerings at the Great Prayer Festival.....	317
Figure 3.49	Summer Opera Festival.....	318
Figure 3.50	The Thirteenth Dalai Lama's arrival in Beijing.....	319
Figure 3.51	Meeting Between the Thirteenth Dalai Lama and Empress Dowager Cixi.....	320
Figure 3.52	The Thirteenth Dalai Lama.....	321
Figure 4.1	Khenpo Jikmé Püntsoḳ.....	322
Figure 4.2	Larung Nangten Lobling.....	323
Figure 4.3	Sotok Mountain.....	323
Figure 4.4	Khenpo Jikmé Püntsoḳ at the Great White Stupa.....	324
Figure 4.5	Exterior of Cave of Sudhana.....	324
Figure 4.6	Interior of Cave of Prince Sudhana.....	325
Figure 4.7	The Cooling Charnel Ground.....	325
Figure 4.8	Handwritten praise poem of Mañjuśrī.....	326
Figure 4.9	Path from the Eastern Peak to the Nārāyaṇa Cave.....	327
Figure 4.10	Entrance to the Nārāyaṇa Cave.....	327
Figure 4.11	Khenpo Jikmé Püntsoḳ on the Eastern Peak.....	328

Figure 4.12	Interior corridor of the Nārāyaṇa Cave.....	328
Figure 4.13	Image of Khenpo Jikmé Püntsoḳ inside the Nārāyaṇa Cave.....	329
Figure 4.14	Encounter between Buddhapāli and Mañjuśrī.....	330
Figure 4.15	Detail of Padampa Sangye Meeting Mañjuśrī.....	331
Figure 4.16	Newly Unearthed Images from Sanquan si.....	332
Figure 4.17	Moring prayer at Shifang tang.....	333
Figure 4.18	Fire Offering to Vajrabhairava.....	333
Figure 4.19	Guanyin dong.....	334
Figure 4.20	New hall below Guanyin dong.....	335
Figure 4.21	Ruins of Pule yuan.....	335

INTRODUCTION

The sacred mountain range of Wutai Shan 五臺山 (the Mountain of Five Terraces), known in Tibetan as Riwo Tsenga (Ri bo rtse Inga, the Mountain of Five Peaks), offers a unique site for examining the religious culture of the Qing empire (1644-1912). Located in Shanxi province on the northern frontier of China, Wutai Shan has been identified as the holy abode of bodhisattva Mañjuśrī ever since the seventh century C.E.¹ Not only did it become one of the most important pilgrimage destinations for Tibetan and Mongolian constituents of the Qing empire, it is also the location where Tibetan and Chinese Buddhist cosmologies converged.

Among the most valuable testaments to Wutai Shan's unprecedented importance in Tibetan Buddhist pilgrimage and sacred geography are the widely circulated images of the mountain range that are recorded to have existed throughout Buddhist Asia from as early as the seventh century CE.² While surviving images of Wutai Shan from ninth- and tenth-century Dunhuang that first emerged during the Tibetan reign (786-848) have attracted considerable scholarly attention since the early part of the twentieth century, the longevity and continued appeal in Tibet and Mongolia in the later periods of images of Wutai Shan have rarely figured in the scholarly discourse on Buddhist art and pilgrimage.³ Within the wider fields of early modern Chinese and Tibetan sacred geography, most studies have been concerned with more stable and

¹Also known by its ancient name Qingliang shan 清涼山, or the Clear and Cool Mountains, Wutai shan became established as an abode of Mañjuśrī through the interpretation of a passage in the *Avatamsaka Sutra* (*The Flower Garland Sutra*). Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667), writing around 664, described Wutai Shan as ancient abode of divine spirits, and according to scriptures, occupied by the Mañjuśrī and five hundred divine beings See Daoxuan, *Ji shengzhou sanbao gantong tu* 集神州三寶感通祿 [Collected Records of Sympathetic Resonances of the Three Jewels in the Divine Land], T.2106: 52, 424c22-c27. The passage is cited and translated in Tansen Sen, *Buddhism, Diplomacy, and Trade: The realignment of Sino-Indian relations, 600-1400*. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i, 2005), 100.

² The earliest reference to a map image of Wutai Shan is mentioned in the seventh century *Ancient Record of the Clear and Cool Mountains* (*Gu Qingliang zhuan* 古清涼傳) by Huixiang 慧祥, where the monk Huize 會蹟 had a map of Wutai Shan made in the year 662 while on a pilgrimage to Wutai Shan. See *Gu Qingliang zhuan*, Takakusu Junjiro and Watanabe Kaigyoku, eds., Taishō shinshū Daizōkyō 大正新脩大藏經 [The Buddhist Canon, comp. Taisho era, 1912-26] (Tokyo: Taisho issaikyo kankokai, 1924-32), T.2098:51, 1098b22-c16. Following standard convention, references to texts in the Taisho canon are indicated by text number (T.), followed by the volume, page, register (a, b, or c), and, when appropriate, line numbers. Images of Wutai Shan in Dunhuang from the Tibetan period (786-848) are found in Mogao Caves 159, 222, 237, and 361. See Zhang Huiming 張惠明, "Dunhuang 'Wutai shan huaxian tu' zaoqi diben de tuxiang ji qi lai yuan 敦煌《五台山化現圖》早期底本的圖像及其來源 [The Origin of the sketches of maps of Wutai Shan in Dunhuang]," *Dunhuang Research* 66, no.4 (2000): 1-9.

³ The panoramic mural of Wutai Shan in Mogao Cave 61 in Dunhuang has been most well studied. See Ernesta Marchand, "The Panorama of Wutai Shan as an Example of Tenth Century Cartography," *Oriental Art* 22, no. 2 (1976): 158-73; Dorothy Wong, "A Reassessment of the Representation of Mt. Wutai from Dunhuang Cave 61," *Archives of Asian Art* 46 (1993): 27-52;; and Zhao Shengliang 趙聲良, *Dunhuang shiku yishu, Mogaoku di 61 ku* 敦煌石窟藝術·莫高窟第 61 窟 [Dunhuang Cave 61] (Nanjing: Jiangsu meishu chubanshe, 1995); and Natasha Heller, "Visualizing Pilgrimage and Mapping Experience: Mount Wutai on the Silk Road," in *The Journey of Maps and Images on the Silk Road*, ed. Philippe Forêt and Andreas Kaplony (Leiden/Boston: E. J. Brill, 2008), 29-50. While it has been studied as a geographical, social, and religious topography, and is always referred to in discussions on Tang-dynasty Wutai Shan, little has been studied on the way this painting actually "partakes" in the pilgrimage to the distant Wutai Shan.

less diverse notions of their respective cultures or traditions. The few that do concern cultural exchange and encounters, and the correspondences between divine and earthly boundaries, have largely been filtered through textual and ethnographical lenses.⁴ All the while, representations of holy sites, the very objects that both shape and reveal their place in people's imaginations, have scarcely been considered. Because these images of Wutai Shan can encapsulate in very concrete, visible ways how the site was perceived and venerated, my dissertation research began with the assumption that a systematic examination of early modern images of Wutai Shan in Tibet and Mongolia during the Qing dynasty would bring to light the nature of Tibetan Buddhist pilgrimage there, and its unique importance for the convergence of Tibetan and Chinese Buddhist traditions.

This proposed study faced several practical difficulties: foremost is the dearth of surviving images for an adequate and comprehensive study of the topic. Of this meager visual evidence, the few images that survive often lack documentation; for the even smaller pool of surviving images that have well-documented histories, it has often been impossible to obtain either access or permission to photograph from local authorities. These challenges propelled a reorientation of the project, from a picture-focused study to one that probes the concept of vision itself. In other words, how has Wutai Shan been seen, visualized, or imagined, both by pilgrims who have braved the journey or those who have desired to? What have been the physical and conceptual realities of Wutai Shan as a locus of exchange and encounter between various groups of people?

This shift in the direction of my research was reaffirmed by the well-established fact that, while material objects lend themselves more tangibly to formal art-historical studies, visionary encounters that both inspire and elude visual or textual representations are what lie at the heart of Wutai Shan's pilgrimage culture.⁵ I have thus approached the concept of vision, both as specific religious experiences and as something that is seen or imagined, through a panoply of representations: architectural, pictorial, and textual. Primary objects of my analysis include sculptural and architectural replicas of Wutai Shan (Chapter I), pilgrims' maps of the mountain range (Chapter II), topographical and cosmological mural programs that include Wutai Shan (Chapters II and III), biographical narratives of visionary travel and encounters at the site (Chapters I, III, and IV), and praise poems, ritual manuals, and guidebooks of Wutai Shan (Chapters I, II, III and IV) by Tibetan Buddhists in Tibet, Mongolia, the Manchu court in Beijing, and at Wutai Shan itself. By analyzing how and why Wutai Shan is envisioned in these materials, my dissertation explores the shifting dynamics of this holy site as a geographical, visual, mental, and visionary destination.

⁴ Don J. Wyatt and Nicola Di Cosmo, eds., *Political Frontiers, Ethnic Boundaries and Human Geographies in Chinese History* (London; New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003).

⁵ On the importance of visions at Wutai Shan, See Raoul Birnbaum, "The Manifestation of a Monastery: Shen-Ying's Experiences on Mount Wu-t'ai in T'ang Context," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 106, no. 1 (January-March 1986): 119-37; Robert Gimello, "Chang Shang-ying on Wu-'tai Shan," in *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China*, ed. Susan Naquin and Chun-fang Yu (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 89-149; and Daniel Stevenson, "Visions of Mañjuśrī on Mount Wutai," in *Religions of China in Practice*, ed. Donald Lopez (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 203-22.

Wutai Shan's popularity among the various constituents of the Qing empire and its diverse and far-flung recreations and re-imaginings highlight the role of religious devotion in the empire-building enterprise of the Qing Manchu rulers, all the while problematizing the very notion that religious devotion can be created and sustained by imperial propagation. How did a pilgrimage site in distant northeastern China acquire prominence and sustain popularity in the already vastly competitive webs of Tibetan sacred sites and pilgrimage activities? What is the correspondence between the incorporation of Wutai Shan into Tibetan Buddhist cosmology and the shifting geo-political boundaries of the Qing empire and beyond? Conversely, how did Tibetan Buddhism (practiced by Tibetan, Mongolian, and Manchu constituents), with sets of languages, cultures, and practices distinct from Buddhist practices in China, come to occupy such a prominent place in a millennium-old ecology of Chinese Buddhist pilgrimage and monastic activities? As a sacred mountain range with a long history of politically charged promotions, what have been the means by which Tibetan Buddhism maintained a thriving religious culture and an unparalleled status of timeless sacrality even after imperial support waned? These are the basic questions my study on visions of Wutai Shan seeks to answer.

Historical Scope

As stated at the outset of this introduction, I have chosen to limit the scope of my inquiry to the period of the Qing-dynasty onward, while keeping in view the important role Wutai Shan has played in virtually all major sects of Tibetan Buddhism since the religion's nascence in Tibet in the seventh century. Many famous Indian and Tibetan adepts were said to have graced the mountain with their physical and emanation bodies, and the first Tibetan Buddhist temple was established there in the thirteenth century by the Sakyapa lama Ga Anyen Dampa Kunga Drak, who served under the Mongol Yuan (1271-1368) court.⁶ Imperial sponsorship and Tibetan pilgrimage and monastic activities grew steadily through the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), and were marked by visits from the Fifth Karmapa (1384 - 1415) and Tsongkhapa (1357-1419)'s disciple Śākya Yeshe (d.1435);⁷ it was under the patronage of the Qing emperors, however, that

⁶ Ga Anyen Dampa Kunga Drak (Sga a gnyan dam pa kun dga' grags, Ch: Danba 瞻巴; ca. 1230-1303), who lived on Wutai Shan for close to ten years. See Li Jicheng 李冀诚, "Zangchuan fojiao yu Wutai Shan 藏传佛教与五台山 [Tibetan Buddhism and Wutai Shan]," *Wutaishan yanjiu* 五台山研究 no. 4 (1988): 18-21; Gao Lintao 郜林涛, "Basiba yu Wutai Shan 八思巴与五台山 ['Phags pa and Wutai Shan]," *Wutaishan yanjiu* no. 4(2000): 25-26 & 46; Karl Debreczeny, "Wutaishan: Pilgrimage to Five Peak Mountain" in *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies*, special issue on Wutaishan under the Qing dynasty, Johan Elverskog & Gray Tuttle (eds.), Publication forthcoming. <http://www.thlib.org/collections/texts/jiats/>

⁷ *Qingliang shan zhi* 清凉山志, *juan* 8, 21-23, in Gugong bowuyuan 故宫博物院. ed. *Qingliang shan zhi, Qingliang shan xin zhi. Qinding Qingliang shan zhi* 清凉山志. 清凉山新志. 钦定清凉山志 (Haikou Shi: Hainan Chubanshe, 2001), 92- 93; Chen Nan 陈楠, "Shijia yeshi zai nanjing, wutai shan ji qi yu Mingchengzu guanxi shi shi kaoshu 释迦也失在南京、五台山及其与明成祖关系史实考述 [An examination of Śākya Yeshe's stay in Nanjing and Wutai Shan and its relation to Ming Yongle emperor]," *Xizang Yanjiu* no.3 (2004): 99-106. I thank Xiong Wenbin for providing a work in process based on a recently appeared hand-written manuscript of Śākya Yeshe's biography. The work includes an appendix of letters from the Yongle Emperor to Tsongkhapa and Śākya Yeshe regarding the latter's visit to Wutai Shan.

Wutai Shan flourished as a major site of Tibetan Buddhism.⁸ With the aid of their Buddhist advisors, the Manchu emperors installed monks from Tibet and Mongolia at Wutai Shan's twenty-some monasteries, endorsed multilingual gazetteers of Wutai Shan, appointed Tibetan and Mongolian lamas to oversee religious affairs of the mountain range, lavished donations on monasteries, and sponsored Buddhist rituals and festivals on their frequent visits there.⁹ During the Qing and early Republican periods, Wutai Shan also served as the meeting place between the central Chinese government officials and representatives from the outlying regions of Tibet and Mongolia.¹⁰ Considered an important place of pilgrimage and a much-desired stop-over for every Tibetan travelling to and from the Qing court in Beijing, Wutai Shan received increased numbers of high level visits and massive demands for building and expansion projects. Wutai Shan's enhanced fame in Tibet and Mongolia was attested to by a growing body of ritual and eulogistic literature as well as panoramic paintings of the mountain range anywhere from the administrative centers of Lhasa to the monastic colleges in Mongolia and eastern Tibet.

My dissertation begins with the crucial period of exchange and encounter at the height of the Qianlong 乾隆 reign (1736-95), and ends with the revival of Tibetan Buddhism in the late twentieth century. This focus on the eighteenth century and beyond was determined in part by the wealth of aforementioned visual and textual materials available in this later period. More importantly, the choice to include a span of two hundred and fifty years is based on a curiosity about the profound shift in Asian geo-political terrains on the one hand, and a relatively stable topographic landscape of Wutai Shan on the other, over the course of the last two and half centuries. Because my aim is to explore the persistence and adaptations of the Tibetan Buddhist visionary landscape of Wutai Shan in response to these transformations, a relatively unchanged physical topography serves as an anchor for my study. Waves of imperial campaigns beginning in the seventh century contributed to a vast and shifting religious topography.¹¹ The Qing

⁸ Even though the Qing emperors were the first to actively promote Tibetan Buddhism at Wutai Shan, Natalie Köhle's comparison of imperial patronage of Tibetan Buddhism in the Ming and Qing periods showed that the Qing institution of Tibetan Buddhism at Wutai Shan represented a continuation of, rather than a major break from, established practices in the Ming period. See Natalie Köhle, "Why Did the Kangxi Emperor Go to Wutai Shan?: Patronage, Pilgrimage, and the Place of Tibetan Buddhism at the Early Qing Court," *Late Imperial China*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (June 2008), 75-91.

⁹ The activities of Tibetans and Mongolians were the focus of the international conference on "Qing Culture and Wutai Shan" at Columbia University, New York, in May of 2007. For the Manchu emperors' appointment of Tibetan and Mongolian monastic officials, see Gray Tuttle, *Tibetan Buddhists in the Making of Modern China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 17-25. Besides Wutai Shan, the only other holy mountain the Manchu emperors took an avid interest in, albeit for very different reasons, was Taishan. See Brian Dott, *Identity Reflections: Pilgrimages to Mount Tai in Late Imperial China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), 150-93.

¹⁰ Since the mid 1980s, the exiled Dalai Lama has made requests to the Chinese government to visit Wutai Shan. Such a visit would be, as it always was, politically symbolic. But its symbolic quality rests on the efficacious certainty of peregrinating Wutai Shan.

¹¹ Wutai Shan was seen as a site for the protection of the nation beginning with Empress Wu Zetian (602-705). For the history of successive imperial campaigns, see Raoul Birnbaum, *Studies on the Mysteries of Mañjuśrī: A Group of East Asian Maṇḍalas and Their Traditional Symbolism*, Society for the Study of Chinese Religions Monograph No. 2 (Boulder, Colorado: Society for the Study of Chinese Religions, 1983), 7~38; Li Kecheng 李克城, "Cong Bukong zhi Zhangjia - Mizong zai Wutai shan de fazhan 從不空至章嘉-密宗在五臺山的發展 [From Bukong to Lcang skya, the development of esoteric Buddhism at Wutai shan]" *Wutaishan yanjiu* 3 (1995): 21-27; Charles

emperors, who were keenly aware of the illustrious precedence of imperial sponsorship, consciously mapped a hierarchical network of sites and monasteries (both Han and Tibetan Buddhist) onto an existing landscape that had comprised of many focal points by the seventeenth century. Because their effort represented the last systematic rebuilding of Wutai Shan, what remains of Wutai Shan today is closely based on the established Qing infrastructure. Even though monasteries and monastic communities suffered tremendous destruction in the last century and for the last several years temples have been torn down and rebuilt at the same speed as any other building boom in China, Wutai Shan's most sumptuously patronized and well-visited monasteries remain those favored by the Qing court. This continuity amidst historical ruptures in the transition to modernity allows us to track a large body of materials in a wide array of media and sources through a fairly stable/consistent constellation of sites.

Outline of Chapters

The dissertation consists of four chapters in a roughly chronological order. Each chapter introduces an instance from the eighteenth to the twentieth century in which Wutai Shan's landscape was reinvented through the production of words and images. The chronological arrangement does not assume a homogenous or evolutionary development in techniques of reinventing Wutai Shan, but the focus on each does reflect prevailing paradigms of experience and emerging modes of knowledge dissemination during the time periods under discussion, and reveals a trajectory for the increasing mobility of images, texts, and pilgrims. Beginning with a period of active imperial sponsorship in the eighteenth century, the first chapter examines the formation of a canonical Tibetan Buddhist history of Wutai Shan; Chapter II focuses on the period after the height of Qing imperial sponsorship by exploring the mass dissemination of official and popular map images in the nineteenth century. Transitioning to the early twentieth century, during which we witness an unprecedented increase in means of global travel, Chapter III takes up another means of perpetuating knowledge about the sacred landscape, one based on empirical observation rather than visual representation. The final chapter traces the history of Tibetan Buddhism at Wutai Shan in the wake of the Cultural Revolution, and discovers amidst the ruins of destruction a thriving visionary landscape that at once encompasses and transcends all other forms of realizing the mountain range.

Each chapter coheres around individual(s) responsible for the production of knowledge. While each participated in a long tradition of remembering and envisioning Wutai Shan in the

Orzech, *Politics and Transcendent Wisdom: The Scripture for Humane Kings in the Creation of Chinese Buddhism* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), 145 and 161; Ku Cheng-mei 古正美, *Cong tianwang chuantong dao fowang chuantong: Zhongguo zhongshi fojiao zhiguo yishi xingtai yanjiu* 從天王傳統到佛王傳統: 中國中世佛教治國意識形態研究 [From Devarāja Tradition to Buddhārāja Tradition: Research into the Ideology of Buddhist Statecraft in Medieval China] (Taipei: Shangzhou, 2003), 224-274, 378-424; and Wang Junzhong 王俊中, "Wutai shan de shengshan hua yu wenshupusa daochang de queli 五臺山的聖山化與文殊菩薩道場的確立 [The sacralization of Wutai shan and the establishment of Mañjuśrī's dharma abode]" and "Youguan Wutai shan chengwei fojiao shengshan de yanjiu erze 有關五臺山成爲佛教聖山的研究二則 [Two studies on the sacralization of Wutai shan]," in *Dongya Hanzang fojiao shi yanjiu* 東亞漢藏佛教史研究 [Research in Han and Tibetan Buddhist history in East Asia] (Taipei: Dongda tushu, 2003), 41-79.

Tibetan Buddhist world, their selection here has been based on the seminal role they played in the process. Taken together, these case studies reveal the architecture of Wutai Shan's visionary landscape: the discourse of memories, visionary encounters, rituals, travel, and cosmography. I argue that representations of these seemingly ephemeral or intangible experiences constitute the core of the mountain's religious identity, defining the ways Wutai Shan came to be viewed in the Tibetan Buddhist world with a potency and persistence that outstrips its physical topography and material structure or holdings.

Chapter I examines the transformation of the religious landscape of Wutai Shan through the intervention of Zhangkya Rölpe Dorjé (1717–1786), the renowned eighteenth-century Tibetan who served as the national preceptor and personal spiritual advisor to the Qianlong emperor (1711–1799). While serving at Qianlong's court, Rölpe Dorjé accompanied Qianlong four times on imperial pilgrimages to Wutai Shan, and spent every summer in retreats there throughout the latter part of his life. His tenure at Wutai Shan was not only marked by prolific visions and compositions of texts, but also by the invention of a distinct Manchu Buddhist identity founded on a connection to Mañjuśrī of Wutai Shan at the request of his patron Qianlong. Drawing upon Rölpe Dorjé's biography composed by his leading disciple and his own extensive writings about the mountain range, the first part of this chapter considers Rölpe Dorjé's remaking of Wutai Shan through evocations of its Tibetan Buddhist past, and the way in which it was seamlessly mapped onto a canonical and especially Han Chinese Buddhist history. The second part charts Qianlong's multifarious visual and material engagement with Wutai Shan from 1746 and 1792. It shows how in the span of five decades, Qianlong's initial attempts to capture the numinous beauty of the mountain range had turned into a multi-media endeavor to transport/transplant Wutai Shan's spiritual efficacy to the Manchu courts in Beijing and Chengde. It reveals that the creation of a Manchu Buddhist identity was centered on the cult of Mañjuśrī that combined Tibetan, Chinese, and Mongolian Buddhist cultures at Wutai Shan.

Chapter II analyzes two early nineteenth-century maps of Wutai Shan, a rare surviving late eighteenth-, early nineteenth-century wall painting in Badyar Coyiling Süme (Monastery of the White Lotus) in present-day Inner Mongolia, and a woodblock map carved by a resident Mongolian lama at Wutai Shan's Cifu si (Monastery of Benevolent Virtues) in 1846. The study reveals the act of mapping as pilgrimage and devotion, and the process by which a distinct Qing Buddhist view of the mountain range was perpetuated through the maps' wide dissemination. The maps' ability to negotiate multiple topographic registers—divine, popular, and official—mirrored in the Manchu rulers' practices of simultaneously addressing its many constituents, made them ideal agents for perpetuating a Tibetan Buddhist vision of the mountain range. The Cifu si map, in particular, represented a more vernacular, bottom up view of the mountain range and form of knowledge-dissemination than imperially produced gazetteers and constructed temples. Examining the particular rhetoric of history and revelations within these traditions illuminates the complex threads of religious, cultural, historical, and linguistic exchanges in Qing-dynasty China. Reading beyond the map image, a study of their sites of production and circulation exposes the history of a thriving Tibetan Buddhist pilgrimage culture at Wutai Shan that has otherwise evaded Chinese language gazetteers. The Cifu si map's global dissemination during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries attests to the adaptability, mobility, and legibility of an image as an essential source for reshaping Chinese sacred geography.

Chapter III explores the role of pilgrimage and sacred geography in the life of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama (1876–1933) by focusing on narratives of his travels to Wutai Shan and Bodh Gaya in 1908 and 1911, and the two sites' subsequent incorporation into cosmological mural programs at the Potala and the Norbu Lingka in Lhasa from 1922 to 1928. It begins with the observation that images of these two sacred places, though steeped in the iconographic and cosmographic traditions of Tibetan Buddhism, employed empirical modes of visual representation that have not appeared in earlier paintings. I contend that the incorporation of these new pictorial devices must be seen in light of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's exiles from central Tibet. By examining the cosmographical programs in conjunction with accounts of the Dalai Lama's travels, I show that this particular mapping of a Buddhist universe may be seen as a direct response to new technologies and vocabularies of place making, and that the Dalai Lama deftly incorporated empirical modes of being and representation into the visionary world of early twentieth-century Tibet that he embodied. I argue that within the shifting geopolitical terrains of the early twentieth century, paintings of Wutai Shan emerged as a medium through which the Thirteenth Dalai Lama asserted his spiritual sovereignty and temporal authority over modernity's work of boundary making and nation building.

Since the mid-1980s, Wutai Shan has once again emerged as an important site for the renewal of Tibetan Buddhism in eastern China. The final chapter examines the post-Cultural Revolution revival of Tibetan Buddhism at Wutai Shan by focusing on a pilgrimage to Wutai Shan taken by Khenpo Jikmé Püntso (1933-2003), one of the most influential Buddhist teachers of the second half of the twentieth century in Tibet. The rhetoric of sacred empowerment, visionary encounters, treasure revelations, and miraculous occurrences present in narratives of his pilgrimage to Wutai Shan recalls the vibrant visionary landscapes represented in previous chapters, and, at the same time, evokes a spiritual lineage beyond the perceivable spatial-temporal matrix. Weaving together oral and written accounts of Khenpo Jikmé Püntso's journey to Wutai Shan by his close relatives and chief disciples, the concluding chapter discusses the ways in which his pilgrimage there has renewed Wutai Shan's unique position as the locus of contact and exchange in contemporary China, and charted a new dimension of Wutai Shan's visionary terrains.

Frames and Methods

In this dissertation, I claim a contribution on two interrelated registers, one *historical* and the other *supra-historical*. On the historical register, my study reveals how the array of mapping and transplantation projects reconfigured the sacred cosmography and political identities of the Qing empire and beyond. I show how these various representations of Wutai Shan, through articulating or embodying particular ideas and visions of the mountain range, acted as important agents in the reinvention of the landscape and the remaking of identities of political and religious sovereignties. Just as maps and memories in Chapters I, II, and IV imbued Wutai Shan with a rich visionary dimension and a cosmological centrality, the Qianlong emperor in Chapter I, the Thirteenth Dalai Lama in Chapter II, and Khenpo Jikmé Püntso in Chapter IV negotiated new forms of political and/or religious sovereignty through asserting their connections to Wutai Shan. Together, these case studies beg for a reconsideration of the formation of ethnic, cultural,

political, and geographical entities through the study of a site of religious convergence since the Qing dynasty.

In recent decades, in a deliberate move away from Sino-centric narratives, Qing historians have written about the Qing imperium from the perspective of its non-Han rulers by probing the imperial construction of cultural and ethnic taxonomies and identities. Delving into the social and institutional system of the Manchus, Evelyn Rawski argued that the success of the Qing rule rested on “its ability to implement flexible culturally specific policies aimed at the major non-Han peoples inhabiting the Inner Asian peripheries.”¹² Pamela Crossley argued that the construction and articulation of cultural-ethnic categories like “Han” and “Manchu,” which were deeply imbricated in a rehistoricizing of the past, was instrumental to Qing emperorship.¹³ Considering the reason behind the sustained success of Manchu rulership, Mark Elliot argued that an ethnic coherence in spite of cultural difference, which was manifested in the development of the eight-banner system, served as the basis of the Manchu empire-building enterprise.¹⁴ Their studies were in turn founded on the indispensable scholarship of David Farquhar and Samuel Grupper, who drew attention to the essential role of Tibetan Buddhism in the crafting of divine kingship.¹⁵ These seminal works on Qing rulership led me to question how a site of religious convergence like Wutai Shan served on the one hand as an ideal ground for the Qing empire-building project, and maintained on the other a distinct sacred identity of its own that could not be monopolized by Qing imperial agendas. Each individual in this dissertation maps, reproduces, cosmologizes, and derives authority from Wutai Shan as he will, but does not claim ownership of an official discourse. Wutai Shan’s continuously shifting landscape shows how the agency of the formation of important ethnic, cultural, political, and geographical identities did not rest on the Manchu rulers alone, as may be implied by the focus on rulership of previous studies. Instead it was and is an ongoing, fluid, collective, and collaborative process that involved the intersection of many narratives and visions.

The approach and agenda to historicize the reinvention of Wutai Shan stated above often runs against the grain of the materials themselves, accentuating the difference between the historian’s voice and those of the objects of study. In Chapter III, for example, I seek to discern a geo-political temporality within the depiction of a timeless religious cosmology by examining the emergence of unprecedented pictorial modes in paintings of holy places. Methodologically, in attempting to perceive expressions of “historical time” in images designed to display timeless and universal order, I also recognize that the Thirteenth Dalai Lama and the world he inhabited did not make the same distinctions between history and timelessness. This tension between the

¹² Evelyn Rawski, *The Last Emperors: A Social History of the Qing Imperial Institutions* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998).

¹³ Pamela Crossley, *A Translucent Mirror: History and Identity in Qing Imperial Ideology* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999).

¹⁴ Mark Elliot, *The Manchu Way: The Eight Banners and Ethnic Identity in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001).

¹⁵ David M. Farquhar, "Emperor as Bodhisattva in the Governance of the Ch'ing Empire." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 38(1978): 5 -34; Samuel Grupper, "Manchu Patronage and Tibetan Buddhism During the First Half of the Ch'ing Dynasty: A Review Article." *Journal of the Tibet Society* 4 (1984): 47-75.

desire to discern, on the one hand, a visible historicity, and on the other, the materials' own temporal and spatial reality, runs throughout this dissertation. Because of this persistence of my materials to transcend (and sometimes entirely disregard) the conventional, historical, visible, or empirical worlds of their times, my goal is to inquire beyond conventions of history. On this "supra-historical" register, I aim to articulate the vibrant visionary worlds embodied in the narratives and representations.

If the temporal-spatial matrix of a historical study does not befit the dimensions of the fluid visionary worlds of the narratives and representations under investigation, what does? As the structure of my dissertation already suggests, it is the individuals in their spiritual lineages that form the axes of this visionary landscape. Begun essentially as a study of a holy site, my explorations reveal that the identity of a holy place in Tibetan Buddhism is defined by the occupancy of holy beings, and the definition of a holy being, in turn, is defined by their spiritual lineage. That is, a site and a person both acquire their sacred identity by association with past deities and teachers. By maintaining the centrality of spiritual lineage in sacred geography and hagiography, we see yet another dimension of the relation between place and person, the interdependence of which is best summed up by the syntactical rhyme of Robert Graves:

For while maps are the biographical treatment of geography, biography is the geographical treatment of chaps. Chaps who are made the subjects of biography have by effort, or by accident, put themselves on the contemporary map as geographical features; but seldom have reality by themselves as proper chaps.¹⁶

Likewise, just as Wutai Shan's visionary landscape becomes authenticated by Rölpe Dorjé's repeated visions, the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's pilgrimage, and Khenpo Jikmé Püntso's multiple dream journeys, these masters' own authority are also authenticated by their connection with the Mañjuśrī of Wutai Shan. The lives of these individuals that my study of Wutai Shan has uncovered reaffirm Michel De Certeau's characterization of hagiography as "a predominance of precisions concerning places over precisions concerning time."¹⁷ Seeing their lives as made up of a composition of places allows us to return to and refine our understanding of a sacred visionary landscape.

Survey of Previous Studies

As the first vision and image-oriented study on early modern Wutai Shan to-date, this dissertation is founded upon a constellation of conceptual, methodological, and historical inquiries. In this section, a survey of useful models of scholarship in art history, anthropology, cartography and cultural/human geography will be followed by a discussion of previous studies that have treated subject matter directly related to the materials of my study. Conceptually, the discursive framework of place and space has been especially relevant to the study of a

¹⁶ Robert Graves, *Good-bye to all that: An Autobiography* (Providence: Berghahn Books, 1995), 5.

¹⁷ Michel de Certeau, *The Writing of History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 280. Bernard Faure has deftly employed this definition of hagiography (from the 1975 French edition of de Certeau's book) in rethinking the study of narratives of the Bodhidharma's life in Chan Buddhism. See Bernard Faure, "Bodhidharma as Textual and Religious Paradigm." *History of Religions* Vol. 25, No. 3 (Feb., 1986): 187-198.

pilgrimage site. Particularly influential has been Henri Lefebvre's triadic formulation of space as *perceived* (spatial practice), *conceived* (representations of space) and *lived* (representational space) (1974, English trans. 1991).¹⁸ Within these three analytical tiers, my analysis is primarily concerned the potency of Wutai Shan as *conceived* and *lived* spaces, and how these levels continue to dominate and determine the *perceived* space. In theory, the *conceived* space would align with the representations studied in this dissertation, while the *lived* space would correspond to the *visionary landscape* my project seeks to articulate. In this regard, my study combines W.J.T. Mitchell's (2002) focus on revealing "the way an imaginary landscape is woven into the fabric of real places and symbolic spaces" and Edward Casey's (2002) method for uncovering the mechanics of representing place, while questioning their assumption of an absolute, rather than analytical definition of "real place."¹⁹

Methodologically, recent studies within the field of medieval art and pilgrimage have also been influential in defining approaches toward the study of pilgrimage in different traditions. In particular, Simon Coleman and John Elsner (1994) proposed a combination of archaeological and anthropological approaches to achieve a cohesive study of sacred sites, showing how a pilgrim's journey to Mt. Sinai was guided and shaped by a vast assemblage of textual and material culture, including scriptures, travel narratives, site inscriptions, architecture, mosaic and liturgical programs.²⁰ The collaboration between Elsner, an art historian, and Coleman, and anthropologist, was one of the earliest to approach pilgrimage through material culture, but prudently does not elaborate on how the array of texts and images should be studied in relation to each other outside of their case study. Other in-depth case studies on Christian pilgrimage and sacred cartography have established relevant categories and vocabularies of analyses. Daniel Connolly's (2009) work on the itinerary maps of Jerusalem, and Alfred Gell (1985) and Kathryn Rudy's (2000) study on mental pilgrimages provided fruitful conceptual foci for the understanding of "surrogate" and "visionary" travels.²¹

A universalist claim to the study of pilgrimage is seen in the historiography of anthropological studies on the experience of pilgrimage travel. Based on their observations of Christian pilgrimages, Emanuel Marx (1977), Victor Turner (1978), and Eade and Sallnow (1991) variously theorized the relation between the individual pilgrim and the society, arguing that pilgrimage either reinforced, rejected, or stratified existing social structures.²² Even though they

¹⁸ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. by Donald Nichols-Smith (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 1991), 33, 38-39

¹⁹W. J. T. Mitchell ed., *Landscape and Power*. Second edition (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), xi; Edward Casey, *Representing Place: Landscape Painting and Maps* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002).

²⁰ Simon Coleman and John Elsner, "The Pilgrim's Progress: Art, Architecture and Ritual Movement at Sinai," *World Archaeology* 6, No. 1 (Jun., 1994), 73-89.

²¹ Daniel K. Connolly, *The Maps of Matthew Paris: Medieval Journeys through Space, Time and Liturgy*. (Rochester: Boydell and Brewer, 2009)

²² Coleman and Elsner, "The Pilgrim's Progress," citing Emanuel Marx, "Communal and individual pilgrimage: the region of Saints' Tombs in South Sinai" in *Regional Cults*, ed. Richard P. Werbner (London: Academic Press, 1977), 29-51; Victor and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives* (Oxford:

arrived at opposite conclusions, their paths of inquiry, which emphasize the position of the traveler vis-à-vis the surrounding landscape, temples, and other travelers, persisted with an air of universality. In recent decades, however, a burgeoning field of sacred geography in South and East Asia has considerably shifted the focus of pilgrimage studies in Buddhist contexts.²³ Toni Huber's *The Cult of Pure Crystal Mountain: Popular Pilgrimage and Visionary Landscape in Southeast Tibet* (1999) addresses the issue directly, demonstrating that Buddhist pilgrimages differ from their Christian counterparts in their emphasis on the ontological continuity between pilgrims and sacred sites.²⁴ This approach effectively dissolves the pilgrim-centric view to pilgrimage and sacred geography shared by theorists and draws attention instead to the interrelations of each entity, whether the receptacle of the divine rests in a landscape, a cave, an architectural structure, a text, an image, or a person.²⁵ Even if Huber himself does not apply this concept to the study of a more diverse body of objects, his (re)conceptualization of pilgrimage in the (Tibetan) Buddhist context has provided a guiding method for engaging with a wide array of visual and material culture, recognizing the fluid nature of agency and the interchangeable relations between subject and object. Huber's subsequent path-breaking book, *The Holy Land Reborn: Pilgrimage & Tibetan Reinvention of Buddhist India*, published in 2008 as this dissertation was taking shape, argues in a timely and cogent way for the urgency and prevalence

Blackwell, 1978); John Eade and Michael J. Sallnow, *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage* (London: Routledge, 1991).

²³ These include studies centered on specific sites. In Tibetan religions, see for example Edwin Bernbaum, *The Way to Shambhala: A Search for the Mythical Kingdom Beyond the Himalayas*, 1st Shambhala ed. (Boston: Shambhala, 2001); Ngawang Zangpo, *Sacred Ground: Jamgon Kongtrul On "Pilgrimage and Sacred Geography"* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion Publications, 2001); Giacomella Orofino, "The Tibetan myth of the Hidden Valley in the visionary geography of Nepal," *East and West* (n. s.) 41 (1991): 239-271; Anne-Marie Blondeau and Ernst Steinkellner eds. *Reflections of the Mountain: Essays on the history and social meaning of the mountain cult in Tibet and the Himalaya* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1996); Geoff Childs, "Refuge and revitalisation: Hidden Himalayan sanctuaries (sbas-yul) and the preservation of Tibet's imperial lineage," *Acta Orientalia* 60 (1999): 126-158; Toni Huber ed., *Sacred Spaces and Powerful Places in Tibetan Culture: A Collection of Essays* (Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1999). In Chinese religions, the earliest monograph is Edouard Chavannes, *Le T'ai Chan; Essai De Monographie D'une Culte Chinois* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1910). Recent works include Kathlyn Maurean Liscomb, *Learning from Mount Hua: A Chinese Physician's Illustrated Travel Record and Painting Theory* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Susan Naquin et al., *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China, Studies on China*; Brian Russell Dott, *Identity Reflections: Pilgrimages to Mount Tai in Late Imperial China*; James Robson, *Power of Place: The Religious Landscape of the Southern Sacred Peak (Nanyue 南嶽) in Medieval China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009); in Japanese religions, see Ian Reader, *Making Pilgrimages: Meaning and Practice in Shikoku* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005); Max Moerman, *Localizing Paradise: Kumano Pilgrimage and the Religious Landscape of Premodern Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2006.); Maria Rodriguez del Alisal, Peter Ackermann, and Dolores P. Martinez eds., *Pilgrimages and Spiritual Quests in Japan* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007); Barbara Ambros, *Emplacing Pilgrimage the Ōyama Cult and Regional Religion in Early Modern Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2008).

²⁴ Toni Huber, *The Cult of Pure Crystal Mountain: Popular Pilgrimage and Visionary Landscape in Southeast Tibet* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 14. Huber models his study on a relatively recent wave studies on the South Asian ontology of a person, especially E. Valentine Daniel, *Fluid Signs: Being a Person the Tamil Way* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).

²⁵ The Tibetan word for pilgrimage "né kor (*gnas skor*)," or going around a holy place, emphasizes the place rather than the goer. See Toni Huber, *The Cult of Pure Crystal Mountain*, 13-14.

of the Tibetan imagination of Buddhist India.²⁶ In a sense, this dissertation may be positioned as a counterpart to Huber's project, albeit without his claim to comprehensiveness, and with a singular focus on vision and visionary materials, by elucidating Tibet's "other" neighbor and imagined Buddhist holy land in China.

As already established in the dissertation outline, the primary historical sources of my research include extant gazetteers (*zhuan* 傳 and *zhi* 志), maps, wall paintings, stele inscriptions, biographies, court memorials, and travel writings of visitors to Wutai Shan from the seventh century onward in both Chinese and Tibetan languages.²⁷ My study utilizes the large body of received and continuously evolving gazetteer texts as a reference point for a canonical Buddhist view of Wutai Shan, with special attention to transformations in this genre since the Qing dynasty as a point of comparison with panoramic pilgrimage maps. Recognizing the official gazetteers' tendency to be as inclusive as they are exclusive, I cull from stele inscriptions, biographies, court memorials, and travel writings for a more rounded picture of the images and activities at the mountain range. In order to locate legends and history not covered in canonical gazetteers, courtly writings, and travel diaries, I make extensive use of the work of modern local scholars, such as research articles in *Wutai Shan Yanjiu* 五台山研究 (Journal of Wutai Shan Studies) published in Taiyuan and *Xinzhou shifan xueyuan xuebao* 忻州师范学院学报 (Academic Journal of Xizhou normal college), locally published *wenshi ziliao* 文史资料 (Collection of literary and historical materials), and several modern compilations of gazetteers in regions in and around Wutai Shan, as they often include sources and information that are only locally available.

The earliest modern studies on Wutai Shan can be found in *Godaisan*, an extensive volume documenting the history and activities of the pilgrimage site by Japanese scholars Hibino Takeo and Ono Katsutoshi (1942).²⁸ More recently, thanks to the pioneering work of Raoul Birnbaum, beginning in the 1980s, scholars of religion in the west have also become familiar with the numinous terrains of Wutai Shan.²⁹ While earlier works focused on earlier periods, Wutai Shan's religious culture in the late imperial and modern period have received increasing scholarly attention by Qing historians like Patricia Berger (2003) and Li Shixuan (2009), due in large part to an interest in reconsidering the multi-lingual, multi-ethnic, and multi-

²⁶ Toni Huber, *The Holy Land Reborn: Pilgrimage & Tibetan Reinvention of Buddhist India* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).

²⁷ For a list of Tibetan references to Wutai Shan, see Appendix VII.

²⁸ Hibino Takeo 日比野丈夫 and Ono Katsutoshi 小野勝年, *Godaisan* 五台山 [Mount Wutai] (Tokyo: Zayuhō Kankokai, 1942; reprint ed. Tōyō Bunko 593; Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1995). Another early study is Etienne Lamotte, "Mañjuśrī," *T'oung Pao* 48, no. 1-3 (1960): 1-96.

²⁹ Raoul Birnbaum, *Studies on the Mysteries of Mañjuśrī*; "The Manifestation of a Monastery: Shen-Ying's Experiences on Mount Wu-t'ai in T'ang Context"; "Light in the Wutai Mountains," in *Presence of Light Divine Radiance and Religious Experience* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); "Secret Halls of the Mountain Lords: the Caves of Wu-t'ai" *Cahiers d'Extreme-Asie* 5 (1989-1990), 116-140.

cultural collaborations of the Qing empire.³⁰ This collective interest culminated in the conference “Wutaishan under the Qing dynasty” organized by Johan Elverskog and Gray Tuttle in 2007.

Site-based studies on Wutai Shan, especially when read in conjunction with each other, provide a goldmine of information of the transformation of sites in the mountain range, but they usually do not situate Wutai Shan within the large contexts of Tibetan Buddhist cosmology and hagiography. Because each case study of this dissertation is located in the “conceived” and “lived” space of its own historical realities outside of Wutai Shan, several areas of studies are relevant in each chapter: Chapter I draws from the extensive scholarship on Qing political and religious cultural production as well as key approaches to Tibetan hagiography. Chapter II relies on studies in Qing imperial, popular, and sacred cartography in Wutai Shan and Mongolia. Chapter III resorts to both precedents in Tibetan religious pictorial and cosmological programs, and the wealth of documents and writings on the thirteenth Dalai Lama’s modernizing efforts of Lhasa in the 1910s and 1920s. Chapter IV is informed by writings on the Nyingma tradition of meditational practices and treasure-revelation, in particular as they are related to the life of Khenpo Jikmé Püntsook.

The array of geographically and biographically centered studies is indispensable for my quest to articulate the multifarious visionary landscapes of Wutai Shan. A common thread in the study of history, however, has been to examine documents, objects, and images as reflections of what the site was like and where the person was at a given moment. By foregrounding images and narratives as agents of transformation, my dissertation seeks to animate the dynamic between place and person, between vision and representation.

³⁰ See Patricia Berger, *Empire of Emptiness* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2003), 161-166; Lin Shixuan 林士鉉, *Qingdai menggu yu manzhou zhengzhi wenhua* 清代蒙古與滿洲政治文化 [Mongolia and the Political Culture of the Manchus in the Qing Dynasty] (Kaohsiung: fuwen, 2009), 154-163.

CHAPTER I

Reinscribing a Lineage: Zhangjia Rölpe Dorjé (1717-1786) and the Courtly Reinvention of Wutai Shan¹

When the renowned eighteenth-century Tibetan polymath Zhangjia Hutukhtu Rölpe Dorjé (Tib. Lcang skya Hutukhtu Rol pa'i rdo rje, Ch. Zhangjia hutuketu ruobi duojie 章嘉胡土克圖若必多吉, Skt. Lalitavajra, 1717-1786) visited Wutai Shan for the first time in 1750, Tibetan Buddhism had already established a firm presence in the mountain range for five hundred years. High lamas from Tibet were first invited to Wutai Shan under the Mongol Yuan (1271-1368) court and had continued to arrive under imperial patronage throughout the Ming dynasty (1368-1644). The Geluk (Dge lugs) sect, in particular, enjoyed a privileged position in the mountain range after the founding of the Qing dynasty (1644-1912).² Subsequent to the Fifth Dalai Lama's 1652 visit to Beijing, the Qing court established the appointment of "jasagh lamas" (of Mongolian, Tibetan, and Han origins) to preside over religious affairs at Wutai Shan and installed monks from Tibet and Mongolia at Wutai Shan's various monasteries.³ Although the position of *jasagh* lamas were also created at the capital in Beijing, Mukden, Hohhot, Jehol, and Dolonor, the successive *jasagh* lamas at Wutai Shan became especially tied to Tibet, as later regulations specified that they should be drawn from a pool of lamas in Tibet.⁴ By 1705, at least ten monasteries were said to have been "converted" to Tibetan Buddhism.⁵

¹ Unless otherwise noted in this dissertation, all translations are mine.

² For a summary of the history of Tibetan presence at Wutai Shan, see Karl Debreczeny, "Wutaishan: Pilgrimage to Five Peak Mountain" in *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies*, special issue on Wutaishan under the Qing dynasty, Johan Elverskog and Gray Tuttle eds., publication forthcoming. <http://www.thlib.org/collections/texts/jiats/>.

³ Originally used to describe a series of laws laid down by Chinggis Khan (d. 1227), the Mongol term "*jasagh*" was subsequently used in the Manchus to denote a status of military and administrative rule, and the system of "*jasagh* lamas" were used to describe high-ranking imperially appointed lama officials. See Dorothea Heuschert, "Legal Pluralism in the Qing Empire: Manchu Legislation for the Mongols" *The International History Review* 20, no. 2 (Jun., 1998): 310-324. For more on Qing administrative documents concerning imperial sponsorship of *jasagh* lamas, see Vladimir Uspensky, "The legislation relation to the Tibetan Buddhist Establishments" *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies*, special issue on Wutaishan under the Qing dynasty, ed. Johan Elverskog and Gray Tuttle. Publication forthcoming. <http://www.thlib.org/collections/texts/jiats/>; Jagchid Sechin [Zhaqi Siqin 札奇斯欽], "Manzhou tongzhi xia menggu shenquanfengjian zhidu de jianli 满洲统治下蒙古神权封建制度的建立 [The Establishment of the Manchu-Controlled Mongolian Feudal System of Incarnation]" *Gugong wenxian* 2, no. 1 (1970): 1-18.

⁴ See Gray Tuttle, *Tibetan Buddhists in the Making of Modern China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 22; *Qinding Lifan yuan zeli* 欽定理藩院則例 [Imperially Commissioned Norms and Regulations of the Board for the Administration of Outlying Regions], in *Gugong Zhenben Congkan* 300 (Haikou shi: Hainan chubanshe, 2000), *juan* 58, 9. The three earliest *jasagh* lamas, Awang Laozang (Ngag dbang blo bzang, 1601–1687), Laozang Danbei Jiancan (Blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan, 1632-1684), and Laozang danba (Blo bzang bstan pa,) prefaced the imperial rewritings of the Wutai Shan gazetteers in Chinese and Manchu and included their own biographies among the eminent monks of Wutai Shan. These prefaces are preserved in Gugong bowuyuan 故宮博物院. ed. *Qingliang shan zhi. Qingliang shan xin zhi. Qin ding Qingliang shan zhi* 清涼山志.清涼山新志.欽定清涼山志 [Record of the Clear and Cool Mountains, New Record of Clear and Cool Mountains, Imperial Record of the Clear and Cool Mountains] (Haikou Shi: Hainan Chubanshe, 2001). See also Gray Tuttle, Tuttle, "Tibetan Buddhism at Wutai shan

Despite the centuries-long residence and pilgrimage traffic of eminent Tibetan Buddhist masters before the arrival of Rölpe Dorjé, the sacred geography of Wutai Shan today is overwhelmingly dominated by memories of his presence; of the places at Wutai Shan deemed most holy and numinous by Tibetan and Mongolian pilgrims, the majority acquired their standing through association with him. A Monguor born in the Amdo region, Rölpe Dorjé was brought to the Qing court as a young child in 1724 after the Qing military troops razed his home monastery of Gonlung (Dgon lung) during the suppression of the Lobsang Danjin Rebellion.⁶ He was subsequently raised and educated in the Qing court along with the prince who was to become the Qianlong emperor and he eventually became Qianlong's personal spiritual advisor and appointed national preceptor. Between his spiritual and political duties at court, Rölpe Dorjé found in Wutai Shan a place for solitude and spiritual practice. He was to spend virtually all of his summers in retreat there from his first visit in 1750 with Qianlong, and until his death in 1786.⁷

Rölpe Dorjé's powerful hold over the sacred geography of Wutai Shan is well-known to any pilgrim or scholar, but the means by which it was achieved has hardly been studied. Contrary to what one might expect from an imperially sponsored high lama, Rölpe Dorjé contributed little in the way of founding temples, much less did he establish monastic communities or religious institutions on the mountain range. Instead of constructing new temples or founding new monasteries, it was his continued presence and the way it was

in the Qing: The Chinese Language Register" (Seminar paper, Harvard University, 2004), 23-24; Natalie Köhle, "Why Did the Kangxi Emperor Go to Wutai Shan?: Patronage, Pilgrimage, and the Place of Tibetan Buddhism at the Early Qing Court," *Late Imperial China*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (June 2008), 78-79; the biographies are included in *Qinding Qingliang shan zhi*, juan 16, 21a-22b; *Qingliang shan xin zhi*, juan 7, 21b-24b. For a partial English translation of these biographies, see Hoong Teik Toh, "Tibetan Buddhism in Ming China" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2004), 228-37.

⁵ This process of so-called conversion is one that requires further investigation. Even though most secondary sources speak of the ten monasteries that the Shunzhi emperor converted from Chinese Buddhist to Tibetan Buddhist temples, as Natalie Köhle points out in her article "Why Did the Kangxi Emperor Go to Wutai Shan?" (p. 13, note 19), none of the literature that makes this statement cites a primary source, and this process of conversion was probably a more gradual process where the Chinese, Tibetan and Mongolian traditions co-existed within these institutions. Dharmatala's *Rosary of White Lotuses* does mention the conversion in straightforward terms, and described the Shunzhi and Kangxi emperors' construction of large imperial temples on each of the five terraces. See Damcho Gyatsho Dharmatāla, *Rosary of White Lotuses : Being the Clear Account of How the Precious Teaching of Buddha Appeared and Spread in the Great Hor Country*, trans. and annotated by Piotr Klafkowski; supervised by Nyalo Trulku Jampa Kelzang Rinpoche (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1987): p. 418-419.

⁶ For a study of the Lobsang Danjin rebellion, see Ishihama Yumiko, "The process by which the Gusi Khan family lost its regal authority over Tibet: A Reconsideration of the Rebellion of Blo bzang bstan 'dzin / 「グシハン王家のチベット王権喪失過程に関する一考察--ロフサン・ダンジン (Blo bzang bstan 'dzin) の「反乱」再考." *Toyogakuho* 69 no. 3 (1988): 151-171.

⁷ Thu'u bkwan blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma, *Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje'i rnam thar* [Biography of Rölpe Dorjé] (Lanzhou: Kan su'u mi rig s dpe skrun khang, 1989), 510-511; Chinese translation by Chen Qingying (Beijing: Zhongguo Zangxue Chubanshe, 2006), 169. Many secondary sources indicate that Rölpe Dorjé entered retreat consecutively at Wutai Shan beginning in 1750, but from his biography it is obvious that he did not go there during a two-year trip to Tibet in search of the Seventh Dalai Lama's reincarnation between 1757 and 1758.

subsequently remembered and commemorated by his disciples that imbued the landscape with a renewed Tibetan Buddhist immediacy.⁸

This chapter therefore examines Rölpe Dorjé's profound impact on Wutai Shan through a range of materials documenting his visions, writings, and places of practice. It begins with records and traces of his activities as told by a chief disciple and biographer Thuken Lozang Chökyi Nyima (Thu'u bkwan Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma, 1737-1802). My study shows that Wutai Shan was made home for his religious practice and identity through evocations of the mountain's distinctly Gelukpa Tibetan Buddhist past: through his recounting, and his disciple's recording of various visionary encounters with past masters, Rölpe Dorjé's entire spiritual lineage and subsequently his own connection to Mañjuśrī are permanently established and lodged in the landscape. Examining Rölpe Dorjé's own writings about Wutai Shan, the chapter then reveals the creation of a new identity for Wutai Shan that bridges its Chinese and Tibetan pasts in an unprecedented way. The chapter then turns to Rölpe Dorjé's collaborations with his Manchu imperial disciple and donor, the Qianlong emperor. As his various attempts to transport and translate Wutai Shan with the help of Rölpe Dorjé demonstrate, Qianlong was increasingly driven by an attempt to derive sacred power from Wutai Shan; Wutai Shan's mixture of a Chinese and Tibetan Buddhist past, as well as its status as Mañjuśrī's field of enlightenment, made it an ideal source for the transmission of a Manchu Buddhist identity. By the end of Rölpe Dorjé's tenure at Wutai Shan, the chapter concludes, his presence and teachings had become an original source of veneration, nostalgia, and derivation for Qianlong. Through acts of commemoration by his disciples, Rölpe Dorjé became ever-present at Wutai Shan.

Evoking Wutai Shan's Tibetan Buddhist Past

The most detailed description of Rölpe Dorjé's stay at Wutai Shan comes from his biography written by Thuken between 1792 and 1794.⁹ In addition to references interspersed throughout the biography, a separate chapter is devoted to his practice at Wutai Shan. Instead of a chronological retelling of Rölpe Dorjé's activities at Wutai Shan, however, the chapter is dominated by his various dreams and visions there as a result of his strict and intense meditative practice. Because these are related with little attention to their chronological order or to the order of other events' unfoldings, such descriptions in a Tibetan spiritual biography would

⁸ The potency of memories of a master's presence is not only pervasive in the case of Rölpe Dorjé or the Tibetan tradition at large. Raoul Birnbaum has recently written about the significance of sacred traces left by the presence of "previous practice" in Chinese Buddhist traditions today. See Raoul Birnbaum, "Human Traces and the Experience of Powerful Places: A Note on Memory, History, and Practice in Buddhist China" in *Images, Relics, and Legends: The Formation and Transformation of Buddhist Sacred Sites*, ed. James A. Benn, Jinhua Chen, and James Robson (Toronto: Mosaic Press, 2010).

⁹ Thu'u bkwan, *Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje'i rnam thar*; Gene Smith has indexed the chapters of this biography and provided a summary. See E. Gene Smith, "The Life of Lcang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje" in *Among Tibetan Texts* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2001), 133-146. Marina Illich has provided partial translations of this chapter in her study of Rölpe Dorjé as a tantric yogi and visionary. See Marina Illich, "Selections from the life of a Tibetan Buddhist polymath: Chankya Rolpai Dorje (lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje), 1717-1786" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 2006), Chapter VI.

generally fall under the category of the secret biography (*sang ba'i rnam thar*) within a traditional tri-level division that includes outer (*phyi'i rnam thar chi*), inner (*nang gi rnam thar*), and secret biographies.¹⁰ Considering that fact that Rölpe Dorjé's primary purpose at Wutai Shan, as portrayed by his biographer Thuken, was to seek proximity to Mañjuśrī and step back from courtly politics, it is only appropriate that his engagement with Wutai Shan's resident deity was told in terms of mystical experiences. But how should we interpret these visionary episodes in terms of his immense influence over the sacred landscape of Wutai Shan? In a study of the life stories of Gelukpa siddhas, Janice Willis maps three western elements of storytelling onto the three inherent levels of the Tibetan narrative as strategies for comprehending the life stories: the *historical* with the outer, the *inspirational* with the inner, and *instructional* with the secret.¹¹ According to this classification, the primary purpose of recounting these dreams and visions is to instruct disciples. But as this chapter will show, descriptions that evoke deities have a historical and inspirational dimension as well, and in the case of Rölpe Dorjé, they must be seen as acts of inscription, capable of creating a new sense of place for the generations of reader-disciples to come.

Thuken's recounting of this series of visionary outbursts began with Rölpe Dorjé's dream of an enormous and fearsome figure with locks of hair as white as conch shells. The figure requested Rölpe Dorjé to write a practice manual (*bsnyen sgrub las gsum gyi yig cha*) for Damchen Chogyal (Dam can chos rgyal), announcing that he was the protector Yamāntaka.¹² Rölpe Dorjé thus conveyed to Thuken that the local protector deity of Wutai Shan was none other than Damchen Chogyal, according to his estimation, rather than the more popularly believed local deity or Naga king.¹³ It is important to note that Damchen Chogyal is the principal protector of the Gelukpa sect, and considered an emanation of Yamāntaka. It is also believed that Yamāntaka can appear in other manifestations, such as that of an old white-bearded

¹⁰ For studies on the three-tiered system, see David Seyfort Rugg, *The life of Bu ston Rin po che: With the Tibetan text of the Bu ston rNam thar*, (Roma: Istituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1966), 44-45; Alfonsa Ferrari and Luciano Petech ed., *Mk'yen Brtse's Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet*. (Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1958), XIX; Giuseppe Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, vol. I (Roma: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1949), 150-151; Janet Gyatso, *Apparitions of the Self: The Secret Autobiographies of a Tibetan Visionary* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 6-8 and 102-106.

¹¹ Janice Willis, *Enlightened Beings: Life Stories from the Ganden Oral Tradition* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1995), 5.

¹² "lo snga ma mtshan lam du mi shin tu che zhing 'jigs pa ral pa dung ltar dkar ba zhid gis /khyod kyi dam can chos rgyal gyi bsnyen sgrub las gsum gyi yig cha zhid rtsoms shig /nga ya maanta ka'i bka' srung yin no zer ba byung/ zhal nas/ ri bo rtse lnga'i gnas bdag lha zhid yin glu zhid yin zer ba mang po 'dug ste/ kho bos brtags na dam can chos kyi rgyal po yin ba 'dug/ ri lnga la 'jam dbyangs rigs lnga'i rten brten pa'i dkyil 'khor bzhugs pas bka' sdod las gshin kyang gnas srung gi tshul du yod pa yin 'dra/ nged la rmi ltas de 'dra byung bar ral pa dkar po yin pa de ci zhid yin nam zhes bdag la dngos su gsungs/" Thu'u bkwan, *Lcang skya*, 510-511.

¹³ Here Yamāntaka is the protector of death, rather than the lord of death. The most popular temple among Han-Chinese visitors to Wutai Shan today is none other than Wuye miao 五爺廟, the Shrine of the Dragon King (Ch. Longwang 龍王). The theme of poisonous dragons subjugated by Mañjuśrī is frequently seen in Dunhuang manuscripts and wall paintings such as that in Mogao Cave 61. For early legends of the nagas at Wutai Shan, see Mary Anne Cartelli, "The Poetry of Mount Wutai: Chinese Buddhist Verse from Dunhuang" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1999), 109-15.

man who came to Rölpe Dorjé in his dream the following year, pressing Rölpe Dorjé to complete the text he had requested, upon which Rölpe Dorjé instantly completed the text.¹⁴ In Rölpe Dorjé's eulogy of Wutai Shan at the conclusion of his *Pilgrimage Guide*, which will be studied in the section to follow, Yamāntaka is also evoked as the protector of the mountain range.¹⁵ Since Yamāntaka is considered a wrathful manifestation of Mañjuśrī, he was thus highly regarded by the Manchu emperors who were skillfully playing to their identity as the Mañjughoṣa emperors.¹⁶

Thuken proceeds to mention yet another dream of Rölpe Dorjé's, in which he encountered a lama of magnificent physical stature wearing a pointed lama hat, seated on a throne, handing a sword to him. Rölpe Dorjé realized that this was none other than the auspicious sign of Tsongkhapa (Tsong kha pa, 1357-1419)'s blessing and protection. As the founder of the Geluk sect of Tibetan Buddhism, Tsongkhapa has subsequently been considered by his disciples to be an incarnation of Mañjuśrī. Thuken explained that while in the ultimate reality, Tsongkhapa was no different than the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, in conventional reality, Tsongkhapa practiced in the various mountain retreats, vowed to become one with his guru deity, accumulated innumerable meritorious deeds, and never wavered in his study of major treatises. It is through the combined diligence of these acts that Tsongkhapa attained his profound understanding of Mādhyamika, or the Middle Way, a central stream of thought in Mahāyāna Buddhism tracing back to the Indian monk scholar Nāgārjuna (c. 150- c.250) that emphasizes the "emptiness" of all phenomena.¹⁷ Within Tibetan traditions, Tsongkhapa remains one of the most prolific exponents of the Mādhyamika philosophy.¹⁸ Rölpe Dorjé modeled himself after Tsongkhapa in this regard, and was known to have attained realization of the Mādhyamika at Wutai Shan. He composed what became an enormously influential song of realization known as "Recognizing My Mother" that illustrated his profound understanding of emptiness, which he dedicated to the Buddha Śakyamuni, Nāgārjuna, his disciple Āryadeva (3rd century), and Tsongkhapa.¹⁹ Rölpe Dorjé's profound realization of Mādhyamika at Wutai Shan, sealed by his composition of "Recognizing My Mother," reaffirmed the mountain range as a site of Mañjuśrī's extraordinary empowerment and Rölpe Dorjé's own connection to the lineage of teachers.

¹⁴ Thu'u bkwan, *Lcang skya*, 511; Chen Qingying trans., 244.

¹⁵ "The 'Lord of Death,' master of powers, together with his wives Remati and Camunda and eight fierce-some groups of terrifying retinue reside there as protectors, practicing their *yogas*" Translation modified from Marina Illich, *Selections from the life of a Tibetan Buddhist polymath*, 527. See Thu'u bkwan, *Lcang skya*, 508.

¹⁶ For this reason, Yamāntaka was seen as a protector for the Qing Imperial court of Beijing. See Esther Bianchi, "Protecting Beijing: The Tibetan Image of Yamāntaka- Vajrabhairava in Late Imperial and Republican China" in *Images of Tibet in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, ed. Monica Esposito (Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 2008), 359-385.

¹⁷ For more on Mādhyamika, see Dan Arnold's entry in *Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy* at <http://www.iep.utm.edu/b-madhya/> (accessed April 11, 2011).

¹⁸ Thupten Jinpa, *Self, Reality and Reason in Tibetan Philosophy: Tsongkhapa's Quest for the Middle Way*. (London and New York: Routledgecurzon, 2002).

¹⁹ The song is cited in full in Rölpe Dorjé's biography. See Thu'u bkwan, *Lcang skya*, 548.

The presence of Tsongkhapa at Wutai Shan became further particularized in Rölpe Dorjé's biography. On another occasion, Rölpe Dorjé was said to have dedicated his meditation to Tsongkhapa, praying for a good rebirth in his next life. In a dream that followed, he witnessed a monk from Amdo inside a stone mortar, uttering "I observed a vegetarian fast but indulged in funeral feasts," while his body was being pounded to pieces. This is a reminder, Thuken explained, that those who mix monastic abstinence with accumulating wealth will suffer the pain of the mortar and pestle in their next life. Citing a biography of Tsongkhapa in which "Tsongkhapa appeared in the form of a monastic scholar, preaching sutras to disciples in the morning, and tantras to vajra-holders in the afternoon," Thuken concludes through his reading of Tsongkhapa's answering of Rölpe Dorjé's prayers at Wutai Shan and Tsongkhapa's own biography, which states that Tsongkhapa's emanation body was indeed at Wutai Shan.²⁰ As if that were not enough evidence, Thuken added that in his own dream, he saw Ganden Tripa Lodro Gyatso (Blo gros rgya mtsho, 1682-1685), a protector of Tsongkhapa, who remarked that portraits of Tsongkhapa currently did not resemble him. Thuken, however, thought the person's form and the marks on his face all resembled Tsongkhapa. Thuken then asked Rölpe Dorjé where Tsongkhapa resided at Wutai Shan. Rölpe Dorjé replied, "Tsongkhapa does not have a fixed abode, but right now he is approximately staying in a Chinese Buddhist temple which was transliterated in the Tibetan text as "Ching lang cho'u."²¹ This Tibetan transliteration of a Chinese temple name most likely refers to Qingliang qiao 清涼橋, or the Monastery at Bridge of Clear and Cool, which sat in a remote area on the southwestern side of the Central Peak, in between the Central and Western Peak. The temple (a.k.a. Jixiang Si 吉祥寺) is well known in local gazetteers for the apparition tale in which an elderly man guides the lost monk Biyun 碧云 back to his monastery.²² This story is also told with the Kangxi emperor (r. 1661-1722) as the lost protagonist.²³ No similar story is mentioned in Rölpe Dorjé's *Pilgrimage Guide*, so it is not clear how widely spread this knowledge of Tsongkhapa's presence was. But that Tsongkhapa was said to have chosen to seek seclusion in a remote Chinese Buddhist temple, quite separate from the many Tibetan Buddhist temples endowed with imperial patronage and sumptuous donations, underscores the exclusive, if not secret, nature of this knowledge, and implies the existence of an authentic lineage (from Tsongkhapa to Rölpe Dorjé to Thuken) not apprehensible except to the initiated few.

²⁰ Thu'u bkwan, *Lcang skya*, 516; Chen Qingying trans., 246.

²¹ "dir bzhugs nges pa cher ma mchis kyang da lta ching lang cho'u zer ba'i hva shang gi dgon der bzhugs pa yin 'dra zhes gsungs." Thu'u bkwan, *Lcang skya*, 517; Chen Qingying trans., 247. The temple is most likely Qingliang qiao 清涼橋, but Chen translates it as Qingning si 慶寧寺. Incidentally, Qingliang qiao is where Nenghai Lama, the influential early twentieth-century Chinese monk trained in the Tibetan Buddhist tradition, established his monastery after return from Tibet. For more on Nenghai's activities at Wutai Shan, See Gray Tuttle, "Tibetan Buddhism at Ribotse Inga/Wutai Shan in Modern Times: *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies*, no 2 (2006).

²² See *Qingliang shan zhi*, juan 7, p. 0284. "老人示路: 清釋碧雲, 於乾隆初住清涼橋吉祥寺, 常遊諸臺。一日晚歸, 至中臺迷路, 忽遇老人, 示其歸路。旋行, 復回顧老人, 老人即說偈曰: 來時有路, 去時便誤。撻起眉頭, 放開腳步。月挂中峯, 雲消野渡。努力向前, 切莫回顧。"

²³ <http://www.wtsn.com/Article/200909/1186.html> (accessed May 5, 2010). It is also depicted in the Cifusi blocks (Chapter II) just above the cave of Padam pa Seng gye.

Thuken deduced from this remark that Rölpe Dorjé had not only seen an emanation of Tsongkhapa in his dreams, but had actually seen him in person (*dnegos su yang mjal yod par the mi tshom mo*).²⁴ This and many more miraculous instances recorded in Rölpe Dorjé's biography make repeated assertions of Tsongkhapa's presence, which Thuken corroborates by citing biographies of Tsongkhapa that also indicate his presence there. Worth noting is the fact that these references to Tsongkhapa's presence at Wutai Shan cited by Thuken appear only in the biography of Tsongkhapa's chief disciple Khedrup (Mkhas grub, 1385–1438) by Khedrup's chief disciple Jetsunpa Chokyi Gyalsten (Rje btsun pa chos kyi rgyal mtshan, 1469-1544), not in biographies of Tsongkhapa. Standard life stories of Tsongkhapa have only associated him with Wutai Shan by way of its resident deity Mañjuśrī. In virtually every extant biography of Tsongkhapa, starting with the one written by Tsongkhapa's disciple Jampel Gyatso ('Jam dpal rgya mtsho, 1356 -1428), Wutai Shan is mentioned at the beginning.²⁵ We are told that at the time of Tsongkhapa's conception, his father dreamed of a monk from Wutai Shan who came to seek shelter at their house and disappeared into their shrine room. A devoted practitioner of the *Reciting the Names of Mañjuśrī* ('*Jam dpal mtshan brjod*'), Tsongkhapa's father sensed that the monk must have been an emanation of Mañjuśrī,²⁶ But Tsongkhapa's personal connection to Wutai Shan was only solidified and elaborated, not in his own subsequent biographies, but in the biographies of his chief disciple Khedrup by Jetsunpa. According to Jetsunpa, Tsongkhapa revealed to Khedrup in a vision that he was residing at Wutai Shan, where he preached to eight hundred thousand monks and vajra-holders on Mādhyamaka and the *Stage of the Path* in the morning, and Cakrasamvara, Vajrabhairava, and Guhyasāmaja in the evening.²⁷ This presumably would have been the source from which Thuken drew when he referenced Tsongkhapa's biography.

The inaccurate reference all but confirms the strongly interdependent relations between teachers and disciples and the crafting of their identities.²⁸ That biographical details of masters

²⁴ Thu'u bkwan, *Lcang skya*, 517.

²⁵ Elijah Ary argues in his dissertation that the identification of Tsongkhapa with Mañjuśrī, rather than as Mañjuśrī's disciple, only emerged later within the Gelukpa tradition out of a need to establish lineage and identity. See Elijah Ary, "Logic, Lives and Lineage: Jetsun Chokyi Gyaltsen's Ascension and the Secret Biography of Khedrup Geleg Pelzang" (PhD Diss., Harvard University, 2007), 42.

²⁶ 'Rtog ldan 'jam dpal rgya mtsho, *Rje btsun tsong kha pa'i rnam thar chen mo'i zur 'debs rnam thar legs bshad kun 'dus* [Supplement to the Great Biography of the lord Tsongkhapa, the Biography [entitled] the compendium of Eloquent Teachings]. In *The Collected Works (gung 'bum) of Rje Tsonga-Khan-Pa Blo-bzang-gags-pa*. New York: Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center, 2003, vol.1, 149-163, 1b-2a; the story is almost always reiterated in later biographies. See Zhou Jinxing (Blo bzang 'prim las rnam rgyal), *Shaun zongkeba dashi zhaun* 至尊宗喀巴大師傳 [Biography of the venerable master Tsongkhapa], trans. Guo Heqing 郭和卿 (Xining: Qinghai Remin chubanshe, 1988), 86.

²⁷ Rje btsun Chos kyi rgyal mtshan, *Mkhas grub thams cad mkhyen pa'i gsang ba'i rnam thar*. In *Mkhas grub dge legs dpal bzang gi sung 'bum*. vol. Ka. New York: Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center, 2003, 69: "da lta rgya nag ri bo rtse lngar / dge slong rdo rje 'dzin pa stong brgyad brgya re tsam la / snga dro dbu ma dang lam rim / phyi dro gsang bde 'jigs gsum gyi bskyed rdzogs 'chad kyi yod /"

²⁸ As Ary has pointed out, the earliest biography of Khedrup by Choden Rabjor is much primarily concerned with Tsongkhapa, not with Khedrup. See Elijah Ary, "Logic, Lives and Lineage," 80.

and disciples are confused or blurred into one another shows that it is the lineage that is most basic to the transformation of a coherent identity for the individual. It is again through the bond and transmission of teacher-disciple relationships, between Tsongkhapa and Khedrup Je, and between Khedrup Je and Jetsunpa, that Tsongkhapa's ties to Wutai Shan are sealed.²⁹ Inhabited by the Gelukpa protector deity Yamāntaka and Tsongkhapa in their various guises, the Wutai Shan portrayed by Rölpe Dorjé's biographer Thuken was one dominated by a Tibetan Buddhist, and in particular a Gelukpa sectarian presence; it at once reaffirms and newly reveals the presence of Tibetan Buddhist deities in the mountain range. The significance of this sectarian assertion cannot be overstressed. As narratives of Wutai Shan in this dissertation will continue to show, lineage constitutes the essence of identity and place formation in Tibetan Buddhism.

Pilgrimage Guide to Wutai Shan

At the same time that Rölpe Dorjé was recorded to have undergone intense retreats and experienced many visionary encounters with various manifestations of Mañjuśrī, he also busied himself with composing the first detailed guidebook to Wutai Shan in Tibetan. The finished work, *Pilgrimage Guide to the Clear and Cool Mountains: A Vision of Marvelous Sun Rays That Causes Lotus of Devotion to Blossom* (*Zhing mchog ri bo dwangs bsil gyi gnas bshad dad pa'i padmo rgyas byed ngo mtshar nyi ma'i snang ba*), includes two initial chapters by Rölpe Dorjé and three remaining chapters completed by Lochen Ngakwang Kelzang (Lo chen Ngag dbang bskal bzang) and Drotsang Khentrül Lalop (Gro tshang Mkhan sprul bla slob), with an appendix written by Chang Lung (Lcang lung) Arya Pandita Ngakwang Lozang Tenpé Gyeltsen (Ngag dbang blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan, 1770-1845), a Mongol descendant of Genghis Khan (born in the Sunid Left Banner of Inner Mongolia) who paid for the printing blocks to be carved.³⁰ Despite its authorship and patronage, which would presuppose a Tibetan telling of Wutai Shan's history, the first two chapters of the text are virtually direct translations from and a condensation of the Chinese language gazetteers, with the exception of several additions like the Cave of Sudhana (Tib. Nor bzang phug, Ch. Shancai dong 善财洞), the continued significance of which in Tibetan Buddhist pilgrimages to Wutai Shan will be discussed in the last chapter of this

²⁹ Elijah Ary, "Logic, Lives and Lineage," 61-62.

³⁰ See Lcang skya, Rol pa'i rdo rje, *Zhing mchog ri bo dwangs bsil gyi gnas bshad dad pa'i padmo rgyas byed ngo mtshar nyi ma'i snang ba* [Pilgrimage Guide to the Clear and Cool Mountains: A Vision of Marvelous Sun Rays That Causes Lotus of Devotion to Blossom] Beijing: Songzhu si 嵩祝寺. A copy (90 ff.) is kept at the library of the Minorities Cultural Palace, Beijing (Text no. 001798). As Gray Tuttle has observed, the colophon indicates that the first part was at least orally transmitted by Rol pa'i rdo rje, and the latter part was possibly drafted by Lcang skya but was deemed too erroneous to be included in his collected works. The colophon to the 1831 printing indicate the latter parts were stylistically revised and faulty translations from the Chinese Wutai Shan gazetteer were corrected (Lcang skya, 1994, 207-8). Gray Tuttle, "Tibetan Buddhism at Wutai shan in the Qing: The Chinese Language Register," Appendix 1, 42. According to Tuttle and Kurtis Schaeffer, Lcang lung's full biography discussed his encounters with Lcang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje (who recognized him as an incarnation), his visits to Wutai Shan, and the printing of this text. See, Rgyal dbang Chos rje Blo bzang 'phrin las nam rgyal. *Rje btsun dpal ldan bla ma dam pa lcang lung arya pandi ta rin po che ngag dbang blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i rnam par thar pa mkhas pa'i yid 'phrog nor bu'i do shal*. Digital scan from www.tbrc.org, Vol. 1: 93, 203-208, 233-236; vol. 2: 181-182 (on printing these blocks).

dissertation.³¹ Overall, the changes made were structural: the orders of the sections were rearranged in better accordance with those of a Tibetan Buddhist text: the section of “eminent monks” would come before that of “imperial sponsorship,” and the section of “non-imperial sponsorship” was largely omitted.³² Sometimes certain embedded narratives about a particular site were made more prominent, other times they were taken as descriptions for the whole site and incorporated into the introductory note at the beginning of a chapter.³³

Despite *Pilgrimage Guide*'s faithful adherence to the content of the Chinese gazetteers, as an indelible stamp of his work, Rölpe Dorjé prepared a lengthy eulogy of the mountain range to be used as a concluding prayer to the guidebook.³⁴ This eulogy is cited in full in Thuken's biography of Rölpe Dorjé, and also ends the final version of the guidebook completed by Rölpe Dorjé's disciples in 1831.³⁵ It not only evokes the magical scenery of the mountain range, but also the long lineage of Indian and Chinese masters referred in various Chinese and Tibetan lineages who are believed to be dwelling there, including Kāśyapamātanga, Dharmaratna, Vimalamitra, Buddhapāli, Chengguan 澄觀 (738-839), and Dushun 杜順 (557-640), as well as Mañjuśrī's various emanation bodies who appeared at Wutai Shan, including Nāgārjuna, Atiśa, Sakya Paṇḍita, and Tsongkhapa.³⁶ In conclusion, Rölpe Dorjé writes,

The attributes of a great place like this
are difficult for someone like myself to relate.

³¹ The pilgrimage guide has been reprinted multiple times in modern typeset. See Lcang skya, Rol pa'i rdo rje. *Zhing mchog ri bo rtse lnga'i gnas bzhad* (Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe sgrun khang, 1993); also included in Dge 'dun chos 'phel ed., *Gnas yig phyogs bsgrigs* [Collection of Pilgrimage Guides] (Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1998): 384-565.

³² This reorganization does still reflect important revisions. As Martha Nussbaum puts it, "Form and style are not incidental features ... The telling itself - the selection of genre, formal structures, sentences, vocabulary, of the whole manner of addressing the reader's sense of life - all of this expresses a sense of life and of value, a sense of what matters and what does not..." See Martha Nussbaum, *Love's Knowledge: Essays on Philosophy and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 5.

³³ In various editions of the *Qingliang shan zhi* from the Ming and Qing periods, the structure is as follows : 1) Abode, 2) Deity, 3) Numinous Sites, 4) Monasteries, 5) Imperial Patronage, 6) Other Patronage, 7) Apparitions, 8) Eminent Monks, 9) Miraculous Occurrences, 10) Praises and Inscriptions. In Rölpe Dorjé's *Pilgrimage Guide* (*Gnas bshad*), the order is rearranged to reflect, most significantly, the weight of eminent monks over imperial sponsorship. Rölpe Dorjé's table of content is as follows: 1) Recognition of the place, 2) Numinous Sites, 3) Eminent Monks, 4) Miraculous Occurrences, 5) Imperial Patronage. This reordering does not seem to follow any particular convention in Tibetan guidebooks to holy places, though a later Tibetan pilgrimage guide to Wutai shan by Dznya'ana shri'i man (mid. nineteenth century) follows more or less than same order. Whether this reordering reflects a difference between Han and Tibetan sensibilities or a preference on the part of Rölpe Dorjé remains to be investigated. See Dznya'ana shri'i man/Ye [shes] dpal [ldan] (mid 19th c.), *Ri bo rtse lnga'i dkar chag rab gsal me long* (Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1994).

³⁴ This is quite the opposite of the Manchu emperors' practice of prefacing works.

³⁵ Thu'u bkwan, *Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje'i rnam thar*, 504-510.

³⁶ Kāśyapamātanga and Dharmaratna are believed to have been the first Indian masters to come from India to China in the year 67 ce; for more on Buddhapāli and Vimalamitra, see Chapter IV; Chengguan and Dushun are the patriarchs of the Huayan school of Buddhism.

Thus, I have relied, in the little I relate [here],
on the genuine accounts of Chinese and Tibetan holy beings of the past.

Although I, Rölpe Dorjé, am [but] an elderly beggar-monk,
who is caught up in the distracting appearances of this [world],
and who has little prospect to realize completely pure *dharma*,
having come to this hermitage now several times
to practice the two stages of the Victor's Oral Transmission
[passed on from] the Master, Losang [Tsongkhapa],
I have made a few imprints [on my mind] through the contemplation of texts.

Although direct experiential realization is hard to awaken
I have gained some idea of how to integrate into my mind
the meaning of the words of *dharma* I have studied in the past
through the eloquent words of the Master Tsongkhapa, Mañjuśrī in essence,
and the compassion of [my] father lamas,
the immeasurably kind Ngakwang Chöden and the rest.

Bless me, [my] yidams and lamas, with your great compassion
as I make prayers and aspirations over and over again,
that my life may be spent here [in Wutai Shan] until the very end
and that from this moment right now until [I am] enlightened,
I will never be separated from this profound path
and will realize its meaning without obstruction.

Those of you yearning from the bottom of your hearts
to realize the holy dharma
cast off your obsession with the eight mundane concerns
and, practicing with intensity in a place such as this,
strive to attain permanent happiness in every way you can.³⁷

Rölpe Dorjé's praise poem of Wutai Shan stresses the spiritual intensity of the place, attributes his achievements to the fortune of coming to Wutai Shan, and expresses his heartfelt aspiration to remain there for the remainder of his life. It also acknowledges his lineage of teachers, from Tsongkhapa down to his direct teacher Ngakwang Chöden (Ngag dbang chos ldan, 1677-1751).³⁸ In a very personal way, Rölpe Dorjé has encapsulated his own experience, lineage, and the knowledge of Wutai Shan's eminent past into a single dedicatory prayer.

³⁷ Translation modified from Marina Illich, *Selections from the life of a Tibetan Buddhist polymath*, 538-539. See Thu'u bkwan, *Lcang skya*, 509-510.

³⁸ Alias Shes rab dar rgyas. Ngag dbang chos ldan is the author of biography of the 2nd Lcang skya Khutukhtu Ngag dbang blo bzang chos ldan. See Klaus Sagaster, *Ngag dbang blo bzang chos ldan (1642-1714), Leben und Historischebedeutung des 1. (Peking) lCang skya khutukhtu: dargestellt an hand seiner Monglischen Biographie Subud Erike und Anderer Quellen* (Bonn: Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, 1960).

Place and Person

Rölpé Dorjé's biographer Thuken composed his own eulogy of Wutai Shan in 1784, two years before Rölpé Dorjé passed away at Wutai Shan. Thuken's praise of the mountain range is in effect an elegiac praise of his teacher, Wutai Shan's resident and Mañjuśrī's emanation Rölpé Dorjé.³⁹ In Thuken's prayer, Wutai Shan became synonymous with Rölpé Dorjé in ways that allow us to see the intertextual relations of place and personhood/creation of lineage, geography, and the identity of achieved masters. According to Thuken's biographer Gungtang Tenpé Drönmé (Gung thang bstan pa'i sgron me, 1762-1823), Thuken composed the praise poem while he was away from his teacher in Hohhot. Thuken prefaces the praise of the famed mountain range by its historical and geographical connection to Tibet and Mongolia. After evoking the supreme omniscient deity of Tibet, the Bodhisattva Avalokitêśvara, the poem turns to address his incarnation, the 3rd Dalai Lama Sonam Gyatso (Bsod nams rgya mtsho, 1543-1588), then to his successive incarnation, the 4th Dalai Lama Yonten Gyatso (Yon tan rgya mtsho, 1557-1587). As Yonten Gyatso was born in Hohhot, where Thuken was writing from, southeast of which is the border with China, beyond which Wutai Shan in turn lies, this chain of relations clarifies Wutai Shan's spiritual and temporal geography. After locating Wutai Shan's Bodhisattva's Peak (Tib. Byang chub sems dpa'i sde, Ch. Pusa ding 菩薩頂), the mountain's most well-known monastery under the Central Peak, Thuken immediately zooms in to the Diamond Grotto (Tib. Rdo rje'i phug, Ch. Jingang ku 金剛窟) located two miles East of the Bodhisattva's Peak. Thuken explains that this is none other than the cave entered by the Kashmiri monk Buddhapāli and the holy place where his teacher Rölpé Dorjé was currently residing. In other words, what commenced as description of the famed abode of Mañjuśrī quickly turns into the backdrop for a praise and prayer of Thuken's beloved teacher. Thuken expresses a profound reverence for the magnificent deeds of his teacher, his longing to be close to him, and vows to also practice at Wutai Shan until reaching enlightenment himself in order to repay the kindness of his teacher. The praise poem in effect merged Rölpé Dorjé with Wutai Shan and the desire to rely on his guru with that of being at Wutai Shan.⁴⁰

Portraits of a Lineage

Nothing reflects the structure of this person-place creation better than familiar thangka paintings of Tibetan masters. In particular, painted portraits of Rölpé Dorjé often set him into a deep mountainous region, possibly a reference to his favorite abode at Wutai Shan.⁴¹ In a

³⁹ Gung thang Bstan pa'i sgron me, *Thu'u bkwan chos kyi nyi ma'i rtogs brjod padma dkar po* (Lhanzhou: Kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1992). vol. 1, pp. 410.19-413.5.

⁴⁰ Kurtis Schaeffer reconstructs through a study of Tibetan Poetry on Wutai Shan a close-knit intellectual community during the eighteenth to which both Thuken and Rölpé Dorjé belong. See Kurtis Schaeffer, "Tibetan Poetry on Wutai Shan" in *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies*, special issue on Wutaishan under the Qing dynasty, Johan Elverskog & Gray Tuttle (eds.), Publication forthcoming. <http://www.thlib.org/collections/texts/jiats/>.

⁴¹ At least eleven known thangka portraits of Rölpé Dorjé (or their photographs) exist in collections around the world including one in the Palace Museum, Beijing, three at Yonghe gong, Beijing, photographs of a series of biographical paintings of Rölpé Dorjé from Dgon lung byams pa gling (Ch. Yongning si), two in the Museum of

posthumous portrait of him commissioned by the Qianlong emperor for the Zhongzheng dian 中正殿 (Hall of Central Uprightness) in 1787, Rölpe Dorjé is dressed in a yellow imperial robe, with his right hand in a teaching gesture, and his left hand holding a vase (Figure 1.1). Hovering on azure clouds in the open sky above are the Buddha Amitāyus in the center, Vajrabhairava on the left, and the second Zhangjia Khutukhtu Ngwang Lozang Choden (Ngag dbang blo bzang chos ldan, 1642-1714) on the right. Below him are Yamāntaka on the left, six-armed Mahakala in the middle, and a wrathful form of Palden Lhamo (Dpal ldan lha mo) on the right.

The iconography of the deities and protectors in this painting is virtually identical to a thangka of the 6th Panchen Lama Lobsang Palden Yeshe (Blo bzang gpal ldan yes shes, 1738-1780) painted six years prior, in 1780, while the Panchen Lama was visiting the Qing court in Beijing (Figure 1.2). The only noticeable variation between the two paintings, which were presumably executed by the same group of monk painters at Zhongzheng dian, lies in the depiction of their ornate thrones and mountainous backdrops. Whereas the blue-and-green landscape in Rölpe Dorjé's portrait features cloud-covered peaks and dramatic waterfalls between ridges, the Panchen Lama's throne is set atop a plateau with a river running in the foreground. Nestled inside the distant jagged peaks is a partially visible monastery. While the Panchen Lama's golden throne back is rendered in the shape of cloud motifs, the landscape itself is devoid of any mist or cloud. It is not known whether the variations in the style of the landscape depiction have any bearing on actual mountainscapes and vegetation associated with the two figures, but it is important to observe that many of Rölpe Dorjé's portraits feature a majestic cliff or a mountain backdrop that evoke the time he spent in meditation at Wutai Shan (Figures 1.3, 1.4, and 1.5). Until we have more thangka portraits of Rölpe Dorjé for comparison, it will be difficult to come to any conclusions.

What is clear about these images is the relationship between deities, gurus, protectors, and the blue and green landscape in the background that became so popular in Tibetan art of the Qing Court. While the figure of Rölpe Dorjé dominates the image, it is flanked by Rölpe Dorjé's protector deities below, and his teachers above, so much so that colored clouds and hilltops seem to exist only in order to organize the large families of deities, guardians and teachers. In contrast to modern/photographic portraits of lamas, some of which we will see in Chapter III of this dissertation, these individuals do not stand alone, nor are their portraits defined only by their physical attributes. Instead, they only emerge from a space of carefully positioned spiritual

Natural History, New York City, one in the Oriental Museum, Moscow, two in the Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, one in Musée Guimet, Paris, and at least one photograph of a painting from the Huizong si (Mongolian: Koke Süme), Rölpe Dorjé's official monastery in Dolonor. See Luo Wenhua 羅文華, *Longpao yu jiasha: Qing gong Zangchuan fojiao wenhua kaocha* 龙袍与袈裟: 清宫藏传佛教文化考察 [Dragon Robes and Kasaya: An Investigation of Tibetan Buddhist Culture at the Qing Court] (Beijing: Zijincheng chubanshe, 2005), 537-538; Song Niu, *Yonghe gong tangka guibao* 雍和宫唐喀瑰宝 [Thangka Paintings in the Yonghegong], vol. 1 (Beijing: Beijing Chubanshe, 2002), 10-11; Liu Lizhong 劉勵中, *Tangka Yishu* 唐卡艺术 (Chengdu: Sichuan Meishu chubanshe, 1992), 187-188; *Sacred Images of Tibet: Traditional Tibetan Painting in collection of the State Museum of Oriental Art*. (Moscow: Samara, 2002), Illustration no. 50; Yu. I. E. Elikhina, *Tibetan paintings (tangka) from the collection of Yu. N. Roerich stored in the State Hermitage Museum* (St. Petersburg, 2010), 36-39; Gilles Béguin, *Musée national des arts asiatiques-Guimet. Les peintures du bouddhisme tibétain* (catalogue raisonné) (Paris: R.M.N., 1995), 443-444; Henmi Baiei 逸見梅榮, *Manmō hokushi no shūkyō bijutsu* 滿蒙北支の宗教美術 [Religious art of the Mongols and Manchus] Vol. 6 (Tokyo: Maruzen: 1943-44), 78.

lineage and ancestry. In his book on *Buddhism and Science*, Donald Lopez observed that while nineteenth-century European scholars were keen on discerning the historical Buddha, traditional biographies of the Buddha portrayed him through events in the life of his previous incarnations.⁴² Indeed, in Buddhism's native cultures, it was the historical Buddha's "continuity with the Buddhas of epochs past, rather than his unique person, that provided the foundation of his authority."⁴³ The same rhetoric persists for the Tibetan Buddhist portrayal of holy beings and numinous sites. It is through their interconnections with each other over great time and distance that their own identities emerge and become firmly established.

Visions of a Mountain Retreat

Rölpé Dorjé's praise poem of Wutai Shan imparts a sense of the mountain range as a place of refuge (Tib. *gnas dben pa*), a place of solitude away from the worldly affairs of the court by which his entire life was surrounded. We also learn from his biographer Thuken that after he failed to obtain permission to return to the Gonlung Monastery, he opted for summer retreats at Wutai Shan as a substitute for his Amdo homeland.⁴⁴ Even though Rölpé Dorjé's many retreats at Wutai Shan left no visible pictorial legacy, the image of a mountain retreat that characterized his regard for Wutai Shan as a place of refuge and solitude can be seen in two paintings of what was to become Rölpé Dorjé's retreat temple, Zhenhai si 鎮海寺 (Monastery of Subduing the Ocean). Ordered by the Qianlong emperor and painted at Wutai Shan in 1746 and 1750, these paintings reflect Qianlong's fondness for the particular monastic retreat and his penchant for materializing his fondness. But if we may compare these images of a solitary retreat with the activities of Rölpé Dorjé, we see instead Qianlong's position as a *viewer vis-à-vis a practitioner* of monastic retreat. That is, Qianlong's interest in Wutai Shan as a traveler/pilgrim/tourist contrasts with Rölpé Dorjé's delight in dwelling and practicing at the mountain range. As the following will show, Qianlong privileged the picture as a record of his gaze over a lived experience, investing more in the image of a perfect, fleeting moment, than in the realities of Wutai Shan's as a site of religious and monastic practice.

Homeward bound from his first trip to Wutai Shan in the winter of 1746, the Qianlong emperor spotted in the distance the monastery nestled in snow-covered hills. Inspired by the snowy scene, and barred from entering the monastery by the same weather conditions, Qianlong commissioned the painter-official Zhang Ruo'ai 張若靄 to compose a painting of it (Figure 1.6). Zhang Ruo'ai, who was in Qianlong's imperial entourage at the time, fell ill on the journey and died soon after. Memories of Ruo'ai's passing and the Zhenhai si beyond his reach were so poignant for Qianlong that he returned to Zhenhai si four years later, in 1750, this time with

⁴² Donald Lopez, *Buddhism and Science: A Guide for the Perplexed* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2008), 8-9.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁴⁴ Thu'u bkwan, *Lcang skya*, 504-510. For translation, see Marina Illich, *Selections from the life of a Tibetan Buddhist polymath*, 510-511; 516.

Ruo'ai's younger brother Zhang Ruocheng 張若澄, and ordered him to complete another snowy landscape painting of the same monastery from the same vantage point (Figure 1.7).

Both paintings entered *Shiqu Baoji* 石渠寶笈, Qianlong's (non-Buddhist) painting and calligraphy collection, soon after their completion and are now in the collection of the National Palace Museum in Taipei. In Ruo'ai's painting, a river with two wooden bridges bends around in the foreground. Visible on either side of the riverbank are truncated sections of pathways and tall pine trees with gnarled branches. Behind the bushes a red-walled temple that lies neatly against a steep hill and beyond it are snow-covered hills with low vegetation. The monastery itself displays the classical central plan of a Chinese temple, while nestled in the leafless forest on the left side is an ambiguous tent or stupa-like structure that possibly depicts the commemorative stupa of Zhangjia Ngawang Lozang Chöden, the previous incarnation of Rölpe Dorjé who had been invited to the Manchu Court by the Kangxi emperor. The flatness of the snowy hills creates a sense of mysterious depth beyond the monastery, while the well-delineated temples structure of the monastery, the textured branches of the pine tree, and the river and paths leading up the monastery allow the viewer to gaze into the landscape with a sense of proximity. The juxtaposition of a softly colored landscape and the red walls of the temple evoke the peaceful and solitary atmosphere of a mountain retreat.

In his own colophon on the painting, Qianlong commented on what inspired him to commission the painting. He wrote:

Like patterns of waves on a Lantian jade,
And silvery hair on the nape of a dragon,⁴⁵
This scenery is verily a chalk sketch transmitted from the Heavens,
After which I ordered [Ruo'ai] to blow off the chill and wield his brush.

Because the journey was still far, and the road muddy with snow,
We did not cross the river to visit the temple.
Passing through, I humbly paid homage to the temple in my heart,
And thank the mountain spirits for generously exposing all of their silvery horns.

Smoky aromas of slow-cooked taros emerge from the monastery kitchen,
And mountain monks [who subsists on taros] are fittingly thin and pure.
Where poetry and meditation are in unison, there it can be reached by color and form;
That which cannot be pictured is in this picture.

While journeying back from the Wutai Mountains on the imperial carriage, I passed through Zhenhai si. Deep snow covered the forest, while the bare crevices of the mountain range exposed the temple complex. Naturally inspired, I ordered my minister to paint it.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ "Dragon" refers to the Qianlong emperor himself.

⁴⁶ 藍田生玉有波濤，古餘孛龍染鬣鬣。好是天公傳粉本，從教呵凍一揮毫。路遙作過禪虛叩，泥濘今來澗未登。多謝山靈不相吝，卻將全體露銀棱。煨芋煙霏香積廚，山僧消受合清癯。詩禪契處參形色，不可圖

As always, Qianlong's reasons for the commission correspond to his persistence in materializing the ineffable through artistic practice. At the sight of Zhenhai si he found an ineffable beauty that arose from an interdependence of pristine scenery and pure conduct. It is the profound "union of poetry and meditation (*shichan qichu* 詩禪契處)," he wrote, that Ruo'ai's painting can capture.⁴⁷ However, on his second journey to Wutai Shan, this time accompanied by Rölpe Dorjé, Qianlong was able to enter the monastery and discovered that Zhenhai si was not what he had envisioned. He wrote on a subsequent painting by Ruo'ai's brother Ruocheng:

The temple scenery is best captured from afar;
Having arrived at the monastery, there are not too many marvels.
But seeing it from a distance,
the view is covered with picturesque compositions (*huajing*).

Because I set the standard [for the world],
Everything I do must follow rules,
My actions are seen as exemplary for the world,
My speech and actions are passed down as law.

This saying was so true for previous sages,
That it is as though they were born with such standards.
Following this premise, with bigger things there should be promise of accomplishment,
And with smaller things, one ought to follow it without impatience.

If there is only one middle path,
How could the Buddhist scripture depart from it?
With those śramaṇas who are empty holders of porridge,
What need is there to reason with them?
It is a misfortune that this field of blessing
Is occupied only by monks in yellow and blue robes.⁴⁸

I remember the previous time
I stopped here on a return journey.
That time we also encountered snow,
And the auspicious leaves were being weighed down in clusters.
Amidst the green pines and the red walls of the monastery,
The cold air languidly sent out the sound of the temple bell.

For the purpose of capturing [the moment] through painting,
Ruo'ai came along in my carriage.

中如是圖。臺麓迴鑾經鎮海寺，積雪在林，凹峰露宇，天然畫意，因命傳臣寫之，注題斷句三首，乾隆丙寅初冬御摹。

⁴⁷ *Xingse* 形色 literally means form and color, but denotes artistic rendering.

⁴⁸ This means the monastery has both Han and Tibetan Buddhist monks.

He sketched the scenery,
And on the top and bottom ends of the painting are inscribed poems.

Today it has become a trace from the past,
And the painting has already entered the *Shiqu* collection.
The snow from last time seems to return like a promise,
But this time, the victorious harmony of spring has started to shine forth.
From the window cells of the monastic quarter,
One can see the brilliant moon.

The thousand folds of the wood,
Their color and form are difficult to take leave of.
So I pass my words on to Ruo'ai's younger brother,
To compose the picture following the tradition of Huang Tingjian and Zhao Mengfu.⁴⁹

Qianlong lamented in his colophon that having arrived at the monastery, he discovered the lack of religiosity on the part of the resident monks and considered it a great misfortune that such a field of blessing (*fudi* 福地) should be occupied by “hollow porridge-eaters” in “yellow and blue robes.”

Whereas Ruo'ai had been ordered to approximate with his brush the sublime union of poetry and meditation, Ruocheng had been instructed by Qianlong to “follow the traditions of Huang Tingjian and Zhao Mengfu.” Qianlong's palpable excitement and subsequent disappointment following his first and second visit to the monastery may also be suggested in the paintings themselves. The contrast between, on the one hand, the serene monastery nestled in pine forest, coupled with its meditative, taro-eating inhabitants, and on the other hand, the reality of poorly educated monks, many of whom only stayed in the monasteries so they could be fed porridge, is also a contrast between seeing an ideal and experiencing a reality. This disappointment also indirectly explains the reason for having favored a painting of the monastery viewed from across the riverbank, even though Qianlong was able to enter the monastery this second time. Ruocheng's painting reveals a noticeably enlarged monastery, though the whole complex appears more diminutive amidst a sea of pine trees of uniform shapes and sizes. In comparison, while clear and unobstructed stone steps lead all the way up to the gate of the monastery in Ruo'ai's painting, the visible portion of the path in Ruocheng's painting appears airy and unsubstantial and disappears from view just before the entrance to the monastery. Similarly, while the halls of the monastery are clearly delineated in accordance with the *jiehua* (boundary painting) technique, such that they seem to house believable spaces, in Ruocheng's

⁴⁹ 寺景宜遙看，到寺無多奇。卻見遙看處，紛然畫景披。予因是挈矩，萬事皆如茲。動而世為道，言行法則垂。此言往者然，至若生同時。遠則有望耳，不厭更近之。偶此道中庸，釋典何即離？閔黎粥飯罐，奚足語以斯！可惜佔福地，盡屬黃與緇。憶我前度來，迴鑾駐道陲。彼時亦逢雪，瑞葉紛葳蕤。翠柏紅牆間，寒剝送響遲。謂是宜圖取，若靄屬車隨。粉本為指授，幀端題以詩：逮今成舊跡，寶笈藏石渠。六翼仍踐盟，旋融春光照。數間精舍中，月戶親憑窺。千林復萬讖，色相難為辭。傳語示其弟，堅順蹤可師。乾隆丙寅秋遇雪五台道中，命張若靄寫鎮海寺小景成幅。庚午春復於此遇雪，因命其弟若澄繼為是圖，題以紀之。御筆。

painting, eaves of roofs recede in different directions, creating a somewhat jumbled space.⁵⁰ All together, Ruo'ai's painting displays a much more intimate portrait of the monastery than can be found in Ruo'cheng's.

The pair of paintings and inscriptions by Qianlong that detailed his reasons for the paintings' commissions reflects Qianlong's wistful sentiments towards a life of monastic retreat. Of the several dozen monasteries and landmarks at Wutai Shan frequented by the emperor, none became a subject of landscape painting. Positioning himself as a viewer, Qianlong insists on capturing the sight of the monastery from afar. Above all, the particular view of the temple is captured in a traditional Chinese landscape painting. As the sons of Zhang Tingyu (1672-1755), one of the most trusted senior officials of the Kangxi, Yongzheng and Qianlong reigns, the Zhang brothers were both painter-officials, rather than professional court painters in Qianlong's painting studios.⁵¹ Qianlong's choice of ordering the painting from his scholar-officials instead of from his professional court painters, such as Ding Guanpeng and Yao Wenhan, who were responsible for the majority of his religious paintings, was not a casual decision.⁵² Signifying culture and elegance, *wenren hua* 文人畫 was the Qianlong's chosen avenue for expressing and exhibiting profound sentiments and aspirations. As the only paintings he commissioned during his first and second imperial tours of Wutai Shan, they represent a conspicuous identification with the Chinese classical tradition of gentlemanly cultivation. As Patricia Berger noted, these two paintings resemble Qianlong's own painting of Mount Pan en route to the Eastern Mausoleums, on which he inscribed over thirty poems over the course of the five decades from the 1747 to 1793 (Figure 1.8).⁵³ Qianlong's revisiting and re-inscribing transforms the painted impression of the scenery into a site, and in turn the site of the holy mountain range into a mere sight.

From Destination to Origin

This scholar-gentlemanly take on Wutai Shan took a different turn with the arrival of Rölpe Dorjé at Wutai Shan in 1750. Rölpe Dorjé's took his first trip there in the entourage of the Qianlong emperor. He accompanied Qianlong to Wutai Shan on each one of Qianlong's subsequent visits and passed away at Wutai Shan shortly after their fourth pilgrimage there

⁵⁰ The technique of *jiehua* was favored by court painters of Ming and Qing. See Anita Chung, *Drawing Boundaries: Architectural Images in Qing China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004).

⁵¹ For the structure of the painting academy in the Qianlong court, see Yang Boda 楊伯達, "Qing Qianlong chao huayuan yange 清乾隆朝畫院沿革 [The development of the Qianlong painting academy in the Qing dynasty]," *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan* (1992, no. 1): 3-11.

⁵² This is closely linked to Qianlong's choice of scholar-connoisseurs for the compilation of *Midian Zhulin* and *Shiqu Baoji*. Zhang Ruo'ai served as a compiler on both catalogues. See Patricia Berger, *Empire of Emptiness* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003), 63-82.

⁵³ See Patricia Berger, "The Jiaqing Emperor's Magnificent Record of the Western Tour" in *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies*, special issue on Wutaishan under the Qing dynasty, Johan Elverskog & Gray Tuttle (eds.), Publication forthcoming. <http://www.thlib.org/collections/texts/jiats/>.

together. During each of these trips, Rölpe Dorjé directed many prayer-offerings and transmitted many teachings.⁵⁴ He must have either shared Qianlong's fondness for the scenic beauty of Zhenhai si, or have been granted imperial support to be housed there, for Zhenhai si became Rölpe Dorjé's official residence at Wutai Shan in subsequent decades and it is where his remains were ultimately enshrined in a golden reliquary (Figure 1.9). Among the one dozen major monasteries at Wutai Shan in the imperial itinerary, Zhenhai si was the only pre-existing temple which was not already an imperial station by the Kangxi period.⁵⁵ It was, in fact, a little-known monastery before Qianlong's 1750 visit. It did not make its way onto pre-Qing era gazetteer maps of Wutai Shan, and received no attention from previous Manchu emperors.⁵⁶ It was neither on the list of temples to be repaired nor among the temples prepared by the Shanxi provincial governor Arigün (Ch. Aligun 阿里衮, d. 1769) to "offer for viewing and touring" (*kegong guanlan zhe* 可供觀覽者) during the first imperial pilgrimage in 1746.⁵⁷ Even though Qianlong already observed monks in "yellow and blue robes" during his first trip, it was probably only when Rölpe Dorjé started to be based at Zhenhai si sometime after the 1750s that the monastery became a predominantly Tibetan Buddhist temple. Therefore, Zhenhai si's conversion into an imperially sponsored monastery would have also taken place after the two paintings by the Zhang brothers were completed.

⁵⁴ The itinerary of Qianlong's six visits in 1746, 1750, 1761, 1781, 1786, and 1792 are recorded in *Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'an guan* 中國第一歷史檔案館 ed., *Qianlong di qiju zhu* 乾隆帝起居注 [Imperial Diaries of the Qianlong reign] (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2002). Qianlong's 1792 visit is also recorded by the official Wang Chang in his diary. See Wang Chang 王昶, *Taihuai Suibi* 臺懷隨筆 [Notes from Taihuai] (Beijing: Qingpu Wangshi shunian shushe 青浦王氏塾南書舍, 1808).

⁵⁵ These monasteries include Puji si 普濟寺 on the southern peak, Yanjiao si 演教寺 on the central peak, Wanghai si 望海寺 on the eastern peak, Falei si 法雷寺 on the western peak, Lingying si 靈應寺 on the northern peak, Shuxiang si 殊像寺, Dailuo ding 大螺頂, Tailu si 臺麓寺, Pusa ding 菩薩頂, Xiantong si 顯通寺 Baiyun si 白雲寺, Luohou si 囉睺寺, Bishan si 碧山寺, Tayuan si 塔院寺, Yongquan si 湧泉寺, and Qingliang si 清涼寺. See sections on imperial writings in *Qingliang shan xinzhì* and *Qinding Qingliang shan zhi*.

⁵⁶ The Kangxi emperor was said to have eulogized Zhenhai si as a place of extraordinary scenery and seclusion in a 1711 commemorative stele of a recent restoration, but this inscription by Kangxi does not appear in any primary sources for recording stele inscriptions. See Zhou Zhenhua 周振華, *Wutai Shan beiwen bian-e yinglian shifu xuan* 五臺山碑文匾額楹聯詩賦選 [Selection of stele inscriptions, placard inscriptions, couplets, and poems from Wutai Shan] (Taiyuan: Shanxi Jianyu Chubanshe, 1998), 31; Cui Zhenseng and Wang Zhichao eds., *Wutai Shan beiwen xuanzhu* 五臺山碑文選註 [Annotated selection of stele inscriptions from Wutai Shan] (Taiyuan: Beiyue Wenyi Chubanshe, 1995), 92.

⁵⁷ Palace Memorial dated to the twentieth day of the tenth month of the fourteenth Year of the Qianlong reign. These temples that "offer for viewing and touring" at Wutai Shan include Tailu si 臺麓寺, Baiyun si 白雲寺, Tayuan si 塔院寺, Luohou si 囉睺寺, Xiantong si 顯通寺, Dailuo ding 大螺頂, Shouning si 壽寧寺, Yuhua zhi 玉花池, Bishan si 碧山寺. Qixian si 棲賢寺, Wanyuan an 萬緣庵, Qingliang shi si 清涼石寺, and Gunan tai 古南台. See *Diyi lishi dang'an guan* 中國第一歷史檔案館, "Qianjia nianjian Wutai shan simiao xingong xushan gongcheng shiliao 乾嘉年間五台山寺廟行宮修繕工程史料 [Historical documents concerning the building and restoration of temples at Wutai Shan in the Qianlong and Jiaqing era]" *Historical Archives (Lishi dang'an)* no.3 (2001):33.

If Zhenhai si's relative anonymity and remoteness were qualities that attracted Qianlong to it in the first place, his subsequent activities at Wutai Shan represented an interest in the opposite direction. As Wutai Shan became a favorite place of solitude for Rölpe Dorjé, the Qianlong emperor moved his attention away from *literati* aspirations toward the ritual, efficacious, and cosmological. After 1750, the Qianlong emperor busied himself with a wide range of devotional as well as promotional activities based at Wutai Shan. His successive pilgrimages (six times altogether) to Wutai Shan over the span of forty years generated increasing fanfare, from the restoration of roads, temples, to the building of traveling palaces en route, from the offering of rituals and sumptuous donations to the lavishly staged theatrical performances on the occasion of his and his mother's birthdays.⁵⁸ Away from Wutai Shan, before and after each trip, Qianlong sought to bring the mountain range geographically and linguistically closer to his court. He commissioned architectural replicas of Wutai Shan's temples in Chengde 承德 and Xiangshan 香山, established Manchu monasteries within them, ordered the compilation of a new mountain gazetteer (*shanzhi* 山志), and the multi-lingual translation of texts related to Wutai Shan.

In the section to follow, a chronological examination of these various translation and transplantation projects reveals Qianlong's increasing recognition of Wutai Shan as a source of transformational power. Indeed, what began as a personal appreciation for scenic beauty and spiritual cultivation at Zhenhai si became a series of serious assertions of Manchu imperial identity that drew on Wutai Shan's cosmographical significance as Mañjuśrī's resident abode.⁵⁹ Wutai Shan's ritual and spiritual potency became a main source for Qianlong in his restructuring of a particular Manchu Tibetan Buddhist identity and cosmology.⁶⁰ The person behind the design and execution of Qianlong's various translation, replication, and mapping projects was none other than Rölpe Dorjé. These collaborations between Qianlong and Rölpe Dorjé from the 1750s to the 1780s mark Wutai Shan's transformation from a site of imperial sponsorship to one that fueled the formation of a Manchu imperial Buddhist identity.

Since David Farquhar wrote his influential 1978 article, "Emperor as Bodhisattva in the Governance of The Ch'ing Empire," Qing scholars have increasingly tuned in to the ways in

⁵⁸ Dramas for the emperor and empresses-dowagers' birthdays constitute an important part of Qing ritual dramas. They were written and presented by local officials to the throne when the emperor visits on imperial tours. For an excellent case study of Qing ritual dramas, see Ye Xiaoqing, "Ascendant Peace in the Four Seas: Tributary Drama and the Macartney Mission of 1793" *Late Imperial China*. 26, No. 2 (2005): 89-113. According to Ye, these series of six drama date to 1786. But the source Ye cites actually dates the dramas to Qianlong's third visit to Wutai Shan in 1761. This makes more sense considering the 1761 visit coincided with the celebration of Qianlong's 50th and his mother's 70th birthdays. See Fu Xihua 傅惜華, *Qingdai Zaju Quanmu* 清代雜劇全目 [Complete catalogue of dramas during the Qing] (Beijing, Renmin chubanshe, 1981), 383-386. On the whole, ritual offerings remain an important and unexplored area in the study of Wutai Shan. Ritual manuals for propitiating local deities remain one of the major genres of Tibetan texts authored at and about Wutai shan. See Appendix VII.

⁵⁹ Berger, *Empire of Emptiness*, 162.

⁶⁰ This is famously known through replicas of various Tibetan monasteries at Chengde. See Anne Chayet, *Les temples de Jehol et leurs modèles tibétains*. Synthèse no. 19 (Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1985); James Millward, ed. et al., *New Qing Imperial History: The Making of Inner Asian Empire at Qing Chengde*. (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004).

which Qing emperors perpetuated their status as a bodhisattva-incarnate toward their Tibetan and Mongolian constituents.⁶¹ In the case of the Qianlong emperor, much more evidence has surfaced since to reveal his conscious crafting and public assertion of this identity.⁶² Situating Qianlong's replicas of Shuxiang si's image within his practice of copying the true image, Patricia Berger observed that, "As Mañjuśrī's fields of enlightened action proliferated in places closer to home, they increasingly seemed to define specifically Manchu territory, with the pun on Mañjuśrī as 'Lord of the Manchu' clearly intended."⁶³ As the following will show, this series of projects to replicate and relocate Wutai Shan is at the heart of Qianlong's unprecedented articulation of his role as the Bodhisattva-emperor.

Baodi si and the Creation of a New Manchu Monastic Culture

In 1751, after returning from a pilgrimage with his mother the year earlier, Qianlong expressed to Rölpe Dorjé his aspirations to build an exclusively Manchu Tibetan Buddhist monastery. Even though there had been Manchus who had become lamas, an exclusive Manchu monastery would be the first of its kind.⁶⁴ To fulfill his aspiration, Qianlong commissioned a replica of Wutai Shan's Pusa ding 菩薩頂 (Monastery of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī's Peak) at Xiangshan west of Beijing named Baodi si 寶諦寺 (Temple of the Precious Truth), and asked Rölpe Dorjé to be in charge of its design.⁶⁵ Pusa ding has been an unchanging locus of pilgrimage and imperial sponsorship since at least the Tang dynasty.⁶⁶ Located on the summit of Lingjiu shan 靈鷲山 (Vulture Peak Mountain), it is the highest point in the town of Taihuai 臺懷, the valley town between the five terraces.⁶⁷ According to the *Expanded Record of the Clear and Cool Mountains*, compiled around 1061, the first temple at the site was Wenshu yuan 文殊院 (Cloister of Mañjuśrī), built by the Northern Wei (385-534) Emperor Xiaowen 孝文 (r. 471-

⁶¹ David M. Farquhar, "Emperor as Bodhisattva in the Governance of the Ch'ing Empire." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 38 (1978):5-34.

⁶² Wenhua Luo, *Longpao yu jiasha*, 537-546.

⁶³ Patricia Berger, *Empire of Emptiness*, 162.

⁶⁴ Thu'u bkwan, *Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje'i rnam thar*, 332. It is unclear whether this instance refers to the building of Baoxiang si after 1761 or Baodi si after 1750. In Chen Qingying's chronology of Rölpe Dorjé, he described it as happening after the 1761 return from Wutai Shan. But in Rölpe Dorjé's biography by Thu'u bkwan, the event recorded in between events in the 1740s and 1750s. See Chen Qingying, "Zhangjia Ruobi duoji nianpu (II) 章嘉若必多吉年谱 (二) [Chronology of Rölpe Dorjé]," *Qinghai minzu yanjiu* no. 2 (1990): 37.

⁶⁵ Huang Hao 黄颢, *Zai Beijing de zangzu wenwu* 在北京的藏族文物 [Tibetan cultural materials in Beijing] (Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 1993), 85.

⁶⁶ See Huixiang 慧祥, *Gu Qingliang zhuan* 古清凉傳 [Ancient History of the Clear and Cool Mountains] (Tang dynasty). The temple was then called Dafutu si (T.2098: 51, 1094a25-b2).

⁶⁷ Namely, after its similarity with the shape of the Vulture Peak. See Yanyi 延一 (fl. 1060). *Guang Qingliang zhuan* 廣清凉傳 [Expanded Record of the Clear and Cool Mountains], T.2099: 51, 1103 c18.

99).⁶⁸ The same record indicates that though apparitions of Mañjuśrī were known to appear on this peak frequently, it was not until the time of the Tang Emperor Ruizong 睿宗 (662-716) that the temple became home to a sculpted image of Mañjuśrī. This history is captured in a famous tale of the reclusive sculptor Ansheng 安生 of unknown origin, who, after many failed attempts to complete an image of Mañjuśrī without cracks, appealed to the bodhisattva and then succeeded in making a perfect image by modeling it after seventy-two manifestations of Mañjuśrī that accompanied him as he completed his work.⁶⁹ Known thereafter as Zhenrong yuan 真容院 (The Cloister of the True Countenance) the temple became a primary locus of pilgrimage and conspicuous recipient of donations by emperors of successive dynasties, and its name changed to Pusa ding during the Ming Yongle 永樂 period (1403-1424). The Qing Shunzhi 順治 emperor renovated it extensively into an official imperial establishment with yellow-glazed tiles, where the successive *jasagh* lamas have resided. It also housed the imperial traveling palace (*xinggong* 行宮), where the Kangxi 康熙 (r. 1662-1722), Qianlong (r. 1736-1795), and Jiaqing 嘉慶 (r. 1796-1820) emperors all stayed there during their numerous visits to Wutai Shan.⁷⁰

Since Wutai Shan's Pusa ding has been the undisputed center of worship and imperial sponsorship since at least the Tang Dynasty, its replication was a way to create a surrogate not just for a single monastery, but for the whole mountain range of Wutai Shan. Qianlong was by no means the first person to "relocate" Wutai Shan elsewhere through the recreation of a monastery at Wutai Shan. Throughout its long history, Wutai Shan has been a uniquely popular site of replication in Japan, Korea, Central Asia, Tibet, and close to Beijing, and such recreations frequently involved the erection of a new temple named after a monastery at Wutai Shan.⁷¹ Qianlong's choice of initiating a Manchu Tibetan Buddhist monastery and housing it in a surrogate of Wutai Shan's most conspicuously imperial temple seems more than appropriate.

⁶⁸ Ibid., T.2099: 51, 1103 c10-12.

⁶⁹ Ibid., T.2099: 51, 1110 a14-c2.

⁷⁰ The design and building of imperial palaces at Wutai Shan were undertaken by the Lei family. Architectural sketches of these traveling places are still preserved in the Yangshi Lei archive at the National library in Beijing and the National Science library in Beijing. See Wang Han 王菡, "Yangshi lei bixia de wutai shan xinggong 样式雷笔下的五台山行宫 [traveling palaces of Wutai shan designed by Yangshi lei]" *Visible Traces (Wenjin liuchang)*, special volume on Yangshi lei (2006): 43-44.

⁷¹ For sites in Japan, see Yasuko Kojima 小島裕子, "Godaisan bukkyō bunka no tenrai to nihonteki tenkai 五台山仏教文化の伝来と日本的展開 [Buddhist culture of Wutai shan and its development in Japan]" (paper presented at Wutai shan conference, Wutai shan, Shanxi, August 12-14, 2009). For sites in the Tangut state, see Yang Fuxue 楊富學, "Xixia Wutai shan xinyang zhenyi 西夏五臺山信仰斟議 [Notes on Wutai shan veneration in the Xixia dynasty]" *Xixia yanjiu* no. 1(2010): 14-22. For sites in Tibet, see 'Jam-dbyangs Mkhayen-brtse'i-dbang-po et al., *Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet* [in Tibetan] (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1958), 72; and Andreas Gruschke, *The Cultural Monuments of Tibet's Outer Provinces: Kham* (Bangkok: White Lotus Press, 2004), 82. See also Shi Jinbo 史金波, *Xixia fojiao shilue* 西夏佛教史略 [Survey of Tangut Buddhist history] (Yinchuan: Ningxia renmin chubanshe 1988), 118-119 and 156; cited in Robert Gimello, "Wu-t'ai Shan 五臺山 during the Early Chin Dynasty 金朝: The Testimony of Chu Pien 朱弁," *Chung-Hwa Buddhist Journal* 7 (1994): 507. A small Wutai shan also exists in Zhangjiakou west of Beijing.

As a quintessentially Chinese sacred mountain range with deep roots in Tibetan Buddhism, and as the field of enlightenment for the deity of whom the Manchu emperors are considered incarnations, Wutai Shan was an excellent source and model for the instigation of a new imperial Manchu monastic culture.

Even though no stele inscriptions at Baodi si survive or have been recorded, we learn from court documents that as early as the eleventh month of the fifteenth year of the Qianlong reign (December of 1750), two hundred Manchu lamas were chosen and installed at Baodi si to study scriptures.⁷² Architecturally and topographically, it is not known to what extent Baodi si was designed as an imitation of Wutai Shan's Pusa ding (Figure 1.10). Historical photographs from the beginning of the twentieth century show a surviving stone gate at the foot of the hill (Figure 1.11). Presumably an imitation of the gate at the base of Pusa ding, famously inscribed by Qianlong's grandfather Kangxi on his visit to Wutai Shan (Figure 1.12), it is a closer kin to the contemporaneously erected stone gate at Xiangshan's Biyun si 碧雲寺, a Yuan-dynasty temple where Qianlong replicated a Tibetan-style Mahābodhi Temple in 1748 (Figure 1.13).⁷³ But as we will see from Qianlong's subsequent attempt to bring Wutai Shan to Xiangshan following his 1761 pilgrimage, formal replicas were essential in transferring the authentic sacred power of Wutai Shan.

Replicating the True Image at Baoxiang Si

Qianlong's 1761 visit to Wutai Shan was necessarily eventful, as the year coincided with his mother's seventieth and his own fiftieth birthday.⁷⁴ At every stop, the imperial entourage was greeted with fanfare and sumptuous gifts by local officials who were eager to please. At Wutai Shan, a six-part drama was presented in honor of the double birthday.⁷⁵ It was during this trip that Qianlong himself turned his attention toward 殊像寺 Shuxiang si (Temple of Mañjuśrī's

⁷² Wang Jiapeng 王家鵬, "Qianlong yu Manzu lama siyuan 乾隆與滿族喇嘛寺院 [Qianlong and Manchu Tibetan Buddhist Monasteries]" *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan* 1 (1995): 60. Beginning with Baodi si, as many as thirteen Manchu monasteries were built in Beijing, Shengjing, Chengde, and the Western and Eastern Mausoleums. See Lin Shixuan 林士鉉, *Qingdai menggu yu manzhou zhengzhi wenhua* 清代蒙古與滿洲政治文化 [Mongolia and the Political Culture of the Manchus in the Qing Dynasty] (Kaohsiung: fuwen, 2009), 136-138.

⁷³ Anne Chayet, "Architectural Wonderland: An Empire of Fictions" in *New Qing Imperial History: The Making of Inner Asian Empire at Qing Chengde*, 49; Li Qianlang, "Beijing Biyun si jingang baota zuo 北京碧雲寺金剛寶座塔 [The Diamond Throne at Beijing Biyun si]" *Zijin cheng* no.9 (2009): 12-15; Zhang Yuxin, *Qingdai lamajiao beiwen* 清代喇嘛教碑文 [Stele inscriptions from Qing-dynasty Lamaism] (Beijing: Tianjing guji chubanshe, 1987) 132-133. Significantly, this is where revolutionary and modern China's founding father Sun Yat-sen's body was interred temporarily before his burial in his mausoleum in Nanjing.

⁷⁴ The entourage departed Beijing in tenth day of the second month, and returned more than a month later. *Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'an guan* ed., *Qianlong di qiju zhu*, vol. 20, 42-85.

⁷⁵ A copy of this play is in the Gest Library at Princeton University. See Wu Xiaoling, "Glowing Clouds in an Azure Sky: A Newly Discovered Royal Pageant," *Gest Library Journal* 3 (1989): 46-55. In the genre of tributary dramas, the play featured "celestial deities on five-colored clouds," "gods of the Five Marchmonts," and heads of "ten thousand states," arriving to pay obeisance and offer birthday wishes to the emperor and empress-dowager.

Image), a large, imperially sponsored monastery located on the edge of the Taihuai 臺懷 town (Figure 1.14). Upon visiting the monastery with his mother, Qianlong was particularly moved by the image of Mañjuśrī on a lion (Figure 1.15); he made at least one sketch of it while he and his entourage were still on the road back to Beijing, and wrote a poem describing his heartfelt experience next to it.⁷⁶ This time, Qianlong was inspired to capture the true-trace of a sacred Buddhist image with his own hands, instead of ordering a court-official to compose a traditional landscape painting of a snowy scene.

The illustrious history of this particular image is famously told and retold in the miraculous tale of the image's origin, in which Mañjuśrī appeared in perfect form in the sky to aid a sculptor experiencing a profound sculptor's block.⁷⁷ In Tibetan recensions of the story, the deity instructed the sculptor to make an image after his countenance. The sculptor improvised by grabbing the nearest available dough in the kitchen (it was around lunch time at the monastery) and molding it into the shape of the apparition's head.⁷⁸ This story of divine intervention in the

⁷⁶ 是像即非像，文殊特地殊，毫端寶王刹，鏡裡焰光珠，法雨滄桑潤，梵雲朝暮圖，高山仰止近，屏氣步霄衢。謁殊像寺得句，因寫滿月容，以紀其真，即書於右，行營促成，限於方幅，迴鑾餘暇，將放展成大圖勒石，須彌棗葉，無異無同，五於此未免著相矣。辛巳暮春，保陽行宮並識。 Translation: "An image and not an image, Mañjuśrī's abode is indeed special. The awe of the bejeweled king is at the tip of the brush, and brilliant flaming light in the reflection of the mirror. The rain of Buddhist teachings moisten all worldly sufferings, the heavenly clouds at dawn and dusk make a marvelous sight. I gaze up upon the tall mountains; holding my breath I approach the high path. When I paid a visit to Shuxiang si, these verses came to me. Therefore I sketch the full-moon countenance [of Mañjuśrī] in order to document its authenticity, and compose a colophon to its right. This is hastily executed while still on road, so its size is constrained. When there is time after our return, I will enlarge it and restrain it on a rock [make a relief carving]. Mt. Meru and a date leaf, are neither different nor the same. If one were to insist on this it would be attaching oneself to form. Written at Baoyang traveling palace, at the end of spring season during the Xinyi year (1761)." It is recorded in *Qinding Midian Zhulin, Shiqu Baoji, xubian* 欽定秘殿珠林, 石渠寶笈, 續編 [Imperially ordered Beaded Grove of the Secret Hall and Precious Bookbox of the Stone Drain, supplement] (Taipei: Guoli Gugong Bowuyuan, 1971), 42. Baoyang Palace probably refers to Baoding 保定 in Hebei Province.

⁷⁷ The legend was cited in a 1608 stele erected by monk Zhencheng, the Ming-dynasty compiler of *Qingliang shan zhi* See Cui Zhenseng and Wang Zhichao eds., *Wutai Shan beiwen xuanzhu*, 289-291. See also Huanyu, "Shuxiang si li de chuanshuo gushi 殊像寺里的传说故事 [legends of Shuxiang si]," *Wutai Shan yanjiu*, no. 3 (1996): 47-48.

⁷⁸ In this story, the old abbot of the monastery hosted a competition for the design of the main image. Dissatisfied with each and every design entry, the old abbot finally accepted the pleas from an extremely skilled sculptor and his team of artisans, who, having journeyed from afar, vowed to not return home if their work did not meet the expectations of the abbot. The project began and progressed in due time, but stopped when they reached the deity's head. The sculptor was at loss attempting the perfect design for Mañjuśrī's head. After several days of the artist's block, at around lunch time, clouds suddenly parted and the perfect form of Mañjuśrī riding on a lion appeared in the sky. Witnessing this, all prostrated in complete amazement and adoration. The sculptor immediately got up, ran into the kitchen, grabbed a batch of buckwheat dough prepared for lunch, and sculpted after the heavenly apparition. Just as he was finishing up, Mañjuśrī disappeared. This story of miraculous occurrence spread far and wide, and soon pilgrims rush from near and far all come to pay homage to the resulting sculpture. See Ye shes don grub and A lag sha Ngag dbang bstan dar, *Ri bo dwangs bsil gyi 'jam dpal mtshan ldan gling gi mtshar sdug sku brnyan gyi lo rgyus bskor tshad dang bcas pa dad ldan skye bo'i spro bskyod me tog 'phreng mdzes* [A beautiful flower garland to rouse the faithful: the history and environs of the Beautiful image of the Temple of Mañjuśrī's Marks at the Mountain of Clear and Cool] Manuscript in the collection of mi rigs rig gnas pho brang/minzu wenhua gong 民族文化宮 [Minorities Cultural Palace], Beijing (1818): 5a; Lcang skya, Rol pa'i rdo rje. *Zhing mchog ri bo rtse lnga'i gnas bzhad* (Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe sgrun khang. 1993): 43.

making of an image resonates with that of the Tang-dynasty sculptor Ansheng at Pusa ding, but this time with a distinct local flavor. The temple became so-well revered among the Tibetan and Mongolian population that the Tumed Mongol prince Yéshé Döndrup (Ye shes don grub bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan, 1792-1855) authored a text on the history and environs of Shuxiang si with the help of the eminent Tibetan Buddhist grammarian Ngawang Tendar of the Alasha banner (A lag sha Ngag dbang bstan dar, 1759-1831).⁷⁹ Today, this image is still referred to as the “Buckwheat-dough-headed Mañjuśrī in Tibetan and Mongolian sources (Tib. ‘Jam dbyangs rtsam mgo, Mong. Gulir terigütü manzusiri).⁸⁰ The story of the image’s miraculous origin attests to its extraordinary popularity among pilgrims of Wutai Shan. Already a prominent destination of imperial sponsorship and pilgrimage, Shuxiang si was frequently visited by the Kangxi emperor, who made numerous poems about the remarkable characteristics of the image (*faxiang zuiyi* 法相最異) and sumptuous donations for its restoration (Figure 1.16)⁸¹.

Qianlong’s devotion to Shuxiang si, however, was unprecedented and continued long after the trip was over. As soon as he returned to Beijing, he ordered Ding Guanpeng to make a large painting based on his original sketch. Court documents from the painting department (Ruyi guan 如意館) record several paintings ordered multiple times through the year of 1761.⁸² Along with one of Qianlong’s own sketches, two paintings entered into *Midian Zhulin* 秘殿珠林, Qianlong’s catalogue of religious art, and are now in the collection of the National Palace Museum in Taipei, measuring an enormous size of 9 feet and 9 inches (297.3 cm) in height and 5 feet and three inches in width (159.1 cm) in width (Figures 1.17 and 1.18). Matching them with documents from the Ruyi guan, the two paintings can thus be dated to the fourth and twelfth month of the twentieth sixth year of Qianlong, respectively.⁸³

⁷⁹ Ye shes don grub and A lag sha Ngag dbang bstan dar, *Ri bo dwangs bsil gyi 'jam dpal mtshan ldan gling gi mtshar sdug sku brnyan gyi lo rgyus bskor tshad dang bcas pa dad ldan skye bo'i spro bskyod me tog 'phreng mdzes*.

⁸⁰ For a Tibetan source, see Ngag dbang bstan dar, *Dwangs bsil ri bo rtse lnga'i gnas bshad* [Pilgrimage Guide to the Clear and Cool Five Peak Mountain] (Beijing: krung go'i bod rig dpe skrun khang, 2007), 58; for Mongolian, see Ye shes don grub and A lag sha Ngag dbang bstan dar, *Ri bo dwangs bsil gyi 'jam dpal mtshan ldan gling gi mtshar sdug sku brnyan gyi lo rgyus bskor tshad dang bcas pa dad ldan skye bo'i spro bskyod me tog 'phreng*, 5 recto, line 3; the name also appears as an inscription on the late 18th, early 19th century map of Wutai Shan at Badyar Coyiling Süme to be discussed in Chapter II. See Appendix I.

⁸¹ See Zhao Lin'en 趙林恩 ed. *Wutai Shan shige zongji* 五台山诗歌总集 [Anthology of Wutai shan poems] vol.2 (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2002), 407.

⁸² *Neiwufu Huojidang* 內務府活計檔, box no. 110, P. 279: 乾隆二十六年四月十八日: 十八日接得員外郎安泰押帖一件, 內開本月十七日奉旨著丁觀鵬用舊宣紙畫文殊菩薩像著色工筆畫, 得時裱掛軸, 欽此。乾隆二十六年十二月十五日: 十二月十五日接得達色押帖一件, 內開十四日太監胡世傑持來御筆文殊像二幅、丁觀鵬畫文殊像一副。傳旨著觀鵬仿蠟身樣法身起稿, 仍用舊宣紙另畫三幅, 其塔門暫且放下, 先畫文殊像, 欽此。I thank Wang Ching-Ling for this reference.

⁸³ Wang Ching-Ling noted that the painting with a colophon dating it to the fourth month is made up of many small pieces of paper, suggesting it might have acted as a kind of large preparatory painting. The latter has a colophon that describe the painting process of taking seven months, which would date the painting to the eleventh month of the year, just one month prior to presentation to the emperor as record in Neiwu fu Ruyi guan’s documents. Personal communication, August 13, 2010.

The paintings are by the same hand and virtually identical in size, but many adjustments are made from the former to the latter. Immediately noticeable are the different position of the lions. In the earlier painting (Figure 1.17), the lion stands toward the front, with its head turned upward and to the side. In the later version (Figure 1.18), the lion's stance is rotated clockwise, and its turned head now faces directly frontally. Since the former version more closely resembles the position of the lion vis-à-vis its rider Mañjuśrī in the original image at Shuxiang si, the later "corrected" version was probably an emendation directed by Qianlong himself. This change in the position was significant later, as Ding Guanpeng's final and finished painting served as the original source for a sculpture of Mañjuśrī at Xiangshan, and later, the original, twice-removed, for an image at Chengde.

Focusing solely on the two paintings, however, the most significant alteration lies in the minor adjustment of Mañjuśrī's physiognomy. In the later painting, Mañjuśrī has a more angular face, rather than the rounded face of a more idealized Bodhisattva figure. In Figure 1.18, the neckline is no longer the ideal bodhisattva neckline with three parallel curves, but the single curve that renders the smooth and rounded chin of a person. The bodhisattva's eyebrows are thicker, and his nose is wider. The image is also rid of the curls of hairs on the forehead that appear in idealized renderings of deities. As a result, the latter painting carries unmistakably a resemblance to Qianlong, while the former renders only the face of an idealized bodhisattva. This added identity of the deity complicates what was originally an innocuous "imitation (*fang fang*)" as it was called, of the image of Mañjuśrī at Shuxiang si, and enters it into the rank of "emperor-as-bodhisattva" paintings. Similarly, the lion carrying Mañjuśrī supported this shift toward a worldly identity of the deity. While the four legs of the lion in former version are placed on four lotus blossoms, in the latter, its paws are solidly planted on the ground, more like a lion than a lion throne.

As Qianlong was instructing Ding Guanpeng to paint an image of Mañjuśrī by "imitating the original Shuxiang si sculpture (*fang lashen yang fashen* 仿蠟身樣法身)," he also ordered a sculpted replica of the image based on the painting, and asked Rölpe Dorjé to design a temple to house this image.⁸⁴ Named Baoxiang si 寶相寺 (Temple of Precious Image), the temple took five years to build, and was completed in 1767 (Figure 1.19).⁸⁵ Court document suggests that as soon as construction was underway, Manchu lamas were being selected to be installed there. As early as 1763, only two years after the building project began, the monastery was already expanding to include sixty more lamas.⁸⁶ Qianlong's original sketch from 1761 was, according to his instruction in the colophon of the sketch, enlarged on a stone stele (*fangzhen cheng datu leshi* 放展成大圖勒石, i.e., enlarge and restrain [the sketch] on a rock) and placed next to the

⁸⁴ According to his biography, Rölpe Dorjé was in charge of building Baoxiang si. See Thu'u bkwan, *Lcang skya*, 486.

⁸⁵ The main hall of the temple, Xuhua zhige 旭華之閣, still stands in a ruinous condition today.

⁸⁶ Wang Jiapeng, "Qianlong yu Manzu lama siyuan," 60. Wang cites Neiwufu zouxiaodang 內務府奏銷檔 [Imperial Household Agency archives, Financial accounts volumes], 319 *ce*. See also *Qinding Lifan yuan zeli*, *juan* 58, 16; *juan* 59, 25.

finished temple.⁸⁷ While the image was made after Shuxiang si's Mañjuśrī on a lion, the temple itself was designed after a mandala, round in the inside, and square on the outside.⁸⁸

Baoxiang si's commemorative stele dated to 1767 explains that Qianlong's primary intention for recreating a Shuxiang si at Xiangshan was to save his elderly mother from the toils of journeys to Wutai Shan.⁸⁹ As an act of filial piety toward the empress-dowager, this recreation was effectively used as such, since Qianlong's next trip to Wutai Shan was in 1781, four years after his mother had passed away. But in order to legitimize this recreation, Qianlong launched into a lengthy explication about the relational geography of his newly created monastery. On specifically why this recreation was both necessary and legitimate, the stele records:

Mañjuśrī has long dwelled in this worldly realm, but has exclusively manifested and preached at the Mountain of Clear and Cool. Accordingly, the Avataṃsaka chapter refers [to Mañjuśrī] as the bodhisattva of the Eastern realm. Qingliang is located to the west of the capital, and Xiangshan is also to the west of the capital; in relation to Qingliang, Xiangshan is still positioned to its east; in relation to India, Qingliang and Xiangshan are both in the easterly direction. Therefore, how can one say these two mountains are not the same, much less that they are different? Citing Lu Yuanzhang's response to Daoxuan, "Mañjuśrī can be seen with the rise and fall of dharmas; he manifests and transforms without limit; he is one and he is two, because in Mañjuśrī himself a discriminating view does not arise. So, why would he insist on Qingliang as his dharma abode, and not know that Xiangshan can also be his field of enlightenment? If it is so, then why would one be surprised to find spring water wherever one digs? In the past, we have paid obeisance to Mañjuśrī at Wutai to pray for [his] blessings. But Qingliang is more than a thousand *li* away from the capital. Being carried in an imperial carriage, I have only made it there three times. But Xiangshan is only thirty *li* away from the capital, so we can go year after year. Therefore with the aspiration for the flourishing of the Buddhist faith for ten thousand years from this point on, the temple at Xiangshan was initially built."⁹⁰

⁸⁷ Dou Guangnai 寶光鼎 (1720-1795) ed., *Qinding rixia jiuwen kao* 欽定日下舊聞考 [Imperial edition of *legends of old about the capital*] (Beijing: Wuying dian, 1774), *juan* 103, 8.

⁸⁸ Ibid. For the design of the mandalic structure, see Heather Stoddard, "Dynamic Structures in Buddhist Maṇḍalas: Apradaksina and Mystic Heat in the Mother Tantra Section of the Anuttarayoga Tantras," *Artibus Asiae* 58, No. 3/4 (1999): 169-213.

⁸⁹ The stele reads: 歲辛巳，值聖母皇太后七旬大慶，爰奉安輿詣五臺，所以祝釐也。殊像寺在山之麓，為瞻禮文殊初地，妙相莊嚴，光耀香界，默識以歸。即歸則心追手摹，係以讚而勒之碑。香山南麓，向所規菩薩頂之寶諦寺在焉。迺於寺右度隙地，出內府金錢，飭具庀材，營構藍若，視碑摹而像設之。... 經始於乾隆壬午春，越今丁亥春葺工。See Zhang Yuxin 張羽新, *Qing zhengfu yu lama jiao* 清政府與喇嘛教 [The Qing government and lamaism] (Lhasa: Xizang remin chubanshe, 1988): 409-411.

⁹⁰ 因記之曰：文殊師利久住娑婆世界，而應現說法則獨在清涼山，固《華嚴品》所謂東方世界中菩薩者也。夫清涼在畿輔之西，而香山亦在京城之西。然以清涼視香山，則香山為東，若以竺乾視震旦，則清涼、香

Repeatedly acknowledging the fact that Mañjuśrī is unbounded by place and form, Qianlong is paradoxically invested in locating and relocating the tangible material body that best holds the essence of Mañjuśrī. In recreating the image of Mañjuśrī from Shuxiang si, Qianlong sought to recreate the entire temple, and by extension, the entire mountain range of Wutai in Xiangshan just outside of capital. As a metonym for Wutai Shan, the authenticity of the image rests upon two seemingly contradictory claims: first, Mañjuśrī is unconfined by fixed notions of place and form, and, second, Mañjuśrī is rightfully in a specific place (Xiangshan), and precisely in a specific form (the image of Mañjuśrī at Baoxiang si) because of its specific directional location vis-à-vis India and its status as a copy in relation to the original.⁹¹

As we shall see, it is in the ambiguity caused by these two claims that Qianlong is able to derive his own legitimacy as a Mañjuśrī-incarnate and Manchu Buddhist ruler. Carefully staging himself east of India, closer to Wutai Shan and closer-yet to replicas of them than the Dalai Lama in Lhasa, Qianlong explicitly asserted what has been a tacit connection for previous Manchu rulers. Baoxiang si's inscriptions do not expound on this association, nor do they mention the establishment of a Manchu Buddhist monastery. As initial attempts to reify his bodhisattvahood, Qianlong's emphasis was the recreation of Mañjuśrī's holy abode for reasons of filial piety. But his more public agendas were increasingly made known in subsequent projects.

Replicating the Replica

In 1774, Qianlong began building a Manchu Buddhist monastery at Chengde named Shuxiang si after the original one at Wutai Shan (Figure 1.20). Completed in just one year, the monastery was designed from the beginning to facilitate the translation of the Manchu Buddhist canon, a monumental project that had commenced that same year.⁹² Its main hall was also designed to house the Manchu canon once it was finished in 1790.⁹³ On his 1775 stele

山又皆東也。是二山者不可言同，何況云異？矧陸元暢之答宣律師曰：文殊隨緣利見，應變不窮，是一是二，在文殊本不生分別見，倘必執清涼為道場，而不知香山之亦可為道場，則何異鑿井得泉而謂水專在是哉？而昔之詣五臺禮文殊，所以祝釐也，而清涼距畿輔千餘里，掖輦行慶，向惟三至焉。若香山則去京城三十里而進，歲可一再至。繼自今憶萬年延洪演乘，茲惟其恒，是則予建寺香山之初志也。寺成，名之曰：寶相。See Zhang Yuxin, *Qing zhengfu yu lama jiao*, 408.

⁹¹ For a study on knowledge of India during the Qianlong period, See chapter two of Matthew Mosca's dissertation "Qing China's Perspective on India, 1750-1847" (Ph.D. Diss, Harvard University, 2008).

⁹² The Manchu Buddhist canon took nearly twenty years and involved more than five hundred translators to complete. See Walther Fuchs, "Zum mandjurischen Kandjur," *Asia Major* 6 (1930): 388-402; Hans-Rainer Kämpfe, "Einige tibetische und mongolische Nachrichten zur Entstehungsgeschichte des mandjurischen Kanjur," *Zentralasiatische Studien* 9 (1975): 537-46; Hu Jinshan 胡進衫, "Qianlong hongyuan, fabao mingzhu: qingwen quanzang jing 乾隆宏願，法寶明珠：清文全藏經 [Qianlong's grand wish and the jewel of dharma: the Manchu Canon], *Gugong wenwu yuekan* 206 (2004): 36-40; Feng Shudong 馮術東, "Shuxiang si yu manwen dazing jing 殊像寺與滿文大藏經 [Shuxiang si and the Manchu Canon]," *Wenwu Chunqiu* (2005), no. 1, 41-43.

⁹³ According to Wang, Lifan yuan's records indicate sixty three Manchu lamas resided in Shuxiang si. See Wang Jiapeng, "Qianlong yu Manzu lama siyuan," 62. Wang does not cite the specific passage.

inscription commemorating the completion of the monastery, Qianlong explains that while the image of Mañjuśrī was made after the image from Baoxiang si, the monastery was based on the original one at Wutai Shan.⁹⁴ It was built on the northern slopes beyond the Summer Palace on the western side of Putuo zongcheng miao 普陀宗乘廟, the Potala replica erected in 1771.

The monastic complex follows the central plan of a Han-Chinese monastery: the gate, the protectors' chapel (Tianwang dian 天王殿), and a main prayer hall (Huicheng dian 會乘殿) are laid on the central axis, with chapels and monk's quarters situated on both sides. The third and main hall of the complex is set atop a series of steps on the gently sloping hill (Figure 1.21). Comparing Shuxiang si's layout with gazetteer depictions of Wutai Shan's Shuxiang si, some have argued that it is indeed closely based on the original Shuxiang si at Wutai Shan.⁹⁵ In truth, the layout of Shuxiang si is no different than any centrally planned Chinese temple. What is essential here is the conscious adoption of a Han-Chinese temple plan for the building of a Manchu Tibetan Buddhist monastery. This choice is conspicuous in light of the two Tibetan "replicas" Qianlong built before and after Shuxiang si on the same hill.⁹⁶ Be that as it may, the layout of the main prayer hall Huicheng dian resembles more a Tibetan/Mongolian style hall than a Chinese one. Measuring seven *jian* wide and five *jian* deep, it is designed as a prayer and gathering hall with images at the far end, as opposed to a Chinese style hall, which has either a shallower space or its images housed in the center.

Behind the third and main prayer hall of the complex is an artificial mountain landscape (*jiashan* 假山) with grottoes and meandering passage ways that lead up to an octagonal pavilion that houses the Mañjuśrī on a lion (Figure 1.22). Even though the pavilion and the original image are no longer extant, early photographs allow us to compare this replica of a replica with the original image at Shuxiang si and Ding Guanpeng's paintings (Figures 1.17 and 1.18).⁹⁷ The Chengde Mañjuśrī is in almost exactly the same position of Ding Guanpeng's first painting: the bodhisattva sits in a frontal position, with his right knee pointing outward, and foot tugged

⁹⁴ The preface reads: 殊像寺落成瞻禮即事成什(有序): 五臺山為文殊師利道場, 梵語謂之曼殊師。山麓有寺曰: 殊像。傳是文殊示現處。妙相端嚴, 瞻仰生敬。辛巳春, 奉聖母, 幸五臺祝釐, 瓣香頂禮, 默識其像以歸。既歸摹勒諸石, 遂乃構香山肖碑模而像設之, 額曰: 寶相。茲於山莊普陀宗乘廟西, 營構蘭若, 莊校金容, 一如香山之制; 而殿堂樓閣, 略仿五臺山, 亦名殊像, 從其朔也。夫佛法無分, 別見清涼。五峰固文殊初地, 香山臺山, 非彼非此。矧以竺乾視之, 固同為震旦中菩薩示現之境乎? 是則闡宗風, 延曼壽, 功德利益, 又皆一合相之, 推廣平等者也。 The commemorative stele dates to the fortieth year of the Qianlong reign (1775). See Zhang Yuxin, *Qing zhengfu yu lama jiao*, 443.

⁹⁵ Meng Fanxing 孟繁興, "Chengde Shuxiang si yu Wutai Shan Shuxiang si 承德殊像寺與五台山殊像寺" in *Bishu shanzhuang luncong* 避暑山莊論叢 [Collected essays on the summer palace] (Beijing: Zijincheng chubanshe: 1986), 450-454.

⁹⁶ Qianlong built Putuo zongcheng miao, the replica of the Potala, in 1711, and Xumifoshou zhi miao, the replica of Tashi Lhunpo, in 1780.

⁹⁷ The Getty has been involved in a restoration project at Shuxiang si since 2002, and has published old photographs of the monastery for its extensive conservation report. See Chengde Cultural Heritage Bureau, Hebei Cultural Heritage Bureau, and The Getty Conservation Institute, *Assessment Report on Shuxiang Temple, Chengde*, rev. Sept. 2009. Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute, 2009. Available online at http://getty.edu/conservation/publications/pdf_publications/shuxiang.html (accessed April 29, 2011).

around the nape of the lion's head, which is turned upward to the left; the lion's feet, shorter than the originals at Wutai Shan, are planted on lotus blossoms. Even the flow of the bodhisattva's garb and locks of hair follow the same contour. From the similarities we can deduce that the sculpture was a rather careful replica of the replica at Baoxiang si, of the replica by Ding Guanpeng, of the sketch by Qianlong, of the original image. The imitation was not just a reproduction in name, but in a formal, material technique designed to transport, over and over again, the true likeness of Mañjuśrī.

At the same time, as we have seen in the case of Ding Guanpeng's paintings, replicas are never innocent of their own agency. It should come as no surprise then that many travelers to Shuxiang si noted the similarity between the face of Mañjuśrī and the Qianlong emperor.⁹⁸ After all, Qianlong himself proclaimed for the first time in Shuxiang si's commemorative stele the urgency for Manchu translations of Buddhist scriptures, and for those who will study and recite them in order to spread the teachings of the Buddha. Following that, he proceeds to ask, "The Tibetan lamas call me an emanation of Mañjuśrī based on the near homophone of 'Manchu' and 'Manju,' but if it were really true that our names correspond to the reality, wouldn't Mañjuśrī laugh at me for that?" The rhetorical question implies Qianlong's ambivalence toward this gift of honor. A year after, Qianlong wrote on another tablet at Shuxiang si.⁹⁹

The image of Mañjuśrī is nothing esoteric. It is just as it is.

The two peaks [behind Shuxiang si and behind the Potala] stand side-by-side, not more than half a *li* away from each other.

His dharma body can manifest as a young boy, or as a tall gentleman.

The vermilion edict [from the Dalai Lama] has been overly enthusiastic in its praise [of me as a Mañjughosa emperor]. Wouldn't it be laughable if it were true?¹⁰⁰

This refrain at Shuxiang si comes as Qianlong's closest verbal acknowledgment of himself as Mañjuśrī's emanation. Considering the fact that Shuxiang si is widely known to house objects from Qianlong's childhood, and popularly referred to as Qianlong's "family shrine," the temple would have been seen as the very embodiment of a Manchu Buddhist identity founded on Qianlong's connection with Wutai Shan.¹⁰¹ If Qianlong's

⁹⁸ Xiang Si 向斯, *Huangdi yu foyuan* 皇帝的佛緣 [Emperors and Buddhism] (Hong Kong: Heping tushu, 2005), 297; Banyou, "Waiba miao yu qingdai zhengzhi 外八廟與清代政治" *Chengde minzu zhiyie jishu xueyuan xuebao* 承德民族職業技術學院學報 vol. 4 (1996), 47; See also a similar description by Eugene Pander cited in Patricia Berger, *Empire of Emptiness*, 226.

⁹⁹ Qi Jingzhi 齊敬之, *Wai ba maio beiwen zhushi* 外八廟碑文註釋 [The Eight Outer Temple's Annotated Inscriptions] (Beijing: Zijingcheng chubanshe, 1985), 92.

¹⁰⁰ 殊像亦非殊，堂堂如是乎。雙峰恆並峙，半里弗多織。法爾現童子，巍然具丈夫。丹書過情頌，笑豈是真吾。

¹⁰¹ These childhood object includes a silver vase, a golden bowl, ivory pillars, and porcelain plates. See Feng Shudong, "Shuxiang si yu manwen dazing jing," 397. The association of Mañjuśrī with royal family shrines has its

earlier repeated attempts to materialize “the union of poetry and meditation” through the learned brushstrokes of traditional Chinese landscape painting was a way to capture a sublime personal experience, replicating the Shuxiang si image became a way to manifest the union between, on the one hand, a celebrated image that encapsulated Wutai Shan’s numinous history, and on the other, Qianlong’s own identity as Mañjuśrī.

The New Geography of Manchu Buddhism

This conscious alignment of Manchu identity with Wutai Shan’s sacred history and power puts into perspective Qianlong’s other activities in connection with the mountain range. In 1781, on their third pilgrimage to Wutai Shan together, Qianlong was inspired to copy *Dasheng wenshu shili pusa lifo zan fofa shenli* 大聖文殊師利菩薩讚佛法身禮 [Homage to the dharma-body of the great sage Mañjuśrī], and translate it into Manchu. Rölpe Dorjé is said to have selected this text from the Chinese Tripiṭaka. Along with its Manchu translation, *Amba enduringge nesuken horonggo fusa. fucihi i nomun i beye de doroloho maktacun*, the text was brought back to the capital, later translated to Tibetan and Mongolian, and incorporated into a quatro-lingual edition (Figure 1.23).¹⁰² In the praise poem written at a visit to Baoxiang si in 1782, Qianlong comments on his own translation of the text into Manchu, and his issuing an order for a “golden lettered quadrilingual edition” (*jinshu siti* 金書四體) to be offered at Wutai Shan’s five peaks as well as Baoxiang si.¹⁰³ In reality, many more copies were made and their circulation was not limited to Wutai Shan and Xiangshan. There are also known copies of the text in Chinese, Mongolian, and Manchu alone (Figure 1.24).¹⁰⁴

That this particular translation was carried out at Wutai Shan and by Qianlong himself suggests that the project was highly performative and evocative of the Manchu emperor’s authority in reproducing and re-disseminating a previously untranslated text on Mañjuśrī. As the Manchu incarnation of the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī visiting his pure abode on a pilgrimage, Qianlong asserted his own agency in translating and disseminating throughout his empire a scriptural homage to Mañjuśrī. This act not only declared his

precedence in the Tang dynasty. A special temple of Mañjuśrī was built in Taiyuan 太原, the ancestral home of the Tang emperors, at the suggestion of Buddhist translator and tantric master Amoghavajra (705–774). Here Mañjuśrī was considered a protector of the nation and the ruling family. See Raoul Birnbaum, *Studies on the Mysteries of Manjusri* (Boulder: Society for the Study of Chinese Religions, 1983), 32; Stanley Weinstein, *Buddhism Under the T’ang* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 83.

¹⁰² “《大聖文殊師利菩薩讚佛法身禮經》載漢經中而番藏中乃無。去歲（乾隆四十六年）巡幸五臺，道中因以國語譯出，並令經管館譯出西番、蒙古，以金書四體經供奉臺頂及此寺。” See Lin Shixuan, *Qingdai menggu yu manzhou zhengzhi wenhua*, 215; citing *Yuzhi shi siji* 御製詩四集 [Imperial Poems in four volumes], *juan* 89, 19.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Lin Shixuan, *Qingdai menggu yu manzhou zhengzhi wenhua*, 146.

authority in the making of Manchu Buddhism, but linked him to Buddhism's Indic origins. As is prefaced in his translations, this text did not appear in Tibetan, Mongolian or Manchu languages. Qianlong would have been the first to bring to his Manchu, Mongolian and Tibetan constituents this homage, which was originally translated from Sanskrit by Amoghavajra (705-774), and thereby to connect himself with early translators who were responsible for the transmission of Buddhism to China. As a place that was from the beginning created to transplant Buddhist India to China, Wutai Shan became itself a source for translation and transplantation.¹⁰⁵

We witness a similar channeling of Wutai Shan's sacred power in the sphere of military campaigns. In the summer of 1772, while Rölpe Dorjé was in retreat at Wutai Shan, Qianlong asked him to make a butter dough offering to the wrathful goddess of the Desire Realm (*'Dod kham s dbang mo'i drag po'i gtor chen*) for the successful defeat of the kingdom of Rabten (Rab brtan).¹⁰⁶ Later, Rölpe Dorjé's biographer Thuken attributed the Manchu victory over the enemy force to Rölpe Dorjé's use of magic power at Wutai Shan, which had conjured up fireballs and dust-clouds that confounded Rabten's forces far away in Khams.¹⁰⁷ Though Qing imperial sources do not seem to acknowledge this, Rölpe Dorjé's performance of magic rituals constituted an important part of his official duties at the court as the emperor's chief consultant on Tibetan and Mongolian affairs.¹⁰⁸ His summer retreats at Wutai Shan, though understood as solitary, were nevertheless closely tied to executive decisions at court in Beijing. The efficacy of his ritual was in part empowered by the site itself.

In his recent book on Mongolia and the political culture of the Manchu Qing, Lin Shixuan analyzed Qianlong's skillful manipulation of an India-centered Buddhist cosmography through recreations of Wutai Shan.¹⁰⁹ As Lin points out, by emphasizing that the Potala, Wutai

¹⁰⁵ For history of Wutai Shan as a surrogate for India in early Chinese Buddhism, see Tansen Sen, *Buddhism, Diplomacy, and Trade: The realignment of Sino-Indian relations, 600-1400*. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i, 2005), 76-86

¹⁰⁶ Thu'u bkwan, *Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje'i rnam thar* (Lanzhou: Kan su'u mi rig s dpe skrun khang, 1989), 550-551; Wang Xiangyun, *Tibetan Buddhism at the court of Qing: The life and work of lCang-skya Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje, 1717-86*. (PhD Diss, Harvard University, 1995), 133. Dan Martin, "Bonpo Canons and Jesuit Cannons: On Sectarian Factors Involved in the Ch'ien Lung Emperor's Second Gold Stream Expedition of 1771 to 1776 Based Primarily on Some Tibetan Sources." *The Tibet Journal* (Dharamsala) 15, no. 2 (Summer, 1990): 3-28; for more on torma offerings, see Richard Kohn, "An Offering of Torma" in *Religions of Tibet in Practice*. Donald S. Lopez, ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 255-265. It seems the sacred empowerment of Wutai Shan had also been instrumental in this "remote" intervention. Khenpo Jikmé Püntsok, the protagonist of Chapter IV, is said to have scattered flower petals from Wutai Shan that fell on the roofs of in a temple in Nyarong (Nyag rong, Ch. Xinlong), Sichuan during an eye-opening ceremony of a new image of the Buddha that he had been asked to conduct remotely. See <http://travel.veryeast.cn/travel/108/2006-10/23/06102319194655903.htm> (accessed March 25, 2011).

¹⁰⁷ Joanna Waley-Cohen, *The Culture of War in China: Empire and the Military under the Qing Dynasty* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2006), 58. For a study of the Qing imperial strategy in the region, see Yingcong Dai, *The Sichuan Frontier and Tibet: Imperial Strategy in the Early Qing* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2009)

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 57.

¹⁰⁹ Lin Shixuan, *Qingdai menggu yu manzhou zhengzhi wenhua*, 115-124.

Shan, Xiangshan, and Chengde all lay “east of India (*Zhuqian* 竺乾)” in the continent of Jambudvīpa, Qianlong could turn Tibet, Mongolia, and China proper into a seamless piece of territory east of India. It is within this larger context that recreations of Wutai Shan at Xiangshan and Chengde, as well as Qianlong’s various activities at Wutai Shan, must be studied. They fit squarely into the chronology of translation projects and temple recreations in which Qianlong was engaged in Beijing, Xiangshan, Chengde, and elsewhere.

An in-depth study of Qianlong’s multimedia recreations of Wutai Shan brings us back to this larger program behind Qianlong’s derivative efforts. In her book *Empire of Emptiness*, Patricia Berger meditated on the relationship between Qianlong’s enthusiastic engagement with the material world and his Buddhist practice, characterizing the latter as “consumed by the construction of chains of temples, each conceptually linked to an earlier model, and by the design and fabrication of huge pantheons of hundreds of carefully individualized deities, the production of ‘corrected’ replicas of some of the most charismatic icons of the past, and the composition and publication of edicts and inscriptions to launch his projects properly into history.”¹¹⁰ As Berger has also shown in her book, Qianlong’s teacher Rölpe Dorjé played an indispensable part in virtually all of Qianlong’s projects. Comprehensive as they may be, the projects related to Wutai Shan constituted only played a part in their collaboration.

Memory and Presence

Behind the flurry of activities is Qianlong’s increasing reliance on Rölpe Dorjé for all matters ritual, spiritual, and political. But Qianlong’s public reflection on Rölpe Dorjé’s connection with Wutai Shan would come only after Rölpe Dorjé passed away at Wutai Shan. After Rölpe Dorjé’s death there in the spring of 1786, and against his wish, Qianlong erected a large golden stupa to house his remains (Figure 1.9).¹¹¹ In style, size, grandeur it matches the stupa erected for the Sixth Panchen Lama at Xihuang si 西黃寺 in 1782, following the Panchen Lama’s death in Beijing in 1780 (Figure 1.25).¹¹² It reflects Qianlong’s eminent regard for his guru in the most public manner. This golden reliquary was synonymous with Zhenhai si in all subsequent Tibetan Buddhist maps and pictures of the temple. It became the second most prominent stupa in the landscape next to Wutai Shan’s iconic Dabai ta 大白塔 (Great White Stupa) in the center of town. In guidebooks and gazetteers, Zhenhai si also became known as the temple that housed the stupa of Rölpe Dorjé.¹¹³

Rölpe Dorjé’s almost four decades of practice at Wutai Shan became most visible and public with the building of an imperially sponsored stupa by his emperor-disciple Qianlong. But Qianlong himself was only reminded of his absence upon seeing the golden reliquary. When

¹¹⁰ See Patricia Berger, *Empire of Emptiness*, 3.

¹¹¹ Thu’u bkwan, *Lcang skya*, 628-630.

¹¹² Huang Hao, *Zai Beijing de zangzu wenwu*, 73-76, 105.

¹¹³ See Appendices I and V.

Qianlong visited Wutai Shan for the last time in his life in 1792, he mourned the passing of Rölpe Dorjé in a heartfelt poem inscribed at Zhenhai si, lamenting, “It is as though I can still hear his past teachings, so how must I obtain peace anew upon seeing his stupa?”¹¹⁴ Rölpe Dorjé’s presence and teachings to Qianlong at Wutai Shan had become an original source of veneration, nostalgia, and derivation for Qianlong. Through the building of a commemorative stupa, Zhenhai si has subsequently become one of the most visible and visited sites of veneration for Tibetan and Chinese Buddhists alike. The stupa gave a material form and focus to Rölpe Dorjé’s melodious teachings, lofty poetry, and sublime visions.

¹¹⁴ The entire poem reads: 海印發光按指際，塵勞先見舉心時。設雲此是第一諦，無我無人語出誰？靈隱居然見海潮，有人卻議近和遠。如如大士蓮花座，一例無心付剝蕉。過去波羅似重聽，何來宰堵見新安。不殊調御金剛句，一切有為如是觀。大地周遭自海中，鎮之本不費其功。欲諮五鬘乘獅者，此是色乎抑是空。
Translation: Luminous reflections of the vast ocean (all phenomena) can appear at the fingertip of an enlightened being. But preceded by obstacles, pure awareness does not come through. It is said that this is the first noble truth. But without self and without being, where does the saying come from? Surprised to see ocean waves from the Lingyin Temple, some dispute the distance of the temple from the ocean. But the lotus throne of the Tathagatha, like a banana plant, does not have a core [thus it does not distinguish between near and far]. It is as though I can still hear the past teachings, so how must I obtain peace anew upon seeing [Rölpe Dorjé’s] stupa? [Rölpe Dorjé’s teachings] are no different from the teachings from the *Diamond Sutra*. All existence should be observed as such. Since earth and its environs come from the ocean, to calm the ocean should not require any effort. I wish to ask the five-haired lion rider [Mañjuśrī], is this form or emptiness?

CHAPTER II

Maps of Mediation: Sacred Cartography in the Making of Nineteenth Century Wutai Shan

Introduction

As the previous chapter has shown, the Qing emperors' fervent support of Tibetan Buddhism at Wutai Shan was at the heart of the conscious creation of a Manchu Buddhist identity. Through the activities and memories of Rölpe Dorjé, the imperially sponsored Tibetan Buddhist master, and through the Qianlong emperor's sustained interest in building, replicating, and propagating Wutai Shan, its religious landscape was reshaped into a distinctly Manchu Tibetan Buddhist holy site. But the imperial patronage of Buddhism that had made perfect sense for the building of a multi-ethnic empire became less and less relevant for subsequent emperors preoccupied by internal rebellions and defeats in war. As a result, while Wutai Shan's transformation into an important Tibetan Buddhist site is well documented in seventeenth and eighteenth century imperial sources, it is largely ignored in Chinese language publications of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Only decades after the waning of imperial support at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the presence of Tibetan Buddhist activities at Wutai Shan virtually disappears from the mountain's plethora of Chinese-language guidebooks and gazetteers. Historical records mention little about the *Zhangkya* and *jasagh* lamas of the period, who were still the imperially appointed administrators of religious affairs at Wutai Shan, and even less about the large number of active Tibetan and Mongolian monasteries in the mountain range.¹

From within the genre of pilgrimage maps, however, emerges a picture of Wutai Shan that is drastically different from its contemporaneous Chinese sources. In a remarkably exhaustive manner, widely circulated maps of Wutai Shan from the nineteenth and twentieth century account for the mountain's layers of Han, Manchu, Mongolian, and Tibetan history, and registers of divine and ordinary topography. This chapter examines two map images—a mural at Badyar Coyiling Süme (Monastery of the White Lotus, Ch. Wudang Zhao 五當召, Tib. Pad dkar chos gling) in present-day Inner Mongolia, dated to the turn of the nineteenth century, and a set of woodblocks carved at Wutai Shan's Cifu si 慈福寺 (Monastery of Benevolent Virtues) in 1846, also by a Mongolian lama. A study of the Badyar map of Wutai Shan reveals a close connection between Qing imperial and administrative cartography, on the one hand, and pilgrimage and devotional images, on the other. The versatile nature of the Wutai Shan map, as well as its ability to evoke multiple topographic registers, be they official, popular, or divine, becomes fully operative in the Cifu si woodblocks and their diversely colored prints disseminated around the world. The bulk of this chapter will therefore be devoted to analyzing the various ways in which this second map asserts its own authenticity on these multiple registers.

¹ For a Tibetan language guidebook from the mid-nineteenth century that documents the bustling activities of eminent pilgrims from Tibet and Mongolia, see Dznya'ana shri'i man/Ye [shes] dpal [ldan]. *Ri bo rtse lnga'i dkar chag rab gsal me long* (Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1994). I thank Gray Tuttle for sharing his description and partial translation of this text with me.

As distinctly Mongolian Buddhist visions of a Chinese sacred landscape from inside and outside of Mongolia, the two images illuminate the complex veins of religious, cultural, historical, and linguistic exchanges in Qing-dynasty Wutai Shan.² Tracing the lives and afterlives of these two maps thus enables us to uncover the fluid cartographic world of late imperial and early Republican China, in which images served as an essential source for perpetuating particular visions of a sacred landscape.

A Mongolian Geography of Tibetan Buddhist Monasticism

Located on the border of the Tumed Mongols at the Ulayancabu league, about forty miles from the city of Baotou, Badyar Coyiling Süme was first established during the Kangxi 康熙 reign (1662-1723), and had become by the mid 18th century the largest monastic university in western Inner Mongolia (Figure 2.1). The monastery still maintained its rigorous academic training and strict monastic discipline amid the political turmoil of the early twentieth century, when Japanese Buddhist scholar Nagao Gajin (1907-2005) documented monastic life at Badyar as a premier example of a Mongolian Buddhist monastic university.³

The monastery itself had been conscious of its role as Mongolia's premier Buddhist university. This self-reflectivity was what gave rise to a series of wall paintings in the Cogcin dugang, the main assembly hall at Badyar initially constructed in 1757 (Figure 2.2). The series, which was painted on the exterior corridor of the second story of Cogcin dugang, depicts major Tibetan Buddhist monastic centers, all of which are located in Tibetan areas, with the exception of Wutai Shan and Badyar itself (Figure 2.3). Even though there are still disputes as to which eight or nine sites are depicted, it is most likely that they include, in the order from left to right, 1) a nunnery near Lhasa, 2) Wutai Shan, 3) the Potala Palace, 4) the Jokhang Temple, three great monastic universities 5) Ganden (Gga' Idan), 6) Sera (Se ra), 7) Drepung ('Bras spungs), and 8) Badyar itself (Figures 2.4, 2.5, 2.6, 2.7, 2.8, and 2.9).⁴

² Though the Cifu si image is little known today, its popularity is attested by its wide circulation and frequent replications. The original woodblocks are still kept at Wutai Shan, and their prints are found in at least a dozen collections around the world. Its later replicas in the media of woodblocks, murals, and silk paintings can also be found in Japanese collections, the Potala Palace in Lhasa, and the National Library of Beijing, respectively.

³ Nagao Gajin 長尾雅人, *Mōko ramabyō ki* 蒙古喇嘛廟記 [Records of Mongolian Lamaist Temples] (Kyōto: Chūkō bunko, 1987 [1947]), 151; Nagao Gajin's principle work on Badyar is *Mōko gakumon ji* 蒙古學文寺 [Monastic universities in Mongolia] (Kyōto: Chūkō bunko, 1991 [1947]). For a brief biography and full bibliography of Nagao Gajin, see Jonathan Silk, *Wisdom, compassion, and the search for understanding: the Buddhist studies legacy of Gajin M. Nagao* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), xi-lx.

⁴ According to Isabelle Charleux, who conducted fieldwork at Badyar throughout the 1990s, they represent 1) Ganden, 2) Sera, 3) Jokhang, 4) Potala, 5) Wutai Shan, 6) Kumbum, 7) a nunnery, and 8) Badyar. See Isabelle Charleux, *Temples et monastères de Mongolie-intérieure*. (Paris: Éditions du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques; Institut national d'histoire de l'art, 2006), page 5 of description about Badyar in CD-ROM; Wang Leiyi describes nine places in his article on this set of murals. They include, in his order, 1) Potala, 2) Drepung, 3) Sera, 4) Ganden, 5) Jokhang, 6) Sangphu Neuthok (Gsang phu ne'u thog) 7) a nunnery, 8) Wutai Shan, and 9) Badyar. See Wang Leiyi, "Wudangzhao de jiuda fosi bihua 五当召的九大佛寺壁画 [mural of nine major monasteries at

Judging from the fact that the portrayal of Badʻyar in this series of paintings does not include Coira dugang (Ch. 却伊拉独宫) built in 1835, nor Lamrim dugang (Ch. 日伦独宫) built in 1892, it is likely that the paintings date to sometime between 1757 and 1835.⁵ Even though one cannot assume all the paintings were done simultaneously, nor that they would have been repainted with faithful adherence to the original program from the early nineteenth century, the hypothesis that it dates to no later than 1835 seems to find support in the Wutai Shan painting, in which the individual monasteries depicted, their style of representation, and their specific architectural properties, all resemble closely illustrations from contemporaneous imperial productions, such as the *Magnificent Record of the Western Inspection Tour* (*Xixun Shengdian* 西巡盛典), a textual and pictorial itinerary of the Jiaqing Emperor’s pilgrimage to Wutai Shan printed in 1812 (Figure 2.10).⁶ In addition, the fact that Cifu si, a major Mongolian monastery at Wutai Shan, is absent in the Badʻyar painting, also suggests that the painting was completed before the monastery was established in the 1820s.

The serial scenes of the monasteries, which offer in vivid detail the bustling activities that took place inside famous monastic universities, display Badʻyar’s strong and intimate identifications with Tibet proper. Modeled after the great monastic university of Tashi Lhunpo (Bkra shis lhun po), Badʻyar is depicted here as no different from its Tibetan counterparts in the same series (Figure 2.9). Both its monastic architecture and groups of monks, praying or debating, are depicted as direct continuations of those seen in pictures of Tibetan monasteries (Figures 2.6, 2.7 and 2.8). The monks at Badʻyar today believe that the paintings of Tibetan monasteries were based on drawings brought back from Tibet by the first abbot, the renowned poet, writer, and translator Lubsangdambijalsan (1717-1766).⁷ Thought probably dating to a much later period of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, the paintings of Tibetan monasteries were presumably based on portable paintings of famous Tibetan monasteries brought from China or Tibet. Examples of them can be seen in a collection of seven paintings (121 cm x 76.5 cm) photographed by Henmi Baiei 逸見梅栄 (1891-1977) in the early 1940s (Figures 2.11, 2.12, 2.13, 2.14, 2.15, 2.16, 2.17). Stating that these paintings were in the imperial storage at Chengde, in worn conditions with surface damage, Henmi Baiei dated the paintings to

Wudangzhao],” *Nei Menggu wenwu kaogu* no. 1(2000): 146; Nagao Gajin, who visited Badʻyar in the summers of 1939 and 1943, commented on there being seven or eight paintings including 1) Potala, 2) Tashilhunpo, 3) Drepung, 4) The Temple of Kokonor, 5) Wutai Shan, 6) Badʻyar Choiling Sume. See Nagao Gajin, *Mōko ramabyō ki*, 151; Jin Shen includes his list 1) the Potala, 2) Drepung, 3) Sera, 4) Ganden, 5) Wutai Shan, and 6) Badʻyar. See Jin Sheng 金申, *Wudang zhao* 五當召 [Badʻyar Choiling Sūme] (Baotou : Wenwu chubanshe, 1982), 9; A website description lists 1) Badʻyar, 2) Ganden, Sera, 3) the Jokhang, 4) the Potala, 5) Drepung, 6) Wutai Shan, and 7) a nunnery. See <http://www.mzb.com.cn/html/report/25594-1.htm> (accessed March 29, 2010).

⁵ Charleux, *Temples et monastères de Mongolie-intérieure*, page 6 of description about Badʻyar in CD-ROM; Jin Sheng, *Wudang zhao*, 9.

⁶ Peng ling 彭齡 ed. *Magnificent Record of the Western Inspection Tour* (*Xixun Shengdian* 西巡盛典), compiled in 1812. (Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 1996).

⁷ Personal communication, April, 2009.

the Qianlong period, based on the interest in great Tibetan monasteries during that period.⁸ While these paintings would have been of a more immediate use for Qianlong's architectural replicas of Tibetan temples at Chengde, examples similar to them were widely circulated, and would have no doubt been a source for Badγar's wall paintings.⁹

The only exception is the painting of Wutai Shan, executed in a distinct style, with attention to details not seen anywhere else and an alternative color scheme on a differently prepared surface.¹⁰ A study of the pictorial conventions upon which the mural is based reveals a process by which Qing imperial and official cartographic traditions were incorporated into a pantheon of Tibetan Buddhist scholasticism, and highlights Wutai Shan's unique place within the world of Tibetan Buddhism in Mongolia. Wutai Shan was clearly understood and conveyed as a distinctly Chinese landscape, whereas all other sites were uniformly modeled after the Tibetan genre of images of holy monasteries. As my analysis below will show, this difference came as much from a difference of pictorial sources as it does from ideas about the Wutai Shan's position vis-à-vis Tibet and Mongolia.

Wutai Shan at Badγar

The Wutai Shan painting is a composite of several types of pictures (see outline drawing in Figure 2.18). It follows closely the typographical layout of maps usually placed at the beginning of Wutai Shan gazetteers (Figure 2.19). At the same time, descriptions of each monastery follow a level of detail that can only be found in illustrations in gazetteers initially produced by the Qing imperial printing house such as the aforementioned *Magnificent Record of the Western Inspection Tour*. In addition, most of the sites are marked with tri-lingual inscriptions in Mongolian, Tibetan, and Chinese. Not only does the map mural combine the overview with close-up views, it also includes at the very top images of divine apparitions, one of them of Milarepa meditating in a cave on the upper left-hand side, and the other of Mañjuśrī riding on a lion at top center (Figures 2.20 and 2.21). Unlike gazetteer maps and illustrations, the mural is filled with pilgrims, animals, and disproportionately large flora and fauna. The painter(s) seems to have been particularly drawn to depicting elements from Chinese landscape and flower paintings. Gnarled branches and ink wash peonies inhabit the mountain landscape like miraculous apparitions in their own right (Figures 2.22 and 2.23). The current discussion

⁸ Henmi Baiei 逸見梅榮, *Manmō hokushi no shūkyō bijutsu* 滿蒙北支の宗教美術 [Religious art of the Mongols and Manchus (Tokyo: Maruzen: 1943-44): Vol. 6, 140-147.

⁹ Similar paintings can also be seen in museum and private collections around the world. See Himalayanart.org, item no. 77600 (Royal Ontario Museum) item nos. 65625 and 65848 (Rubin museum of art), item no. 74280 (painting of Labrang monastery in private collection), item no. 90408 (Lost-and-Foundation), item nos. 99023 and 81872 (private collection), and item no. 50151 (collection of Zanabazar Museum of Fine Arts). For similar thangkas and wall paintings in the Potala Palace, see Zla ba tshé ring ed., *Precious Deposits, Historical Relics of Tibet, China* (Beijing: Morning Glory Publishers, 2000), vol. 3, 188-189; Vol. 4, 22-23, 86-93. The Victoria and Albert Museum holds a set of Lhasa cityscapes given to Queen Victoria of Great Britain in the Nineteenth century.

¹⁰ The later is noticeable through the severe peeling of the paint on the surface of the painting. All other paintings are intact. Only their colors have faded slowly over the years.

will focus on tracing the map mural's compositional origins and templates. An examination of the presence of human and divine activities will be studied in depth in the second map discussed in this chapter.

Imperial Guidebooks

Because illustrations of guidebooks and gazetteers were always meant to be read in conjunction with texts, it is important to survey imperial productions of Wutai Shan texts in order to contextualize the role imperially sponsored images played in the making of the Badyar map.¹¹ As mentioned in the previous chapter, the Qing court's enthusiastic patronage of Tibetan Buddhism at Wutai Shan, spurred by the emperors' identification with the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, manifested itself in various ways, one of which was the outpouring of imperially sponsored literature on Wutai Shan in various languages. As the following will show, Qing imperial cartographic and geographic practices in these works demonstrated an undeniable influence in the production of subsequent images of Wutai Shan.

Four pre-Qing Chinese texts on Wutai Shan survive: *Ancient Record of the Clear and Cool Mountains* (*Gu Qingliang zhuan* 古清凉傳) by Huixiang 慧祥 of the seventh century; the *Expanded Record of the Clear and Cool Mountains* (*Guang Qingliang zhuan* 廣清凉傳) prefaced and compiled by Yanyi 延一 from 1061 CE; *Further Records of the Clear and Cool Mountains* (*Xu Qingliang zhuan* 續清凉傳) by Zhang Shangying 張商英 (1043-1122); and *Record of the Clear and Cool Mountains* by Zhencheng 鎮澄 (1546-1617), 1596.¹² In the Qing dynasty, within less than one hundred and fifty years, the imperial court alone sponsored at least three rewritings of the record of Wutai Shan. This was undertaken by the Shunzhi (r. 1644-61), Kangxi, and Qianlong emperors, respectively, and in the lengthy record of an imperial inspection tour of Wutai Shan by the Jiaqing emperor (r. 1796-1820). These works include a revised edition of Zhencheng's *Record of the Clear and Cool Mountains*, edited and prefaced by Awang Laozang 阿旺老藏 (1601-1687) in 1661; *New Record of Clear and Cool Mountains* (*Qingliang shan xin zhi* 清凉山新志) by Laozang Danba 老藏丹巴 (1631-1684), with Tibetan, Manchu and Mongolian translations printed in 1701; *Imperial Record of the Clear and Cool Mountains* (*Qinding Qingliang shan zhi* 欽定清凉山志), prefaced and supervised by Qianlong himself; and, as mentioned earlier, the Jiaqing emperor's *Magnificent Record of the Western Inspection Tour*, edited by Peng Lin in 1812.¹³

¹¹ See Yee, *The History of Cartography*, 54.

¹² The first three are included in the Taisho canon: Huixiang, *Gu Qingliang zhuan*, T.2098: 51, 1091c-1100c; Yanyi, *Guang Qingliang zhuan*, T.2099: 51, 1127a-35a; and Zhang Shangyin, *Xu Qingliang zhuan*, T.2100: 51, 1127a-35a). Zhencheng, 1596, rev. *Qingliangshan zhi*.

¹³ Lama Awang Laozang rev. 1660, *Qingliangshan zhi* [Record of the Clear and Cool Mountains] (Reprint, Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 1989); Lubtsangdamba, *Qingliang shan xin zhi* [New Record of Clear and Cool Mountains] (1701); *Qinding Qingliang shan zhi* [Imperial Record of Clear and Cool Mountains] (1785; imperial palace, 1811). Reprinted in Gugong bowuyuan. ed. *Qingliang shan zhi. Qingliang shan xin zhi. Qin ding Qingliang shan zhi* (Haikou Shi: Hainan Chubanshe, 2001). For a complete list of Qing Wutai Shan gazetteers, see Tuttle, "Tibetan

The gazetteer expanded with each rewriting, and the records became increasingly lengthy and personalized. *New Record of the Clear and Cool Mountains*, written less than forty years after *Record of the Clear and Cool Mountains*, opens with transcriptions of nine stelae that Kangxi erected in various monasteries and miraculous sites in Wutai Shan and a collection of poetry he composed on the site. *Imperial Record of the Clear and Cool Mountains* doubled the number of colophons and included two new sections on inspection tours, records of rituals performed, and gift donations. The Jiaqing emperor visited Wutai Shan only once, but he created a detailed and monumental account of his travel, a twelve-volume work called *Magnificent Record of the Western Inspection Tour*, with woodblock prints of each major temple he visited as well as temples and towns en route to Wutai Shan.

While the earlier gazetteers focused on historical information and the founding myths, legends, or origins of each temple, this information was gradually omitted in the later gazetteers save for a few key temples, whose entries, meanwhile, grew in length to accommodate the careful documentation of their frequent imperial renovation and expansion projects. With each new edition, the history of each temple was increasingly replaced by a description of the temple's relative position and size; details, such as the number of columns in each hall within the temple compound, the number of resident monks, or the shape of a grotto were documented with ever greater thoroughness. Not only is the content of each site description dramatically lengthened by each successive emperor, but also each version creates a new kind of history in which contemporary imperial restorations might take precedence over the inherited history of the site's origin. This reworked image of Wutai Shan additionally came to take on the perspective of one pilgrim, namely, the emperor himself, and by erasing its past, it eliminated individual distinctions and reinforced the overall hierarchy of temples, making major Tibetan Buddhist temples that were heavily patronized by the emperor a metonym of Wutai Shan.

Most notably, this transformation of the imperially sponsored texts from *gazetteers* to *imperial tours*, and the shift from an emphasis on the *historical* to the *descriptive* or *empirical*, also prompted a turn from the *textual* to the *pictorial*. Woodblock illustrations of major monasteries and imperial traveling palaces on the imperial pilgrimage route first appeared in the *Imperial Record of the Clear and Cool Mountains*. Though it only included the five peaks of Wutai Shan and three monasteries that housed the imperial traveling palaces, in the *Magnificent Record of the Western Inspection Tour*, the illustrations were expanded to include every stop of the way on Jiaqing's western inspection tour, delineating the exact architectural and topographical layout of as many as forty-two sites, twenty-one of which are located in Wutai Shan proper, and ten each en route to and from Wutai Shan from the capital Beijing.

Of these, all eight sites depicted in the *Imperial Record*, and all twenty-one sites in the *Magnificent Record* that fall in or within vicinity of Wutai Shan are depicted on the Badyar

Buddhism at Wutai shan in the Qing: The Chinese Language Register” (Seminar paper, Harvard University, 2004) 23-24. The quatro-lingual edition of *Qingliangshan xinzh* are collected in the Beijing Palace Museum and the Taipei Palace Museum.

map.¹⁴ More tellingly, these twenty-one sites (the latter set subsumes the former set) were virtually the only ones on the Badyar map with clearly defined monastic precincts, while the other thirty-some sites are demarcated only with or represented by small gates, chapels, pavilions, or stupas. The careful delineation of these “imperial” sites on the Badyar map renders its connection to the *Magnificent Record* all too apparent. The Badyar map unmistakably perpetuates a clear, imperially centered, perspective of Wutai Shan. The question that remains is whether there could have been direct, visual connections between the two.

Connection to Circulated Books and Maps

Could the *Imperial Record* and the *Magnificent Record* have served as sources or templates for the murals at Badyar? As the last two imperial editions of books on Wutai Shan, printed in 1811 and 1812, the *Imperial Record* and the *Magnificent Record* are probably close contemporaries of the map mural at Badyar.¹⁵ The numbers of bays, the style, and the layout of architecture depicted on the Badyar correspond closely with those illustrated in the *Imperial Record* and the *Magnificent Record*. A closer comparison of depictions of individual monasteries on all three works, such as of Baiyun si 白雲寺, shows that the images do not seem to have been derived from one or the other, but rather, that they are describing identical architectural complexes, further suggesting that the map mural is dated to around the turn of the 19th century (Figures 2.24, 2.25, and 2.26).

In addition to formal dissimilarities, it would be unlikely that the *Magnificent Record* would have served as the direct model from the painting at Badyar because such an imperial edition of a Chinese language book would not have easily reached the hands of lamas in Mongolia.¹⁶ Imperial productions of records of imperial tours would not normally have had a very wide circulation outside the court. But there is reason to suspect that a book about Wutai Shan with an abundance of illustrations would have appealed to both those who were illiterate,

¹⁴ The set of eight in the *Imperial Record* includes each of the five directional peaks, Pusading 菩薩頂, Tailu si 臺麓寺, and Baiyun si 白雲寺. The set of twenty-one sites includes the above mentioned eight, Yongquan si 湧泉寺, Hanhe cun 漢河村 Taihuai zhen 臺懷鎮, Zhenhai si 鎮海寺, Shuxiang si 殊像寺, Dailuoding 大螺頂, jingang ku 金剛窟, Pule yuan 普樂院, Luohou si 羅睺寺, Xiantong si 顯通寺, Tayuan si 塔院寺, Yuhua chi 玉花池, and Shouning si 壽寧寺.

¹⁵ Patricia Berger argues in her study of *Magnificent Record of the Western Inspection Tour* that the twenty-four volume work aimed to demonstrate both Jiaqing Emperor’s bestowal of benevolence toward the local population, and a filial gesture toward his forbears. See Patricia Berger, “The Jiaqing Emperor’s Magnificent Record of the Western Tour,” in *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies*, special issue on Wutaishan under the Qing dynasty, Johan Elverskog & Gray Tuttle (eds.), Publication forthcoming. <http://www.thlib.org/collections/texts/jiats/>.

¹⁶ According to Isabelle Charleux, Mongols were forbidden to learn Chinese at the time. Personal Communication with Isabelle Charleux, March 11, 2010. The fact that Mongolian monks were not able to read Chinese would have made this particular edition of the gazetteer all the more appealing in comparison with earlier gazetteers that had little or no illustrations.

and those who were illiterate in Chinese.¹⁷ The prominence of imperial traveling palaces on the wall painting, suggest that the painting would have on some level been modeled after an imperially sponsored production (Figure 2.27). The individual details of Wutai Shan monasteries and traveling palaces would have most certainly been drawn from these gazetteers or guidebooks of Wutai Shan similar to *Magnificent Record of the Western Inspection Tour* that were widely circulated in this period. A 1786 palace memorial by the Shanxi Provincial governor ordered a province-wide "recall" of all Wutai Shan gazetteers and their blocks in order to control the proliferation of "erroneous" info.¹⁸ The motivation for this order was no doubt to maintain an authority over the history of the mountain range, much like Qianlong's other projects of compiling deity pantheons, scriptural and literary canons, and catalogues of objects in his collection. But such an effort on the part of the Qing court to curtail popular circulation only confirms the popularity of such publications. The project eventually led to the printing of the *Imperial Record of the Clear and Cool Mountains*, produced in 1785 and reprinted in 1811. The extent copies I have examined do not bear any indication that they were in fact carved and printed by the imperial printing press at the Wuying dian 武英殿; they simply are titled "imperial gazetteer." This suggests that the work was soon being reprinted by non-imperial printing houses, reflecting further the widespread demand for such publications.¹⁹ Whether or not the final products are of imperial origin, the memorial suggests that there was an interest on the part of the Manchu rulers to widely propagate the imperial versions of the mountain range outside the court. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, within the Chinese language register, such books as *The Complete Map of the Location of the Imperial Traveling Palaces in Wutai Shan* (*Wutai shan xinggong zuoluo quantu* 五臺山行宮坐落全圖) *The Map of Scenic Landmarks of Wutai Shan* (*Wutai shan jingdian tu* 五臺山景點圖) and *The Map of Famous Sites at Wutai Shan* (*Wutai shan mingsheng tu* 五臺山名勝圖) were widely produced and circulated as travel guidebooks (Figure 2.28).²⁰ All of these books also follow the list of sites depicted in the *Imperial Record* and the *Magnificent Record*. There are also many popular pilgrimage maps of Wutai Shan in the nineteenth century produced under the title "Map of the Imperially Established Wutai Shan of the Clear and Cool Realm of Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī (Chijian Wutai Shan Wenshu pusa Qingliang shengjing tu 勅建五臺山文殊菩薩清涼勝境圖)" (Figure 2.29 and Appendix IV for inscription), showing how pervasive the imperial claims to Wutai Shan had become in the nineteenth century.

Another hallmark of Qing imperial production adopted in the Badyar map is the use of multi-lingual inscriptions (See Appendix I). The cartouche contains an inscription in Mongolian on the left, in Tibetan in the middle, and in Chinese on the right. While the Tibetan is a transliteration of the Chinese, the Mongolian is often rendered as translations of the sites' names.

¹⁷ Personal Communications with Isabelle Charleux, March 11, 2010.

¹⁸ Beijing Number One Archive, document no. 04-01-38-0015-011.

¹⁹ Given the strong imperial ties to and presence at Wutai Shan, the *Imperial Record* would have been considered the definitive gazetteer of the mountain range to be read or collected by monasteries and private libraries. They include a copy at Library of Congress, and copy reprinted by Hainan Chubanshe.

²⁰ All three titles can be found at the Beijing National Library. Even though they do not indicate specific dates, the library dates the books to 1900 to 1905.

For example, the famous Shuxiang si (Temple of Mañjuśrī's Image) is inscribed in Mongolian as “Tulir terigütü manzusiri,” or “Manjushri with a head of flour,” alluding to the legend about the origin of the Mañjuśrī sculpture.²¹ While it remains to be seen how closely these names of temples in Mongolian correspond to the official Mongolian translation of the *New Record of Clear and Cool Mountains* and other Mongolian gazetteers of Wutai Shan produced in the eighteenth century, on its own, the map renders Wutai Shan as a familiar territory, equally accessible through both Mongolian and Chinese.

Maps of Mongolian Banners

Besides gazetteers of Wutai Shan, the mural at Badyar is connected to a second group of images—maps of Mongolian districts and banners commissioned by the Lifan yuan 理藩院 (Board for the Administration of Outlying Regions) throughout the latter half of the Qing dynasty.²² Created essentially as ordnance survey maps of Mongolia, these maps were kept at Lifan yuan for official purposes, rather than widely distributed. Though they might not have any direct visual link to the Badyar mural, the cartographic conventions they employ have much in common with the mural of Wutai Shan at Badyar. Most notably, some of these maps take on monastic centers as their main subject of representation (Figure 2.30). The physical contour of the landscape seems to be organized around temple complexes, which were meticulously rendered with exact architectural precision. In addition, beside each landmark is a Mongolian inscription, coupled with a Chinese inscription written on a separate piece of paper appended to the map. The Badyar map also seems to imitate this convention by inserting its trilingual Chinese and Mongolian inscriptions into a neatly drawn rectangular box (Figure 2.26, See Appendix 1 for transcription of inscriptions). Therefore, if we take into consideration this tradition of cartography, in which landscape topography is combined with detailed surveys of individual monasteries and labels, it would not be surprising that the Badyar map should also continue this practice of rendering a mountain range filled with famed monasteries.

What we have then, is a map of Wutai Shan that participates in the visual world of Qing imperial, popular, and official cartography that also shares a space with images of famed Tibetan

²¹ See Chapter I, 36-37.

²² Almost six hundred survey maps from the 18th through the early 20th century still remain in four collections today. Their still-centralized collection today reflects a centralized patronage and collection by Lifan Yuan. Walther Heissig and Klaus Sagaster studied and published the Mongolian and German collections in several batches. See Walther Heissig, *Mongolische Handschriften, Blockdrucke, Landkarten. Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Vol. I* (Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH, 1961) and *Mongolische Ortsnamen. Teil II. Mongolische Manuskriptkarten in Faksimilia* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1978). Currently, the maps are distributed in three major collections, 335 maps in the State Central Library of Mongolia, 182 maps in the Staatsbibliothek ehem. Preuss. Kulturbesitz, Berlin, 44 maps in Tenri Central Library of Japan, and 16 maps in the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies. See C. R. Bawden, “Review of Walther Heissig’s *Mongolische Ortsnamen. Teil II. Mongolische Manuskriptkarten in Faksimilia* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1978),” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 42, no. 3 (1979): 579-581; Hiroshi Futaki and Akira Kamimura, *Landscapes Reflected in Old Mongolian Maps* (Tokyo: Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, 2005). The maps in Tokyo are available online at <http://mongol.tufs.ac.jp/landmaps/> (accessed February 10, 2011); all 182 maps from Berlin are available online at <http://oega.crossasia.org/digital/mongolische-karten/index/show/page/0> (accessed February 25, 2011).

Buddhist monastic universities depicted in entirely Tibetan styles. In other words, while its sources are largely Chinese and Mongolian, the picture is contextualized in an assembly of sacred Tibetan Buddhist sites. Such a combination reflects more than the coming together of pictorial traditions. The fact that Wutai Shan is seen within a distinct Qing cartographic tradition, set in a landscape of Chinese style flora and fauna, but that its site names appear in Mongolian and its apparitions in Tibetan, reflects a hybrid space in which Manchu, Han, Mongolian, and Tibetan elements are all present. This vision of a multi-layered cultural and religious landscape becomes more distinct and completely integrated in a subsequent Mongolian map of Wutai Shan. The remainder of this chapter will be devoted to examining the lives of this map image.

Peregrinations of the Cifu si Map

While the Badyar map illustrated the ways in which official, imperial, and popular images of Wutai Shan are incorporated and reassembled into a single map mural in Mongolia, a set of woodblocks produced at Wutai Shan a few decades later reveals the process of image-making in the other direction—the widespread dissemination of map image and the central role it played in mediating a history of Wutai Shan. The large panoramic map of Wutai Shan was carved by Gelong Lhundrup, a Mongolian lama at Wutai Shan's Cifu si in 1846.²³ Measuring 4 feet and 5 inches in width and 4 feet in height, it is a panoramic mapping of the 130-some temple sites, accompanied by an abundance of celestial, pilgrimage and ritual activities (Figure 2.31). Though the original set of blocks had not been seen since or mentioned since the early twentieth century, its many printed impressions made their way around the globe just decades after the carving.²⁴ Today, more than a dozen prints from the same woodblock set and colored by different hands are found in overseas museum collections, indicating its wide international circulation.²⁵ The earlier

²³ According to the inscription on the print (see Appendix II), the original woodblock set was carved by the Mongolian lama (Gelong) Lhundrup (act. 1846) of Cifu si (Monastery of Benevolent Virtues). Neither Cifu si, Lhundrup's monastery, nor the activities of Mongolian lamas at Wutai Shan in the early to mid-nineteenth century are known to us through other surviving records and inscriptions. Chun Rong dates Cifu si's initial construction to 1814 but does not supply sources. See Chun Rong, "Cifu si," *Wutai Shan yanjiu*, no. 1 (1999): 21-22.

²⁴ That the prints can be found in many European and Japanese collections reminds us of the fact that as maps, they were of inherent interest to colonial explorers and surveyors of the late 19th century and early 20th century.

²⁵ There are around fourteen known copies of the image in Chinese and overseas collections, indicating that there are many more copies in museums and private collection: 1) one copy in the Museum of Cultures in Helsinki, 2) one in the Confucian Temple at Ochanomizu in Tokyo, 3) one in the Rubin Museum of Art in New York City, 4) one in the Etnografiska Museet in Stockholm, from the collection of explorer Sven A. Hedin (1865-1952), 5) one in the Museum of the Missionary Fathers of Scheut (C.I.C.M.) in Belgium, 6) one in the Beijing National Library, 7) one in the Minorities Cultural Palace in Beijing, 8) two copies in the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., 9) two copies shown in an online catalog from an auction house in Beijing, and 10) one in the Honolulu Academy of Art. The Helsinki print is published in Harry Halen, *Mirrors of the Void: Buddhist Art in the National Museum of Finland: 63 Sino-Mongolian Thangkas from the Wutai Shan Workshops, a Panoramic Map of the Wutai Mountains and Objects of Diverse Origin* (Helsinki: National Board of Antiquities, 1987); the Tokyo print is reproduced in F. A. Bischoff, "Die Wu T'ai Shan Darstellung von 1846," in *Contributions on Tibetan language, History, and Culture. Proceedings of the Csoma de Koros Symposium*, ed. Ernst Steinkellner and Helmut Tauscher, (Vienna: Universität Wien, 1983), 17-18; the Rubin Museum of Art print is available online at [http://www.rmany.org/education/resources/Wutai Shan/blockprint](http://www.rmany.org/education/resources/Wutai%20Shan/blockprint) (accessed August 15, 2007); the Stockholm print is cited in Li Xiacong, *A Descriptive Catalogue of pre-1900 Chinese Maps Seen in Europe* (Beijing: Qinghua

editions were all printed on linen, possibly around the time they were purchased during the first decade of the twentieth century (Figures 2.32, 2.33 and 2.34). The later prints were often made on pieces of paper glued together. They were left uncolored and distributed widely to donors (Figure 2.35).²⁶ This print was so popular that several recarvings were made. One particular recarving from 1874 omitted many Tibetan inscriptions, and updated the colophon on the upper left-hand corner (Figures 2.36 and 2.37).²⁷ As well, several later silk and wall paintings from Beijing to Lhasa were based, in varying degrees, on the original Cifu si woodblock set (Figures 2.38 and 3.1).²⁸ When my research finally led me to the discovery of the original blocks in 2009, I was not surprised to learn that prints can still be made from them (Figure 2.39).

In order to understand the diverse, widespread and sustained interest in this image, I will frame the discussion around four registers or dimensions of reality: first, the geographic and social structures of Wutai Shan as expressed through contemporary cartographic conventions; second, the authority invested in the representation of divine visions, third, the infinite replicability of Mañjuśrī's worldly abode as translated by the medium of woodblock printing and as realized by the technique of hand-coloring, and finally, the numinous nature of the millennium-old tradition of picturing Wutai Shan to which this image belongs. By exploring how the map asserts truth about Wutai Shan within these image-making traditions, we will discover just how malleable both the map and the territory are. The strategic placement of temples and sites, textual and visual approaches to inscribing the landscape, the deliberate reenactment of both the divine and the imperial past, and the process of coloring, all may be seen as the articulation of Wutai Shan's complex new cultural and religious identity, and ultimately, efforts to map the visible world of shifting phenomena onto the backdrop of an unchanging mountain landscape and eternal holy abode. As my analysis will show, the mapping process is the very process of rewriting and reinventing Wutai Shan.

University Press, 1996), 31; The Scheut print is cited in Charleux, "Mongol pilgrimages to Wutaishan in the late Qing Dynasty." *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies*, special issue on Wutaishan under the Qing dynasty, ed. Johan Elverskog and Gray Tuttle. (Publication forthcoming at <http://www.thlib.org/collections/texts/jiats/>): note 30. I thank Charleux for informing me about this copy; the two copies in the Library of Congress (hereafter LC) came into the collection separately. One hand-colored copy acquired in 1905 (although not recorded in the Library of Congress' annual reports) came into the collection along with other maps and rare books donated by William Rockhill, who visited Wutai Shan several times. We can assume this because the LC did not receive many donations at the time, and Rockhill was one of its earliest contributors. One section of the map is published in Cordell Yee's *The History of Cartography*, vol. 2, bk. 2, *Cartography in the Traditional East and Southeast Asian Societies*, ed. J. B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), pl. 14. Another unpainted print came from the map collection of Arthur Hummel (1884-1975). Only the central portion of the image is still visible.

²⁶ It is one of these later copies that I acquired from a villager at Wutai Shan. Several prints of the map were given to the villager's grandfather by Mongolian lamas at Cifu si during the 1930s.

²⁷ Prints of this copy can be found in Beijing National Library, the collection of Kawaguchi Ekai in Tohoku University, and in the Astamangala Gallery in Amsterdam. They appear to be replicas of the Cifu si print, except for the much coarser carving and the omission of many Tibetan inscriptions.

²⁸ While there were many images of Wutai Shan produced in the seventeenth through the twentieth century, a painting in the collection of the Beijing National Library dated to 1908, and map mural from the Potala from 1924, take on in particular the layout of the Cifu si woodblocks.

1. Cartographic Truths

What makes this map a map? First of all, the prints are entitled “Panoramic Picture of the Sacred Realm of the Mountain of Five Terraces” in Tibetan, Chinese, and Mongolian across the top register. Beside each site of interest is a pair of small inscriptions in Chinese and Tibetan, and above each of the more prominent temples hovers a ball of clouds carrying roundels in which deities or eminent monks associated with the temple are seated. The five terraces of Wutai Shan are symmetrically aligned in a parabolic shape at the top of the composition, each marked by large, yellow-roofed imperial temples with an image of Mañjuśrī inside.²⁹ The area below the five major peaks is interspersed with steeply winding but visibly connected passageways, dotted by pilgrims in straw hats riding on animals or performing obeisances. While its central register is dominated by a large procession, the more mountainous regions in the peripheral areas accommodate stupas, grottoes, small shrines, and a variety of probably mythical wild animals. At the bottom of the prints, lengthy donative inscriptions, again in Chinese, Mongolian, and Tibetan, detail the purpose of this mapping project.³⁰

For a modern viewer of maps, familiar notions of truth often begin with topographic accuracy.³¹ To what extent can we call the Cifu si map a topographic description of Wutai Shan? A contemporary map of Wutai Shan, found in an 1887 printing of the gazetteer *Record of the Clear and Cool Mountains*, compiled in 1596 by the monk Zhencheng and revised in 1661 by the lama Awang Laozang, offers a basis of comparison (Figure 2.19). Designed to accompany a four-volume gazetteer in which the locations of sites are documented, the sixteenth-century map can be seen as an impressionistic synopsis of Wutai Shan, typical of gazetteer maps of this period and standardized within the genre. It appears on the first facing pages (double spread), following the opening image of the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī. As such, the map gives a quick impression of spatial relations alongside a text that itemizes distances, directions, and relative locations in great detail, therefore eliminating the need for scale in the map itself.³²

The Cifu si map resembles its contemporary gazetteer map in several ways: both employ a semi-aerial perspective from which both the horizon and the panorama of peaks and temples in

²⁹ By their attributes, they are identified as the five-directional emanations of Mañjuśrī. They are known to dwell on the five peaks of Wutai Shan, also known as the five topknots of Mañjuśrī. See Yanyi, *Guang Qingliang zhuan*, T. 2099: 51, 1104 b25-c10. See also Fang Qingqi 方庆奇, "Wutai Shan Wenshu Pusa 五台山文殊菩萨 [Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī of Wutai Shan]," *Wutai Shan yanjiu*, no. 2 (1994): 20-24.

³⁰ See Appendix II.

³¹ The earliest scholarship on the map mural of Wutai Shan was spurred by the possibility of "reconstructing" the historical Wutai Shan itself using the medieval map mural at Dunhuang. The underlying assumption of the map's value lies in its ability to reveal the original architecture and topography of the site. See Liang Sicheng 梁思成, "Dunhuang bihua zhong suo jian de zhongguo gudai jianzhu 敦煌壁画所见的中国古代建筑 [Ancient Chinese Architecture Seen in the Dunhuang Murals]" in *Liang Sicheng quan ji* 梁思成全集 [Complete Works of Liang Sicheng] (Beijing: Zhongguo jian zhu gong ye chu ban she, 2001), 1-48; and Su Bai 宿白, "Dunhuang mogaoku zhong de Wutai Shan tu 敦煌莫高窟中的五台山图 [The Wutai Shan Mural in Dunhuang Cave 61]," *Wenwu Cankao ziliao* 2, no. 5 (1951): 49-71.

³² See Yee, *The History of Cartography*, 54.

their totality can be seen. They both have clearly visible pathways that link one temple to another, suggesting certain itineraries of pilgrimage. Both pictures seem to have found a compromise between what Michel de Certeau has distinguished as an itinerary (a discursive series of operations) and a map (plane projection totalizing observations), allowing the viewer to experience, from a bird's-eye view, individual journeys on winding paths.³³ However, the detailed architectural renditions of each temple in the Cifu si image display what can only be supplemented by detailed illustrations in a book format, such as what we have already seen in the *Magnificent Record of the Western Inspection Tour* (Figure 2.25). Whereas the carver(s) of the gazetteer map marks its location with what are almost pictographs of halls or stupas, the carver(s) of the Cifu si woodblocks describes in detail the number of bays and halls of large and small monasteries and exaggerates the relative scale of certain portions to match their prominence and openness for public spectacle, in turn presenting a much more hierarchical, individuated, and complete assembly of sites than the map in *Record of the Clear and Cool Mountains*.

Shifting Centers

Specifically, the strategic placement of places and events on the Cifu si map reflects a particular malleable vision of a fluid landscape, caught between upholding Wutai Shan's contemporary identity as predominantly Tibetan Buddhist, and its layered Chinese past in which this new identity firmly rooted itself. One of the most prominently displayed temples in the Cifu si image is the most central and permanent place of worship at Wutai Shan. With its multiple rooftops all brilliantly colored a golden yellow, impressive banners hung from either side of the temple's front gate, and the monumentally and meticulously described 108 steps leading up to it, the temple is situated just to the left of the central dividing line of the woodblocks (Figure 2.40). This temple is none other than Pusa ding, the Bodhisattva's (Mañjuśrī) Peak. As I have already discussed in Chapter I, Pusa ding has been an unchanging locus of pilgrimage and imperial sponsorship since at least the Tang dynasty, and was the subject of "replication" by the Qianlong emperor in Xiangshan in his attempt to create a metonymic surrogate of Wutai Shan. Given the historical and contemporary centrality of Pusa ding, it is interesting to observe its off-center location on the woodblock print, contrasted with the symmetrical and centrally aligned depiction of the same structure in other pictures of Wutai Shan. For example, on the west wall of Mogao 莫高 Cave 61 in Dunhuang 敦煌, an image we will return to at the end of this chapter, Pusa ding, then known as Zhenrong yuan 真容院, was already seen in the middle of the 15 meter-long painting (See Zhengrong yuan circled in red in Figure 2.41).³⁴ The Badyar mural of Wutai Shan, completed just thirty years prior, still shows Pusa ding's precisely central location (see Pusa ding circled in red in Figure 2.42). But in the Cifu si map, Pusa ding is counterbalanced by a monastic complex, depicted on a smaller scale as though to convey distance, that falls just to the right of the central divide of the print. The outer wall of the complex is lined with trident-headed poles flung with banners (Figure 2.40). Commonly displayed in Tibetan and Mongolian temples,

³³ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 91-110.

³⁴ This central section of the mural is situated behind the wall of a central altar in the cave. Visitors to the cave encounter this section as they circumambulate behind the altar.

the rising spears distinguish the complex from its Han Chinese monastic peers. The double inscription indicates that the monastery is none other than Cifu si, the temple where the woodblocks were carved. According to a Chinese source on the history of Mongolian and Tibetan Buddhism published in 1935, Cifu si was a Mongolian monastery first established in the wooded areas behind Pusa ding in the early years of the Daoguang 道光 reign (1821-51), which would have made it a brand-new monastery at the time of the woodblocks' execution, especially notable amid an accumulation of ancient temples.³⁵ According to the same source, Cifu si was also the primary lodging center for all Mongolian lamas who made the pilgrimage to Wutai Shan. Among the seventy-some temples whose inscriptions are clearly decipherable, Cifu si was one of only three that do not appear in earlier textual records.³⁶ The two structures came together to create an asymmetrically balanced arrangement in which neither the walls of Pusa ding nor those of Cifu si cross over from one woodblock to another, so that they did not suffer breakage in the print made from the reassemblage of woodblocks.³⁷ The proximity of the newly established Mongolian monastery to Wutai Shan's millennium-old locus of pilgrimage reconfigured the landscape of Wutai Shan from this point onward, rendering indistinct the thousand years of history that separated the two temples. Part of the intention of carving a new map of Wutai Shan was no doubt to place Cifu si in the center of the map, thereby legitimating Cifu si's permanent existence at Wutai Shan. As the site for the engraving and massive printing of Wutai Shan in its entirety, Cifu si assumed a new authority as the locus for the production of knowledge, which in turn reinforced the legitimacy of the map itself.

The monumental task of producing and the woodblocks, and the presumed resources to house, maintain, and produce prints, beg for a closer examination of its site of production. Even though Cifu si's history has not survived in known stele inscriptions or temple gazetteers, and the monastery has not been home to Mongolian lamas since the Sino-Japanese war of the 1930s, its structures have thus far survived (Figure 2.43).³⁸ Curiously, inside the Hall of Mañjuśrī are vignettes on the beams that feature mountain scenery with monasteries and Tibetan style stupas (Figure 2.44). In many of the paintings, the black outlines on the contours of the landscape

³⁵ See Miaozhou 妙舟, *Mengzang fojiao shi* 蒙藏佛教史 [History of Tibeto-Mongolian Buddhism] (Beijing: Jingcheng chubanshe, 1935), 88. Here, Cifu si was recorded as having been built in the Song dynasty (960-1279) and restored in the early Republican period (1912-1928).

³⁶ The other two are Yongansi and Lanransi. According to the 2003 Record of Wutai, Yongansi was relocated to its current location after a flood in the year 1643. See *Wutai Shan zhi* 五臺山志 (Taiyuan: Shanxi remin chubanshe, 2003), 221. I have not come across any record of Lanransi. It is also likely that these two temples, along with a handful of other sites and shrines, existed earlier for reasons discussed above but simply were not recorded in the gazetteers.

³⁷ This was a matter of technical consideration as well. Because several pieces of wood were assembled together to make the block, the carver attended to the integrity of each site such that they do not appear at the seams.

³⁸ Though Mongolian language steles can still be found behind bushes at entrance to each of Cifu si's prayer halls, they all date back to the period between 1920 and 1935. Wutai Shan then was occupied by Japanese forces of the second Sino-Japanese War, after which the monastery seemed to have never again been home to Mongolian lamas. I thank Isabelle Charleux for a careful study of the available inscriptions. According to Charleux, one stele dates to 1920, a second dates to 1931 by the nobleman Buyanbatu from Jirim league, Gourlus banner; a third dates to 1935 by Bosug Darijab from Kōlūn Buir Sine Bargu Plain Red banner by, and a fourth dates to 1935 by Galdan Bazar from Kōlūn Buir Sine Bargu Plain Red banner. Personal communication.

resemble the hard edges of a woodblock print (Figure 2.45). The motifs of temples, mountain passes, and stupas are also reminiscent of the woodblock map. This is a self-reference that further asserts the monastery's authority in reproducing knowledge about Wutai Shan.³⁹

Mapping Human, Divine, and Imperial Presence

Returning to the map image, this central juxtaposition between Pusa ding and Cifu si is balanced by two diagonal paths of an elaborate procession that ends in the large square between two major monasteries (Figure 2.46). The presence of human and divine beings is the most distinctive intrusion into the orderliness of a conventional topographic map. They are also depicted in varied scales and proportions to signify the social, cultural, and ethnic hierarchy of the landscape. At the side gate of Pusa ding, an entourage accompanies a high lama (an imperially appointed lama official, mostly probably the *jasagh* lama) seated on an open sedan chair and an image of Maitreya in a Chinese-style sedan chair.⁴⁰ A detail of the lama procession from the Rubin print shows the contrast between, on the one hand, the significantly larger figures in the central procession, which include the lamas in their yellow robes and ceremonial hats, and

³⁹ The still-intact monastery offers a glimpse into the history of a thriving Tibetan Buddhist practice by Mongolian Lamas at Wutai Shan. Cifu si's surviving structures allows us to retrace, beyond the map, the otherwise untold history of Mongolian Buddhism at Wutai Shan. The central prayer hall in Cifu si is a two story structure with a skylight that connects the first with the second floor. Offering provision for light and ventilation, the skylight is the architectural hallmark of Tibetan Buddhist assembly halls (Tib. *du khang*). It is the only example that still survives at Wutai Shan. While the central image has been replaced by a statue of Śākyamuni Buddha (a few feet short of the height originally intended by the two-story space), the second story still contains sculptural images of eminent figures in Tibetan Buddhism such as Śāntarakṣita (active 8th century), Longchen Rabjam (1308 – 1364 or possibly 1369), Padmasambhava (active 8th century), King Trisong Detsen (active 8th century), Tsongkhapa, and Sakya Paṇḍita Kunga Gyeltsen (1182–1251). These figures were commonly known to be manifestations of Mañjuśrī from the major sects of Tibetan Buddhism, though many of them are not found anywhere else at Wutai Shan. Perched on a hill behind the monastic residence of the reincarnate lama is another uniquely Tibetan space—a free-standing cave shrine devoted to the most revered Tibetan saint, the poet and yogi Milarepa. The entrance of the shrine is made of wooden carvings—the intricate craftsmanship can belong to carpenters from Tibetan regions. Inside is a grotto-like construction to resemble the deep mountain caves in which Milarepa dwelled and practiced. It had also become a reliquary for Tsa Tsas, molded clay images that contain relief deities. Tsa Tsas are commonly deposited into funerary and commemorative stupas as a gesture of devotion. Their presence here again points to a fully active Tibetan Buddhist culture at Wutai Shan. The entire shrine, though perched up against a rock, is encircled by a circumambulatory route. Images carved into the rock along the route further attests to the wide use of this path for circumambulation, a devotional practice that is strictly seen in Tibetan Buddhism. But why was a Milarepa shrine built here at Cifu si? It has been suggested that Cifu si was first built in 1814 by a retired *jasagh* lama from Pusa ding by the name of Zuoba Longzhu 佐巴龍住 as a retreat temple.³⁹ It was thus called the meditation quarter (Ch. Chantang yuan 禪堂院, Tib. Bsam gtan gling) a name still used in many Tibetan sources. As a meditation retreat, Cifu si's tucked away shrine of Milarepa would be an appropriate focus. Cifu si's architectural and religious remains reveal an important and dynamic center of Tibetan Buddhist art and practice. The skillfulness with which images are made, carved, and built, combined with the active ritual function of the halls, allows us to imagine a lively Tibetan Buddhist practice at Wutai Shan that has not been explored in any other literature, primary or secondary.

⁴⁰ The high lama in a sedan chair is probably the *jasagh* lama, since he was the highest administrative official of the region at this time. Arjia Rinpoche of the Kumbum Monastery identified the image in the sedan chair as Maitreya in procession during the Maitreya festival. He also pointed out to me that the procession is likely to be making a circumambulation tour of the main monastic compounds in Taihuai, which is a route still taken by the Wutai Shan monks today (personal communication, November 12, 2005).

Qing military or imperial officers in blue and red conical official caps, and on the other, the tireless pilgrims on a steeper and narrower path behind them, conveying that the procession was not only closer to the viewer but also more prominent than the wandering pilgrims and shy animals scattered across the more mountainous regions on the picture's peripheries, quietly making their ways up the hills (Figure 2.47).⁴¹ As the procession in the center zigzags downward, it encloses on one side a cluster of monasteries that is obviously given more emphasis and detailed depiction than the rest, making this crowded center space the locus of drama, spectacle, and pilgrimage worship. This procession eventually ends in the large square between two major monasteries, Xiantong si 顯通寺 and Tayuan si 塔院寺 (represented by its oversized white stupa), directly below Pusa ding at the bottom of the hill. At the very front are groups of musicians and dancers dressed and masked as various deities and protectors, performing the *cham* dance. Having come to Wutai Shan from Tibet by way of Mongolia, *cham* had been held annually in the sixth month in Wutai Shan since the time of the Kangxi emperor (Figure 2.48).⁴²

The presence of the *cham* dance, with a Maitreya procession and an imperial procession seamlessly woven into it, is itself an embodiment of the process of negotiation between cultural and religious traditions, past and present.⁴³ As noted in Hibino Takeo's 日比野丈夫 (1914-2007) study of the *cham* ritual dance at Wutai Shan, which was based on his trip there in 1940, local Daoist deities were added to an already long list of gods of the non-Buddhist past that were incorporated earlier on in Tibet and Mongolia.⁴⁴ Primarily an exorcistic ritual, *cham* itself plays a central role in the conversion of Wutai Shan; much like the juxtaposition of Cifu si and Pusa ding, but this time in the sphere of the gods, *cham* parades a new pantheon of Wutai Shan deities that extends far into Tibetan and Mongolian history and deep into Wutai Shan's local and pre-Buddhist heritage. Its depiction in the center register of the woodblock print, in turn, both reaffirms and documents this contemporary festive spectacle's permanence in and inseparability from the Wutai Shan landscape.⁴⁵ The singular appearance of *cham* in the center of the map has come to define and continuously reiterate Wutai Shan's conversion to Tibetan Buddhism. The positioning of an imperially sponsored religious procession in the very center of Wutai Shan's

⁴¹ While the color of the robes in the Helsinki print clearly corresponds to the pictorial arrangement and sense of hierarchy I have suggested above, it is important to remember that they are applied later on individual woodblock prints. The LC version, for example, does not show such a systematic color coding.

⁴² For the legend of the origin of Cham in Wutai Shan, see "Wutai Shan chuanshuo gushi," <http://www.cnwts.net/wtsfj/chuansuo.htm#m26> (accessed September 15, 2005); or Fang Qingqi 方庆奇 et al., *Wutai Shan fengwu chuanshuo* 五台山风物传说 [Legends of Wutai Shan] (Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 1985).

⁴³ As the *Cham* festival was the most important in Wutai Shan during this period, its festivities were also recorded with enthusiasm by many Westerners during their visits to Wutai Shan in the early part of the twentieth century. See John Blofeld, *The Wheel of Life: The Autobiography of a Western Buddhist* (Berkeley: Shambhala, 1972); and Emil Fisher, *The Sacred Wu Tai Shan: In Connection with Modern Travel from Tai Yuan Fu via Mount Wu Tai to the Mongolian Border* (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1925).

⁴⁴ See Hibino Takeo, *Godaisan* [Wutai Shan] (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1995), 251-57.

⁴⁵ See Rene de Nebresky-Wojkowitz, *Tibetan Religious Dances* (New Delhi: Paljor Publications, 1997).

landscape is by no means coincidental. As with the outpouring of imperially sponsored gazetteers, it is a reiteration of the Manchu imperial predominance over the landscape.

Heroic Reenactment

In addition to the map's temples, sites, and religious festivals, the conspicuous presence of the Kangxi emperor in the remote mountainous regions of Wutai Shan asserts a different kind of imperial control, much more pervasive than centrally focused patronage. Kangxi is shown as engaged in various heroic and humorous activities based on the popular legend of his search in Wutai Shan for his father, the Shunzhi emperor, who in local lore is said to have staged his death and then took monastic vows at Pusa ding.⁴⁶ In Chapter I we have already witnessed the various means by which the Qianlong emperor asserted his Bodhisattva-emperor identity through the recreation of Wutai Shan. While Qianlong went to much greater lengths to promote this identity than his grandfather Kangxi, in the local memory, it is various tales of Kangxi that are most well known. In one episode, Kangxi pacifies the region by shooting a ferocious tiger, a story that resonates deeply both with Wutai's former imperial sponsorship and with the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī (Figure 2.49).⁴⁷ The story is recorded on a stele that was subsequently erected in the "Tiger-Shooting Valley (Shehu chuan 射虎川)" to commemorate the event.

Both the trope of emperor as a skilled archer and his subsequent erection of a commemorative stele are commonplace in Chinese history. Wutai Shan, in particular, was a favorite hunting park for Emperor Xiaowen 孝文 of the Northern Wei dynasty, who is said to have pierced a hole in the side of a mountain, resulting in the name "Arrow-Pierced Mountain" on the Wutai Shan mural on the west wall of Mogao Cave 61 in Dunhuang.⁴⁸ Other traces of Xiaowen include "the platform on which Xiaowen tamed a wild hawk," known to us through records of stelae he erected.⁴⁹ The Tiger stele inscription makes an explicit connection between

⁴⁶ See Wei Guolong 魏國龍, *Wutai Shan chuanshuo gushi* 五臺山傳說故事 [Legends of Wutai Shan] (Taiyuan: Shanxi guji chubanshe, 2004), 23-37. A kung fu movie was made after this popular legend, *Kangxi danao Wutai Shan* [Kangxi Storms Wutai Shan], directed by Yu Deshui (Pearl River Film Studio, 1989). It is also a subplot in Jin Yong 金庸's novel *Luding ji* 鹿鼎記 (Hong Kong: Wugong Press, 1973?), trans. John Minford as *The Deer and the Cauldron: the Adventures of a Chinese Trickster* (Australia: Institute of advanced studies, Australian national university, 1994). I thank Raoul Birnbaum for this reference.

⁴⁷ Although the emperor as killer of the ferocious is a trope of virility in Chinese imperial history, it is still odd to find in a Buddhist context the commemoration of an act of killing. A later recension of the story responds by ending with Kangxi performing a major rite of offering to the slain tiger. See Wei Guolong, *Wulaishan chuanshuo gushi*, 44.

⁴⁸ There are many other textual references to Emperor Xiaowen's traces at Wutai Shan. See Daoxuan 道宣, *Ji shengzhou sanbao gantong tu* 集神州三寶感通錄 [Collected Records of Sympathetic Resonances of the Three Jewels in the Divine Land], T.2106: 52, 422 c9-13.

⁴⁹ *Guang Qingliang zhuan*, T.2099: 51, 1106a3.

Kangxi and historical emperors, praising Kangxi for perpetuating "the ancient emperors' righteous subjugation of the ferocious (*xianwang fumeng zhi yi* 先王服猛之義)."⁵⁰

The chief promoter of Kangxi's role as the righteous subjugator of malicious forces was none other than Qianlong, who expressly emulated his grandfather in virtually every aspect of rulership. Transcription of the stele at the Tiger-Shooting Valley is placed at the beginning of the *Imperial Record of the Clear and Cool Mountains*, in the opening section with several dozen stela transcriptions and Kangxi's poems in praise of Wutai Shan.⁵¹ The valley is mentioned five more times in the *Imperial Record*. In the section of *mingsheng* 名勝, or famous attractions, the story is again inserted in the beginning, rather than following the chronological convention of previous gazetteers. In addition, Kangxi's archery-related activities are marked by another site frequently mentioned in the records called the Tri-Arrow Mountain (Sanjian shan 三箭山).⁵² The frequent emphasis on this story in the *Imperial Record* is in concert with equally repetitive reference to the Manchu emperors' connection with Mañjuśrī, a reference we have seen both visually and verbally throughout Qianlong's poetry and portraits.⁵³ Since Mañjuśrī was known to have subjugated five hundred local poisonous dragons at Wutai Shan, Kangxi's act of taming also reenacts the deeds of Mañjuśrī.⁵⁴ The erection of a stele officially commemorates this event and transforms the place into another site of supreme and imperial subjugation of local forces, thereby performing the "emperor as bodhisattva" topos seen throughout the imperial projects of the Qianlong emperor.

In a different episode, located below the Chinese inscription "Wutai Shan" in the upper center register of the print, Kangxi aims an arrow at what appears to be a naked man bathing in a spring with two women (Figure 2.50). From the man's head emanates a large cloud carrying Mañjuśrī on a lion and two disciples, one in yellow and the other in a blue robe, as well as a young attendant boy, who is Sudhana.⁵⁵ Witnessing this, Kangxi is said to have apologized to

⁵⁰ *Qinding Qingliang shan zhi*, juan 1, 6. For the Manchu emperors' hunting activities, see Ning Chia and Mark Elliott, "The Qing Hunt at Mulan," in *New Qing Imperial History: The Making of Inner Asian Empire at Qing Chengde*, ed. James Millward (London: Routledge, 2004), 66-83.

⁵¹ *Qinding Qingliang shan zhi*, juan 1, 6.

⁵² *Ibid.*, juan 4, 2.

⁵³ See *Qinding Qingliang shan zhi*, juan 1, 6, juan 4, 4, juan 5, 4, juan 5, 18, juan 6, 3. For an example of Qianlong alluding to himself as Mañjuśrī, see *Qinding Qingliang shan zhi*, juan 6, 7. Here, Mañjuśrī is said to protect the empire (*Manshu shili shou wuliang bao hao zhenfu wo guojia* 曼殊利壽無量寶號貞符我國家).

⁵⁴ See Chapter I, note 12.

⁵⁵ The figure resembles a woodblock print of Mañjuśrī with Sudhana and the Khotanese king found in the Dunhuang manuscripts Stein 239, Stein 236, Stein 237, and Pelliot 4514, 2(5). The prints include Mañjuśrī, a groom, and Sudhana above, with texts below that label Mañjuśrī "Wutai Shan's Mañjuśrī." For reproductions, see Roderick Whitfield, *The Art of Central Asia: The Stein Collection in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1985), figs. 142, 143, 147. The same configuration is also found in sculptural form at Wutaishan's Tang dynasty temple Foguan si. See Marilyn M. Rhie, *The Fo-kuang ssu: Literary Evidences and Buddhist Images* (New York: Garland, 1977).

them for the mistake and retreated in embarrassment.⁵⁶ Though this story is not found in Qianlong's gazetteer, there is a virtually identical story concerning a certain Song dynasty nonbeliever named Li Jing 李靖, who shot an arrow at the sight of a monk bathing with a woman, only to see Mañjuśrī with an arrow in his back and the bodhisattva Samantabhadra running off into the distance.⁵⁷ The fact that Kangxi frequently appears as a narrative thread in an image made by a Mongolian lama in 1846 attests to the stories' popularity and establishes his presence in the landscape more than a hundred years after he visited Wutai Shan.⁵⁸ Kangxi's tales, like other miraculous tales of the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī throughout time, are permanently conflated into a scheme of timeless visions, which reinforce the belief that miracles can happen any time, and repeatedly.

Historians and geographers often study maps for the worldviews they portray and the visions of society they project.⁵⁹ J. B. Harley argued that the practice of eighteenth-century English atlas making demonstrated a dominion by knowledge: the mapmakers and their patrons alike, by generating their own images of social space under the myth that atlases were factual and objective representations of the landscape, conditioned the way their society came to view the power structure both consciously and subliminally.⁶⁰ David Harvey states more globally that, "command over space is a fundamental and all-pervasive source of social power."⁶¹ On the Cifu si map, this power structure is clearly conveyed through the distortion of the size and location of temples, and the placement of the ritual festivities. But what is perhaps best illuminated by Harley and Harvey's reading of the map as the location of social power is the ubiquity of divine apparitions. The map asserts to its audience that the importance of the landscape ultimately lies in the numinous revelations of Mañjuśrī. The physical realities of hills, temples, and pilgrims are all subordinate to the power of the divine.

2. *Extraordinary Lineage*

⁵⁶ Chun Rong, "Cifu si," 22.

⁵⁷ See Lubtsangdamba, *Qingliang shan xinzhì*, juan 4, 12.

⁵⁸ The same depiction is found at Mimo yan 秘魔岩, a temple located on the back side of the western peak.

⁵⁹ See J. B. Harley, "Power and Legitimation in the English Geographical Atlases of the Eighteenth Century," in *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001).

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 146. Many subsequent studies of maps are based on similar approaches. For a study of the Qing imperial mapping project of its frontiers, see James Millward, "Coming onto the Map: Western Regions' Geography and Cartographic Nomenclature in the Making of Chinese Empire in Xinjiang," *Late Imperial China* 20, no. 2 (1999): 61-98. For a study on the creation of a national identity through the introduction of cartography in modern Thailand, see Thongchai Winichakul, *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-body of a Nation* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1994).

⁶¹ David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), 226.

The omnipresence of the divine emanations manifests itself not only in every pocket of the Wutai mountain range but at all times as well. This brings us to a second dimension of reality that the map captures—authority invested in the representation of divine visions. Here we depart from examining it under the criteria of a conventional map, and enter the realm of sacred cartography. As we shall see, the Cifu si picture successfully displays intimate and conclusive knowledge of Wutai Shan's numinous reality through its lively and often humorous depictions of apparitions, emanations, miraculous events, and activities that induce such encounters with the divine. It is in the realm of visions that the map asserts Wutai Shan's Tibetan Buddhist identity more poignantly than through any other means.

Historically, visions of Mañjuśrī have played a singularly important role in pilgrimages to Wutai Shan. For the average person, vision quests were achieved mostly through visiting the auspicious sites where Mañjuśrī had previously revealed himself, oftentimes to an eminent meditation master or a persistent skeptic.⁶² Because Mañjuśrī's apparitions are understood to be timeless, what has happened once is capable of happening again. Therefore, if very lucky, the pilgrim will experience his or her own visions. As Zhencheng, the Ming compiler of *Record of the Clear and Cool Mountains*, puts it, "when pilgrims go to Wutai Shan, what they desire to see is not the mountain, but the countenance of the Great Sage [Mañjuśrī]."⁶³ Such a visionary encounter is widely believed to deliver the person from "evil paths amidst hundreds of thousands of calamities."⁶⁴

Visionary encounters play a central role in all places within the Tibetan Buddhist tradition, as teachings were often transmitted by the visionary interaction between masters and disciples.⁶⁵ Tsongkhapa (1357-1419) is said to have reformed Tibetan Buddhism through the "special methods" he received from Mañjuśrī.⁶⁶ As has already been noted in Chapter I, after Tsongkhapa had passed away, he in turn passed his teachings on by appearing to his disciple Khedrup Je (1385-1438). On the Cifu si map, the deities that emanate from each of the temples on the five peaks, housing Mañjuśrī's five manifestations to Tsongkhapa, are none other than Tsongkhapa's five manifestations to Khedrup Je, who is seen, as he often does in other depictions of these visions, kneeling with a golden offering at the entrance of each of the five temples

⁶² See Robert Gimello, "Chang Shang-ying on Wu-'tai Shan," in *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China*, ed. Susan Naquin and Chun-fang Yu (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 89-149.

⁶³ See Zhencheng, *Qingliangshan zhi*, juan 8.

⁶⁴ The earliest scriptural reference to this belief is in *Foshuo wenshu shiliban niepan jing* 佛說文殊師利般涅槃經 [Mañjuśrī Parinirvana Sutra], T.463: 14, 481 b7-8).

⁶⁵ According to accounts of his life, Tsongkhapa continued to receive teachings from different forms of Mañjuśrī and other deities in his meditation. See Robert Thurman, ed., *Life and Teachings of Tsongkhapa* (Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1982), 33.

⁶⁶ The nineteenth-century Inner Mongolian historian Damcho Gyatsho Dharmatala, in recounting Qing National Preceptor Rölpe Dorjé's description of Tsongkhapa, wrote, "The great and holy Lama Tsongkhapa, using the special methods received from Mañjuśrī, cleared the doubts in Tibet, as well as all misunderstandings and polluting hesitations." Damcho Gyatsho Dharmatala, *Rosary of White Lotus*, 199.

(Figure 2. 51).⁶⁷ For example, in a painting from the Freer Gallery of Art that probably originated from a set of five, Khedrup Je receives a vision of Tsongkhapa riding on a white elephant (Figure 2. 52), a specific episode recorded in Khedrup Je's spiritual biography.⁶⁸ In the Cifu si map, these episodes are mapped onto the five peaks of Wutai Shan, and paired with the five forms of Mañjuśrī as he appeared to Tsongkhapa, illustrating the ways in which narratives of lives of spiritual masters, like physical landmarks and ritual festivities, come to assume the role of defining a holy landscape, even when the narratives took place elsewhere. Neither Tsongkhapa nor Khedrup Je had ever been to Wutai Shan in their lifetime, but as we saw in Chapter I, stories about Tsongkhapa's secret presence there began to circulate within the Gelukpa sect beginning at around the early nineteenth century, four centuries after he lived.

At Cifu si itself, on the exterior of the Hall of Mañjuśrī, below the beams and above the doors, are nine painted panels that evoke not only this mapping of Khedrup's visions onto Wutai Shan, but also the mapping of an entire Tibetan Buddhist cosmology (Figure 2. 43). The nine panels are, from left to right, 1) Green Tara's paradise, 2) Amitabha's paradise, five visions of Tsongkhapa by Khedrup: 3) as a Mahāsiddha riding a tiger, 4) as a monk seated on a throne supported by gods and goddesses, 5) as a monk riding on an elephant, 6) as Mañjuśrī riding on a lion, and 7) as a monk with a Pandita hat, 8) Avalokitēśvara's paradise, and 9) the Kingdom of Shambhala (Figures 2.53, 2.54, 2.55, 2.56, 2.57, 2.58, 2.59, 2.60, and 2.61). This assembly, in which the five visions of Tsongkhapa by Khedrup Je are framed on either side by of heavenly realms of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, presents a uniquely Tibetan Buddhist, and specifically Geluk cosmography. As will be explored in greater detail in the next section and in Chapter III, the depictions of these apparitions and pure realms signify the linking and mapping of Wutai Shan onto a larger Tibetan Buddhist sacred geography and reflect the tradition's incorporation of Wutai Shan into its cosmology through visions and revelations.

In the realm of visionary representations, Wutai Shan's distinctly Tibetan Buddhist identity is made apparent in the Cifu si map. In clear contrast to the transliterated inscriptions that faithfully retain Wutai Shan's primarily Chinese past, the cloud-borne apparitions hovering above important monasteries have distinctly Tibetan and Mongolian iconographies. Many of them are manifestations of Mañjuśrī, a naturally recurring vision found in earlier Wutai Shan pictures. However, instead of taking on the incarnation of a white-bearded Chinese gentleman or Daoist immortal, like the Mañjuśrī who greets Buddhapālita in Dunhuang Cave 61, Mañjuśrī appears in the Cifu si print as manifestations of Tsongkhapa with his disciples Khedrup Je and Gyeltsap Je, as Rölpe Dorjé, or as other figure in Tibetan-styled clothes and distinctively Tibetan hats (Figures 2.62 and 2.63). Others wear five-leaf gold crowns or appear as yogis and yoginis, also a distinct Tibetan iconography (Figures 2.64 and 2.65). Moreover, while the inscriptions correspond closely to textual material, these apparitions associated with specific monasteries do not show up in any collective records of Wutai Shan. For example, above Guanyin dong 觀音洞, the Cave of Bodhisattva Avalokitēśvara, is an image of a seated monk in a red robe, identified as

⁶⁷ Khedrup Je appears frequently in many other depictions of Tsongkhapa, including a painting of Tsongkhapa's five forms in Cifu si's main hall, on the surfaces between the beams and the lintel.

⁶⁸ See Robert Thurman, *Life and Teachings of Tsongkhapa*, 34-35; Jose Ignacio Cabezon, *A Dose of Emptiness: An Annotated Translation of the sTong thun chen mo of mKhas grub dge legs dpal bzang*. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992), 18.

the Sixth Dalai Lama (r. 1683-1706?, Figure 2.66). Chinese official sources indicate that this personage was dethroned by Manchu imperial decree after Tibetan aristocrats declared him an illegitimate reincarnation as a result of political struggles and his own unrestrained lifestyle.⁶⁹ However, a more widely spread rumor asserted that the Sixth Dalai Lama was spared by the Kangxi emperor and came to Wutai Shan. He reputedly meditated inside the cave for many years with the help of Avalokitêśvara in the guise of a young peasant girl.⁷⁰ Although the existing biographies of the Sixth Dalai Lama do not record this story, most Tibetans accepted the story's validity, and the site consequently became one of the most highly revered place by the Tibetans in Wutai Shan since at least the beginning of the twentieth century.⁷¹

In the same way that manifestations of Tsongkhapa to his disciple Khedrup Je and the Mañjuśrī of the Five Directions identify the temples at the Five Peaks, the viewers would have identified other temples based on the respective apparitions that loom above the temples, all of which were Tibetan or Mongolian. That is, although the landscape and its past remained invariably Chinese, visions of Mañjuśrī could appear at any time, in any form. By plastering the entire mountain with Tibetan Buddhist apparitions that were particular to this Sino-Tibeto-Mongolian cultural context, Mañjuśrī affirmed the wholesale transplantation of Tibetan Buddhism into Wutai Shan, governed, on the ground, by lamas, their monastic establishments, and festivals and, in the divine realm, under the watchful protection of Mañjuśrī and his emanations.

Given the prominence of visions of Mañjuśrī, Tsongkhapa, and their prominent disciples both at Wutai Shan and in the Geluk tradition, it is more than appropriate that the Cifu si woodblock print owes its creation to the story of an encounter with Tsongkhapa, published in compilations of local legends in the last decade, and now widely circulated and continuously replicated in cyberspace.⁷² According to the story, a Mongolian lama skilled in wood-carving plotted the murder of his brother, another lama competing for Qing imperial patronage. The brother climbed up the steep steps to Dailuo ding 黛螺頂, or the Conch-Shell Peak, on the day of the annual *cham* festival, and just as the Mongolian lama was about to push his brother off the

⁶⁹ Luo Wenhua first brought this story to my attention. The Chinese, Tibetan, and Mongolian sources do not agree on the whereabouts of the Dalai Lama after he was dethroned. See Dharmatala, Gu-sri, and Piotr Klafkowski, *The Secret Deliverance of the Sixth Dalai Lama*, Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde 3 (Vienna: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien, Universität Wien, 1979).

⁷⁰ Various versions of this legend were told to me many times throughout my visit to Wutai Shan. When the Thirteenth Dalai Lama visited Wutai Shan in 1908, he made a point of paying homage to the cave where the Sixth Dalai Lama had purportedly meditated. See Ya Hanzhang 牙含章, *Dalai lama zhuan* 達賴喇嘛傳 [Biography of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama] (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1984), 41.

⁷¹ A brand-new temple at the foot of the hill below the original cave was completed in the spring of 2005. All the wooden material and Buddhist images were consecrated and sent from eastern Tibet. See Chapter IV for more discussion.

⁷² This story exists with many slightly variant versions in local compilations of Wutai Shan's legends and on the Internet. See, for example, Fang Qingqi et al., *Wutai Shan fengwu chuanshuo*; or Wei Guolong, *Wutai Shan chuanshuo gushi*, 134; "Wutai Shan Chuanshuo gushi" [Legends of Wutai Shan], <http://www.cnwts.net/wtsfj/chuansuo.htm#m29> (accessed September 15, 2005).

edge of a steep cliff, he saw, instead of his brother's face, the countenance of Tsongkhapa.⁷³ He instantly fell to his knees and repented. As an act of expiation, he spent the next few years traversing the vast terrains of Wutai Shan in order to create a comprehensive woodblock image of Wutai Shan. The story, written in Chinese, explains that the phenomenon of assuming Tsongkhapa's countenance is uniquely Tibetan Buddhist, and in order for a person to appear as a temporary receptacle of Tsongkhapa, the person must be of high spiritual attainment.⁷⁴

The necessity of the drama out of which this carving was created and the legend's popularity illustrate the multifold desire to realize Wutai Shan visually. On the one hand, the revelation of Tsongkhapa spurred the lama to make a "comprehensive view" of Wutai Shan, marrying Buddhist ideals of authenticity to cartographic notions of topographic accuracy, and his action results in rewards as great as an ablution of sins from an intended fratricide. On the other hand, the act of image making commemorates and reaffirms the maker's own encounter with the omnipresent Mañjuśrī. As someone who has "seen" Mañjuśrī's emanation, the lama woodcarver asserts the power of vision to reveal Mañjuśrī's true image to those uninitiated into the world of visions, evoking his own lineage of visions and visionaries, from Mañjuśrī's revelation to Tsongkhapa, Tsongkhapa's revelations to Khedrup Je, down to his own visions of Tsongkhapa. Seen in this light, the image of Wutai Shan manifests a dimension of reality beyond the physical existence of stelae, monasteries, pilgrims, and mountain ranges, one that is accessible only to the initiated.

The discourse of visionary versus ordinary realities displayed in this chain of visual assertions underlies many aspects of Indo-Tibetan Buddhist practice. When a practitioner engages in a meditation practice called a *sadhana*, he or she attains an "exalted state" of reality by generating a vision of the Buddha realm.⁷⁵ This process is guided by *sadhana* texts, which are instructional manuals written by those who have perfected the practices themselves.⁷⁶ The Cifu si map parallels *sadhana* texts by serving both as proof of visions and in their mediatory role between the two realms of realities. As an image of a place whose divine essence may be experienced but cannot be captured through representations of any kind, the Cifu si map can be

⁷³ According to another version narrated to me by a Mongolian lama at Wutai Shan in 2005, the brother lama manifested the form of the protector deity Yamāntaka. The Mongolian lama recalled this from a story he had read in a Mongolian text when he was a resident-lama at Zhenhai si, Rölpe Dorjé's meditation retreat and temple, in the 1950s.

⁷⁴ I have not been able to locate any premodern iteration of the story. Although the historicity of this tale remains unattested, it is likely that there was competition for imperial support and bureaucratic posts in the community of Tibetan Buddhist monks at Wutai Shan, since the court-appointed officials of the mountain were mostly Tibetan and Mongolian lamas. Reference to specific lama officials in the nineteenth century are scant because, as Gray Tuttle suggested, they did not play important roles in facilitating communication between China and Tibet. See Gray Tuttle, *Tibetan Buddhists in the Making of Modern China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 23.

⁷⁵ See Jose Ignacio Cabezon, *Tibetan Literature: Studies in Genre* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion Publications, 1995), 338; and Yael Bentor, *Consecration of Images and Stupas in Indo-Tibetan Tantric Buddhism* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 3-4.

⁷⁶ Cabezon, *Tibetan Literature*, 333.

seen as a guide map for visionary encounters, providing a means of access from the ordinary to the divine realities.⁷⁷

3. Propagating Faith and Accruing Merits

The attempt to render effable the divine, ineffable reality of Mañjuśrī's worldly abode brings us to yet another dimension of sacred cartography. No medium seems more suited to this goal than woodblock printing. A technology originating in Buddhism's effort to disseminate scripture, printing has always been considered the medium of choice for authentic duplication of Buddhist teachings in China.⁷⁸ In other words, Walter Benjamin's observation of the loss of "aura" does not pertain to the world of Buddhist scriptural production.⁷⁹ The aura of the object is preserved through its authentic impression and augmented by its infinite potential for proliferation and dissemination. Likewise, the Cifu si image propagates the reality of Mañjuśrī's worldly abode, using the same medium that has preserved the teachings of the Buddha in China for more than a thousand years. The map's remarkable global dissemination is a fulfillment of this original goal of printmaking. It attests to the adaptability, mobility, and legibility of an image as an essential source for the propagation of sacred teachings, and in reshaping Chinese sacred geography.

The trilingual donative inscriptions attest to this point. Lengthy inscriptions detailing the occasion and purpose of image making, a standard practice in Chinese traditions, expanded into displays of multilingual fluency in the Manchu court.⁸⁰ The donative inscription at the bottom of the image opens with quotations from the Chinese *Avatamsaka Sutra* and *Mañjuśrī Ratnagarbha Dhāraṇi Sutra*, two of the earliest scriptural references to Mañjuśrī's final residence in Wutai Shan.⁸¹ The contents of this first half, identical in all three languages, are lifted directly out of earlier textual records. The inscription then refers to the making of the image, identifying "peregrinating Wutai" and "seeing this image" as two means of receiving and preaching the wondrous dharma. From these pious acts wondrous benefits are generated, not only for the image's maker but also for its viewers, devotees, and printers. Of the three languages, the Chinese inscription presents the clearest and most detailed instructions regarding how to make a

⁷⁷ In the Tibetan context, a holy mountain landscape may be understood as both an abode of a deity and an embodiment of the divine itself. See Toni Huber, *The Cult of Pure Crystal Mountain* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 13.

⁷⁸ See Tsuen-Hsuei Tsien, *Paper and Printing*, pt. 1 of *Chemistry and Chemical Technology*, Science and Civilization in China, ed. Joseph Needham, vol. 5 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 8-9, 146-59; and Thomas Francis Carter, *The Invention of Printing in China and Its Spread Westward* (New York: Ronald Press, 1955).

⁷⁹ See Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction" (1935), in *Illuminations*, trans. Harry Zohn (London: Fontana, 1992), 211-44.

⁸⁰ For a discussion of Qing multilingualism and translation, see Patricia Berger, *Empire of Emptiness: Buddhist Art and Political Authority in Qing China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003), 34-62.

⁸¹ The *Avatamsaka Sutra* and *Mañjuśrī Ratnagarbha Dhāraṇi Sutra* are the earliest and most widely quoted scriptural reference for Mañjuśrī's presence at Wutai Shan. See *Dafangguofo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經 (*The*

pilgrimage to Wutai and to see (*jian* 見) this image in order to propagate the wisdom and teachings of Mañjuśrī, as well as to promote the proliferation of the image as a method of accruing merit. The inscription reads:

...Benefactors everywhere who make a pilgrimage to the sacred realm of Clear and Cool, and who view this map of the mountain in order to listen to and recount the spiritual efficacy and wondrous Dharma of the bodhisattva, will in this life be free from all calamities and diseases, and enjoy boundless blessings, happiness and longevity. After this life, they will be reborn in a land of fortune. All these can be acquired through the bodhisattva's compassionate transformations. Therefore, the disciple of Jebtsundamba of Da Khūriye [Mongolia], the engraver, the fully ordained monk Longzhu (Tib. lhun grub) from the Sengge aimag, made a great vow to carve this woodblock with his own hands in order to extend [the merit] to benefactors of the four directions. Should a person make the vow to print this image, they will accumulate immeasurable merit.⁸²

The virtually identical Mongolian and Tibetan inscriptions neither instruct the printing of this image nor elaborate on the myriad of blessings to be gained by its proper usage, but they reiterate the carver's desire to overcome all obstacles with the making of the image. The Chinese inscription, however, states without ambiguity the efficacy of the picture's capacity to stand in for the actual landscape, insofar as it is capable of evoking the miraculous properties of Wutai Shan, replicating, for the benefit of a devotee, Mañjuśrī's worldly abode. Much like the beneficial act of printing sacred texts, the duplication of a precise image of Wutai Shan, Mañjuśrī's field of enlightenment, also generates tremendous merit and allows a sacred body or territory to be worshiped in the absence of or in substitution for the original.⁸³

Carving Authentic Sound and Meaning

As an image carved in woodblocks—the original medium of Buddhist scriptural production, the Cifu si image shares with its textual counterpart a penchant for comprehensiveness by including as many sites as is physically possible on the blocks. Even though the hierarchical perspective proposed by the Qing emperors, as seen the earlier section on cartographic analyses, is mapped out by the manipulation of size, location, and affiliation (that is, Tibetan or Chinese Buddhist) of monastic complexes, its sites, no matter how minuscule or

Flower Garland Sutra), T. 279: 10, 241b20-22; and *Wenshu shili fa Baozang tuoluoni jing* 文殊師利法寶藏陀羅尼經 [Mañjuśrī Precious Treasury of the Law Dhāraṇī Sūtra], T. 1185: 20, 791c11-16.

⁸² See the Appendix II for the inscription in Chinese. The Mongolian version of this inscription refers to this image as a summary or synopsis, usually a term used to describe a textual description rather than a map or image. I thank Orna Tsultem for reading this inscription and for pointing this out to me.

⁸³ For a study on the veneration of a replicated image, see Martha Carter, *The Mystery of the Udayana Buddha* (Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1990).

peripheral in their representation, are accompanied by a bilingual inscriptions in Chinese and Tibetan (See Appendix III for transcription of inscriptions).

The inclusive nature of this map is first observed in comparison with other attempts to comprehensively document Wutai Shan. If we examine the extent to which these inscriptions correspond to those recorded in the Qing imperial gazetteers in Chinese and Tibetan, we witness a skillful collapse of past and present, of Buddhist and non-Buddhist, and of Chinese and Tibetan identities in the Cifu si image.⁸⁴ A close comparative reading of the sites inscribed on the Cifu si map against the imperially sponsored sources reveals the Cifu si map as a unique local articulation of the complex new identity of Wutai Shan that emerged as a result of more than a hundred and fifty years of enthusiastic Manchu patronage.⁸⁵ This task of comparison is made easier by the fact that, though the description accompanying each place evolved greatly, the lists of temples and sites in the textual records have remained remarkably stable throughout the two-hundred-year period.

There are at least 130 identifiable inscriptions on the Cifu si map, which includes most of the names mentioned in the gazetteers and an additional list of names of villages, hills, and grottoes.⁸⁶ As mentioned earlier, among seventy-odd Buddhist temples with inscriptions found on the Cifu si map, only three are not found in any of the earlier texts.⁸⁷ These temples may have been left out of the gazetteers and inspection records or else built between 1812 (when the last of the imperial gazetteers, the *Magnificent Record of the Western Inspection Tour* was produced) and 1846, when the Cifu si map was carved. Several temples that are listed in the *Imperial Record of the Clear and Cool Mountains* under the category of "monastic ruins" are also depicted in the Cifu si picture as no different from any other temple, and in some cases pilgrims are shown climbing the steps leading up to them, suggesting either a revival of activities or a recognition of the timeless numinous quality of a site.⁸⁸ But significantly, in addition to the imperial interest in seeing Wutai Shan as a strictly Buddhist site, the Cifu si map included a

⁸⁴ See a section of *lingji* in Zhencheng, *Qingliangshan zhi*; and Lubtsangdamba, *Qingliang shan xin zhi*. The section is replaced by the name *mingsheng* (famous attractions) in *Qinding Qingliang shan zhi*.

⁸⁵ The Qing imperial patronage of Wutai Shan has been an important subject of inquiry in recent scholarship. See David Farquhar, "Emperor as Bodhisattva in the Governance of the Ch'ing Empire," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 38, no. 1 (1978): 34; Wang Xiangyun, "Tibetan Buddhism at the Court of Qing" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1995), 103-8; Evelyn Rawski. *The Last Emperors: A Social History of Qing Imperial Institutions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 252-63; and Gray Tuttle, "Early Qing Patronage of (Tibetan) Buddhism at Wutai shan: The Chinese Language Register."

⁸⁶ Though there are probably more that are difficult to make out.

⁸⁷ One more unexpected omission in the gazetteers is Shancai dong (Cave of Sudhana), which according to all modern sources dates back to at least the Kangxi era, when Kangxi discovered Tang images and sculptures of Mañjuśrī in a cave. But the story, which already existed in the Tibetan version of the Wutai Shan gazetteer by Rölpe Dorjé (see n. 75 below), did not make its way into Chinese gazetteers until the twentieth century. The apparent anachronism in stories like this suggests that origin or creation stories tend to be more often retrospectively activated and propagated than known contemporaneously. See Chapter IV for more discussion.

⁸⁸ It is also likely that the temples had been resurrected by the Daoguang era, though Wutai's most prosperous era was during the Qianlong reign.

dozen shrines and caves dedicated to local non-Buddhist deities, none of which are found in any previous gazetteers. Its mapping of seemingly "non-Buddhist" buildings and sites indicates a much more inclusive view of Wutai Shan than the edited version created by imperially sponsored sources.⁸⁹

Looking closely at the inscriptions, we will see that they are equally preoccupied with preserving and delivering scriptural authenticity. Each site is identified by a Chinese inscription and its corresponding Tibetan transliteration, or vice versa, so that there is virtually no attempt to translate the meaning of the name of each place from one language to another.⁹⁰ The Tibetan language inscription is written in *uchen* (*dbu can*), the upright, block style script designed for carving and used for printing scriptures. Many Chinese place-names carry semantic values that allude to the origins of the places, which, when transliterated, lose their original meaning.⁹¹ Some labels are inscribed directly onto the walls of the monastic complexes, as though they were depictions of the painted signs that still can be seen at Wutai Shan today, and others are hidden in or seemingly disguised as Wutai's flora and fauna, making them very difficult to identify, let alone decipher. In short, the image reveals a comprehensive and precise identification system, committed to preserving pronunciation, but one that is almost impossible to read. This apparent irony comes as no surprise if we take into account the Qing imperial practice of translating Buddhist texts at this time, propounded by none other than Rölpe Dorjé. In his preface to *Dictionary, the Source of Wisdom*, Rölpe Dorjé expounded on the importance of capturing sound when a perfect translation cannot be derived.⁹² Rölpe Dorjé compiled his *Pilgrimage Guide to the Clear and Cool Mountains* in precisely the same way. He preserved the original Chinese characters and pronunciation of the place-names, explained their origins in a way based closely on *Record of the Clear and Cool Mountains*, and occasionally inserted his own commentaries.⁹³ According to his biographer Thuken, Rölpe Dorjé took up compiling a more complete history of Wutai Shan because his disciples were dissatisfied with existing Tibetan versions, which they felt to be too inaccurate and guilty of omissions.⁹⁴ Given the array of connotations and layers of

⁸⁹ Among the shrines and grottoes depicted on the map, but not found in imperially sponsored records, are Nainai miao, Cifu miao, Haiyai dong, Chaoyang dong, Baizi dong, Shuilian dong, and Baiyun dong.

⁹⁰ The only exceptions are well-established Tibetan Buddhist monasteries that already had different names in Chinese and Tibetan at the time the woodblocks were carved.

⁹¹ In one instance, the transliteration of Linggong ta, a site without any apparent Tibetan affiliation, also appears alone without Chinese characters. Linggong ta is said to have been erected by Yang Yanlang (a Song-dynasty Kungfu master, the eighth of the Yang brothers famous in Qing martial arts drama) for his father, who died in Wutai Shan. See *Qinding Qingliang Shan zi*, *juan* 9, 5. There are a few other exceptions to the Tibetan transliterations, including the cave of Mañjuśrī, which is written in Tibetan. This method of labeling is quite unlike the cartouche found in Dunhuang or on conventional Chinese maps.

⁹² Rölpe Dorjé's translation treatises are summarized by Damcho Gyatsho Dharmatala, *Rosary of White Lotuses*, 402-3, in a chapter on translation. Wutai Shan is also often frequently mentioned in *ibid.*, 417-31.

⁹³ Rölpe Dorjé (1717-1786), *Ri bo dwangs bsil gyi kar chag mjug ma tshang ba yod* [Record of the Holy Land of Clear and Cool Mountains] (Xining: Mtshos non mi rigs dpe skrun khan, 1993), trans. into Chinese as "Shengdi Qingliang Shan zhi" by Wang Lu, *Wutai Shan yanjiu*, no. 2 (1990): 8-48.

⁹⁴ The biography of Rölpe Dorjé written by his disciple Thu'u bkwan reveals Rölpe Dorjé's intention behind his writing of the Record. Before Rölpe Dorjé's Tibetan version, there existed another version that was translated rather

miraculous blessings the places had come to acquire throughout history, it is no surprise that Rölpe Dorjé considered them untranslatable. A person reading Rölpe Dorjé's *Pilgrimage Guide* might not recognize the semantic meaning of the place-name, but what mattered most was that the reader could receive the comprehensive knowledge of the place's sacredness throughout its history.⁹⁵ In the Cifu si map, carved several decades later than *Pilgrimage Guide*, the transliteration practice had begun also to go in the reverse direction. Sites with labels like "Gongbu shan 公布山," a Chinese transliteration of the Tibetan "Gonpori (Mahākāla Mountain, or Protector's Mountain)," exemplify the Chinese adaptation of an originally Tibetan miracle. They signify that Wutai Shan's past or origin is no longer entirely owned by the Chinese language. By and large, the two-way application of Rölpe Dorjé's rule of translation as reflected in the Cifu si woodblock inscriptions faithfully preserves Wutai Shan's every miracle, thus further affirming the continuity of all revelations, Chinese or Tibetan.

Therefore, it is no surprise that the Tibetan monks at Wutai Shan today expressed such amazement on seeing the Cifu si map (Figure 2.67). Desiring to "know" Wutai Shan well, like Rölpe Dorjé's earlier disciples, they marveled at the unprecedented completeness of the Cifu si map in documenting important Chinese and Tibetan miracles at Wutai Shan of all sectarian affiliations, which is exactly what they needed to make their pilgrimages. Rölpe Dorjé and his disciples' commitment to preserving the original pronunciation of the names of auspicious sites, as explained above, clarifies for us the seemingly "meaningless" and semi-invisible labeling system for the map's readers. Perhaps more than serving as instructive labels, the Chinese and Tibetan transliterations represent an effort to preserve and promote the authenticity of a place for its maker and viewers, while allowing audiences of both languages to possess equally true and complete knowledge of Mañjuśrī's every presence at Wutai Shan throughout time.

Printing and Coloring

Like the disciples of Rölpe Dorjé and the lamas in Wutai Shan today, a pilgrim eager to pay homage to every sacred place in Wutai Shan would have recognized the sites on the map in spite of their otherwise inscrutable labels; they are aided by their familiarity with the structures and the iconography of the figures associated with the site. A case in point is the identification of a stupa associated with Tāranātha (1575?-1634?), the eminent scholar of the Jonang sect (Figure

than transliterated by Rtse Inga pa Dpal Idan grags pa, and which Rölpe Dorjé deemed inaccurate. The Tibetan monks complained that without a detailed guidebook they were unable to "remember" Wutai Shan correctly. See Thu'u bkwan blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma, *Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje'i rnam thar* [Biography of Rölpe Dorjé] (Lanzhou: Kan su'u mi rig s dpe skrun khang, 1989), 504; Chinese translation by Chen Qingying (Beijing: Zhongguo Zangxue Chubanshe, 2006), 240. We know therefore that gazetteers and records were used as guidebooks, as indispensable tools for remembering the past, by monks from Mongolia and Tibet. It would not be surprising that this image functioned in a similar way as well.

⁹⁵ On a more practical level, this phonetic inheritance also helped the new visitors to navigate Wutai Shan more easily.

2. 68).⁹⁶ The inscription belongs to a small group of Tibetan-only inscriptions that are exceptions to the otherwise unremitting practice of transliteration.⁹⁷ No known textual records in Chinese indicate Tāranātha ever visited Wutai Shan, which makes this Tibetan-only inscription all the more intriguing, suggesting that this stupa's existence in Wutai Shan and its depiction in this print are of particular importance in the Tibetan-Mongolian context.⁹⁸ This lack of textual reference brings us back to the cloud-borne deities, to see them as another kind of authenticating inscription beside the written one. The well-differentiated iconography of the divine emanations, as discussed earlier, serve as another kind of inscription to authenticate the miraculous properties of each individual monastery. They are pictorial labels that are much more immediately visible and comprehensible than foreign sounds in barely visible letters. Seeing the two prints side-by-side reveals though, just how much this kind of pictorial inscription can be conditioned by the interpretation of the coloring, rather that of than the original carving, and prompts us to consider the importance of the coloring process.

The Rubin print dresses the figure of Tāranātha emanating on a cloud above the stupa in yellow robes and red inner robe, with his right arm exposed (Figure 2. 69). Although not conforming to earlier iconography of Tāranātha, the monk's outfit could still signify Tāranātha during this time period. The same figure in the Helsinki print has a more explicit identity (Figure 2.68). He is wearing a black lobed hat that closely resembles nineteenth- and twentieth-century depictions of the Jebtsundambas of Urga, as exemplified in a Mongolian image from the Museum of Natural History (Figure 2.70). Since the Jebtsundamba of Urga, the reincarnation line of the spiritual and political leaders of Mongolia, were considered to be reincarnations of Tāranātha in Mongolia, and that Gelong Lhundrup, the carver of the blocks had proclaimed the Jebtsundamba to be his teacher in the donative inscription, there is little doubt that the colorist explicitly reinforced this identity of the stupa.⁹⁹ By specifying the identity of the figure as a

⁹⁶ This is identified by Lodro Gyatso, a Gelukpa monk from the Buddhist Academy of Lanzhou. Along with Ngawang Keldan, of Shifang tang, he helped me with many iconographic details of the Cifu si map and provided a transcription of the donative inscription in Tibetan.

⁹⁷ The single-language inscriptions appear only in Tibetan, whereas virtually no Chinese inscription appears by itself. In addition to place-names, occasional mantras and narrative commentaries such as "Om mani padme hum" (Avalokiteśvara's Six-Syllable Mantra) and "Oh ah ra pa tsa na dhi" (Mañjuśrī's Seven-Syllable Mantra) are given in the Tibetan transliteration of Sanskrit, and "Bowing down in obeisance and worshipping the Five Peaks" is written in Chinese. The rules of transliteration do not seem to apply to phrases recording the recitations of pilgrims or documenting their activities.

⁹⁸ According to *Rosary of White Lotus*, Tāranātha visited Wutai Shan with the emperor, and he passed away on a visit to China. See Damcho Gyatsho Dharmatala. *Rosary of White Lotus*, 341-42. But other sources in Tibetan, Chinese, and Mongolian do not agree. For the controversy, see Chen Qingying 陳慶英 and Jin Chengxiu 金成修, "Ke-erkebu zhebuzundanba huo fo zhuan shi de qi yuan xintan 喀尔喀部哲布尊丹巴活佛轉世的起源新探[A New Investigation into the Origin of the Reincarnation of the Jebtsundambas of the Khalka Region]," *Qinghai minzu xuebao*, no. 3 (2003): 9-14.

⁹⁹ The Jebtsundamba's visit in 1812 is mentioned in Dznya'ana shri'i man/Ye [shes] dpal [ldan] (mid 19th c.), *Ri bo rtse lnga'i dkar chag rab gsal me long* (Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1994). I thank Gray Tuttle for this reference.

Jebtsundamba, rather than the original historical Tāranātha, the coloring of the Helsinki print reinforces the stupa's connection to Mongolia and to the origin of the map-carver.¹⁰⁰

Much of the iconography of the woodblock is identified through its coloring conventions. If the carving of the woodblocks is seen as an authentic reproduction of Wutai Shan's accumulation of sites, persons, and miracles, the coloring of the print subjects its authenticity to continued revisions. A closer comparison of the Rubin and the Helsinki prints reveal that the map images themselves are as mediated and unstable as the landscape itself. What on the surface appear to be tenuous and negligible differences, conditioned by the colorists' own artistic traditions and personal preferences, in fact reveal two modes of devotion toward the mountain range. As the following comparison will show, the Wutai Shan landscape of the Rubin print is venerated as an eternal, scriptural, and idealized landscape, whereas, in the Helsinki print, its terrains are localized, lived, and familiar. This difference in turn sheds light on why and what makes a sacred mountain sacred in different traditions of pilgrimage.

Making Space

A vibrant green color commonly found in Tibetan landscape paintings saturates the Rubin print. Semi-transparent layers of paint are applied to articulate the shape of the mountain that the thickly engraved lines could only suggest. Walls, beams, and pillars of the temples are consistently painted in red, while the roofs are in blue, with the exception of Pusa ding, the largest temple in the center of the print, donned in golden roof tiles. Wutai Shan's lush mountain landscape is distinctively juxtaposed with the azurite blue of the sky behind. The contour of the five terraces is further accentuated by a ring of clouds, which are painted first with a bright and opaque white, and then traced in detail with colored outlines. The same technique is also employed to illuminate cloud-borne apparitions, the large white stupa on the middle lower portion of the map, and the heads of human figures. In contrast to all other semi-transparent layers of pigments on the darkened linen, the opaque white ink remains the only bright color that frames the entire landscape when viewed from afar. The uniformity and consistency of the color application, along with the unyielding cloud formations, presents the composition as a structurally cohesive whole, while the modeling of the hills gives volume and depth to the landscape, creating an openly traversable landscape.

The coloring in the Helsinki print follows a different convention. The print is colored in an abundance of pink, violet, blue, yellow, and dark green colors reminiscent of the popular New Year woodblock prints (*nianhua* 年畫) of the Shanxi region.¹⁰¹ But unlike the popular Shanxi prints, the negative spaces are densely filled with color, including the space between the heading and the landscape's horizon, a full application of paint rarely seen in the Chinese tradition of

¹⁰⁰ I thank Karl Debreczeny for this observation.

¹⁰¹ For scholarship on popular woodblock prints, see Wang Shucun 王樹村, ed., *Zhongguo gudai minsu banhua* 中國古代民俗版畫 [Popular Prints of Pre-modern China] (Beijing: Xin shijie, 1992); Po Sungnien and David Johnson, *Domesticated, Deities and Auspicious Emblems: The Iconography of Everyday Life in Village China*. Publications of the Chinese Popular Culture Project, no. 2 (Berkeley: Chinese Popular Culture Project, 1992)

landscape prints.¹⁰² In addition, printed characters, such as those for sun (*ri* 日) and moon (*yue* 月) at the top of the print, were traced over in a stiff calligraphic style. In contrast to the hyper-coloring of the upper register, a great deal of looseness characterizes the shading of the flora and fauna below. While most of the hills are left unpainted save for a few strokes of olive green and magenta, the buildings are intensely filled in with ultramarine blue, magenta red, and golden yellow, the trees, with heavy olive green, and the clouds with rosy pink. As a result, the dense sky, temples, trees, and clouds, all rest on some sort of spaceless space, supported only by monochrome lines of engraving. There is neither any sense of how one part of the mountain relates to another spatially, nor how its shape or volume could hold up any of its painted landmarks. Unlike in the Rubin print, the space seems flat and closed here; because of its refusal to give any hint of topographical depth, a viewer who seeks to enter the space will find herself lost in the thicket of holy sites and visions, unable to navigate out of their undifferentiated landscape.

As we have seen earlier with the reinterpretation of the stupa of Tāranātha, the making of space at Wutai Shan is not the only task to be completed by the process of coloring. Colors, which play a primary role in the pictorial vocabulary and iconography of Tibetan Buddhism, also determine much of the maps' content. By comparing the narratives and iconography in the two prints, we discover that even the characters and stories in Wutai Shan's past are remembered quite differently, from print to print.

Telling Stories

On the middle right section of the map is a scene of a man fleeing from a wild tiger (Figure 2. 71). The figure, followed immediately by a gaping tiger, gestures wildly in the air. Right above him is the mantra of bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara “Om mani padme hum” inscribed in Tibetan *uchen* script. The man is enclosed by a protective net, originating from the fingertip of a deity on a cloud, which in turn emanates from the so-labeled Cave of Mañjuśrī (Wenshu dong 文殊洞). The identity of the rescuing deity, already identified as the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara by the inscribed mantra, is again confirmed in the Rubin print by the figure's iconography. The figure wears a white robe and bodhisattva's headdress, in consonance with popular depictions of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara in China after the tenth century.¹⁰³ However, two interpretations of the deity are visible on the Helsinki print, both the originally engraved iconography of the woodblocks, and a new interpretation put forth by the colorist. The deity in the Helsinki print is a seated figure in black hat, yellow robe, and bare feet, appearing more like a Daoist priest than a bodhisattva (Figure 2. 72). Even though the mantra issued forth by the figure belongs exclusively to Avalokiteśvara, the person who colored the Helsinki print obviously understood otherwise, disregarding, or more likely unable to register the mantra inscribed in the Tibetan *uchen* script. Given that the artisan(s) who colored the print in China or Mongolia might not

¹⁰² This is a full application of paint rarely seen in the Chinese tradition of landscape prints, which is generally more sparing with their use of colors and more nuanced with the spread of ink washes.

¹⁰³ Chun-fang Yu, *Kuan-yin: The Chinese Transformation of Avalokitesvara* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 6.

have been literate even in their native language(s), it is all the more likely that they would not be able to understand a Tibetan script used for the writing of sutras.¹⁰⁴ Through the application of color, a new identity, or at least a new emanation, for the deity is created. It is a new guise that reflects the prevalence of indigenous priests and deities at Wutai Shan.

The original story of Avalokiteśvara's special appearance in Mañjuśrī's cave pictured on the woodblock print does not seem to have made its way to major textual references, which contributed to the malleability of this narrative. What is puzzling in this original story, before the change of character, is why Avalokiteśvara should emanate directly out of a cave associated with Mañjuśrī. Competition between Mañjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara is documented in several popular legends of Wutai Shan and Putuo Shan. In one instance, Avalokiteśvara visits Mañjuśrī at Wutai Shan to engage in a discussion of the Dharma. On their meeting agenda was the selection and transformation into immortals of individuals who practice compassion. They therefore make a bet as to which of two famous villagers is truly compassionate, "Butcher" Zhang or "Pious" Li. Guanyin (Avalokiteśvara) roots for Zhang, who, although slaughtering animals for a living, is kind and generous to all. Wenshu (Mañjuśrī) roots for Li, a wealthy miser who chants sutras all day and observes a vegetarian diet. Throughout the story, Guanyin and Wenshu variously appear in the guise of different characters to test Zhang and Li during the day. By night, they appear in the dreams of the characters they root for in order to give hints before each test. In the final test, Zhang drinks the river water and turns into an immortal, while Li, drinking the same water, turns into a frog. Consequently, on his home turf, Wenshu lost the bet to Guanyin.¹⁰⁵ Such a story reveals a friendly rivalry between the two principal bodhisattvas, which in turn provides another possible reason for the obscuration of the identity of Avalokiteśvara. After all, the primary purpose of this map was to expound the wonders of Mañjuśrī, not those of his counterpart Avalokiteśvara.¹⁰⁶ Moreover, in a culture in which deities engage in friendly competitions and take on flexible forms of emanations, the crowning virtue of Mañjuśrī is exactly his adaptability—a quality which is sustained and carried out in this multi-step processes of printing and coloring.

Although the colors of the Helsinki print do not seem to match the Tibetan inscriptions, they reinforce the color conventions of Qing monastic structures, a trait also seen in other versions of the map.¹⁰⁷ That is, the roofs of temples with predominantly imperial sponsorship are painted with bright yellow, while others remain blue. This displays not only a familiarity

¹⁰⁴ For a study on artisans' involvement in Buddhist art production in a different context of, see Sarah Fraser, *Performing the Visual: The Practice of Buddhist Wall Painting in China and Central Asia, 618-960* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004).

¹⁰⁵ Zhongguo minjian wenxue jicheng quanguo bianji weiyuanhui 中國民間文學集成全國編輯委員會, ed., *Zhongguo minjian guoshi jicheng: Shanxi Juan* 中國民間故事集成: 山西卷 [Collected works of Chinese folk legends: Shanxi Province] (Beijing: Zhongguo minjian wenxue jicheng quanguo bianji weiyuanhui, 1999): 132

¹⁰⁶ For a discussion of the counterpoised identifications of the Qing emperors and the Dalai Lamas as the emanations of Mañjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara, respectively, see Debreczeny, "Wutai Shan: Pilgrimage to the Five Mountains," 37-39.

¹⁰⁷ The Library of Congress version acquired by Rockhill also follows this convention; it is otherwise rather plainly and loosely colored in comparison with the Helsinki and Rubin versions.

with either the established system of coloration or the actual colors of roof tiles, but also a concern for Qing imperial policy and institution at Wutai Shan during the time when the map was carved. In the Rubin print, however, temples are uniformly painted with blue roofs and red walls with the exception of the central temple of Pusa ding. Here, more attention is paid to articulating the details of celebrity visits and visitations than it does differentiating the sponsorship of monasteries

In another miraculous episode appearing on the left-hand side of the map, a person diving off a cliff is being saved by a golden hand reaching through a cloud. In the Helsinki copy, we also see larger-than-human beasts pressing behind, showing that the person is jumping to escape (Figure 2. 73). In the Rubin print, however, the beasts are seemingly absent. Only upon closer inspection can we see the original engraved outlines of two animals, which are covered by the green coloring of the hills (Figure 2. 74). Without the ravenous animals, the scene can be interpreted as depicting a different tale. In fact, the diving position of the figure easily reminds us of the Mahāsattva’s tale, in which a young prince, one of Śākyamuni’s previous lives, sacrifices his life for a hungry tigress by leaping off a cliff. A place by the name of “Mahāsattva’s Peak” is also recorded in Qing-dynasty gazetteers of Wutai Shan. The described location of the place corresponds to where this episode is taking place on the map below the Western Terrace.¹⁰⁸ In the story, a young woman flees to Wutai Shan to escape her arranged marriage, surviving solely on forest herbs and dew. When her parents come to take her back, she chooses instead to commit suicide by jumping off the cliff. But as she dives down, she flies away instead. The site was thus named “Mahāsattva’s Peak,” after this miraculous occurrence. It is likely that the colorist of the Rubin print conflated the scene depicted in the woodblock prints with a version of this earlier and better known story preserved in the gazetteers.¹⁰⁹ That parts of the engraved content could be ignored and others reinterpreted shows just how selective the coloring of originally monochrome woodblock prints can be; it completes the picture of Wutai Shan, by labeling, highlighting, and accentuating details amid an overload of information.

An important detail highlighted in the Helsinki print that is entirely hidden in the Rubin print is the colophon in Chinese and Mongolian on the upper-left-hand corner. The inscribed colophon documents both the date when the map was carved, which fell on the fifteenth day of the fourth month during the twenty-sixth year of the Daoguang reign (1846), and the instruction that the woodblocks were to be kept at Cifu si.¹¹⁰ This is the single most important piece of information to speak directly of the Mongolian provenance of the map; but its revelation in one and concealment in another reveal something more than Tibetan and Mongolian cultural priorities. It raises the question of where exactly the sacred lies in an image.

¹⁰⁸ The same description of Mahasattva’s Peak exists in all three versions of Wutai Shan gazetteers printed in the Qing dynasty. See Gugong Bowuyuan ed., *Qingliang shan zhi*, juan 2, 5; *Qingliang shan xinzhì*, juan 2, 4; *Qinding Qingliang shan zhi*, juan 9, 10.

¹⁰⁹ This is likely considering that the same story is also well-cherished in Tibetan sources. The Thirteenth Dalai Lama reiterated the story in poetic verses in his praise poem of Wutai Shan. See Thub bstan rgya mtsho, *Rje btsun 'jam pa'i dbyangs kyi gnas la bstod pa dwangs gsal mdzes pa'i me long* [Beautiful Clear Mirror: A Praise to Lord Manjugosha's Abode] In *The Collected Works of Dalai Lama XIII* Vol. 3 (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1981), 395-404.

¹¹⁰ See Miao Zhou, *Mengzang fojiao shi*, 88

Encountering the Holy

The location of the sacred is at the heart of this comparison. Conforming to the map's Tibetan inscriptions and adhering to the Tibetan Buddhist artistic tradition of *thangka*-making, the Wutai Shan of the Rubin print serves instead as an icon of veneration. While remaining faithful to its original narratives and iconography, it obscures the print's obvious Mongolian heritage and what is happening "on the ground" at Wutai Shan. Its lack of colophon and traces of usage erase all signs of its material and authorial presence. Its coherent, cohesive and structurally cogent space reinforces the vision of the Wutai Shan landscape as an icon, timeless, ethereal, and devoid of earthly contexts.

The Helsinki version, meanwhile, highlights the impenetrable mountain of miracles and wonders in a way that is not always in consonance with the stated Tibetan inscriptions, but one that still reflects and reinforces popular beliefs and contemporary understandings. The painting of Wutai Shan in the genre of popular folk prints, the emphasis on Mongolian authorship and location, and the well-worn quality of a pilgrimage guide all suggest a vision of Wutai Shan not so different from that held by the majority of Mongolian pilgrims described in Isabelle Charleux's study—the ordinary Mongol laity whose pilgrimage journeys bring about as many miraculous benefits as they do economic opportunities.¹¹¹ This "earthly" quality of the Helsinki print by no means diminishes its sacredness in the eyes of its beholder. In fact, it is exactly its ability to highlight and discern Wutai Shan as a lived tradition of folklore and pilgrimage activities that gives the map its aura of authenticity. That authenticity and tangibility is also what makes Wutai Shan sacred. While it is beyond the scope of this analysis to address what exactly accounts for this difference, some obvious speculations can still be made. Even though the location and traditions of the mediating agents played a central role in shaping the final product, cultural categories such as "Tibetan" or "Mongolian" do not satisfy the requirement for the definition of difference. The particular concerns expressed do, however. The Helsinki print, which was purchased in the so-called Beijing Shop in Urga (Ekh-Khüree, modern-day Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia), was probably colored in Mongolia, if not actually manufactured in China for a Mongolian audience;¹¹² it speaks to an audience whose travels to the actual Wutai mountain range is arduous but not infrequent. Unlike their learned monastic counterparts, they might not have been sufficiently trained in Tibetan to read its inscriptions on the map, resulting in the freedom to reinterpret discussed earlier. Meanwhile, the painting styles of the Rubin print point to the possibility that the print had traveled to Tibet, or at least been colored and mounted for a Tibetan audience. If this were true, it would also give rise to the possibility that the image was seen as a surrogate of Wutai Shan by Tibetans who could not travel there. In other words, seeing the image served to bring them closer to a semi-mythical Wutai Shan that exists only in verbal and textual descriptions.

Much of this difference can be observed from the afterlives of the images themselves. While the Rubin copy is mounted with elaborate brocades, and probably hung as a *thangka* painting from the time it was first printed and colored, the Helsinki copy exhibits multiple traces

¹¹¹ Charleux, "Mongol Pilgrimages," 8-10, 12-16.

¹¹² Halen, *Mirrors of the Void*, 3. Painters from Wutai Shan also traveled to Urga frequently at the end of the nineteenth century. See A. M. Pozdneyev, *Mongolia and the Mongols* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1971): 69.

of creases, indicating that it was folded up for prolonged periods. As suggested by Isabelle Charleux, it was possibly stored in a pilgrim's amulet.¹¹³ This perceived distinction suggest different uses for the map, one as an image of the holy mountain to be worshiped and admired, and the other as a guide for actual pilgrimages.

Regardless of what the differently colored images of Wutai Shan offer to its viewers, every map reflects and continues to reconfigure Wutai Shan. It has been suggested that the practice of hand coloring woodblock prints in medieval Europe allowed both consistency in Christ's imagery and freedom to personalize and record private devotional practices.¹¹⁴ The Cifu si image might not have been made as an act of contemplation but it could very well have been used for that purpose. Therefore, the act of coloring seems to have been a crucial step in the production of the Cifu si image, as it is in some medieval Christian woodblock prints; for both the makers and the viewers, the vision of Wutai Shan would not have been wholly satisfying without color. If the medium of woodblock printing is what renders Mañjuśrī's worldly abode authentic, the process of coloring is what makes the reality fully manifest.

4. Tradition of Picturing Wutai Shan

As an object that simultaneously captures many kinds of truths at Wutai Shan, the Cifu si woodblock print is a descendant in a long tradition of Wutai Shan pictures and models that circulated and were re-created all over the Buddhist world. Moreover, the woodblocks themselves were frequently copied and circulated in an array of mediums, attesting to the popularity of the image after the woodblocks were carved. By situating the Cifu si print within the larger tradition of picturing Wutai Shan, we see another dimension of its authenticity—the sacredness of the physical object itself. Fragments of historical documentation in Chinese, Japanese, Khotanese, Korean, Mongolian, and Tibetan enable us to imagine a vibrant international cult of Wutai Shan since at least the eighth century, when Wutai Shan pictures were brought back either as souvenirs or as surrogate pilgrimages for those who could not go to the site. The far-reaching popularity of the Wutai Shan image(s) is famously documented in *Jiu Tang Shu* 舊唐書 (*Old Tang History*), in which the Tibetan king sent envoys to acquire picture(s) of Wutai Shan in 824.¹¹⁵ At about the same time, in 840, the Japanese pilgrim monk Ennin (794-864) commissioned a painting of the manifestation of Wutai Shan to take back with him after his stay there.¹¹⁶ In the Buddhist cave sites Yulin 榆林 and Mogao near the northwestern frontier

¹¹³ Personal communication.

¹¹⁴ David S. Areford, "The Image in the Viewer's Hands: The Reception of Early Prints in Europe," *Studies in Iconography* 24 (2003): 5-42.

¹¹⁵ See Liu Xu 劉昫 (887-946), comp., *Jiu Tang Shu* [Old Tang History] (reprint, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1975), juan 17a, 512.

¹¹⁶ See Ennin 圓仁 (794-864), *Nittō guhō junrei gyōki* 入唐求法巡礼行记 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1970-85), 99, trans. as *Ennin's Diary: The Record of a Pilgrimage to China in Search of the Law* by Edwin O. Reischauer (New York: Ronald Press, 1955), 269.

town of Dunhuang, Wutai Shan was frequently depicted throughout the Tibetan Reign (781-847), Late Tang (848-906), and Five Dynasties (907-59). Found in the cache of manuscripts from Mogao Cave 17 in Dunhuang are silk paintings and poetry of Wutai Shan, thought perhaps to have been brought over by monks from Wutai Shan en route to the west.¹¹⁷ A similar image from this period reputedly survives on the east wall of the bottom level of the Samye (Bsam yas) Monastery.¹¹⁸ The Cifu si print not only echoes these previous images in the ways that they partake of and substitute for Wutai Shan but also strikingly inherits their iconography. The most widely studied example of a Wutai Shan image is the panoramic mural of Cave 61, dated to about 948 (Figure 2.75). Stretching the entire length of the west wall, behind a large altar with Mañjuśrī as its central deity, the mural measures 11 feet (3.5 meters) high and 50 feet (15.5 meters) wide. Even though in the woodblock print many of the miraculous events were updated and replaced, sites moved and rebuilt, names changed and retranslated, visions reformulated and deities re-emanated, and styles and mediums of depiction shifted, the basic structure of this image is remarkably similar in its comprehensive and panoramic depiction of miracles, apparitions, auspicious symbols, prominent temples, stupas, miraculous sites, and mountain gates to the panoramic mural of Wutai Shan in Dunhuang Cave 61 (Figures 2.76 and 2.77).¹¹⁹ Even the tireless pilgrims and their animal vehicles remain strikingly familiar, though separated by a thousand years (Figures 2.78 and 2.79). Furthermore, the alignment of the peaks, from left to right, follow the same order of south, west, central, north, and east, implying that both images capture Wutai Shan from the same point of view. The structural and iconographic similarities between the two images, seemingly distant from one another in their production, reception, location, and period, suggest a genre of Wutai Shan images and a lineage of image making that presumably persisted for more than a millennium, a tradition that is further supported by references to "maps of Wutai Shan" in many other historical sources.¹²⁰

The abundance of Wutai Shan pictures that have survived from the late Qing period attests to the popularity of such images at this time.¹²¹ Though a significant part of temple

¹¹⁷ A tenth-century painting of Wutai Shan from the Dunhuang manuscripts is now in the Musée Guimet, Paris, inv. no. EO. 3588. For reference to a stela in Baoding (Hebei province) with the image of Wutai, see Cui Wenkui 崔文魁, "Wutai Shan yu Wutai Shan tu 五臺山與五臺山圖 [Wutai Shan and the Image of Wutai Shan]," *Wutai Shan yanjiu*, no. 3 (2004): 17-23. However, as the author provides no sources, we do not know its exact location or what it looks like.

¹¹⁸ For a general description of the mural, see Ou Chaogui 歐朝貴, "Wutai shengdi yu xizang shengseng 五臺聖地與西藏聖僧 [The Sacred Land of Wutai and Tibetan Monks]," *Xizang Minzu Zongjiao* [Tibetan Ethnic Religion], no. 1 (Spring 1994): 24.

¹¹⁹ Studies on Cave 61 are foundational to the current study. See Dorothy Wong, "A Reassessment of the Representation of Mt. Wutai from Dunhuang Cave 61," *Archives of Asian Art* 46 (1993): 27-52; Ernesta Marchand, "The Panorama of Wutai Shan as an Example of Tenth Century Cartography," *Oriental Art* 22, no. 2 (1976): 158-73; and Zhao Shengliang 趙聲良, *Dunhuang shiku yishu, Mogaoku di 61 ku 敦煌石窟艺术·莫高窟第 61 窟* [Dunhuang Cave 61] (Nanjing: Jiangsu meishu chubanshe, 1995).

¹²⁰ For the tradition of depicting Wutai Shan, see Cui Wenkui, "Wutai Shan yu Wutai Shan tu," 17-23.

¹²¹ See Yang Jiaming 楊嘉銘, *Xizang jianzhu de lishi wenhua 西藏建築的歷史文化* [The History of Tibetan Architecture] (Xining: Qinghai remin chubanshe, 2003), 208. More recently, large murals of Wutai Shan are seen in

collections has been destroyed, images of the mountain range still survive in private and state collections. As noted earlier in this chapter, they include several similarly styled woodblocks (all approximately 35 inches [90 centimeters] long and 20 inches [50 centimeters] wide) with Mañjuśrī in the center and important temples scattered around the Wutai mountain range, and colored paintings of Wutai Shan on silk (Figures 2.29 and 2.38).¹²² Of particular relevance to the Cifu si image are paintings and woodblock prints that are based, in varying degrees, on the Cifu si woodblock set, indicating the image's wide circulation and its role as a prototype and model for depicting Wutai Shan during the late Qing dynasty (Figures 2.36 and 2.37). The question of how exactly this lineage is continued ought to be pursued by excavating other premodern images of Wutai Shan from the site's far-reaching sphere of influence.¹²³ However, it is safe to assume that the image carver Lhundrup and contemporary viewers would have understood well the numinous nature of a Wutai Shan picture, which, besides Wutai Shan, was itself an object of pursuit.

Remapping Sacred Geography

An exploration of the four dimensions of reality captured in the Cifu si map has elucidated the process by which the image both evokes and continuously affirms the complex and ever-shifting landscape of Wutai Shan. The following recapitulates the many ways through which the map image reinvents the unstable grounds of a sacred site. First of all, the woodblock print propagates a particular interpretation of Qing-dynasty Wutai Shan, filtered through the lens of a resident Mongolian lama. As such, it is simultaneously interested in articulating Wutai Shan's contemporary identity as predominantly Tibeto-Mongolian, in reiterating Wutai Shan's Chinese past, and in representing local shrines and legends that have evaded Buddhist canonical and imperial texts. Second, the image acts as a sort of guide map for ordinary and visionary topographies of Wutai Shan, prescribing not only must-see destinations but also how a visitor should behave in the presence of Mañjuśrī, be it by making full obeisance to a stupa, traveling up the mountain in small groups, chanting sutras and mantras, or attending a religious festival; its panoptic display of Indo-Tibeto-Mongolian deity emanations authenticates the carver's access to Wutai Shan's visionary realm while guiding others beyond their ordinary one. As discussed above, the image can additionally be seen as a surrogate for Wutai Shan for those who cannot travel there.¹²⁴ Given how spread out, decentered, and untraversable parts of the mountain range

Tongkhör monastery (Stong 'khor, Ch. Donggu si) in Kardzé (Dkar mdzes, Ch. Ganzi), Sichuan, and at a Karma Kagyu monastery (Zuoren si) in Tainan, Taiwan.

¹²² The Beijing National Library, the National Palace Museum in Beijing, and several temples at Wutai Shan all hold several woodblocks and prints of the mountain in similar styles and dimensions.

¹²³ See, for example, Rong Xinjiang 榮新江, "Dunhuang wenxian he huihua fanying de wudai song chu zhongyuan yu xibei diqu de wenhua jiaowang 敦煌文獻和繪畫的五代宋初中原與西北地區的文化交往[The Cultural Exchange between the Central Plains and Northwest Regions during the Five Dynasties Seen in Dunhuang Manuscripts and Murals]," *Beijing daxue xuebao*, no. 2 (1988): 55-62; and Farquhar, "Emperor as Bodhisattva," 5-34.

¹²⁴ For examples of surrogate pilgrimages in China, see Kenneth Pomeranz, "Power, Gender, and Pluralism in the Cult of the Goddess of Taishan," in *Culture and State in Chinese History: Conventions, Accommodations, and Critiques*, ed. Theodore Hutters, R. Bin Wong, and Pauline Yu (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 182-204.

of Wutai are, a picture with a complete description of all the sites can function as a surrogate for a pilgrimage more complete than one taken at Wutai Shan itself. Likewise, as a souvenir that evokes memories of Wutai Shan, the picture's completeness could also reassure its owner, who was not likely to have visited all of the sites or encountered visionary experiences but still wished to "remember" the entirety of Wutai Shan's numinous traces. Its attested popularity and international circulation indicate that it was instrumental in perpetuating a perception of and experience in Wutai Shan, perhaps—because of its panoramic staging of abundant visions, unexpected miracles, layered histories, opulent temples, and contemporary religious activities—more truthfully than could a photograph or a dense gazetteer of Wutai Shan. Finally, it presents a revelation of Wutai Shan's permanent reality through its myriad of worldly appearances. The desire to identify simultaneously Wutai Shan's layered past and its "newly recognized" Tibeto-Mongolian Buddhist presence, the replicative process of printing followed by the inventive and individuated process of coloring, as well as the Qing emperors' expedient reenactment of legends distilled from Wutai Shan's numinous history—all these can be seen as ways to arrive at an actual and unfaltering truth of Wutai Shan beyond ordinary human comprehension by affirming its multitudinous manifestations in the visible world.

Today, the Cifu si map continues to realize Wutai Shan in ways that resonate with the pursuit of Wutai Shan images throughout their history. When I brought the copy of the map to Wutai Shan, the Tibetan and Mongolian lamas at Wutai Shan without exception expressed profound reverence toward the picture and requested more copies to be made. Many of them saw for the first time pictorialized in front of them miracles of Wutai Shan of which they had only heard, and they deemed the image to be a more immediate, authentic, and complete record of Wutai Shan's sacred events than other references that they had seen, read, or heard of, despite the fact that the original woodblocks are still preserved at Wutai Shan. The map's availability inspired a new publication of a Tibetan pilgrim's guide to Wutai Shan in 2007, which in turn reactivated devotional activities at many sites that had lain dormant.

Within the rich cartographic world of the nineteenth century, the Badyar and Cifu si maps are located at the nexus of multiple pictorial traditions, from the medium of printed book illustrations to landscape paintings and monumental temple murals, and from the genres of popular temple prints, religious supports, and devotional thangka paintings to that of gazetteer map, ordnance survey, and colonial cartography. Occupying fluid positions in between these visual worlds, the maps uncover a vibrant history of Tibetan, Mongolian, Manchu, and Chinese Buddhist monasticism at Wutai Shan during the nineteenth century that has either been ignored or erased in local and imperial sources.

This chapter has placed maps at the center of the discourse on Wutai Shan's fluid and heterogeneous sacred geography. Examining the production and circulation two map-images during the early part of the 19th century, I have shown how map-images that are entrenched in a network of visual traditions played a central role in facilitating a pilgrim's encounter with a sacred landscape. The self-consciously complex veins of religious, cultural, historical, and

For examples of surrogate pilgrimages in medieval Europe, see Kathryn Rudy, "A Guide to Mental Pilgrimage: Paris, Bibliotheque de l'Arsenal Ms. 212," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 63 (2000): 494-513; and Daniel Connolly, "Imagined Pilgrimage in the Itinerary Maps of Matthew Paris," *Art Bulletin* 91 (1999): 598-622.

linguistic exchanges seen in the two maps reaffirm the existence of many narratives and visions about Wutai Shan, whether they are complementary or conflicting. While maps continue to play an important role in mediating perceptions of Wutai Shan in the Tibetan Buddhist world thereafter, the beginning of the twentieth century witnessed an unprecedented movement of people and brought with it the availability of photography. Chapter III will explore the ways in which increased travel and photography reshaped the visions and ideas of pilgrimage sites by examining the life and travels of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama.

CHAPTER III

Empirical Visions: Pilgrimage and Cosmography

In the Court of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama (1876 – 1933)

Throughout the 1920s, the Thirteenth Dalai Lama Ngakwang Lozang Tupten Gyatso (Ngag dbang blo bzang thub bstan rgya mtsho, 1876 - 1933) personally supervised several large-scale restorations and constructions of temples and palaces in and around Lhasa, the Tibetan administrative and religious center in central Tibet.¹ These projects were part of a much grander effort aimed at both reviving his religious institution and transforming Tibet into a modern,

¹ The Thirteenth Dalai Lama engaged in restoration of the outer corridor of the Jokhang (Tsug lag khang), the Ramoche Temple, the Samye (Bsam yas) Monastery, the stūpa shrine of Tsongkhapa at Ganden Monastery, and many other sites in and around Lhasa. The complete description of his activities is documented in his biography. See Phur lcog yongs 'dzin sprul sku thub bstan byams pa tshul khribs bstan 'dzin, *Thub bstan rgya mtsho'i rnam thar* [Biography of Thub btan rgya mtsho]. Several editions of the biography have been consulted, including a two-volume edition of impressions made from block preserved at the 'Bras spungs Dga' ldan Pho brang Monastery in Tibet (195-) taken to India in 1959, a 2-volume edition in *Collected Works of Dalai Lama XIII*, vols. 7. (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1982), and a typeset version in *Phags pa 'jig rten dbang phyug gi rnam sprul rim byon gyi 'khrungs rabs deb ther nor bu'i 'phreng ba* (Dharamsala: Sku sger Yig tshang, 1977), Vol. 5. Whenever legible, and unless otherwise noted, the page numbers in this chapter will refer to the typeset version from 1977. Several chronicles of the Dalai Lama's life based on the biography also outlines the restoration and construction works he engaged in: Danzhu angben 丹珠昂奔 [Don grub dbang 'bum], *Libei Dalai Lama yu Banchen E'erdeni nianpu* 历辈达赖喇嘛与班禅额尔德尼年谱 [Chronicle of the successive the Dalai Lama and Bainqen Erdeni] (Beijing: Zhongyang minzu daxue, 1998), 406-415; He Zongying 何宗英. "Di shisan shi dalai lama nianpu 第十三世達賴喇嘛年譜 [Chronicles of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama]" in *Xizang wenshi ziliao xuanji* 西藏文史資料選集 [Collection of literary and historical materials from Tibet] (Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 2004), vol. 11, 160-167. The chronicle is available in both Chinese and Tibetan. For a summary of the constructions in the Potala, see Blo bzang thub bstan, "Pho brang chen po po ta la nyams gso'i skor rags tsam gleng ba [A summary of the restoration of the Potala Palace]" in *Bod kyi rig gnas lo rgyus dpyad gzhi'i rgyu cha bdams bsgrigs* [Tibetan historical research series] (Beijing: mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1990), volume number unspecified, 550-551; the For a summary of the constructions only, see *Nor bu gling ka chags tshul dang 'brel ba'i dkar chag* [History of the Construction of Nor bu gling ka and its Catalogue], (date unknown, unpublished manuscript given by a resident monk staff from Nor bu gling ka, Lhasa, in July, 2008), 60-61. The Thirteenth Dalai Lama entrusted the work of painting to Tse ring rgyu'u, the master painter who had been in his entourage while he was in exile in China and Mongolia. Benca Dawa, *Shisanshi dalai lama de jinshi tudeng gongpei* 十三世達賴喇嘛的近侍土登貢培 [Thubten Kunphel, the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's body guard] (Lhasa: Xizang renmin chubanshe, 2008), 69-70; Lha 'dzoms sgrol dkar, "Sku bear thub bstan kun 'phel gyi skor [About Thubten Kunphel]" in *Bod kyi rig gnas lo rgyus dpyad gzhi'i rgyu cha bdams bsgrigs* [Tibetan historical research series], vol. 3 (Lhasa: bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1993): 141-172; Kong Zongqing 孔宗庆, "Huiyi guomingdang zhengfu dui xizang zhengwu de guanli 回忆国民党政府对西藏政务的管理 [Recalling the Nationalist government's administration if Tibetan political affairs]," *Zhonghua wenshi ziliao wenku*, vol. 18 (Beijing: Wenshu ziliao chubanshe, 1996): 124; for a history of the constructions at Norbu Lingka, see *Nor bu gling ka chags tshul dang 'brel ba'i dkar chag* [60-61]; Khri drung Blo bzang thub bstan, "Nor gling pho brang khag gi bkod pa rags tsam dang spyang bsal pho brang gсар skrun skor [Concerning of the history of the building of Norbu Lingka and Chensel Palace]" *Bod kyi lo rgyus rig gnas dpyad gzhi'i rgyu cha bdams bsgrigs* Vol. 10 (19) (Beijing: bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1996), 215-226; for Chinese version of same article, see Chizhong luosang tudeng 赤仲·洛桑土登, "Luobu lingka jianzhu he jiansai puzhang xiujian shimo 羅布林卡建築和堅賽頗章修建始末," in *Xizang wenshi ziliao xuanji* 西藏文史資料選集 [Collection of literary and historical materials from Tibet], vol. 21 (Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 2004), 110-115.

independent nation-state, an effort that was not ultimately met with political success.² During the period of the 1910s to the early 1920s, the Thirteenth Dalai Lama also actively sought to sever all ties with the changing regimes of China, having expelled all Chinese from the city of Lhasa in 1912.³ It seems therefore unexpected and untimely to find two monumental wall paintings of the premier pilgrimage place of Wutai Shan in China in the throne rooms of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's newly built residences at the Potala, his official administrative seat, and the Norbu Lingka (Nor bu gling ka), his summer palace (Figure 3.1).⁴ These two paintings of Wutai Shan are part of a pictorial assembly of holy sites, events, and personages that collectively articulate a sacred Buddhist cosmology. So why was Wutai Shan meticulously pictured on the walls of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's palaces subsequent to a period of embittered relationship with China?

This need for historical explication prompted a comprehensive study of the painting programs in these two throne rooms in the Potala and the Norbu Lingka in light of Tibet's engagement with modernity. Through a study of a pictorial program that includes an assembly of sacred places, this chapter explores the ways in which cosmographical productions of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's court skillfully wove an *empirical* system of knowledge and representation into an existing sacred cosmology. This already existing cosmology belongs to what I have called throughout this dissertation a *visionary* reality, in contrast to an *empirical* or *historical* one. The selective employment of a radically different mode of seeing and depicting truth in the sphere of artistic practice, as I will show, reveals what is otherwise buried in legal, institutional, religious sources—role of pilgrimage and sacred geography in the Thirteenth Dalai

² Even though the Dalai Lamas were in theory the spiritual and temporal leaders of Tibet since Tibet became unified under their rule in the seventeenth century, the system has long suffered from the political intrigues of powerful ministers, as evidenced in the fact that none of the four Dalai Lama incarnations that preceded the Thirteenth incarnation lived to adulthood.

³ See M.C. van Walt van Praag, *The Status of Tibet: History, Rights, and Prospects in International Law* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1987), 47-54; Tsepon Wangchuk Deden Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons: An Advanced Political History of Tibet*, trans. and annot. Derek F. Maher (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 759-762; for an excellent study of Republican China's contact with Tibet, see Zhu Lishuang 朱麗雙, "Zai zhenshi yu xiangxiang zhijian: minguo zhengfu de xizang teshi men 在真實與想象之間：民國政府的西藏特使們 (1912-1949) [Between Truth and Imagination: Republican Envoys to Xizang, 1912-1949]" (PhD diss., Hong Kong Chinese University, 2006).

⁴ Aside from the painting inside the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's palaces, there is at least one other known wall painting of Wutai Shan inside the Potala Palace. It is from Blos bslangs lha khang, or Hall of the Three-dimensional Mandalas, commissioned by the 7th Dalai Lama in 1755. There, Wutai Shan is included in a collection of famous sites in China. See Jiang Huaiying ed., *Xizang Budala gong* 西藏布達拉宮 [Potala Palace of Tibet] (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1996), 46; Zhongguo Xizang Budala gong guan li chu 中國西藏布達拉宮管理處, *Budala gong bihua de yuanliu* 布達拉宮壁畫的源流-A Mirror of the Murals in the Potala (Beijing: Jiuzhou tushu chubanshe, 2000), 281-283. According to Purchokpa's biography of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, the upper stories of the Potala Palace were rebuilt in 1923. See *Thub bstan rgya mtsho'i rnam thar*, 621: "Pho brang dkar po'i shar brgyud steng shod bar gsum rtsa bshigs kyis gzims chung le lags dang/ gsol thab khyams dang bcas ba sra brtan mtho zhing bkod pas mdzes pa gsar bskrun / ltag rgyab par khang chen mo rgya skyed bcas ljags bkod kyi lam nas drangs te yun du ma thogs par tshar phyin pa 'du mdzad de rab tu gnas pa'i cho ga dang / ...lo 'dir nor gling bskal bzang pho brang gi nye 'dabs spyen bsal gling khar thugs bzhed dang rjes su mthun pa'i pho brang bkod pa rmad du byung zhing / mtho khyad dang rgya khyan kun tu 'tshams pa/ nang du tshon rtsi ldebs bris dang / phyi ru ne'u gsing me tog gis brgyan pa/ nyams su dga' ba/ lta na sdug pa zhis gsar bskrun ngang nas lhag gnas kyi byin 'debs dang / dgyes ston gyi sgo 'phar yang brgya phrag tu dbye bar mdzad // "

Lama's forced encounter with geo-political transformations of the early twentieth century. While the Dalai Lama's tenuous encounter with modernity and modern reforms have been expounded on by historians in light of his clash with colonial and imperialist agendas, the creative means by which a Tibetan Buddhist epistemology has come to terms with the inevitability of this encounter has rarely been studied. Instead of seeing how modernity and modern paradigms of vision have reshaped existing worldviews, the following determines how new and initially odd modes of visual representation were incorporated into an existing paradigm. To do so, this chapter examines the pictorial programs in light of accounts of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's life. I argue that this particular mapping of a Buddhist universe may be seen as a direct response to modernity's technologies and vocabularies of identity and place-making. As a study centered on the reading of images, it offers alternative insights into the history of Tibet's creative and nuanced negotiation with paradigms of modernism.⁵

The Program

According to his biographer Phurchok Yongzin (Phur lcog yongs 'dzin, 1902 ~?), the Thirteenth Dalai Lama personally supervised (Tib. *ljags bkod kyi lam nas*) the rebuilding and enlargement of the upper part of the Eastern White Palace in the Potala (Figure 3.2), including his personal apartment on the very top floor in 1923.⁶ The main room in this apartment is rectangular, a quarter of it slightly raised for the throne of the Dalai Lama (Figure 3.3). Illuminated by sunlight that floods in from above, the room is aptly named Nyiwö Shar Ganden Nangsel (Nyi 'od shar Dga' ldan snang gsal), or Eastern Sunlight, Luminous Holder of Happiness. Referred to hereafter as the Eastern Sunlight Hall, it served as the Thirteenth and later the Fourteenth Dalai Lamas' audience hall, where state affairs and meetings with foreign

⁵ Most historians focused on the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's modernization efforts in the 1910s and 1920s and the difficulties posed by the precarious geo-political circumstance of Tibet during the "Great Game" and resistance in his own government. See for example Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons*, 755-844.

⁶ Phur lcog yongs 'dzin, *Thub bstan rgya mtsho'i rnam thar*, 623: "Pho brang dkar po'i shar brgyud steng shod bar gsum rtsa bshigs kyis gzims chung le lags dang / gsol thab khyams dang bcas ba sra brtan mtho zhing bkod pas mdzes pa gsar bskrun / ltag rgyab par khang chen mo rgya skyed bcas ljags bkod kyi lam nas drangs te yun du ma thogs par tshar phyin pa 'du mdzad de rab tu gnas pa'i cho ga dang / gzhung sger so so nas zhal bsro'i dgyes ston dang 'brel ba'i brtan bzhugs kyi rten 'brel blo'i ra ba las 'gongs pa sgrigs pa gnang / shar gyi mchod rten zhes pa ni 'og nas 'byung ba ltar dga' ldan gser sdong chen mor nyams go mdzad pa de yin par grags so / lha ldan smon tshogs gnyis su gra skor dam bca' 'jog mi sogs rab 'byams pa'i ming btags che chung gang sprod rang rang gi slob gnyer legs nyes la dpags pa'i sprod lugs tshul bzhin dgos tshul dan sa so so'i bca' yig tu gsal yang /"; Danzhu angben, *Libei Dalai Lama yu Banchen E'erdeni nianpu*, 407-408. These restorations in the Eastern Sunlight Hall in the Potala Palace and the Dekyi Palace at Norbu Lingka were carried out under the chief supervision of Thub bstan kun 'phel (1905?-1963), the bodyguard and personal favorite of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama. See Khri drung Blo bzang thub bstan, "Nor gling pho brang khag gi bkod pa rags tsam dang sphyan bsal pho brang gsar skrun skor," 217-226, and Chizhong luosang tudeng, "Luobu lingka jianzhu he jiansai puzhang xiujian shimo," 111-115; Benca Dawa, *Shisanshi dalai lama de jinshi tudeng gongpei*, 69-70.

representatives were conducted.⁷ Attached to this hall are chapels of protector deities and living quarters of the Dalai Lama.

The images that cover the walls of the Eastern Sunlight Hall present at once a dizzying array of colors, compositions, and narratives, and a precise system of small but neatly legible inscriptions identifying and describing the main subjects and their subsidiary details (Figure 3.4).⁸ The presence of dense and tiny inscriptions enables literate viewers to see the exact iconographic identifications, though just how well they are meant to be read and understood by admiring visitors is another question. On the south end of the west wall is the image of Wutai Shan. Adjacent to it on the other side of the entrance is the Kingdom of Shambhala, a secret, hidden country only accessible to those with enough faith and the correct motivation. This mytho-historical kingdom with a pristine city plan, located somewhere to the north of Tibet, is famed for having preserved the profound teaching of the *Kālacakra Tantra* (lit. *Time-Wheel Tantra*) taught by the Buddha Śākyamuni.⁹ To its right on the northern end of the west wall is the Dhānyakataka Stūpa (Tib. *dpal ldan 'bras spungs*, or the Glorious Heap of Rice), a site in northern India where the Kālacakra Tantra was first taught by the Buddha. The north wall features the biography of Tsongkhapa (Tsong kha pa, 1357 – 1419), the founder and most highly revered saint within the Geluk (Dge lugs) school of Tibetan Buddhism. The paintings, displaying Tsongkhapa's eminent career as a teacher, philosopher, reformer, and prolific receiver of dharma transmissions, are visible on either sides of the central throne and scripture cases.¹⁰ At the northeastern end of the hall is a balcony (*'cham gzigs khang*) for the Dalai Lamas to look out onto the main square. Inside the small balcony are images of Abhirati, the paradise of Akṣobhya, the Buddha of the Eastern Direction (Tib. *mi bskyod pa*), and the pure abode (Tib. *zhing bkod*, or map of holy place) of Avalokiteśvara (Tib. *spyān ras gzigs*), the Buddhist deity of compassion. Along the east wall, we find a portrait of the enthroned Thirteenth Dalai Lama, and a painting of the Mahābodhi Temple in Bodh Gaya, where Śākyamuni attained enlightenment. On the first and second stretches of the south wall are the fifteen miracles of Śākyamuni, events that have been celebrated at the annual Festival of Great Miracles (*cho 'phrul dus chen*) on the fifteenth day of the Tibetan New Year in Lhasa since Tsongkhapa created the festival in 1409.¹¹ Completing the third stretch of the south wall is a visualization of the frequently recited *Tashi Tseka* (*Bkra shis brtsegs pa*) from the *Collection of Dharanis* (tib. *gzungs 'dus*) in the Kangyur

⁷ Blo bzang thub bstan, *Pho brang po ta la chags tshul dang 'dzugs skrun snga phyi rtsa che'i rig dngos bcas kyī lo rgyus dpyad gzhi'i yig cha mdor bsdus* [A History and Description of the Potala Palace in Lhasa] (Lhasa: Bod rang skyong ljongs rig dngos do dam u yon lhan khang, 1982), 26.

⁸ Inscriptions seem to be a standard practice in Tibetan Buddhist paintings beginning in the seventeenth century.

⁹ See Edwin Bernbaum, *The way to Shambhala: A Search for the Mythical Kingdom Beyond the Himalayas* (Boston: Shambhala, 2001, Originally published in Garden City by Anchor Press, 1980).

¹⁰ There would have been portraits of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Dalai Lama, now replaced with the Panchen Lama.

¹¹ Scriptural reference to these episodes can be found in the *Sutra of Wise and Foolish* (Tib. *Mdzangs blun zhes bya ba'i mdo*). See *Mdzangs blun zhes bya ba'i mdo*, Sde dge bka' 'gyur, Vol. A=74, 161a4-164b1=321.4-328.1. I thank Nancy Lin for supplying me with this reference. For an English translation of the Mongolian text, see Stanley Frye trans., *The Sutra of the Wise and Foolish* (Dharmasala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1981), 48-63.

(Bka' gyur).¹² In the middle of this painting, a palatial structure encloses a two-armed Avalokiteśvara, while a smaller palace on the upper left corner is presided over by his consort Tara (Figure 3.5). On the upper right section of the painting is a cosmological diagram of Mt. Meru and the Four Continents, the basic structures of the Buddhist universe. The image of Mt. Meru serves as a locational coordinate for the palace of Potalaka, situating it on the continent of Jambudvīpa at the foot of the cosmic Mt. Meru.¹³

In the personal apartment adjacent to the audience hall are more elaborate cosmographical diagrams of reliquaries and religious lineages. They include a depiction of the Dhānyakataka Stūpa encircled in concentric rings of cosmic walls usually found on the outer walls of descriptions of mandalas (Figure 3.6). The Stūpa itself is rendered in the style the Stūpa of Many Auspicious Doors (Tib. *bkra shis sgo mang mchod rten*), a style found throughout Tibet, and best exemplified in the Gyantse Kumbum (Rgyal rtse sku 'bum) (Figure 3.7). Directly above the bed of the Dalai Lama is a thangka of the refuge field (*tsog shing*) in the Geluk tradition.

A similar array of heavenly realms and holy sites are found on the second story of Kelsang Dekyi Potrang (Bskal bzang bde 'khyil pho brang), or Palace of the Fortunate Eon of Happiness, at Norbu Lingka, constructed a few years later, between 1926 and 1928.¹⁴ Kelsang Dekyi Potrang became the primary residence and reception space during the later years of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's life (Figure 3.8).¹⁵ It is a small two-story structure adjacent to the larger Chensel Potrang (Spyan bsal pho brang) which the Thirteenth Dalai Lama also restored and expanded.¹⁶ The upper story of this structure contains almost identical but larger and more elaborate images of Wutai Shan, the Mahābodhi Temple, and Dhānyakataka Stūpa,

¹² I thank Lobsang Tengye of Latse Library for identifying this composition. Almost identical compositions are published in Zla ba tshé ring et al., *Precious Deposits: Historical Relics of Tibet, China* (Beijing: Morning Glory Publishers, 2000), Vol. 4, 107, and in the collection of the Rubin Museum of Art (<http://www.himalayanart.org/image.cfm/53.html>). The copy in the Rubin Museum of Art has been misidentified in all previous publications, including the most recent catalogue to the exhibit "Pilgrimage and Buddhist Art" at the Asia Society (2010). It is important to note the appearance of this calendrical theme amidst depictions of sacred place, as the axes of space and time together bring order and structure. In his introduction to Tibetan festivals, Matthew Kapstein writes, "Related to the pilgrimage cycles are the festivals of Tibetan Buddhism, which serve to organize time much as the pilgrimage routes organize space." See Matthew Kapstein, *The Tibetans* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 239.

¹³ Two earlier and virtually identical compositions are known to exist. One is in the Rubin Museum of Art, and the other is in the collection of the Potala. For the former see <http://www.himalayanart.org/image.cfm/53.html> and Marilyn Rhie and Robert Thurman eds. *Worlds of Transformation: Tibetan art of Wisdom and Compassion* (New York: Tibet House in association with The Shelley and Donald Rubin Foundation, 1999), 457-460; for the latter see *Precious Deposits*, Vol. 4, 106-113.

¹⁴ *Nor bu gling ka chags tshul dang 'brel ba'i dkar chag*, 66-67. Purchokpa's biography of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama lists this project as contemporaneous with the restoration of the Potala. See *Thub bstan rgya mtsho'i rnam thar*, 621: "lo 'dir nor gling bska' bzang pho brang gi nye 'dabs spyān bsal gling khar thugs bzhed dang rjes su mthun pa'i pho brang bkod pa rmad du byung zhing / mtho khyad dang rgya khyān kun tu 'tshams pa / nang du tshon rtsi ldebs bris dang/ phyi ru ne'u gsing me tog gis brgyan pa / nyams su dga' ba / lta na sdug pa zhis gsar bskrun ngang nas lhag gnas kyi byin 'debs dang / dgyes ston gyi sgo 'phar yang brgya phrag tu dbye bar mdzad //"

¹⁵ *Nor bu gling ka chags tshul dang 'brel ba'i dkar chag*, 66.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 63-66

Avalokiteśvara's Pure Abode (Tib. Gru 'dzin zhing bkod), and more depictions of the life of Tsongkhapa.¹⁷ In addition to these is Maitreya's Preaching Ground (Tib. Gga' ldan yid dga' chos 'dzin, or Pleasant Doctrine-bearing Joyous Place, the compound within which Maitreya often preached in Tuṣita Heaven), which we do not see at Eastern Sunlight Hall. The arrangement of the sacred abodes also differs from the tightly assembled panels in the Eastern Sunlight Hall. Largely conforming to the design of the space, each panel of sacred sites in the Eastern Sunlight Hall was rendered in identical sizes and shapes, while episodes from Śākyamuni and Tsongkhapa's careers mirror each other on long stretches of the south and north walls. In the Kelsang Dekyi Potrang, these panels of sacred abodes are enlarged and expanded to cover a wall of their own. The effect is a more complete integration of the pictorial space of sacred sites and the physical space of the throne room.¹⁸

A Tibetan Buddhist Vision

The central theme that surfaced in the Eastern Sunlight Hall, and became a more pronounced preoccupation at Kelsang Dekyi Potrang, is that of sacred time and place. These various holy places and momentous events in Buddhist history displayed in the Eastern Sunlight Hall and at the Norbu Lingka represent the much-aspired and potentially traversable realms of the divine in an encyclopedic and cosmological fashion, so that their appearance does not so much induce the experience of entering the realms or times, as they bring the time-space into an organized collection, in a way that is perfectly in keeping with the Tibetan Buddhist proclivity for categorizing knowledge. This practice can be seen in everything from the compilation of sacred texts and creation of scriptural canons, the visualization of deity maṇḍalas, the formation of pantheons that continue to incorporate indigenous and subjugated deities of a given place, to the Indian *cakravartin* ideal, in which a universal king, owing to his vast stores of spiritual merit, justly rules over expansive territories.¹⁹

The collage quality of the pictorial programs conjures up a *chronotope*, the Bakhtinian term for a spatial-temporal matrix, and Foucault's formulation of a *heterotopia*, where mythical and real places are simultaneously juxtaposed.²⁰ Both notions attempt to account for the

¹⁷ The lower level of Kelsang Dekyi served as a storeroom. It has now been converted to an office and could not be visited. See *Nor bu gling ka chags tshul dang 'brel ba'i dkar chag*, 66.

¹⁸ As no photographic documentation of the space is yet available or allowed, my analysis in this chapter focuses primarily on the images seen in the Eastern Sunlight Hall.

¹⁹ For the origins of the Cakravartin ideal, see Ronald Davidson, *Indian Esoteric Buddhism: A Social History of the Tantric Movement* (New York, Columbia University Press, 2002), 330-333; on its development in Tibet, see Ronald Davidson, *Tibetan Renaissance: Tantric Buddhism in the Rebirth of Tibetan Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005); on its spread in East Asia, see Charles Orzech, *Politics and Transcendent Wisdom: The Scripture for Humane Kings in the Creation of Chinese Buddhism* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998).

²⁰ M.M. Bakhtin, "Forms of Time and Chronotope in the Novel" in *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by M.M. Bakhtin*, translated by Caryl Emerson & Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), 84-258; Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces", published in English in *Diacritics*, Spring 1986.

interstitial relationship of multiple temporal and spatial dimensions. They are particularly useful in highlighting the multiplicity of space and the simultaneity of time and history inherent in Tibetan Buddhist cosmology. According to the Doctrine of Double Truths, an ontological basis for Tibetan Buddhist philosophy, different bodies, realms and manifestations appear to different people at different times and places, and the sometimes blurry distinction between mythical and real destinations is precisely what makes these exalted time-places at once fantastic and attainable, by a combination of devotional aspiration and an arduous mental and/or physical journey in dream, vision, and/or bodily travel. Chorotopic and heterotopic properties are central to the display of a timeless omniscience of Tibetan Buddhist sovereignty. It is through the ability to evoke knowledge of the vastness of spatial and temporal matrices religious sovereignty can be asserted.

The ideal of a divine Buddhist sovereign, or a *cakravartin*, is precisely what gave rise to the depiction of cosmological diagrams and systems visible in the Eastern Sunlight Hall and at Kelsang Dekyi Potrang.²¹ The Thirteenth Dalai Lama, by linking himself to the marvelous deeds of the historical Buddha, and to those of Tsongkhapa, the founder of his religious lineage, and by bringing together sacred realms of different directions, illustrates the all-pervading domains of his religious sovereignty. Seen in light of divine omniscience, the choice of depicting a Chinese mountain range alongside sacred abodes in other geographies becomes appropriate. In continuing this tradition of cosmography, however, the Thirteenth Dalai Lama is attempting something very specific in bringing together these different worlds of Buddhas, Buddhist saints, and teachings. In order to explore both the choice of these other worldly places, and the ways in which they were represented, it is necessary to first look at their textual and iconographic precedents in Tibet.

Cosmological Schemes

Spatially, paintings of holy realms and abodes in the Eastern Sunlight Hall observe a particular attention to directionality. They all belong to a familiar, but rarely pictorialized, ensemble of five directional sites of empowerment (Tib. *byin rlabs can gyi gnas*) in Jambudvīpa, one of the continents of this earthly realm. This ensemble became firmly-established in Tibetan sacred geography at the latest by the eighteenth century. Again we return to Rölpe Dorjé's authoritative *Pilgrimage Guide to the Clear and Cool Mountains* for one of the earlier references to this ensemble.²² According to Rölpe Dorjé, Wutai Shan of China (Tib. Rgya nag Ri bo rtse

²¹ For study the correspondence between cosmological paintings and kingly rule in early fourteenth century Zhwa lu Monastery in Central Tibet, see Ben Wood, "The Power of Symbols and Silence: World-System Paintings and Inscription Editing in the Zhwa lu Skor lams," unpublished paper partially presented at interdisciplinary conference "Art History, Buddhist Studies, Tibet: New Perspectives From the Tibet Site Seminar," March 7-9, Princeton University.

²² Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje, *Zhing mchog ri bo dwangs bsil gyi gnas bshad dad pa'i padmo rgyas byed ngo mtshar nyi ma'i snang ba* (Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1993), 1. Unlike the Chinese gazetteers, which situate Wutai Shan as another important mountain outside the Wuyue 五嶽 (Five Sacred Mountains of China) system, Rölpe Dorjé introduces Wutai Shan among the world's five "Especially Excellent Sites of Empowerment"--the *bodhimanda* in the center.

Inga) stands as the most exalted place in the eastern direction. Those other directions of divine places are the Mahābodhi Temple in Bodh Gaya (Tib. Rgya gar rdo rje gdan), India, in the center, Shambhala of the Royal Lineage (Tib. Rigs ldan gyi gnas shambha la) in the north, the Potala Mountain (Tib. Ri bo po ta la) to the south, and Uddiyana of the Land of Dakinis (Tib. Mkha' 'gro'i gnas uddiyana) to the west. In the Eastern Sunlight Hall, only Uddiyana is absent. Although scholars have not been able to trace the formation of this system to a textual source prior to the eighteenth century, this sacred cosmography has remained so authoritative that many texts from the eighteenth century onward reiterate it as though it had been firmly instantiated in Tibet long before Rölpe Dorjé restated it in his introduction of Wutai Shan.²³

Earlier images of this system of empowered sites from the seventeenth century can still be found at Samye (Bsam yas) Monastery south of Lhasa. It is not surprising that this cosmology found pictorial articulation at Samye, as the entire complex was designed as a microcosm of the universe.²⁴ Here, the constellation of exalted places outlined in Rölpe Dorjé's guidebook to Wutai Shan is depicted in a row on the east facing side of the outermost corridor on the first floor, and repeated on an east-facing wall of the second floor (Figure 3.9, See Appendix V for inscriptions), complete with depictions of Mt. Meru at each row's end. Paintings on the first floor probably date to the seventeenth century but underwent later restorations, and those on the second floor were repainted more recently in the twentieth century.²⁵

This cosmography itself either arose out of or eventually attached itself onto the early Indian Buddhist world system described in Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam*, an extremely influential treatise that became one of the core texts in the Gelukpa monastic curriculum.²⁶ The universe described therein centers around the towering Mt. Meru, which rises from a "great ocean" (*mahāsamudra*). Mt. Meru is concentrically ringed by golden mountain ranges and a "wall of iron" (*cakravāla*) at its perimeter. On the "great ocean" in each direction of Mt. Meru are four continents (*dvīpa*), of which only the southern one is accessible to humans. This southern continent, known as Jambudvīpa (literally: Rose-apple continent), therefore

²³ The same directional schema of exalted places is also mentioned in a praise poem of Wutai Shan by Bka' 'gyur ba blo bzang tshul khriṃs (b. seventeenth century, active in early eighteenth century) entitled *Ri bo rtse lnga'i gnas bstod* probably dated to the early part of the eighteenth century, collected in his *Gsung 'bum* in 6 volumes (179 chos tshan) in the Mi rigs rig gnas pho brang=minzu wenhua gong 民族文化宮 [Minorities Cultural Palace], Beijing. See *Shes bya'i gter mdzod=Zangwendianji mulu* 藏文典籍目錄 [Catalog of the collected works of Tibetan Buddhist masters preserved in the library of the Minorities Cultural Palace, Beijing] (Chengdu: Mi rigs dpe mdzod khang, 1984), Vol.1, 125, # 003895 (15); published *Gangs ljongs mkhas dbang rim byon gyi rtsoṃ yig gser gyi sbram* [Gold Nugget: Compositions, Chronologically Arranged, of the Master Scholars of the Snow Land] (Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1989), 1579-1584.

²⁴ Tibet's first Buddhist monastery, Bsam yas, was itself said to have been designed as a three-dimensional model of the Buddhist cosmos, with Mt. Meru in the middle, and continents around it. See Anne Chayet, "Le monastère de bSam-yas: sources architecturales," *Arts Asiatiques* 43 (1988): 24.

²⁵ The walls of the first floor corridor were glued with newspapers during the Chinese Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). The newspaper has since been removed, but the darkened glue used to adhere the newspapers leaves a thick varnish on the walls.

²⁶ See Randolph Kloetzli, "Buddhist Cosmology" *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, ed. M. Eliade (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1987) vol. 4, 114.

corresponds to the physical earth that humans inhabit. It was within this system that Tibetan Buddhist exegetes further mapped the above-named five sacred places onto the five directions of Jambudvīpa. Existing on Jambudvīpa, these exalted places are therefore both supreme and within worldly reach. This cosmological structure of Mt. Meru, which is frequently depicted by itself, opposite the Wheel of Rebirth (Skt. *bhavacakra*, Tib. *srid pa'i 'khor lo*) at the entrance of temples and prayer halls, is also seen in the background of the image of Potalaka on the south wall of the Eastern Sunlight Hall, adjacent to the Wutai Shan image (Figure 3.5). Its pivotal location on the wall between the paradises of Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī reinforces the coherence of this directional sacred scheme and underscores the geographical correspondence between two otherwise very different depictions.

This established system of five sacred places, though not completely identical to either the pictorial programs in the Eastern Sunlight Hall or at Kelsang Dekyi Potrang, informs us how these places and their representations relate to each other in the received tradition.²⁷ In fact, as is evident in a seventeenth-century drawing of the *cakravāla*, the Buddhist world system, Wutai Shan is included on the upper-right corner of Jambudvīpa, which would correspond to the northeasterly direction (Figure 3.10).²⁸ Numerous other sacred places in India, Tibet, and China are depicted within Jambudvīpa on the lower portion of the drawing (Figure 3.11). This relatively earlier image shows how the set of exalted places, as well as their corresponding locations, were often in flux, and that the directional assembly of the five places was not necessarily stable. Nevertheless, these sites can always be differentiated from the pure lands of Buddhas, such as Maitreya's Tuṣita, Amitabha's Sukhāvātī, or Akṣobhya's Abhirati, which are situated in other realms.²⁹ Among them, Tuṣita bears the closest proximity to Jambudvīpa, since it is understood as situated within the deva realm of the Mt. Meru system, and it is to Jambudvīpa that this future Buddha Maitreya will descend.³⁰ Akṣobhya and Amitabha's Pure Lands would have been seen as belonging to the family of the Five Directional Buddhas located outside of the Mt. Meru system.³¹

²⁷ In the Eastern Sunlight Hall, we find four of the five exalted places in Jambudvīpa, Akṣobhya's pure land, as well as representation of supreme spiritual teachers. At Norbu Lingka are the same four exalted places and Maitreya's preaching abode.

²⁸ The drawing is now in the collection of Rossi and Rossi in London. See Martin Brauen, *Mandala: Sacred Circle in Tibetan Buddhism* (New York: Rubin Museum of Art, 2009), 48-49.

²⁹ See Luis O. Gomez, *The Land of Bliss, the Paradise of the Buddha of Measureless Light* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996.)

³⁰ See Randolph Kloetzli, "Buddhist Cosmology," 115; Robert Beer, *The Encyclopedia of Tibetan Symbols and Motifs* (Boston: Shambhala, 1999) 105.

³¹ See Jan Nattier, "The Realm of Aksobhya: A Missing Piece in the History of Pure Land Buddhism." *JIAS* 10, no. 1 (2000): 71-102. In *Land of Bliss*, Luis Gomez describes Amitabha's Buddha Field as situated above all Buddha fields and all temporal and spatial dimensions. He writes, "The Land of Bliss is decidedly and qualitatively superior to any celestial abode. But more important perhaps is the shift from viewing the celestial paradises as temporary abodes, stages in the long and tortuous paths of transmigration, to the belief in Buddha-fields as paradises that are permanent abodes, whence one need not be reborn again." Gomez, *Land of Bliss*, p. 36.

Important as it is to map the exalted places of Buddhas or Bodhisattvas onto the existing cosmologies of the Tibetan Buddhist tradition, we must also consider the fluidity with which both cosmological systems and the specific places themselves configure in the aspirations of their patrons, viewers, and devotees. Indeed, as Luis Gomez points out in his introduction to the *Sukhāvataīvyūha Sūtras* (Sūtras of Immeasurable Life), the attempt to pin down the exact temporal or spatial location of a certain Buddha-field or pure land may be unimaginative if not futile.³² There are instead many ways to conceive of Buddha-fields, as metaphors, as real spatial locations, as symbols of spiritual transformation, or as places of rebirth.³³ Therefore, even if the pictorial programs were perfectly mapped onto known schemas, we are still left with the question of how their selection and visual representation constitute a new cosmology beyond preliminary textual and iconographic identifications. Only an analysis of the images themselves allows us to delve into the particularities of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's cosmography.

Empirical Intrusions

While much of the pictorial program clearly followed the visual and textual templates of a received tradition, depictions of the Mahābodhi in Bodh Gaya in India and Wutai Shan in China appear in unprecedented manners. As the only two sacred abodes in a cosmology of sacred times and places that can be physically revisited, and, as we will learn in the latter half of this chapter, that the Dalai Lama had indeed visited a decade earlier, they employ visual strategies that are guided by modern, *empirical* concerns.

The Mahābodhi Temple, or the Temple of Supreme Enlightenment, marks the place where Buddha's ultimate enlightenment was attained. In its depiction, we cannot help but notice here the intrusion of a photographically driven mode of representation (Figure 3.12). The picture comprises several representational modes: the central temple itself *en grisaille*, a semi-

³² Exalted places, on the other hand, possess geographical and temporal coordinates. They are simply not always known or visible to all. The Sixth Panchen Lama (1738-1780), who was eager to locate Shambhala, wrote the authoritative guidebook to Shambhala in 1775. See Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes, *Shambha la'i lam yig*, in *Collected Works of the Third Panchen Lozang Palden Yeshe (1738-1780)* (New Delhi: Mongolian Lama Gurudeva, 1975-1978), vol. 10, 9-108, 50 ff.

³³ Gomez writes, "Buddha-fields represent areas of cosmic space that have been chosen by Buddhas as special spheres of influence where they exert their benevolence to the highest degree possible. Once a field is selected (or, as we shall see, perhaps "constructed"), a common world is transformed ("purified") into a Buddha's world, the "place" where one can fully appreciate the degree to which a Buddha is perfect, compassionate, and a bringer of peace...are these fields "places" with a distinct location and topography, as their literary and artistic representations suggest? To what extent are they "mythic geographies," and to what extent are they metaphors for an ideal realm of the spirit? Can the belief in these paradises be understood, explained, or justified in terms of other canonical Buddhist theories of salvation? Are they rooted in non-Buddhist belief, or even in non-Indian beliefs? Such questions, however, may hide some unexamined assumptions about the nature of religion and religious texts. The evidence on the history of our sutras and the belief systems they embody suggests that Buddha-fields have been conceived of in more than one way. Their interpretation as metaphors coexists with belief in a real, spatial location. Their conception as symbols for spiritual transformation (a transfiguration, as it were, of our own world realm) coexists and competes with belief in actual rebirth, after death, in another realm. Furthermore, there is no way to determine which point of view might have been "the original one"--and the question may be, ultimately, of no heuristic value." *Ibid.*, 35.

monochrome painting, which at times seems to imitate the light and shadows in a photograph, and at others the translucent quality of rock that make up the stone monument. This temple is planted in a colorful rectangular garden of smaller funerary shrines, rendered in the usual combination of semi-profile and birds-eye perspectives. The oversized Mahābodhi Temple, with its tip jutting out beyond the border of the garden enclosure, appears strikingly illusionistic in the company of rigid, color-coded trees, shrines, and Buddha images. Providing a clue is an early photograph of the Mahābodhi Temple on display in the next room, taken from the same angle as the wall painting, having served presumably as the source for the painting.³⁴ That photograph was most likely brought back by the Thirteenth Dalai Lama from his 1911 visit to Bodh Gaya, and even today, is propped up on a table for devotional use. In this new medium of mass production, the photograph, with all of its veritable details of the temple exterior, continues a tradition of worshipping architectural replicas of the temple that began in the early thirteenth century.³⁵

This depiction is unprecedented. Tibetan paintings of the Mahābodhi Temple had previously not aimed to reproduce the physical structure or capture the perceivable materiality of the temple.³⁶ Instead such representations had been a way to mark and recall the event of the Buddha's ultimate awakening. In standard depictions of the Mahābodhi temple, such as the one from Samye monastery and another in the collection of the Potala Palace, the Buddha is seated in the earth-touching gesture, calling the earth to witness his resolve to gain enlightenment. He is enshrined in a large funerary monument that vaguely carries the geometric semblance of the temple itself (Figures 3.13 and 3.14). They employ what can be called a schematic mode of representation, in which a received template is rehearsed to describe both the site and the event of the Buddha's awakening. This conventional way of painting the Mahābodhi temple was certainly known to the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's painters, as they still followed the tradition in part by rendering the garden itself in much the same fashion. But by replicating the photograph of the temple *en grisaille*, and inserting it into a familiarly anonymous garden enclosure, the painter creates a stark juxtaposition between the image and the ground. Employing two modes of representation, one photographically driven, the other schematic, this painting suggests a sacred place that is at once tangible and timeless. As the first representation of its kind seen in Tibet, it also invents for the viewer a notion that the iconicity of the site rests on the external, perceptual appearance of the stupa as seen through a particular photographic lens, rather than on its conceptual and cosmological characteristics.

A Digression into Photography and Self-Fashioning

³⁴ I do not have a photograph of this photograph, as photography is not permitted inside the Potala Palace.

³⁵ True-scale stone models of the Mahābodhi temple, copied from models dated to the thirteenth century, were seen at the Snar thang Monastery in Tibet in 1936. See Rāhula Sāṅkrtyāyana, "Second Search of Sanskrit Palm-leaf Mss. in Tibet," *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* 23 (1937): 1-57; and Charles E.A. W. Oldham, "Some Remarks on the models of the Bodh Gaya Temple Found at Nar-thang," *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* 23 (1937): 418-28.

³⁶ Sculpted replicas mentioned in the footnote above were based on the architectural exterior of the temple, but not paintings.

Before going further with a discussion of the Wutai Shan painting, a detour into the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's hesitant but inevitable acceptance of the photographic gaze allows us to view the painting of the Mahābodhi temples in the Eastern Sunlight Hall and the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's mausoleum with further insights. The Thirteenth Dalai Lama persistently refused photography requests from westerners throughout the 1900s, and only allowed himself to be photographed for the first time during his second forced exile in India.³⁷ The British Officer Charles Bell (1870-1945), who developed a close friendship with the Dalai Lama, began taking photographs of him in 1910 while he accompanied him in exile to Darjeeling (Figure 3.15).³⁸ The Dalai Lama not only let Bell take his picture, but distributed the prints he received from Bell as tokens of appreciation to many important individuals.³⁹ Bell also remarked on sighting photographs of his photographs of the Dalai Lama placed on altars along with other painted and sculpted images in the subsequent years of his travels throughout Tibet.⁴⁰ Some of them, such as this gift to Bell himself, have been meticulously hand-colored, autographed, and impressed with his official seal (Figure 3.16).⁴¹ The Dalai Lama's changed attitude signified the trust he had developed in Bell as much as the acceptance of a new vocabulary for representing vision. Instead of seeing the photographic medium as a threat or as potentially undermining of his control over his own image, he incorporated the novel technology into a tradition of self-representation and image propagation he knew well. This trend caught on as soon as these images were made and distributed. In one case, we find a composite painting of what is presumably the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, entirely painted in gold and lush colors, except for the head of the Dalai Lama, which was derived from a very faded photograph (Figure 3.17).⁴²

The Dalai Lama's creative deployment of photography's truth effects was not at all uncommon for his time, and especially parallels his famous counterpart and contemporary, Empress Dowager Cixi.⁴³ In 1905, Cixi is said to have presented Alice Roosevelt (1884-1980) with a portrait of herself wrapped in yellow brocade on a yellow sedan carried by two ranking

³⁷ Charles Bell claimed that he was the first one to be granted the permission to photograph the Thirteenth Dalai Lama. See Charles Bell, *Portrait of a Dalai Lama*. (London: William Collins, 1946), 114. His statement is taken to be true with all subsequent scholarship on photography of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama. See Michael Henss, "From Tradition to 'Truth': Images of the 13th Dalai Lama" *Orientalism* 36, No. 6 (2005): 61-68. Thus far I have found no evidence of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's photograph prior to this.

³⁸ See Charles Bell, *Portrait*, 114. Bell's precious friendship with the Dalai Lama is thoroughly documented in *Portrait of a Dalai Lama*, Bell's account of the Dalai Lama's biography.

³⁹ See Charles Bell, *Portrait*, 114; Michael Henss, "From Tradition to 'Truth': Images of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama," 65.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 114.

⁴¹ This picture is unfortunately lost by Bell's Publisher. See Michael Henss, "From Tradition to 'Truth,' Images of the 13th Dalai Lama," 65.

⁴² Martin Brauen, who first published this image in *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History* (Chicago: Serindia Publications, 2005), doubts whether this image is in fact the Thirteenth Dalai Lama (Personal communication with author, April 22, 2010).

⁴³ Cixi's photographic portraits will be featured in an exhibit at the Freer Gallery of Art from September 24, 2011 to January 29, 2012.

officials.⁴⁴ In both cases, the original photograph was taken to be the true trace, and further enshrined in a more familiar set of authenticating strategies. The resulting effect might be distinguished by what Alfred Gell categorized as externalist and internalist agencies, or, in plainer words, “what people do 'as persons' and what people do 'as things'.”⁴⁵ In the case of Cixi’s portrait, the photograph was “seated” in a sedan chair to stand in for the real living person and in the case of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, the photograph was treated as the authentic icon to be venerated. But in both, photography was the predominant mode of representation for advancing agency.

The Thirteenth Dalai Lama continued to be photographed until the very end of his life.⁴⁶ What was presumably the last photograph taken of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama shows him seated on a chair in the garden of his favorite summer palace, dressed in his finest royal robes, peering straight into the camera (Figure 3.18). This full-body frontal shot of him captures every stitch and glitter of his immaculately woven robe. The evolution between the first and the last photographic portrait of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama is particularly revealing of the way he saw himself and allowed himself to be seen. In his first photograph (Figure 3.16), even though his posture is frontal, his glance shies slightly off to the side. Ironically, though he was nowhere near his throne in Lhasa, Bell described him as ‘seated on a throne Buddha-wise, crossed legs, and hands placed in the prescribed position... as he would sit in his own palace in Lhasa for blessing pilgrims and others.’⁴⁷ He is accordingly dressed in the full monk’s regalia, just as painted and sculpted images of successive Dalai Lamas have been. The photograph captures the detail of his throne and the thangkas hung behind him with the same precision of thangka paintings. In other words, photography is used here mostly in the service of the painting and appliqué tradition, with the exception of his true countenance, which is intentionally left in its natural photographic chiaroscuro, uncolored save for a vermilion lip. By contrast, his last photograph was taken in natural light. He is seen wearing royal instead of monastic robes, emphasizing his temporal duties, and in a regular garden-setting free of his religious accoutrement. His figure alone occupies most of the photograph. Through light and shadow, the image instead captures the wrinkled marks of time and weather on his face, as well as the material grandeur of every fold in his outfit. Here, photography is capable of depicting realities that had never been portrayed in the tradition of Tibetan portraiture.

We also must consider what is omitted in this photograph. In contrast to the first portrait by Bell, no longer are brocade thangkas of Buddhas hung in the backdrop, nor is the usual set of ritual implements set beside the Dalai Lama. If we compare this portrait with the standard portraits of Rölpe Dorjé examined in Chapter I, the absence of an entourage of deities and disciples that have served to define the individual within traditional Tibet Buddhist portraiture

⁴⁴ See Yi Yi Mon Kyo, “One, Two or None at all? Doubles and Mirrors in the Photographic Portraits of Empress Dowager Cixi” (Unpublished essay, History of Art, University of California, Berkeley, 2010)

⁴⁵ See Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 124-133. What Gell’s theory does not elaborate is that every agency in praxis contains both external and internal aspects.

⁴⁶ These photographs are available through The Tibet Album of Pitt Rivers Museum. <http://tibet.prm.ox.ac.uk/> (accessed October 30, 2008).

⁴⁷ Charles Bell, *Portrait*, 114.

becomes even more pronounced. The photograph presents a new vision of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama as an individual and worldly ruler.⁴⁸

Photography and Empiricism

While there always have been numerous artistic mediums and modes of representation that appropriated the external, material appearance of a sacred object, place, or person, in the early 20th century, photography offered a new possibility of vision and empiricism that found its way into Tibetan Buddhist painting practice.⁴⁹ The collage-like paintings of the stūpas *en grisaille*, juxtaposed with their colorful garden enclosures, exhibit a newly found confidence in the truth-effect of photography. The trust is not placed in the external appearance of the stūpa per se, but in the photographic lens capable of delivering it. It is important to add that such interest in and appropriation of the photographic vision was pursued by other artists and patrons within the sphere of Tibetan Buddhist image-making during the transitional period of the 1910s and 1920s. Most notably, the Mongolian artist Baldugiin 'Marzan' Sharav (1869-1939) painted portraits of the Jebtsumdamba of Urga (1870-1924) and his wife/consort Dondogdulam (1870-1923) in the early 1920s by approximating the effect of black-and-white photography. Sharav painted their faces and hands *en grisaille* in order to present a truthfulness to the subject as photographed, as opposed to how they might appear in natural light (Figures 3.19 & 3.20).⁵⁰ The carefully rendered clock placed on the table to the right presumably records the specific hour during which they sat for their portraits. The result is an eerie juxtaposition of the subjects' faces and hands frozen in time, and the rest of the composition displays an eternity of colorful and ornate patterning that can be seen in more traditional images. The portrait of the last Jebtsundamba is composed as a photograph would be, with parts of the throne, canopy, and display of clocks cropped at the edges. Such experiments with painting reveal a genuine interest in the possibility of a new vision afforded by photography.

An Eye-Witness Representation of Wutai Shan

Returning now to the murals of the Eastern Sunlight Hall, the painting of Wutai Shan displayed the Dalai Lama's first-hand knowledge of the place in a yet a different way from the photographic insertion seen in the painting of the Mahābodhi temple. The painting in the Eastern Sunlight Hall, which was repeated and expanded in the Kelsang Dekyi Potrang to cover a larger stretch of wall a few years later, depicts a panoramic view of the mountain range filled with monasteries, landmarks, pilgrims, and apparitions, all precisely labeled with Tibetan

⁴⁸ Nonetheless, with his legs spread apart, toes turned outwards, and hands on his knees, it conveys the body language of a powerful man in the East Asian contexts very different from the bodily gesture of a British gentleman as seen in figure 3.15. I thank Raoul Birnbaum for this observation.

⁴⁹ Such mediums include bronze and stone sculptures, small clay figurines, and rubbings.

⁵⁰ See Patricia Berger and Terese Tse Bartholomew, *Mongolia: the legacy of Chinggis Khan* (San Francisco: Asian Art Museum, 1995), 146.

inscriptions (Figure 3.1). Besides being larger and more completely inscribed (it contains at least sixty-seven inscriptions), the layout and content of the Kelsang Dekyi Potrang image are almost identical to the earlier painting in the Eastern Sunlight Hall, suggesting that the latter was based on the former, or that two paintings had both been copied from a source image. In the earlier painting from the Eastern Sunlight Hall, while the more than forty sites depicted were well-known at Wutai Shan through other representations and textual records, about thirty more names of monasteries had not appeared in earlier surviving gazetteers. These comprise sites with largely Tibetan names, some with imperfect spellings, in marked contrast with the well-known names that were translations or transliterations of the Chinese. In other words, this representation of the mountain range lay outside of the well-established Chinese canons.

This appears peculiar if we look solely within the canonical Tibetan tradition of recording Wutai Shan from the eighteenth century onward. It was largely based on Chinese records thanks to the work of Rölpe Dorjé, whose translation works standardized the Tibetan names of many sites at Wutai Shan within a circle of Tibetan and Tibetan language intellectuals. For instance, on the Wutai Shan mural in Kelsang Dekyi Potrang, a monk figure inside a temple compound is labeled as Yi ching si dge bshe sa ma, or Master Sama from Yi Ching Temple (See Appendix V). A lama by the name of Geshe Sama, or Geshe Soma also appears frequently in the description of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's stay at Wutai Shan by his biographer Phurchok Yongzin.⁵¹ According to the biography, Geshe Sama repeatedly came to meet with the Dalai Lama at Wutai Shan. Geshe Sama is said to have made elaborate offerings for temple constructions and restorations, which were finished in time for the Dalai Lama to bestow blessings and conduct consecration ceremonies while still at Wutai Shan.⁵² The inscription of unfamiliar temple names and the depiction of Geshe Sama point toward a representation of the mountain range that is closely linked to the Dalai Lama's personal experiences at Wutai Shan, some fifteen years before the paintings were commissioned.

A comparison between this “updated” picture of Wutai Shan and earlier Tibetan depictions of the mountain range at Samye reveal its unorthodoxy. The painting of Wutai Shan at Samye renders a landscape with five symmetrically arranged peaks (Figure 3.21, see Appendix VI for inscriptions). Each peak is topped with an image of a specific form of the resident deity Mañjuśrī that is associated with that peak. Here, the primacy of experience and first-hand encounter does not seem to play any role. Wutai Shan exists in so far as it completes a systematic rendering of the world in accordance with a Tibetan Buddhist cosmology. Such depictions of Wutai Shan are also frequently seen in Tibetan thangka paintings of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, where same set of five Mañjuśrīs appear on five peaks with corresponding inscriptions. By rendering Wutai Shan in such generic and abstract terms, the mountain appears just as distant and out of this world as any other depictions of exalted places.⁵³

⁵¹ See Phur lcog yongs 'dzin, *Thub bstan rgya mtsho'i rnam thar* in *Collected Works of Dalai Lama XIII*, vols. 7. (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1982), 39 v, 43 v, 44 r, 46 v, 47 r, 48 v, 53 v.

⁵² Variousy described as the Buryat Lama from Russia, the Kangyur Lama, or Geshe Soma, he is possibly none other than Agvan Dorjiev (1854-1938), the famous Russian Buryat Mongol who served as a teacher to the young Thirteenth Dalai Lama and later instigated the Thirteenth relation with Tsarist Russia.

⁵³ In keeping with the tendency to reproduce schematic representations, the Bsam yas painting also depicts cultural prototypes. Robes and hats of figures typologize them as “Tibetan” or “non-Tibetan”. “Non-Tibetaness” is shown

While the Samye paintings fully utilize the typological and conceptual promises of Wutai Shan alongside other exalted places, the Wutai Shan image inside the Eastern Sunlight Hall, by contrast, focuses on the recollection of specific visions, persons, sites and monasteries. In addition to the painting, the Thirteenth Dalai Lama composed two praise poems of the mountain range and its resident deity Mañjuśrī at the request of two visiting monk scholars toward the end of his six-month long residence at Wutai Shan in 1908.⁵⁴ Though they may be considered the most direct testaments to his stay at Wutai Shan, the poems in fact capture very little “personalized experience” of the sort seen on the painting at the Eastern Sunlight Hall and Kelsang Dekyi Potrang. Like the Samye painting, the Thirteenth Dalai Lama’s written poetry, though professing to record the sensory experience of his pilgrimage, emphasized the timeless quality of Wutai Shan. True to its genre, it rehearses earlier praises in ornate terms, and reiterates the history of the founding of Wutai Shan with an abundance of references to early Chinese legends directly drawn from Rōlpé Dorjé’s authoritative guidebook to Wutai Shan.⁵⁵ The image of Wutai Shan it conjures up is of a wisdom paradise that seems impervious to historical transformations.⁵⁶ In Chapters I and II I have explored in depth the affinities between pictorial representations of Wutai Shan and their textual counterparts in Chinese and Tibetan languages, both in their visually evocative qualities, and in their capacity as substitutes for the mountain range. Seen as an instance within a larger tradition of eulogizing the sacred mountain range in Tibetan Buddhism, the Wutai Shan painting in the Eastern Sunlight Hall and Kelsang

by figures in long robes tied at the waists, or men dressed in elaborate silk brocade and silly headdresses, indeed a Tibetan version of Chinoiserie. Just as would be the case with French Chinoiserie art, here it is irrelevant to discern whether the Figures are Mongolian, Manchurian, or Han-Chinese, for they simply represent that which is not typically Tibetan in the land to the east. Such fixating attention to clothing details is not apparent in depictions of any of the other adjacent sacred realms, where figures, if not in the uniform costume of Buddhas or Bodhisattvas, wear simple Indian or Tibetan robes. A noticeable use of exoticizing cultural/ethnic typology at Bsam yas is seen in the mural on the southern end of the same eastern corridor, depicting kings and envoys from different lands paying homage to the Tibetan king. Therefore, it does seem as if the imagination of and fascination with Wutai Shan stretches beyond it being simply an abode for Mañjuśrī (as seen in the case of Avalokiteśvara). It is an interest in and a comprehension of a cultural other.

⁵⁴ This is recorded in Purchokpa’s biography; See Phur lcog yongs ‘dzin, *Thub bstan rgya mtsho’i rnam thar*, 409, line 12. Phur lcog yongs ‘dzin writes, “Che shogs sprul sku byang chub bstan pa’i sgron me from Kumbum Monastery asked the Dalai Lama to compose a praise poem of Manjusri of the Five Families called ‘A Perfect Offering [Kun tu bzang po’i mchod sprin].’ Gling rgya’i bla ma bzang po blo bzang bstan pa’i nyi ma asked the Dalai Lama to compose something about Wutai Shan called ‘Praise Poem of the Clear and Beautiful Mirror’ which were perfect.” The praise poems are contained in the Thirteenth Dalai Lama’s Collected Works; see *Rje btsun ’jam pa’i dbyangs kyi gnas la bstod pa dwangs gsal mdzes pa’i me long* [Praise Poem of the Clear and Beautiful Mirror of the Place of the Victorious Manjusri], in *The Collected Works of Dalai Lama XIII*. (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1981), Vol. 3, 395.1-404.2, fifty-eight verses. The Dalai Lama also composed *Rgyal ba kun gyi yab gyur rje btsun ’jam dbyangs rigs lnga’i bstod pa kun tu bzang po’i mchod sprin* [Praise of the Five Forms of Manjusri, the Father of all Victors: Cloud of Totally Good Offerings], 392.1-394.7.

⁵⁵ Lcang skya rol ba’i rdo rje, *Zhing mchog ri bo dwangs bsil gyi gnas bshad dad pa’i padmo rgyas byed ngo mtshar nyi ma’i snang ba*.

⁵⁶ An excerpt from his praise poem reads, “Like ducklings drawn to an ocean of ravishing lotus flowers, countless learned scholars and great adepts from India and Tibet rely on this holy place with diligence and rigor for their religious practice [yid ’phrog padma’i mtsho la rjes su chags pa’i dang mo bzhin ’phags bod mkhas grub skal bzang bpral las ’bad pas gnas ’di bsten].” Thirteenth Dalai Lama, *Rje btsun ’jam pa’i dbyangs kyi gnas la bstod pa dwangs gsal mdzes pa’i me long*, 395.7-396.1.

Dekyi Potrang validated empirical experience in an unprecedented way by attending to contemporaneous geography and personalities.

Timeliness and Timelessness

In essence, the Dalai Lama incorporated his own encounter with the sacred sites, both by newly acquired photographically driven means, and by the insertion of personal experience, into a tradition of sacred cosmography that saw these places as timeless, divine, and impervious to external transformations. This pictorial diversity and the decision not to follow schematic formulas suggest that the Thirteenth Dalai Lama was not only interested in rehearsals of familiar cosmology, but also in the specific reasons for the choice of scenes and sites. While it is easy to perceive the ability of these new, empirical modes of representation to evoke externally visible presence and personal experience, it is equally important to recognize that the existing rhetoric of vision and truth had always been imbued with multiple temporal and spatial layers. In contrast to *empirical* representations, the existing tradition follows painstakingly precise visualizations of the prescriptions from iconographical guidebooks. This mode of representation, what I refer to in general as a *visionary* mode, is equally equipped with means to express physical and temporal proximity, and the choice of following it reflected as much intention as did the choice of following their empirical counterparts.

As a case in point, the paintings of The Fifteen Great Miracles (a festival known as *cho 'phrul dus chen*) on the eastern stretch of the southern wall comprise fifteen episodes in which the Buddha performs miraculous deeds to overcome six Brahmanical heretics. The depictions simultaneously recall and collapse multiple instances of The Fifteen Great Miracles' history, commemoration, and celebration (Figures 3.22-3.36). They not only reiterate stories in the life of the Buddha Śākyamuni, but also recall Tsongkhapa, the illustrious founder of The Great Prayer festival (Smon lam chen mo) who first created a public commemoration of these miracles, and whose biographical narrative is depicted on the opposite wall. They also recall the Fifth Dalai Lama, under whose rule the festival once came under the full control of the Gelukpa reign.⁵⁷ Above all, contemporary viewers of the paintings would have recognized them as referring to the joyous occasion of the Great Prayer festival they themselves witnessed in the 1920s, owing to the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's own effort at reviving it. Indeed, after the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's return from exile in 1913, one of his best-remembered achievements in a wide variety of reforms was his restoration of Lhasa's Great Prayer festival to its former glory.⁵⁸ The revival of the festival, centered on narratives of the Buddha overcoming heretics, is

⁵⁷ Created by Tsong kha pa (1357–1419) in 1409, expanded and fully instituted as a state festival by the Fifth Dalai Lama (1617-1682), the Great Prayer Festival, known as *smon lam chen mo*, was a grand occasion of mass communal prayer at Lhasa's Jokhang Temple to celebrate the beginning of the Tibetan New Year. For a vivid description of the festival in 1741 by Italian missionary Cassiano Belgatti, See Luciano Petech, ed., *I Missionari Italiani nel Tibet e nel Nepal* (Rome: IsMEO, 1952-1956), Vol. 3, 1-142.

⁵⁸ As the Smon lam was primarily a prayer gathering of monks from the three major monasteries of 'Bras spungs, Dga' ldan, and Se ra, the Fifth Dalai Lama established the system of appointing monastic officials to police the city for the duration of the festival. In the centuries that followed, Smon lam had evolved into an occasion for corrupt monk officials to make a fortune out of collecting fines on petty and fabricated offenses; lay residents of Lhasa

itself an evident reassertion of the Geluk monopoly of power and Buddhist victory over other religions.⁵⁹ There is every reason to see a similar intention in the depiction of these narratives to the central message of The Great Prayer festival—to conflate Lhasa in the 1920s with previous moments of prosperity in the Gelukpa rule.

Stories about the Thirteenth Dalai Lama’s forthcoming assertion of his authority and position had become well-circulated household legends in Lhasa.⁶⁰ It was said that when a monk official challenged the Thirteenth Dalai Lama about his altering of rules for the Great Prayer festival that had been instituted by the Great Fifth, he responded by asking, “And who is the Fifth Dalai Lama today?”, making explicit that he saw his own work of renewing and reforming Tibet as a continuation of acts carried out by his greatest predecessor, in an unbroken fashion through the various incarnations since at the seventeenth century. There are numerous other famous instances of this direct assertion, such as, during his 1920s renovation, the replacement of the Fifth Dalai Lama’s handprints with his own underneath the Fifth’s famous proclamation of Sanggye Gyatso’s (Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, 1653–1705) regency at the entrance to the Potala Palace (Figure 3.37).⁶¹ Images of the Fifteen Great Miracles can also be seen as another form of this lineage assertion. In his autobiography, the Great Fifth Dalai Lama had lamented that an aspiration to paint the Fifteen Great Miracles on the walls of the Red Palace in the Potala could not be realized.⁶² A reprinting of this autobiography was commissioned by the Thirteenth Dalai Lama in 1925. Having been deeply familiar with the work and other writings of the Fifth Dalai

began to leave the city during this time to avoid getting into trouble with the monk police, and often returned to find other homes looted in their absence. After the Thirteenth returned from his exiles abroad, he restructured the system, making the position of the policing monks a purely ceremonial one. Throughout the 1920s and until the very end of his life, he personally presided over and delivered sermons to the general public at the festival, something previous Dalai Lamas had not been able to do. As a result of his reforms, the festival had once again become an occasion of joyful celebration for all people of Lhasa. See Glenn Mullin, *The Bodhisattva Warrior: The Life and Teachings of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama*, (Ithaca: Snow Lion Publications, 1988), 86-87.

⁵⁹ Toni Huber, *The Holy Land Reborn: Pilgrimage and the Tibetan Reinvention of Buddhist India* (Chicago, The University of Chicago Press), 361; Giuseppe Tucci, *The Religions of Tibet* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980), 147-53; Hugh Richardson, *Ceremonies of the Lhasa Year* (London: Serindia Publication, 1993), 20-55; Tsepak Rigzin, *Festivals of Tibet* (Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1993), 8-14.

⁶⁰ Glenn Mullin, *The Bodhisattva Warrior*, 87; his conscious recognition of his own role in this lineage is no less apparent in the arduous negotiation of protocol at the meeting with the Empress-dowager Cixi and Guangxu emperor. See K. Dhondup, *The Water-bird and Other Years: A History of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama and after* (New Delhi: Rangwang Publishers, 1986), 28.

⁶¹ Hugh E. Richardson, “The Fifth Dalai Lama's Decree Appointing Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho as Regent.” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 43, no. 2 (1980): 329-344.

⁶² Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, *Za hor bande Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho'i 'di snang 'khrul pa'i rol rtsed rtogs brjod kyi tshul du bkod pa du k'u la'i gos bzang* [The autobiography of the Fifth Dalai Lama Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, 1617-1682] (Kawring, Gemur, Distt. Lahul, H.P.: Tobden Tsering, 1979), 284: 2; (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1989), 287: “khyams rwar lha sa smon lam chen mo dang 'brel mtshungs khyad nas cho 'phrul gyi zhing bkod 'dri tsi yin rung dbu mdzad btsun chung gis sangs rgyas stong sku dga' zhes sde par nan tan zhus nas tshang ma btsabs par gyis las sla dang mgyogs bcos kho na lhur blang song bas khong pa bkod pa ma len gshis 'dod pa bzhen ma byung”. For Chinese translation, see Chen Qingying trans., *Wushi dalai lama zhuan* 五世達賴喇嘛傳, Vol.1, (Beijing: Zhongguo zangxue chubanshe, 1997), 240.

Lama, the Thirteenth Dalai Lama could have seen the paintings on the Eastern Sunlight Hall as in part a fulfillment of an aspiration made by the 5th Dalai Lama.⁶³

Expressions of “historical time” are equally visible in depictions of timeless and semi-mythical purelands, such the kingdom of Shambhala known for preserving the Kālacakra Tantra, and depictions of the Dhānyakataka Stūpa, where the Kālacakra was first taught.⁶⁴ Standard depictions of Shambhala, such as the one found at Samye, usually feature the kingdom in the pristine symmetry of an enormous eight-petaled lotus in the center of the composition, surrounded, in the lower corners, by the prophesized battle of the future Shambhalan king, and in the upper corners, by the Kālacakra deity and kings of Shambhala (Figure 3.38). But in the painting in the Eastern Sunlight Hall, the circular kingdom of Shambhala is relegated to the upper right corner, while the battle scene takes center stage (Figure 3.39).⁶⁵ The scene illustrates the promised descent of the 25th king of Shambhala who, leading an inconceivably large army, is to conquer all forces of evil in Jambudvīpa at a time when this world is overrun by greed and chaos.⁶⁶ Dominated in the foreground by a large figure of the king in shining armor, riding a flaming black horse, the composition transforms the promised hidden kingdom from what was once an iconic, devotional image to mere background scenery.⁶⁷ The kingdom now serves the purpose of illustrating the territory of the king’s dominion, similar to the function of topographical landscapes in monumental tapestries of battle scenes commissioned by European kings, such as this one parading an idyllic Barcelona of Spanish king Charles V (Figure 3.40).

This image is placed side-by-side with the Dhānyakataka Stūpa, the site believed to be in present-day Andhra Pradesh, India, where the Buddha is said to have taught the Kālacakra Tantra (Figure 3.41).⁶⁸ The image matches closely the description of the stūpa in an annotated record of labels of paintings and sculptures in selected rooms of Norbu Lingka, Potala, and the Ramoche,

⁶³ *Xizang wenshi ziliao xuanji* 西藏文史資料選集 [Collection of literary and historical materials from Tibet], vol. 21. (Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 2004), 166.

⁶⁴ For a bibliography of the vast literature on the Kalacakra, see http://www.berzinarchives.com/web/en/archives/e-books/published_books/kalachakra_initiation/kalachakra_initiation_bibliography.html (accessed March 2, 2010).

⁶⁵ See Paulenz Kollmar, "Utopian Thought in Tibetan Buddhism: A Survey of the Shambhala Concept and Its Sources," *Studies in Central and East Asian Religions*, vol. 5/6 (1992/3): 78-96. According to Edwin Bernbaum, narrative scenes of the final battle are also seen in the Kalacakra Chapel at Tashi Lhunpo. See Edwin Bernbaum, *The Way to Shambhala*, xiii.

⁶⁶ Bernbaum explores various versions of this prophecy in *The Way to Shambhala*. Ibid., 205-255.

⁶⁷ A similar composition is found in a painting in the collection of Yonghe gong. See Song Niu, *Yonghe gong tangka guibao* 雍和宮唐喀瑰寶 [Thangka Paintings in the Yonghegong], vol. 1 (Beijing: Beijing Chubanshe, 2002), 56-57.

⁶⁸ Tibetans only “rediscovered” Amaravati as the Dhayankataka Stūpa and the site of the first teaching after Amdo Gendun Chopel’s travel writings were published. See Toni Huber, *The Guide To India. A Tibetan Account by Amdo Gendun Chöphel (1903-1951)* (Dharamsala, Library of Tibetan Works and Archives); *The Holy Land Reborn*, 372; Ariane Macdonald, “Le Dhānyakataka de Man-luns Guru,” *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient* 57 (1970): 169-213.

dating to the mid-1920s, and attributed to the Thirteenth Dalai Lama.⁶⁹ The text not only transcribes the labels of wall paintings, but provides long excursions into how the original Dhānyakataka Stūpa looked, adorned with marble pillars, *vaidurya* gems, and mandala arrangements, as well as the various devotional activities at the site by Muslim, Hindus, and Buddhists. The description is followed by a chronology of the lineage of the kingdom's rulers, and their affinity to the Dalai Lamas through shared identity as the reincarnations of Avalokiteśvara.

The Dalai Lama's specific interest in the details of the Shambhala myth coincided with a brief but wide-spread propagation that Shambhala was located in the Russian Empire, a belief that the Dalai Lama himself possibly shared in the decade of the 1900s.⁷⁰ The Buryat Mongol monk Agvan Dorjiev (1854-1938), who became the Dalai Lama's Master Debate Partner and one of his most trusted political advisors, argued for this belief based on the fact that the Tsar was protecting the Geluk tradition among the Buryats, Kalmyks, and Tuvianian Turks of the Russian Empire.⁷¹ Evidently swayed by this argument, the Thirteenth Dalai Lama sent Dorjiev back to Russia in 1900 to negotiate for Tsarist protection.

Could the image of the apocalyptic battle depicted in the Potala be taken literally as affirming an aspiration for, or belief in, Tibet's eventual "liberation" through the triumph of a Buddhist holy war? It seems very likely given the explicit and worldly deployment of Kalacakra imageries in Mongolia and other parts of Buddhist Central Asia.⁷² The apocalyptic vision of the Shambhala legend continued to gain currency in the war-torn decades to follow, when the 1921 Mongolian Communist revolutionary leader convinced his troops that they would be reborn as warriors of the King of Shambhala, and when the Japanese occupiers of Inner Mongolia in the 1930s persuaded the Mongols that Japan was the real Shambhala to secure their

⁶⁹ See Thub bstan rgya mtsho, *Nor gling pho brang yas mas sogs kyi ldeb bris dang gzim sgo'i mtshan byang sprul sku'i mtshan gsol bcas phyogs gcig tu bkod pa*, di. 18 ff. in vol. 4 of the 7 vol. Lha-sa New Zhol edition of the collected works in IsMEO (IsMEO 282-6). This effort seems perfectly in keeping with his composition of the illustrated manual *nyes ltung mun pa 'joms pa'i zla 'od*. See Damchö Diana Finnegan, "Discipline on Display: Twentieth-Century Tibetan Murals Representing Monastic Practices and Material Culture" Paper presented at Princeton University on Art History, Buddhist Studies, Tibet. March 2008.

⁷⁰ See Tada Tokan, *The Thirteenth Dalai Lama*, East Asian cultural studies series 9. (Tokyo: Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies, 1965), 39-40; Paulenz Kollmar, "Utopian Thought in Tibetan Buddhism: A Survey of the Shambhala Concept and Its Sources," *Studies in Central and East Asian Religions*, vol. 5/6 (1992/3), 86-7; According to Alexander Berzin, Agvan Dorjiev (1854-1938) indeed convinced the Dalai Lama that Russia was the Northern Kingdom of Shambhala and that Czar Nicholas II was the incarnation of Tsongkhapa. See Alexander Berzin, "Russian and Japanese Involvement with Pre-Communist Tibet: The Role of the Shambhala Legend," http://www.berzinarchives.com/web/en/archives/advanced/kalachakra/shambhala/russian_japanese_shambhala.html (2003) (accessed on March 3, 2010). In Tatiana Shaumian's detailed study of the relationship between Tibet and Russian through materials in the Foreign Policy Archive of the Russian Empire, the spread of this Shambhala myth does not come up. See Tatiana Shaumian, *Tibet, The Great Game and Tsarist Russia* (New Delhi; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

⁷¹ For more on Agvan Dorjiev, see Alexander Andreyev, "Russian Buddhists in Tibet, from the end of the nineteenth century – 1930," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* Vol. XI, Part 2 (November 2001): 349-362; John Snelling, *Buddhism in Russia: The Story of Agvan Dorzhiev: Lhasa's Emissary to the Tsar* (Rockport: Element Books, 1993).

⁷² See Patricia Berger and Terese Tse Bartholomew, *Mongolia: the legacy of Chinggis Khan*, 180-181.

allegiance.⁷³ Regardless of how widely this belief was shared in Lhasa in the early 1920s, it suffices to say here that images of the Kālacakra were brought forth, along with other previously discussed images in the Eastern Sunlight Hall, by a vested interest in reviving, remembering, and reconnecting with these specific moments, realms, and places. Together, the images represent a selection and a conflation of key moments and places that at once continued the tradition of Gelukpa Buddhism, and had acquired special urgency in the tumultuous periods of the early twentieth century.

Toward New Temporalities

An in-depth consideration of selected paintings in the Eastern Sunlight Hall has revealed the coexistence of two epistemological realities. On the one hand is the new, empirical one—a method of affirming reality by the physiological eye via photographically-driven and eyewitness representations.⁷⁴ Instead of resorting to more familiar schemas or templates, representations of Bodh Gaya and Wutai Shan incorporated empirical experiences into a system of knowledge that previously established itself on received texts and images. On the other hand, we witness the persistence and versatility of a visionary reality made up of depictions of cyclical festivals and the apparition of divine kingdoms and emanations. The question thus arises: if the existing system was perfectly capable of articulating the complexity of time and eternity, dimensions of space and specificity, then why did the new mode of vision surface at all? The remainder of this chapter attempts to locate the primacy of empirical experience in the life of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, to show that it was through a new form of contact with the world, namely his wandering exile, that a new cosmology was mapped.

An Accidental Pilgrim

Just as canonical depictions of The Fifteen Great Miracles convey Lhasa's peace and stability under the rule of the Dalai Lama in the 1920s, and paintings of the kingdom of Shambhala and the Dhānyakataka Stūpa express a real and timely aspiration for their discovery and recovery, the representations of Bodh Gaya and Wutai Shan that embraced empirical observations served as a record or souvenir of the two pilgrimages the Thirteenth Dalai Lama undertook a decade earlier. If we go back to accounts of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's travels, we discover that the pilgrimages themselves were as embroiled in the simultaneity of different epistemological realities as their pictorial counterparts. In 1904, then twenty-nine years of age,

⁷³ See Alexander Berzin, "Exploitation of the Shambhala Legend for Control of Mongolia," http://www.berzinarchives.com/web/en/archives/advanced/kalachakra/shambhala/exploitation_shambala_legend_mongolia.html (2003) (accessed March 3, 2010).

⁷⁴ In contrast to a belief in photographic veracity in the West that has taken theoreticians more than a century to deconstruct, within Tibetan artistic production, photographic semblance and painting from contemporary experience were just beginning to be accepted and incorporated into the system of truth-making in the 1920s.

the Thirteenth Dalai Lama fled from Lhasa on the eve of the British military invasion.⁷⁵ He and his entourage first traveled northeastward toward Mongolia in an attempt to secure protection from Tsarist Russia, whose purported espionage in Lhasa was the justification for the British invasion of Tibet in the first place. But when the Russo-Japanese war that ended in 1905 stripped Russia of its military might and internal control, Russia slowly withdrew an already faint promise to bring Tibet under its protection.⁷⁶ In a dramatic shift of the power balance, Britain and Russia jointly urged the Thirteenth Dalai Lama to return to Lhasa, to which the Dalai Lama responded by doing just the opposite—going eastward toward the Manchu Chinese capital in Beijing.

At this juncture of uncertainty and compromise, Wutai Shan emerged as a supreme destination. As the earthly abode of Mañjuśrī, Wutai Shan is conveniently located some two-hundred miles southwest of the capital Beijing, just a few days' journey away from the political and summer heat of the capital. It had become an important place of pilgrimage for all Tibetans and Mongolians traveling to and from the Yuan, Ming, and Qing courts in Beijing from the time when the capital was first established there by Khubilai Khan in the thirteenth century. As I have noted in Chapter I, from the early seventeenth century onward, Wutai Shan had served as the meeting place between Chinese court officials and representatives from the outlying Tibetan and Mongolian regions, both because of its proximity to Mongolia and the capital in Beijing, its perennially cool climate, which was more tolerable for Tibetans and Mongolians, and most importantly, because of its distinction as a shared place of pilgrimage and devotion among these various groups of people.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ During the early 1900s, the Dalai Lama staunchly refused to participate in any talks with the British, who were attempting to strengthen their foothold in Tibet by pressuring the Dalai Lama to sign lengthy lists of trade agreements. Possibly at the council of the Russian Buryat Lama Agvan Dorjiev, a close advisor and teacher of the Dalai Lama since childhood, the Dalai Lama fled northeastward in the hopes of seeking protection from the Russian Tsar. At Urga, where he stayed with the ruling Eighth Jebtsundamba Khutuktu for two years, there were many reports of conflicts between the two rulers, which might have led the Dalai Lama to migrate in 1907 to Kumbum in Amdo, the birthplace of Tsongkhapa, where he spent another six months and celebrated the New Year before departing for Wutai Shan. Possibly when it became clear that Russia could not, at least in the immediate future, provide the protection the Dalai Lama was seeking for himself and his people, the Thirteenth Dalai Lama accepted the Manchu court's invitation to visit with the empress dowager and emperor in Beijing. His other alternative was to return to Lhasa, but the Manchu Imperial government would have to give permission and support for that as well. After spending almost six months at Wutai Shan, the Dalai Lama eventually made his way to Beijing in September of 1908, a month and half before Guangxu Emperor (1871-1908) and Empress Dowager Cixi (1835-1908) both passed away. The Thirteenth Dalai Lama departed from Beijing shortly after conducting prayer offering for them. He arrived in Lhasa in December of 1909, and fled for again for India a month after. See Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons*, 621-716.

⁷⁶ Alexander Andreyev, *Soviet Russia and Tibet* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 43-45; Tatiana Shaumian, *Tibet, the great game and Tsarist Russia* (New Delhi; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000). The (potential) priest-patron relationship between the Thirteenth Dalai Lama and Tsar Nicholas II can be witnessed in the much cited story of the "Dalai Lama's Son." Tsar Nicholas II and his wife Tsarina Alexandra had four girls and no male heir, so they sought the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's divine intervention in 1902. In 1905, Prince Alexei was born. He was called the "Dalai Lama's son" and was said to resemble the Thirteenth Dalai Lama in every way. There were stories of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama engendering sons for several Mongolian leaders in this way. See Tsepon Wangchuk Deden Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons*, 687, 710; ⁷⁶ Phur lcoq yongs 'dzin, vol. 2, 50-ba-1.

⁷⁷ Papers presented at the "Wutai Shan and Qing Culture" conference (Rubin Museum of Art, May 12-13, 2007) highlighted Wutai Shan's strategic importance for the Manchu emperors in maintaining relations with the outlying

Therefore, when the Thirteenth Dalai Lama arrived in Wutai Shan in 1908, it signaled to the Manchu court that he had tacitly accepted the court's invitation to visit Beijing, although he stayed for six more months at Wutai Shan, meeting with various delegations, and paying visits to a mountain full of temples, until finally making his way to the Manchu court.⁷⁸ As soon as he arrived in Beijing a big argument ensued between him and the Qing court as to whether the Dalai Lama should perform prostrations at the feet of the emperor.⁷⁹ A month after they finally settled on genuflection, a bending at the knees, the Guangxu 光緒 Emperor and Empress-Dowager Cixi 慈禧 both died, but not before replacing the Dalai Lama's old title "The Most Excellent, Self-Existent Buddha of the West" with a new one—"The Sincerely Obedient, Reincarnation-helping, Most Excellent, Self-Existent Buddha of the West."⁸⁰ The Dalai Lama witnessed the last gasp of the Qing Empire and saw neither reason nor facility to rekindle the priest-patron relationship between his forebears and the Manchu court that had been established since the seventeenth century. He quickly left Beijing and arrived back in Lhasa in December of 1909. What remained of any mutual understanding between the Qing court and the Dalai Lama dissolved when a Chinese army from the southwestern province of Sichuan invaded Lhasa that same year, forcing the Thirteenth Dalai Lama to flee again, this time to India with the aid of British Indian

regions of Tibet and Mongolia. With its development as a most sacred and relatively accessible site of pilgrimage from all Chinese and Mongolians also came Wutai Shan's importance as a trading center between Mongolian and Chinese merchants and wealthy pilgrims. For more on the annual mule and horse festival [*luoma dahui* 驛馬大會], see Wu Meiyun 吳美雲 ed., *Wutai shan luo ma da hui* 五臺山驛馬大會 [Mule and Horse Festival of Mt. Wutai] (Taipei: Hansheng zazhishe, 1991).

⁷⁸ There are many versions of this history as well. Most Chinese sources say he was not allowed to go to Beijing until six months later, and most Tibetan and British sources say he purposely delayed his trip to Beijing for six months. See Fabienne Jagou, "The thirteenth Dalai Lama's visit to Beijing in 1908: In Search of a New Kind of Chaplain-Donor Relationship" in *Buddhism Between Tibet and China*, ed. Matthew Kapstein (Somerville: Wisdom Publications, 2009), 349-350; Jagchid Sechin (Zhaqi Siqin 扎奇斯欽), "xianfu shishi shisanshi dalai lama shilue 先父師事十三世達賴喇嘛事略 [A brief sketch of my father serving the Thirteenth Dalai Lama]", *Wenshi ziliao* 文史資料 [Literary and historical materials] 21 (Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 2004), 145-152.

⁷⁹ Fabienne Jagou speculates that the Dalai Lama's refusal to follow the Qing Court's required protocol had to do with the influence of his western advisors at Wutai Shan, who disapproved of such practices. But his disagreement with their protocol would have had much more to do with the protocols of meetings between the Shunzhi Emperor and his predecessor, the Fifth Dalai Lama, and between the Qianlong Emperor and the Sixth Panchen Lama, than it did with reactions of westerners. See Fabienne Jagou, "The thirteenth Dalai Lama's visit to Beijing in 1908," 352-353; William Rockhill, "The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa and Their Relations with the Manchu Emperors of China, 1644-1908." *T'oung p'ao* 11 (1910), 77-89; Charles Bell, *Portrait of the Dalai Lama*, 83-84; Jagchid Sechin (Zhaqi Siqin 扎奇斯欽), "Xianfu shishi shisanshi dalai lama shilue," 147; *Shenbao* reports that the Thirteenth Dalai Lama refused to make prostrations based on the fact that when he sojourned in Mongolia and Wutai Shan, officials and high lamas all prostrated toward him. See *Shenbao*, September 28, 1908, section 1, page 5.

⁸⁰ *Shenbao*, August 20, 1908, section 1, page 5. The title "The Sincerely Obedient, Reincarnation-helping, Most Excellent, Self-Existent Buddha of the West [Chengshun zanhua xitian dashan zizai fo 誠順贊化西天大善自在佛]" was conferred in the Imperial edict of November 3, 1908, over the rank of "The Most Excellent, Self-Existent Buddha of the West [xitian dashan zizai fo 西天大善自在佛]" that the Dalai Lamas had enjoyed prior to this. See Qing Imperial Edict of November 3, 1908 in the First National Archive of Beijing, reprinted in *Qingmo shisanshi dalai lama dang-an shiliao xuaniann* 清末十三世達賴喇嘛檔案史料選編 [Selected Historical Sources of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama in the Late Qing Period] (Beijing: Zhongguo Zangxue Chubanshe, 2002). 168. See Parshotam Mehra, *Tibetan Polity, 1904-1937: The Conflict between the 13th Dalai Lama and the 9th Panchen Lama; A Case Study* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1976), 20.

officers.⁸¹ During his second forced exile, he visited important pilgrimage sites of the life of the Buddha Śākyamuni, including the Mahābodhi Temple in Bodh Gaya. He stayed in India until 1912, when the revolution that overthrew the Qing Empire also brought an end to Chinese control in central Tibet. The Dalai Lama returned to Lhasa in 1913, and governed central Tibet for two decades until his death in 1933.⁸²

Colliding Worlds at Wutai Shan

That the Dalai Lama's forced exodus and subsequent pilgrimages of convenience had been a product of modern imperialism meant they were closely followed and observed with curiosity by representatives and journalists of major powers. The multiplicity of narratives about the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's sojourn at Wutai Shan collectively expresses a sense of unease symptomatic of the meeting of different worlds. When he arrived at Wutai Shan in March of 1908, his retinue of around eighty was described by the *New York Times* as consisting of "priests, personal servitors, high officials of the church, and a motley crowd of doubtful-looking soldiers armed with rifles" and on another occasion as "a wild, disorderly, unkempt-looking crew, giving no impression of their religious affiliations."⁸³ Later, the Dalai Lama's six months at Wutai Shan would be recounted, by his Tibetan biographer Phurchok Yongzin as having been inundated with miraculous occurrences and rejoicing crowds, by many visiting Europeans as curious spectacles belonging to an archaic time and place, by visiting monks from Japan as a feast of Buddhist scholasticism, and by the local Chinese officials as mostly a financial and administrative liability.⁸⁴ But whether the excesses were of miracles, monastic learning,

⁸¹ Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons*, 717-753

⁸² According to Mehra, "The growth to adulthood of the 13th Dalai and his assumption of full powers as the lay and spiritual ruler of his country, were eloquent at once of the Amban's inability to influence events and of the lama's growing confidence in himself to manage his country's affairs." See Mehra, *Tibetan Polity, 1904-37*, 8 For the Dalai Lama's 1913 declaration of independence, see Tsepon W.D. Shakabpa, *Tibet, a Political History* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1967), 246-248.

⁸³ The *New York Times* from July 13, 1908 reads: "His retinue consists of priests, personal servitors, high officials of the church, and a motley crowd of doubtful-looking soldiers. One these men declared to a Chinese Commissioner that he was a Russian. The officials of the large cities which the Lama has visited say it takes about \$5,000 to entertain him and his retainers for a single day..."; "Dalai Lama at Ting-Chow," *New York Times*, Sept. 29, 1908. C.G. Mannerheim numbers his suite and other attendants at 300. See C. G. Mannerheim, *Across Asia from West to East in 1906-1908*. Kansatieteellisiä julkaisuja 18. Trans Edward Birse. Rev. Harry Halén (Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura • Société Finno-Ougrienne and Otava Publ. Co. Ltd, Helsinki, 2008), 758.

⁸⁴ For the Tibetan account, see Phur lcog yongs 'dzin, *Thub bstan rgya mtsho'i rnam thar*, 392 "de las 'phros pa'i sner mchod lha dpag du med ba grongs su bsgrigs pa ser sbrengs kyi tshul da byas pa lta bu sogs sprin dang 'ja' 'od kyi bkad pa yid 'phrog pa du ma rgya bod skye bo mtha' dag gi mig lam du mngon sum bsnyon mad du snang bas thams cad nga mtshar ya mtshan du gyur nas a la la zhes dga' ba'i ca co ci yang bsgrogs shing." One thing that all of these various accounts did enumerate were the sumptuous exchanges of gifts. Gift exchange may have interestingly been the only common language shared by all weather-worn travellers to Wutai Shan. For the Japanese account, see Shirasu Joshin 白須淨眞, "1908 (meiji 41) nen 8 gatsu no shinkoku Godaisan ni okeru ichi kaidan kaidan to sono hamon: gaikō kiroku kara miru gaimushō no tai Chibetto shisaku to Ōtani Tankentai 1908(明治 41)年 8 月の清国五台山における一会談とその波紋: 外交記録から見る外務省の対チベット施策と大谷探検隊 [The meeting at Qing-dynasty Wutai Shan on August, 1908 and its subsequent reverberations: Policy of the Japanese Ministry of

monetary burdens, or motley crowds, various versions of the Dalai Lama's exile at Wutai Shan as told from Tibetan, European, Japanese, and Chinese perspectives poignantly reveal the colliding worlds of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama. At once a divine incarnation held in the highest esteem and accorded with absolute temporal authority by his Tibetan and Mongolian subjects, the head of a religious order best known in Buddhist Asia for its scholarly rigor, and an astute politician struggling to gain support for his people from a world driven by imperial and nationalist agendas, the Thirteenth Dalai Lama was residing in a mountain range that was as much endowed with timeless spiritual potency as it was plagued by extreme poverty and political turmoil of the collapsing Qing Empire.⁸⁵

Still and all, the unique diplomatic promise that Wutai Shan afforded to the Thirteenth Dalai Lama can be witnessed in frequent meetings with representatives from the capital in Beijing, Tibetan and Mongolia regions, Great Britain, America, Russia, France, Germany, and Japan, who were able to meet with him without the close monitoring of the Qing Court.⁸⁶

Foreign Affairs toward Tibet and the Ōtani Exploration as seen from Japanese diplomatic records]" *Hiroshima Daigaku Daigakuin Kyōikugaku Kenkyūka kiyō* 広島大学大学院教育学研究科紀要 [Journal of the Department of Education, Hiroshima University], Vol. 2, no. 56 (2007): 55-64. Of the Chinese newspapers, *Shenbao* provided the most frequent coverage of the Dalai Lama's stay at Wutai Shan. Aside for concerns for financial burden, the newspaper reported frequent rumors of an accident in which a local peasant woman was harassed by someone in the entourage of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama. While accounts were vague, they displayed outrage on the part of the local community, and by extension the entire readership, as expressed in its regurgitation on the opinion page See *Shenbao*, August 20, 1908, section 1, page 3; section 2, page 2. These accounts and rumors also perpetuate a villainized image of Tibetan monks typical in Chinese writings since the 12th century. For a study of the villainized images of the so-called "fanseng" or western monks, see Shen Weirong, "Shentong, yaoshu, he zeikun: lun yuandai wenren bixia de fanseng xingxiang 神通、妖術與賊髡：論元代文人筆下的番僧形象 [Magic power, sorcery, and evil spirits: the image of Tibetan monks in Chinese Literature during the Yuan dynasty]" *Hanxue yanjiu* 21, no. 2 (2003): 219-47. In 1911, the Buddhist layman Zhang Dungu 張沌谷 made visited Wutai Shan and recorded the detail of his stay in his pilgrimage diary. He estimated around three to four thousand Tibetan Buddhist monks on the mountain range. His diary entries are filled with curiosity toward and negative portrayal of Tibetan and Mongolian monks. In conclusion to an extended discussion of the lawless behavior of Tibetan and Mongolian monks, Zhang quotes a famous saying at Wutai Shan: "[At Wutai Shan] houses built from piled rocks do not fall, monks at the gate are not bitten by dogs, lamas in the bedchamber do not trouble people." See Zhang Dungu, *Wutai shan canfo riji* 五台山參佛日記 [Pilgrimage diary of Wutai Shan] (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1925), 17.

⁸⁵ Jagchid Sechin preserves a particular telling document issued by the Thirteenth Dalai Lama to his father Lobsanchojjur, who served as his secretary in Chinese language affairs at Wutai Shan. This document, written in both Tibetan and Mongolian, was translated and studied by Jagchid Sechin. He points out that, among all of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's agendas and priorities, spreading the dharma for the benefit of all sentient beings remains the most pronounced one. Jagchid Sechin, "Xianfu shishi shisanshi dalai lama shilue," 149.

⁸⁶ Passages of the Japanese Monk Tada Tōkan's 多田等觀 book suggest Wutai Shan as a place away from the heat of the central government in which officials from other places could meet with the Dalai Lama in private. Tokan writes, "While I was staying at Wutai Shan, I had several talks with the Great Lama of Buddhism, who was specially dispatched from Japan, and talked with him on Buddhism, especially on the Great Tsongkhapa, and other high monks, and other high monks of the past." See Tada Tokan. *The Thirteenth Dalai Lama*, 95. Reginald Johnston (1874-1938), who later became the tutor of the last emperor Puyi (1906-1967), described in detail tricks the Dalai Lama played on the local Chinese official, and the length at which local monks and officials had gone to both entertain and contain the wishes of the Dalai Lama. In one account, he observed, "They [local monks and residents] discovered... that His Holiness was not disposed to immure himself within the narrow limits of his residence on the Pusa-ting, or to content himself with receiving the homage of the faithful in his sumptuous throne-room; and when he announced his intention of paying a formal visit to every important shrine on Wu't'ai-shan there was much dismay among the numerous abbots and lamas who had allowed their temple-buildings to fall into a state of decay

Accounts by the American diplomat William Rockhill (1854 - 1914), who traveled from Beijing to Wutai Shan specifically to meet with the Dalai Lama, reveal that the latter was clearly aware of and fully utilized the fluid nature of the sacred grounds.⁸⁷ During their meetings, the Thirteenth Dalai Lama deeply impressed and later befriended Rockhill, who described him as a charismatic leader uncertain of his future, distrustful of his surroundings, and desperately seeking benevolent council.⁸⁸ Rockhill's heartfelt sympathy and admiration for the Dalai Lama exposed the extraordinariness of the circumstances that allowed two different worlds to intersect.

or disorder, or had failed to maintain their censers and images and sacred vessels in a state of decorous cleanliness. As soon as the word has been passed round that the Fo-yeh—the Lord Buddha—intended on ch'ao t'ai—that is, to pay ceremonial visit to all the five peaks of the mountain and to all their temples—there was inaugurated a period of scouring and washing, restoring and burnishing, such as the holy mountain can rarely have known since the beginning of its long religious history.” Johnston published this account under his pseudonym Christopher Irving. See Christopher Irving, Wu-t'ai-shan and the Dalai Lama, *The New China Review* 1919-22, 161. Johnston's lively account failed to remember those thirteen grand visits paid to every major and minor monasteries and landmarks of imperial sponsorship at the height of the Qing Empire, by Kangxi, Yongcheng, Qianlong, and Jiaqing emperors, who were themselves considered incarnations of Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī. But Johnston's lack of knowledge and imagination about how busy the locals would have gotten to prepare for an Imperial pilgrimage is probably due to the fact that since the beginning of the 19th nineteenth century, not many divine royals graced the mountain with their visits. Empress Dowager Cixi and Guangxu Emperor did go near Wutai Shan, but in secret, after evacuating the Forbidden Palace during the Boxer's Rebellion in 1900. See Wu Yong 吳永(1865-1936), *Gengzi Xiwu Congtan* 庚子西狩叢談, dictated by Liu Zhixiang 劉治襄 (Taipei, Wenhai Publishing, 1966). For an English translation, See *The flight of an empress, told by Wu Yung, whose other name is Yu-ch'uan*; transcribed by Liu K'un; translated and edited by Ida Pruitt (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1936), 119-120. The story of Cixi's flight was widely circulated in popular literature, marked by a famous incident near Taiyuan, where the post-drought and poverty stricken locals surprisingly produced an elaborate set of Imperial accoutrements and furnishings upon the hasty arrival of Cixi and Guangxu. It was said that they were prepared for the Jiaqing Emperor, who had made plans but visited Wutai Shan for a second time. Others say they were used by Shunzhi who took monastic vows at Wutai Shan, or by Kangxi and Qianlong who frequented Wutai Shan many times. However the legends attribute the discovery of imperial regalia, Wutai Shan hasn't been frequently visited by Imperial VIPs since the height of the Qing dynasty. For Imperial pilgrimage during the early Qing Dynasty, see Natalie Köhle, “Why Did the Kangxi Emperor Go to Wutai Shan? Patronage, Pilgrimage, and the Place of Tibetan Buddhism at the Early Qing Court” *Late Imperial China* Vol. 29, No. 1 (June 2008): 73–119. The Thirteenth Dalai Lama's visit would have been met with as much glamour and sumptuousness as poverty-stricken Shanxi province could afford at the time. See Charles Bell, *Portrait*, 80. After the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, the Ninth Panchen Lama Tupten Chökyi Nyima (Thub bstan chos kyi nyi ma, 1883-1937) also visited Wutai Shan twice in 1925 during his staged visit in coastal China, and composed several texts for rituals conducted at Wutai Shan. For his itinerary, see Chong Baolin 充寶琳, “Banchan lai jing yu Xizang zhi guanxi 班禪來京與西藏之關係 [The Panchen lama's arrival in Beijing and relation with Tibet],” *Haichaoyin* 海潮音 [The Voice of the Ocean Tide] 6, no 2 (1925): 191-199 (13-21); Danzhu angben, *Libei Dalai Lama yu Banchen E'erdeni nianpu*, 636-637. The Ninth Panchen Lama authored a ritual manual for making offerings to the various images at Wutai Shan. See Blo bzang thub bstan chos kyi nyi ma, “Ri bo rtse Inga'i rten gtso rnam la na bza' sogs 'bul gnam gi 'dod gsol smon tshig khag bzhug so [Prayer offerings to all major and minor images at Wutai Shan],” in *Gsung 'bum* [The collected works of the Sixth Panchen Lama Blo bzang thub bstan chos kyi nyi ma]. Reproduced from a print from the Bkra shis lhun po blocks by Lha mkhar Yongs 'dzin Bstan pa rgyal mtshan] (New Delhi, 1974), vol. 5, 3 ff. In addition, the Ninth Panchen lama authored a praise poem of Wutai Shan called *Ri bo dwangs bsil du smon lam skabs bsnyen bkur mang 'gyed stsal ba'i dpyad khra* (*Gsung 'bum*, vol. 4, ff. 204a-206b.) and many texts on Shambhala as well.

⁸⁷ Mehra, *Tibetan Polity*, 19

⁸⁸ Two recent papers discussed Rockhill's meetings with the Dalai Lama: Elliot Sperling, “The Thirteenth Dalai Lama at Wutai shan: Exile and Diplomacy” and Susan Meinheit, “Gifts at Wutai Shan: Rockhill and the Thirteenth Dalai Lama” from “Wutai Shan and Qing Culture,” held at the Rubin Museum of Art, May 12-13, 2007. In a letter

Parallel to meetings of diplomatic urgency were gatherings of a different kind described only in the Tibetan biography. Throughout descriptions of the Dalai Lama's stay at Wutai Shan, what his biographer Phurchok Yongzin took the greatest poetic care to record were the miraculous and profound meetings between the two principal deities, Avalokiteśvara, the Bodhisattva of compassion, which refers to none other than the Dalai Lama himself, and Mañjuśrī, Wutai Shan's resident Bodhisattva of wisdom. In light of the fact that the Dalai Lama was on his way to see the Manchu emperor, and that this was seen as a continuation of a priest-patron relationship since the time of the Shunzhi emperor (r. 1638-1661) and the Fifth Dalai Lama, we might consider both the religious and political potency of such a happy meeting.⁸⁹ In the seventeenth century, this priest-patron relationship was established upon the acknowledgement that while the Dalai Lamas are the physical worldly embodiment or incarnations of Avalokiteśvara, the successive Manchu Qing emperors were in turn worldly manifestations of the Mañjuśrī of Wutai Shan. A famous wall painting of the meeting between Shunzhi and the Fifth Dalai Lama illustrates well the Manchu-Tibetan understanding of the gathering as a mytho-historical one, in which two kingly deity-emanations animate the mandala-like space of the Forbidden City, demonstrating their dual role as rulers atop of a worldly palace, and as deities at the center of the celestial palace of the mandala (Figure 3.42). As Phurchok Yongzin writes,

At the supreme pilgrimage place of the Five-Peaked Mountain of the illusory magical display, the Heroic Princely Conqueror, the Supreme Lotus Holder [epithet for Avalokiteśvara] and the Venerable One With Five Locks of Knotted Hair [epithet for Mañjuśrī], sitting down into their mandalas endowed with all major and minor marks, engaged happily in debates on the deep and vast dharma, and enjoyed delightfully the inconceivable play of the *liberations* of the *three secret bodies*. As though in the shapes of steps and lions, rainbows and clouds in the clean sky in front of the Mountain of the Great Black Deity were gathered as special adornments by the protector deities. And from the side of the rainbow clouds were emitted countless offering deities like an orderly procession of monks in golden robes. Such a multitude of breathtaking displays of cloud and rainbow light appeared to all Chinese and Tibetans. Having seen with their

to Franklin Roosevelt dated to November 8, 1908, Rockhill wrote, I said that I saw absolutely no way out of the difficulty...He must take the bitter with the sweet, and the only suggestion I could make was he should not delay too long....His pride has suffered terribly while here and he leaves Peking with his dislike for the Chinese intensified. I fear that he will not cooperate with the Chinese in the difficult work they now propose to undertake of governing Tibet like a Chinese province, and that serious trouble may yet be in store for my friend the Dalai Lama, T'ub-tan gyatso, if not for China...." See also William W. Rockhill, "The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa and Their Relations with the Manchu Emperors of China, 1644-1908" *T'oung p'ao* 11 (1910): 1-104.

⁸⁹ Here I use the word acknowledgement because we cannot really discuss the extent to which people actually believed in this, but we know that they subscribed to this "party-line". See David Farquhar, "Emperor As Bodhisattva in the Governance of the Ch'ing Empire," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 38 (1978): 5-34. As Marina Illich notes in her dissertation that even though the concept of cakravartins and the understanding of the co-ruling of lama and patron existed earlier between Chinese emperors and high Tibetan lamas, it was the Fifth Dalai Lama and the establishment of his identity vis-à-vis the Qing Emperor on which subsequent Qing-Gelukpa relations were formed. For the history of the Fifth Dalai Lama's unification and monopoly of the lama/patron lineage, see Marina Illich, "Selections from the life of a Tibetan Buddhist polymath: Chankya Rolpai Dorje (Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje), 1717-1886 (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2006), 160-322.

very eyes, truly, without doubt, these extremely strange and rare marvels, they exclaimed “a là là” and talked joyously.⁹⁰

In a later passage in the same text, the debate between the two was so excellent that even the celestial gods rejoiced by sprinkling raining flowers down from the clear sky, thus making the occasion visible to all beings.⁹¹

Neither the ornamental style nor the wonderful content of Phurchok Yongzin’s descriptions is unusual in Tibetan biographical writings. More akin to Christian hagiography than western biographical writings that primarily recount *historical* events and characters in the life of an individual, the genre of Tibetan biographical writing often contains explosive descriptions of miraculous visions which were highly experiential, but were seen as no less open and public than the signing of political treaties for their European counterparts.⁹² Precisely because the marvelous qualities were witnessed by all, the account of the divine meeting can be considered real and authentic.

That the Dalai Lama’s distressed and tortuous journeys across Asia in search of political allies were also seen and remembered as a spectacular religious pilgrimage indicates a fully operative visionary dimension even at a time when many other ways of seeing were present.⁹³ Indeed, it is important to remember that during the visit to Wutai Shan, and throughout his time in Mongolia and China, the Thirteenth Dalai Lama staunchly refused to be photographed, even as he sought council from representatives of western countries and graciously accepted their offerings of rifles and illustrated manuals of modern instruments of warfare.⁹⁴ Instead, many

⁹⁰ Phur lcog yongs ‘dzin, *Thub bstan rgya mtsho'i rnam thar*, 392.

⁹¹ Ibid., 400: “Ngo mtshar che bar gyur de dkar phyogs kyi lha rnam kyang dga' mgu rangs pas nam mkha' g.ya' dag gi ngos nas me dog gi char sil ma chal chil phab ba sogs dge ba'i ltas khyad par can du ma kun gyi spyod yul du son pa bskrun to /” [Even the white deities became greatly amazed. Rejoicing, they made pieces of flower rain sprinkle down from the face of the clear sky. As such, the abundance of extraordinary virtuous happenings reached the heart of all people.]

⁹² For an analysis of the genre of Tibetan biographical writings, see Janice Willis, *Enlightened Beings: Life Stories from the Ganden Oral Tradition* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1995), 5

⁹³ In his study on the lives of *Pemalingpa* and the Sixth Dalai Lama, Michael Aris remarked on the importance of travel within the Indo-Tibetan tradition of yogi-teachers. His observation can also be applied to the later understanding of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama’s decade of travel. Aris writes, “Travelling was absolutely integral to their whole existence, whether for study or teaching, alms begging or pilgrimage, the construction or restoration of temples. For many yogin types the activity of wandering and turning every good and evil encountered on the path to their spiritual advantage was actually prescribed by the traditions of their calling inherited directly from India. The rhythms of this peripatetic existence were punctuated by periods of stillness and immobility, when the lamas occupied themselves with meditation, study and teaching. But the lives of many of them give the impression that their retreats were secondary to their travels.” See *Michael Aris, Hidden Treasures and Secret Lives: A Study of Pemalingpa (1450-1521) and the Sixth Dalai Lama (1683-1706)* (London and New York: Kegan Paul International, 1989), 9.

⁹⁴ These were common, if not customary, gifts from foreign emissaries who came to act as his advisors. Given the prominence of the legend of the battle of Shambhala around the Thirteenth Dalai Lama’s court, it is apt to see the gifts of weapons beyond their conventional significations as instruments of defense and modern technology. When the Sixth Panchen Lama presented Rölpe Dorjé with a matchlock and an Indian sword 1781, the Tibetan hierarchs at Qianlong’s court certainly took the presents of arms as those to be used for the final Shambhalan battle. This

drawings of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama from this period survive in western collections, such as those presented to the Tsar Nicholas II in lieu of photographs (3.43).⁹⁵ This insistence upon preserving his more traditional forms of representation paralleled his refusal to engage in any direct dialogue with the British, whose goal was to pressure him into signing lengthy treaties that would delineate (albeit with maximum ambiguity) the identity of Tibet in accordance with the national interest of British Empire. Terms and concepts such as “suzerainty over sovereignty,” “autonomy over independence,” were first adopted by the British at this time to keep foreigners other than themselves out of Tibet.⁹⁶ This articulation of the new geo-political status of Tibet was not one that the Thirteenth Dalai Lama wished to consent to, as he sought support instead in the more traditional and familiar model of a priest-patron relationship with powers like Russia, Japan, and China. It was only later in India, at the same time that the Dalai Lama eventually embraced the idea of building a modern nation, that he also finally accepted the truth-effects of photography.

This long and difficult shift to accepting new paradigms of vision and modern nationhood appeared as seamless and natural as any other transition in the Dalai Lama’s biography. From the visionary perspective of the narrative, the Dalai Lama’s encounter with Mañjuśrī and later pilgrimage to the sites of the Buddha Śākyamuni’s life in India deepened his karmic connection with the most important spiritual teachers of his lineage and widened his sphere of discipleship outside of Tibet, both of which greatly enhanced the status and credibility of his religious persona.⁹⁷ The fact that his travels greatly exposed him to a world of rapid economic, technological, and political transformations only further legitimated his supreme omniscience—

anecdote recorded at length in Rölpe Dorjé’s biography. On a separate occasion, the Sixth Panchen Lama prophesied Rölpe Dorjé and Qianlong emperor’s participation in the Shambhala war, and further gave the emperor two matchlocks and an Indian sword. The author Thu’u bkwan puzzled over the combination of the gifts of weapons and the giving of the battle prophecy, and asked Rölpe Dorjé for his take on the matter years later in 1785. Rölpe Dorjé responded by relating his own lengthy conversation with the Sixth Panchen about this, and how he expressed his desire to stay in meditation away from courtly battles. See Thu’u bkwan, *Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje'i rnam thar* (Lanzhou: Kan su'u mi rig s dpe skrun khang, 1989), 588-89; Chinese translation by Chen Qingying (Beijing: Zhongguo Zangxue Chubanshe, 2006), 281. I thank Patricia Berger bringing this anecdote to my attention.

⁹⁵ Interestingly, while photography was strictly forbidden, photographic likeness had been deemed by the Dalai Lama to be an acceptable mode of representation.

⁹⁶ See Anand Dibyesh, “The British Imperial Scripting of Tibet’s Geopolitical Identity,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 68, No. 1 (2009): 236

⁹⁷ See Phur lcog yongs ‘dzin, *Thub bstan rgya mtsho'i rnam thar*, 286-287. The biography also includes prophecies from Padmasambhava that predicted his travels to India and China, as well as his “unlocking the doors (*sgo 'byed*)” of treasures at Wutai Shan. See Phur lcog yongs ‘dzin, *Thub bstan rgya mtsho'i rnam thar*, 284-295. In his book on the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, Glenn Mullin provided the following summary and translation: “The Great Thirteenth realized that there were countless trainees in Mongolia and China in need of his attentions. Also, he had a long-standing wish to visit the holy places of the northeast, particularly the birthplace of Lama Tsong-kha-pa in Am-do and the holy Five-Peaked Mountain [i.e., Wu-tai-shan] of Manjushri in Western China. He especially wanted to spend some time on the Five-Peaked Mountain, for he felt it to be important for him to reconsecrate the site for the spiritual inspiration of future generations and as a power spot for the release of mystical energies conducive to world peace. He also realized that he was destined to rediscover several important religious treasures there that would be important to the future of Buddhism. Therefore when the British appeared at the bridge south of Lhasa he decided that the time had come for him to leave the Potala and travel to these faraway regions.” Glenn Mullin, *Path of the Bodhisattva warrior*, 67.

they armed him with a renewed understanding of the geo-politics of his time, they also allowed him to institute a number of instrumental reforms after his return to Tibet.⁹⁸

Pictorial Biography

Both the religious and political potency of the journeys were understood in his pictorial biography as well. Almost immediately after the passing of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama in 1933, construction began on his mausoleum, the Serdung Gelek Döjo (Gser gdung dge legs 'dod 'jo), or the Auspicious Wish-granting Golden Reliquary, which was completed in 1935 (Figure 3.44) under the supervision of his chief minister Kalon Trimon Norbu Wangyal (Bka' blon khri smon nor bu dbang rgyal, 1874-1945), one of his most trusted senior cabinet officials.⁹⁹ Several stories of monks' quarters west of the Red Palace (Potrang Marpo) of the Potala were torn away in order to make room for the funerary hall with a gilded roof.¹⁰⁰ Inside the mausoleum is an extraordinary array of wall paintings and inscriptions that document his life in 1227 interlinked episodes on 175 square meters of wall space that envelops the central golden reliquary of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama.¹⁰¹ Each episode is defined by an appearance of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama and an accompanying inscription.¹⁰² As such, it constitutes the earliest post-mortem retrospective on the life of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, predating Phurchokpa's written biography by five years. Regard for the truthfulness of the Dalai Lama's time in exile was so genuine that master painter (*dbu chen*) Tsering Gyu (Tse ring rgyu'u) (1872-1935), who was in the entourage of Dalai Lama during those wandering years in China, Mongolia, and India, was hired specifically to compose scenes from that period.¹⁰³ Even though the mausoleum is closed to visitors at present, published images of the murals reveal a clear juxtaposition between episodes from the period of exile and those from the rest of his life. The scenes from the period of his exile that have been photographically reproduced include the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's arrival in

⁹⁸ Historians have often characterized the circumstances of his exile and his ensuing return to rule as Tibet's first step toward modernization. Kapstein, *The Tibetans*, 172; Tuttle, *Tibetan Buddhists in the Making of Modern China*, 54. Others attribute the so-called modernizations of Tibet with Qing Amban Zhang Yintang 張蔭棠 before the return of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama. See Feng Mingzhu 馮明珠, *Jindai zhongying xizang jiaoshe yu chuanzang bianqing* 近代中英西藏交涉與川藏邊情 [Negotiations between China and Great Britain regarding Tibet and relations on the border of Sichuan and Tibetan] (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1996), 266. After the Thirteenth Dalai Lama returned to Lhasa in 1913, he embarked on the creation of Tibet's own army and infrastructures such as postal system and electricity. He abolished capital punishment and funded public schools for medicine and astrology.

⁹⁹ Phun tshogs tshe brtan, et al. *A Mirror of the Murals in the Potala* (Beijing: Jiuzhou Tushu Chubanshe, 2000), 294; K. Dhondup, *The Water-bird and Other Years*, 99-100.

¹⁰⁰ See Fernand Meyer, "The Potala Palace of the Dalai Lamas in Lhasa." *Orientalism* 18, no. 7 (1987):19

¹⁰¹ Phun tshogs tshe brtan, *A Mirror of the Murals in the Potala*, 194-207.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 294.

¹⁰³ While in the entourage of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama in exile, Tse ring rgyu'u is said to have also studied "the painting techniques of the Chinese and other ethnicities." See Benca Dawa, *Shisanshi dalai lama de jinshi tudeng gongpei*, 69-70.

Beijing, his meetings with the Empress Dowager Cixi and Guangxu emperor, and his performance of prayer offerings in front of the Mahābodhi temple in Bodh Gaya, India (Figure 3.45).¹⁰⁴ The other published sections of the pictorial biography include the prophecy at Lake Lhamo, by which the Thirteenth Dalai Lama was found and chosen (Figure 3.46) and various major holidays and religious events in the Tibetan calendar taking place at the Potala (Figure 3.47), Jokhang (Figure 3.48), Ramoche, and Norbu Lingka (Figure 3.49). While the appearances of gigantic *torma* offerings (butter-barley dough sculptures), operatic performances, mask dances, and parading deities are all familiar spectacles in Tibetan history painting, images of the China-Mongolia-India interlude appear like fantastical intrusions into the timeless web of temples, mountains, and worshipping crowds that dominate the rest of his biographical narrative.

Among the pageantry in Beijing to welcome the arrival of the Dalai Lama were files of dandily clad Manchu soldiers with shiny, state-of-the art artillery. The Dalai Lama himself can be seen inside a caravan of festive four-wheeled automotive vehicles (Figure 3.50). Like the Mahābodhi temple in the Eastern Sunlight Hall discussed earlier, the image of the Mahābodhi temple in the biography strives for a perspectival shape and observes a pale gray stone color, while the surrounding Figures, clouds, rivers, flora and fauna are all saturated with color and motion (Figure 3.45). At the foot of the Mahābodhi temple in Bodh Gaya in front of the diamantine throne (Tib. *rdo rje gdan*, Skt. *Vajrāsana*) on which the Buddha sat until he gained enlightenment, the Dalai Lama is seen performing a prayer-offering. The Dalai Lama and the four senior monks who traveled with him are dressed in royal robes, receiving westerners in polka dot pants and wide-brim hats, bearing white ceremonial scarves and presents. This echoes vividly detailed textual accounts of the Dalai Lama's 1910 pilgrimage to Bodh Gaya, where he is recorded to have conducted an elaborate ritual offerings and recitations.¹⁰⁵ In the scene of the ritual offering, illegible foreign characters adorn equally strange apparitions of buildings in the background. At the same time, we also find depictions of wild animals roaming in wooded areas, which would not have been present except in idealized descriptions of Bodh Gaya passed down from earlier texts, creating a simultaneously idealized and observed environment that serve to authenticate both the pure land that Bodh Gaya is believed to be, and the Dalai Lama's

¹⁰⁴ His pilgrimage to Wutai Shan would presumably have been included, and possibly in several episodes. Until I am permitted to survey the paintings in person, the study of this pictorial biography remains fragmentary.

¹⁰⁵ Phur lcog yongs 'dzin, *Thub bstan rgya mtsho'i rnam thar*, 483-485: "slar yang rta sga ril la gcibs te mal le drug gi lam bgrod nas dpal rdo rje gdan gyi gandho la chen por phebs/ nas de tha mal gyi snang tshul la ni du ru ka'i dmag dbung gis yang yang gtses pas gzi byin nyas pa lta bur mchi mod/ gnas kyi ngo bo'i khyad par chen po rnam ni/ mi ma yin dag gis rdo rje'i brag phug tu sbas pa'i tshul gyis 'khod pas rim gyis sa 'og tu 'byon pa lta bur yod cing/ byang chub chen po'i sku la ni lha dang/ sku dang/ gnod sbyin la sogs pa rnam kyis rtag tu rgya cher mchod la/ bram ze rig sngags grub pa rnam dang/ gnyug mar gnas ba'i dge slong rnam kyis mchod cing/ byang chub kyi shing ni mjal ba po las dag pa rnam kyis ngo mtshar ba'i chos dang dbyibs dang dri sna tshogs su mthong shing tshor ba yin la/ gnas 'dir slabs pa tsam gyis snang ba 'gyur bar nus pa dang/ gnas gzhan du rigs sngags la sogs pa lo grang mang por bzlas pa las/ gnas 'dir phreng skor gcig bzlas pa nus pa myur ba sogs ngo mtshar ba'i khyad par mang po yod pa rnam mngon sum du gzigs pas thugs dang gting nas gyo ba'i dam pa'i kun rtogs shugs drag gis nye bar drang te mchod rten rin po che'i spyan sngar 'bras btsos kyis bzhang pa'i lha bshos mi chen gyi khru tshad longs nges dang/'bras rgyang ki mchod 'bru/ mar mi sogs sna lnga so so nas brgya phrag bcu'i grangs longs ru ngo sbus dag gtsang zhing yid 'ong 'khor sa dog por byed pa 'bul bshams dang/..."; Danzhu angben, *Libei Dalai Lama yu Banchen E'erdeni nianpu*, 392.

international travel and exposure.¹⁰⁶ The Dalai Lama's meetings with the Manchu Guangxu Emperor and Empress Dowager Cixi are depicted separately in several episodes. Each time, the small assembly is enshrined and dwarfed by the imposing and rigid symmetry of the Chinese-looking architecture, in stark contrast with depictions of Tibetan buildings in and around Lhasa, which seems to stretch indefinitely and organically to embrace whatever festivities are taking place (Figure 3.51). In the scene on the left, the Dalai Lama, who is easily recognizable by his dark complexion, is shown presenting the gift of a jeweled wheel of the law to Empress-Dowager Cixi. Turned toward Cixi in a three-quarter view, his Figure is ever so slightly lower than Cixi, but his pointed hat saves the day by rising above the level of Cixi's floral headdress. Their meetings echo famous depictions of the Fifth Dalai Lama's visit with Shunzhi Emperor in the Sizhi Phuntsok (Srid zhi'i phun tshogs) Hall of the Red Palace in the Potala, seen earlier, but share none of their mandala-like spaciousness and sundry gathering of supporting characters (Figure 3.42). However, busy patterns on every surface of the painting from walls and tiles to foliage and clothing allow no space for the eyes of the viewer to rest or to wander, making the Manchu capital appear as confining as it probably had been for the Thirteenth Dalai Lama during his visit.¹⁰⁷

This pictorial disjuncture between biographical representations of the Dalai Lama at home and abroad is essentially a disjuncture between, on the one hand, the stable, traditional, and indispensable elements of the narrative, and on the other, the unpredictable, foreign, and modern. The decision to render foreign sites by technologically modern modes of representation such as photography, and the choice of locating the exiled moments materially in the technological modern (guns and motorcade) stand in stark contrast with an equally absorbing interest in capturing the material reality that defended a more traditional Tibet (sacred images and monuments, butter-dough offerings, colorful ritual masks, etc.). The entire pictorial biography culminated in the final image of the Dalai Lama as Avalokiteśvara, in a seamless transition between his political identity and duties, as pictured on the peripheries of the main icon by his various activities around the court in Beijing and Mongolia, and in the center, as the divine, all-knowing, thousand-armed and thousand-eyed deity (Figure 3.52). Here again we have a merging not only of two identities, but of two modes of representation, one absorbed in the details of the exterior vision, and the other, in the inner, but no less public vision of divine emanation, coming together to provide a full rendering of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's life.

Use of Biographical Sources

¹⁰⁶ Description of the idealized pure land of Bodh Gaya in the hagiography of the twelfth century Tibetan translator Rwa lo tsā ba: "As for the Vajrasana, precise site of the Buddha's profound awakening, the place where one thousand and two Buddhas will appear and the site which is indestructible even at the end of the cosmic cycle...such things at the soil and pebbles in this place are without defect. Everywhere in the expanse of forests with various types of fruits, there grow different species of medicinal herbs. In all directions flow excellent streams, and there are fine meadowlands with saffron amongst the blooming flowers. Various game animals and bird species sport as they move cautiously about...." Translated and cited by Toni Huber in *The Holy Land Reborn*, 64. Original text in Rwa Ye shes Seng ge (12th C.), *Mthu stobs dbang phyug rje btsun rwa lo tsā ba'i rnam par thar pa kun khhyab snyan pa'i rnga sgral* [biography of Rwa lo tsā ba] (Lhasa: 1905), 33b 1-4.

¹⁰⁷ See Phun tshogs tshe brtan, *A Mirror of the Murals in the Potala*, 209.

The seamless weaving of the Dalai Lama's secular and religious identities by his chief disciples and officials in their textual and pictorial narratives explored above must be understood as both "descriptive" and "prescriptive" of the Dalai Lama's life.¹⁰⁸ It is with this double relation with their subject that these sources must be read and understood. In other words, the narratives not only reveal how the Dalai Lama's immediate successors saw and remembered his life, they also reflect the roles he was expected to fulfill and identities he was required to assume by his people as the thirteenth incarnation of the Dalai Lama. While these sources cannot project the Dalai Lama's own voice, they serve as the framework within and guidelines by which the Dalai Lama was to fulfill expectations of his life and deeds, much like musical scores or dramatic scripts to be played by their performers. Therefore, even though they reveal views or intentions of their writers, rather than those of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, for students of history, they are coordinates for mapping out the intersecting dimensions of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's life. In particular, the retrospective weight upon the Dalai Lama's sacred peregrinations/political exiles in his biographies reveals a correspondence between earthly geography and sacred cosmography that is fundamental to the worldviews of his contemporaries, and within the genre of Tibetan biographical writing and painting at large.¹⁰⁹ As such, they shed light on why Bodh Gaya and Wutai Shan were incorporated into cosmographical programs of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's palaces in a ways that display his personal connection with them.

Mapping a More Perfect World

The Dalai Lama's exposure to a vastly different world in his travels, as well as his recognition and incorporation of the photographic vision, prepared the way for the collage-like murals at audience hall in the Potala, in which empirical representations are inserted into and juxtaposed with a visionary system of representation. As acts of collecting, remembering, re-imagining, and self-fashioning, the mural projects reflect the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's awareness of the spatial and temporal disjunctions in his life. At a time when the Dalai Lama continuously sought help from, and at the same time guarded himself against, his potential allies or enemies in all directions, China and Japan to the East, Russia to the north, British India to the west, Gurkhas (Nepal) to the south, it is no wonder that he mapped the ideas of directional pure abodes to reiterate his own historical legitimacy over a vast stretch of territories that were both vulnerable to imperialist contests, and inherently numinous. Mapping the distant and the divine onto the tangible experiences of here and now can be seen as a project through which the Dalai

¹⁰⁸ Writing on the subject of Louis XIV and his historical memory on royal medals, Louis Moran argued that that biographical narratives are the subject. In his own words, "The historical narrative represents the royal act and in so doing reflects in it the constitution of the subject." See Louis Moran, "The Inscription of the King's Memory: On the Metallic History of Louis XIV," *Yale French Studies* 59 (1980), 17-36.

¹⁰⁹ Eva Dargyay argues that Tibetan biographical writings "transfigure the mundane into the celestial realm even at the cost of neglecting history." See Eva Dargyay, "Srong-Btsan Sgam-Po of Tibet: Bodhisattva and King", in *Monks and Magicians: Religious Biographies in Asia*, ed. Phyllis Granoff und Koichi Shinohara (New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1994), 99-113.

Lama asserted his spiritual sovereignty, temporal omniscience, and ultimately his expanding worldview.¹¹⁰

Artistic Patronage of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama

An exploration of the correlation between the Dalai Lama's worldly wanderings and cosmographical productions must return to a basic question: to what extent was the Thirteenth Dalai Lama involved in the making of these images? While canonical historical sources reference his close supervision of the palace restorations, more vivid portrayals of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's role as a patron of the arts have emerged from personal memoirs of artists and artisans who worked directly under the. In his oral memoir from the mid-1990s, Gyeten Namgyal (1912-1995?), who served as the Thirteenth and later the Fourteenth Dalai Lamas' personal tailor and the head master of the tailoring and embroidery guild (Tib. *Namsa Chenmo*), characterized the Thirteenth Dalai Lama as a zealous patron of religious art.¹¹¹ His memoir detailed the Dalai Lama's keen interest in and concern for the perfection of his commissioned robes and appliqué thangkas. According to Gyeten Namgyal, it was under the Thirteenth Dalai Lama that the art of appliqué thangkas, as well as all other devotional art forms (embroidery, painting, carpentry, and metalwork) flourished again, due to an unending stream of orders that he placed.¹¹² This aspect of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, while present in chronicles of his life through listings of his frequent refurbishing and decorating activities, seemed to have been overshadowed by descriptions of the political turmoil of his day in official, personal, and religious accounts of his life. The portrait of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama as an enthusiastic patron of the visual arts can finally be reconciled with his many other portraits as an astute, ambitious, and oftentimes troubled political and religious leader. The cosmological painting program commissioned by the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, seen in light of the profoundly transformative period of the early 1900s, reveals an epistemological shift in the Tibetan artistic production; it shows that a cosmography that would merge empirical and visionary ways of seeing and affirming reality potentially grew out of a difficult encounter with modernity.

¹¹⁰ On the Dalai Lama's keen interest in "worldly affairs," Bell writes "He thought...he should do what he could to increase his knowledge. Thus he used every effort to learn not only about China or Japan, but also about the chief European countries in America. I used to give him maps of the different continents in the world, with places of chief importance written in Tibetan...He had not, during his youth, been taught the history or geography of other countries, but only of Tibet; but later in his life, after visiting China and India, he learned these subjects by personal observations, travels and enquiries. He was especially interested in the Great Powers, and learned all he could about the kings and different nations of the world..." Charles Bell, *Portrait*, 136.

¹¹¹ Gyeten Namgyal, as told to Kim Yeshe, "A Tailor's Tale," *Chö Yang: The Voice of Tibetan Religion & Culture* 6 (1994): 28-63

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 32.

CHAPTER IV

Epilogue: Khenpo Jikmé Püntsook (1933-2004) and the Late Twentieth Century Revival of Tibetan Buddhism at Wutai Shan

For much of the twentieth century following the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's 1908 visit, the once-thriving monastic establishments of Qing-dynasty Wutai Shan suffered waves of disruption and destruction.¹ The majority of monks and nuns fled for safety during the Sino-Japanese War and the Japanese occupation from 1938 to 1945, and those who returned were dispelled from Wutai Shan and sent-down for reeducation during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), leaving temples in abandoned and devastated conditions.² Out of this desolation emerged a regeneration of Buddhist practice in the 1980s, when political and economic reforms allowed for a level of religious tolerance and created an influx of wealth to Wutai Shan. Amidst the various rebuilding projects since the 1980s is an extraordinary revival of Tibetan Buddhist pilgrimage and practice that resonates deeply with the history of visionary remappings this dissertation has sought to uncover.

The most influential journey to Wutai Shan from Tibet in this period is no doubt the one taken by Khenpo Jikmé Püntsook Rinpoche ('Jigs med phun tshogs, 1933-2004), the charismatic reincarnate teacher from Eastern Tibet who founded the Larung Gar (Bla rung sgar) Buddhist academy (Figure 4.1).³ His lives-long connection to Mañjuśrī culminated in his 1987 arrival at

¹ Despite the chaos that ensued, the legacy of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's visit continued with his envoy Lozang Pasang (Blo bzang dpal sangs, Ch. Luosang Basang 羅桑巴桑, 1882-1955), a senior Mongolian Khenpo who received his Lharampa degree from Drepung Monastery in the presence of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama. After the Thirteenth Dalai Lama sent him to Beijing in 1919, the new Republican government appointed Lozang Pasang as the position of Jasagh lama at Wutai Shan. He stayed there until the Japanese occupation in 1938, and was able to return again in 1953 before he passed away in Beijing. His many students include the eminent Nenghai Lama (1886-1967), who attracted a large following of Han-Chinese disciples at Wutai Shan during the early Republican period. See Gray Tuttle, "Tibetan Buddhism at Ri bo rtse Inga/Wutai Shan in Modern Times" *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies* 2 (August 2006): 1-35.

² Official census records show that in the Wutai region in 1939, there were 110 monasteries and 2,200 monastics, more than 800 of whom were Tibetan Buddhist lamas (ethnic Tibetan, Mongolian, Manchu, and Han). In 1983 after the Cultural Revolution, 62 temples remained intact, and 150 some monastics were back to living in the mountain range. In 1986, some 200 monastics were "sent back" to Wutai Shan. On the official record, there were 186 monastics, 166 of whom were in the central Taihuai village. Among them were 15 nuns, 36 lamas, and as many as 200 lay practitioners temporarily residing at the various temples. See Wutai xian bian cuan weiyuan hui 五台縣編纂委員會 ed., *Wutai xian zhi* 五台縣志 [Gazetteer of Wutai county] (Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 1988), 580-581. Twentieth century local records and memoirs often focus on the monastic resistance against Japanese forces. See Li Longhai 李隆海 et. al. ed., "Wutai shan heshang de kangri aiguo shiji 五臺山和尚的抗日愛國事跡," *Shanxi wenshi ziliao* 6 (1985), 99-109; Xie Yinhu 謝音呼, "Wutai Shan sengzhong kangri douzheng shilue 五臺山僧眾抗日鬥爭史略," *Shanxi lishi wenhua congshu* vol.7 (Taiyuan: Shanxi remin chubanshe, 2002), 15-30.

³ This number is corroborated by many disciples of Khenpo Jikpün who followed him to Wutai Shan. The full name of his academy is Larung Nangten Lobling (bla rung nang bstan slob gling, Larung Five Sciences Academy). It is situated about ten kilometers away from the Serta (Gser rta) township in Kardzé (Dkar mdzes, Ch. Ganzi) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture in Sichuan.

Wutai shan with more than a thousand of his disciples from Golok Serta ('Go log gser thar).⁴ A recent photograph of the Larung Gar Academy shows the extraordinary development of an enormous monastic university in a matter of a few years following Khenpo Jikpün's pilgrimage to Wutai shan. (Figure 4.2). While at Wutai Shan, Khenpo Jikpün gave mass teachings, empowerments, and transmissions of texts, conducted numerous ritual offerings, and engaged in intensive retreats as well as the revelation and concealment of treasures (Tib. *gter ma*), all of which were accompanied by intense visionary experiences and miraculous occurrences witnessed by the entire audience.⁵ He returned to Larung Gar in the fall of the same year with a handful of Han-Chinese followers, the initial members of Khenpo's Chinese-language discipleship that numbered beyond one thousand by 2001, and consecrated a "Riwo Tsenga" (Ri bo rtse lnga) in the hills behind the Larung Gar academy.⁶ Prior to his visit, Khenpo Jikpün held strong aspirations to go to Wutai Shan and was said to have cultivated various ways of recalling the mountain range and connecting with Mañjuśrī.⁷ These techniques of seeing Wutai Shan that he had inherited and revived come from a sophisticated tradition of visionary activities that transcended the mundane, physical encounter with a sacred landscape.

Accounts of Khenpo Jikpün's journey unleashed a flood of memories of Wutai Shan's vibrant visionary landscape that have left little trace in its physically hollowed temple grounds at the time of Khenpo Jikpün's arrival. That is, narratives of previous visions and numinous traces at Wutai Shan kept in the vast storehouse of historical texts and images, a portion of which I have explored in this dissertation, again circulated among this unprecedentedly large group of pilgrims. For Khenpo Jikpün and his disciples, the mountain range remained crowded with the presence and sacred empowerment of divine teachers through the ages, even as cautious local

⁴ Khenpo Jikpün is considered to be an incarnation of Mañjuśrī as well as his various emanations in history. This is said to have been attained through the cultivation of many life times. See Suodaji kanbu 索达吉堪布 (Khenpo Sodargye), *Jinmei Pengcuo fawang zhuan* 晋美彭措法王傳 [Biography of Jikmé Püntso] (Taipei: Zhonghua mingguo ningmaba larung sancheng falin foxuehui 中華民國寧瑪巴喇榮三乘法林佛學會, 2001), 1.

⁵ He revealed treasures both in the forms of physical objects ('earth treasures,' or *sa gter*) and as spontaneous recitation of texts ('mind treasures,' or *dgongs gter*), which are affiliated with 'pure visions,' or *dag snang*. For an explanation of the categories of treasures, see Tulku Thondup, *Hidden teachings of Tibet: An Explanation of the Terma tradition of Tibetan Buddhism* (London: Wisdom Publications, 1986); Janet Gyatso, *Apparitions of the Self: The Secret Autobiographies of a Tibetan Visionary* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 147. For the relationship of the revealed texts to the Tibetan textual canon, see David Germano, "History and Nature of the Collected Tantras of the Ancients," *Last Modified March, 2002*, <http://www.thlib.org/encyclopedias/literary/wiki/history%20of%20ngb.html>. For more on the tradition of treasure revelation, see Michael Aris, *Hidden Treasures and Secret Lives: A Study of Pemalingpa (1450-1521) and the Sixth Dalai Lama (1683-1706)* (London and New York: Kegan Paul International, 1989); Andreas Doctor, *Tibetan Treasure Literature: Revelation, Tradition, and Accomplishment in Visionary Buddhism*. (Ithaca: Snow Lion Publications, 2005).

⁶ The number of Han-Chinese disciples is recorded in Tibetan Center for Human Rights and Democracy, *Destruction of Serthar Institute: A special report* (Washington, D.C., 2002). http://www.tchrd.org/publications/topical_reports/destruction_of_serthar-2002/#division (accessed March 21, 2011).

⁷ Suodaji kanbu, *Jinmei Pengcuo fawang zhuan*, 63.

authorities in post-Cultural Revolution China tried to curtail the size and scope of the assembly.⁸ Descriptions of Khenpo Jikpün's strong identification with Mañjuśrī of Wutai Shan, as well as his extraordinary activities at the mountain range, allow us to witness a near-contemporary example of the process of reinventing Wutai Shan through words and images. While the preceding chapters focused on case studies of Tibetan Buddhist pilgrimages to Wutai Shan, visionary encounters at the mountain range, and the creation of surrogate Wutai Shans from the eighteenth century to the early twentieth century, in this epilogue I explore their contemporary reverberations. The way in which Khenpo Jikpün's 1987 visit was remembered by his disciples echoed stories of countless eminent visitors from Tibet who graced Wutai Shan with their physical or emanational presence in prior centuries. But in approaching the narratives of Khenpo Jikpün's journey, we are aided by vivid recollections from those who were present. Weaving together oral and written accounts of Khenpo Jikpün's journey to Wutai Shan by his close relatives and chief disciples, I suggest the concept of collective memory as a medium for understanding the intertextual process of reinventing sacred sites in Tibetan Buddhism, and show the ways in which it has renewed Wutai Shan's distinctive position as the locus of contact and exchange between Tibetan and Han-Chinese people in contemporary China. My sources include interviews with by Khenpo Jikpün's chief disciples Tsultrim Lodrö (Tshul khriims blo gros), Sonam Dargye (Bsod nams dar rgyas, a.k.a. Sodargye), Tenzin Gyatso (Bstan 'dzin rgya mtsho), and Khenpo Jikpün's nephews Passang and Lama Tsewang in Dharamsala. I also draw extent Chinese and Tibetan language biographies of Khenpo Jikpün written by Tsultrim Lodrö, Sonam Dargye, and Tenzin Gyatso.⁹ By studying these accounts alongside pictorial and textual representations of Wutai Shan seen in the earlier chapters, we witness the means by which a sacred topography is re-enlivened through the evocations and interpretations of its past.

A Visionary Revival

The significant impact of Khenpo Jikpün's charismatic leadership and his establishment of a Buddhist academy in post-Cultural Revolution Tibet were first brought to the attention of

⁸ Personal communication with Khenpo Sodargye. June 29, 2009, and with Ani Lodrö Palmo, March 10, 2011. Many locals still recall this incident.

⁹ See Tsultrim Lodrö (Tshul khriims blo gros), Sonam Dargye (Bsod nams dar rgyas), and Tenzin Gyatso (Bstan 'dzin rgya mtsho), *Snyigs dus bstan pa'i gsal byed gcig pu chos rje dam pa yid bzhin nor bu 'jigs med phun tshogs 'byung gnas dpal bzang po 'rnam thar bsod pa dad pa'i gsol sman* [The abridged biography of Khenpo Jikmé Püntso] in his collected writings (gsung 'bum) entitled *Chos rje dam pa yid bzhin nor bu 'jig med phun tshogs 'byung gnas dpal bzang po 'i gsung 'bum* (Hong Kong: Xianggang xinzi chubanshe, 2002): Vol.3, 364-418; Suodaji kanbu (Khenpo Sodargye), *Jinmei Pengcuo fawang zhuan*. Whenever relevant, I have also incorporated details included in other online Chinese versions purportedly by Khenpo Jikpün's other chief disciple Yéshé Püntso (Ye shes phun tshogs) and consulted with Germano's description of the events based from a version of the Tibetan biography. See David Germano, "Re-membering the dismembered body of Tibet: The contemporary Ter movement in the PRC," in *Buddhism in Contemporary Tibet: Religious Revival and Cultural Identity*, ed. Melvyn Goldstein and Matthew Kapstein (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 53-94. Germano's description came from a biography published locally in the late 1980s at Larung. See Germano, "Re-membering the dismembered body of Tibet," 166, note 13.

western scholars by David Germano.¹⁰ Based on written and oral materials he collected at Larung Gar in the 1990s, Germano's 1998 article titled "Re-membering the Dismembered Body of Tibet" traces Khenpo Jikpün's revival of Buddhist visionary, monastic, and scholastic culture in the wake of the catastrophic destruction of Tibet before and during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976).¹¹ As Germano shows, Khenpo Jikpün's leadership in this Tibetan visionary movement is a case in point of an extraordinarily innovative and successful regeneration of Tibetan Buddhism and Tibetan Buddhist identity in the modern world. Germano writes,

He [Khenpo Jikpün] has constellated Tibet's fragmented cultural energy around him, reinvested it in the Tibetan physical and imaginal landscape, directly relinked the contemporary situation with Tibet's past, and thus in a major way reconstituted Tibetan identity within the realities of life in the contemporary People's Republic of China, thus reinvigorating Tibetan pride, self-confidence, and sense of purpose [...] the reconfiguration and reanimation of the body of Tibetan sacred geography through rituals, dreams, miraculous events, and actual physical discoveries linked to that web of reincarnations; rebuilding the intellectual and material substructure of Tibetan intellectual culture within that landscape by founding temples, stupas, monasteries, and retreat centers; and, above all else, his assumption of the mantle of the Terton, the treasure finder who is able to establish a visceral link to Tibet's glorious past and to bring discrete products of that link into the present. In these ways, Khenpo has helped to reverse the centrifugal flow of Tibetan identity into contemporary Chinese urban culture, refugee centers in South Asia, depression, nostalgia, or even the far-off alien dream of the West, and instead revitalize a profoundly Tibetan sense of identity within a uniquely Tibetan landscape.¹²

Khenpo Jikpün's 1987 pilgrimage to Wutai Shan fits perfectly into this larger project of recentering Tibet's fragmented modern religious identity and cultural geography. For Germano, Khenpo's trip to Wutai Shan not only created a common ground for Chinese and Tibetans, but his concealment and revelation of treasures may be seen as an inversion of the recent mass Chinese migrations into Tibetan areas, thereby reinstating a Tibetan presence in northern

¹⁰ David Germano, "Re-membering the dismembered body of Tibet," 53-94. More recently, Antonio Terrone has also written about the revival of the visionary tradition in Kham. See Antonio Terrone, "Tibetan Buddhism beyond the Monastery: Revelation and Identity in rNying ma Communities of Present-day Kham" in *Images of Tibet in the 19th and 20th Centuries*. Etudes thématiques 22, Vol.2 (Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 2008), 747-779; "Visions, Arcan Claims, and Treasures: Charisma and Authority in a Present-day Treasure Finder," in *Tibet, Self, and the Tibetan Diaspora: Voices of Difference*, ed. Christiaan Klieger (Proceedings of the Ninth Seminar of the IATS, Leiden: Brill, 2002), 213-228.

¹¹ Since Germano's article, more writings about Khenpo Jikpün's life have been published outside of the People's Republic of China by his chief disciples in Tibetan and Chinese languages. His biography *Snyigs dus bstan pa'i gsal byed gcig pu chos rje dam pa yid bzhin nor bu 'jigs med phun tshogs 'byung gnas dpal bzang po'i rnam thar bsdu pa dad pa'i gsos sman* (hereafter abbreviated as '*Jigs med phun tshogs 'byung gnas dpal bzang po'i rnam thar*') printed in Hong Kong, as well as a similar biography written by Khenpo Sonam Dargye in Chinese, printed under the supervision of Thubten Norbu (Thub stan nor bu) in Taiwan (see note 4), were both published before Khenpo Jikpün passed away in 2004.

¹² David Germano, "Re-membering the dismembered body of Tibet," 57-8.

China.¹³ However, the motivations behind Khenpo Jikpün's visit to Wutai Shan may go far beyond the elaboration of a distinctly Tibetan identity. In fact, Khenpo Jikpün himself stated clearly to his disciples that he wished to go to Wutai Shan to pay respect to his teacher Mañjuśrī (and in doing so receive his empowerment) and to benefit sentient beings in Han China, "allowing them to enter the Mahayana path via the Four Methods (Tib. *bsdu ba'i dngos po bzhi*, ch. *Sishe* 四攝)."¹⁴ In the context of this dissertation, Khenpo Jikpün's stated intention rehearses a familiar and important rhetoric of religious pilgrimage and propagation attributed to eminent Buddhist teachers who have traveled to China in the past, especially during periods of chaos, suffering, and the decline of the dharma.¹⁵ But to those whom Khenpo Jikpün expressed his aspirations at the time in the 1980s, the idea seemed most novel if not inconceivable. Not only because the language barrier would make his stated goal very difficult, but it was also during a period of intense conflicts between Chinese and Tibetan groups and in the wake of a decades-long religious persecution by the Chinese Communist government.¹⁶

Even though Khenpo Jikpün had expressed his wish to visit Wutai Shan from a very young age, many of the elder khenpos at Larung cautioned against going, fearing that they will never return from "the Rākṣasa Land" of Han China.¹⁷ Wutai Shan remained an unimaginable destination even after several miraculous events unfolded. In the first, Mañjuśrī appeared and instructed Khenpo Jikpün to go to Wutai Shan during an empowerment of the *Magical Net of Mañjusri* ('*Jam dpal sgyu 'phrul draw ba*) tantric cycle he gave to more than one thousand disciples in 1986.¹⁸ After levitating three feet above the ground, Khenpo returned to his seat and

¹³ Ibid., 86.

¹⁴ Namely, charitable offerings, loving words, beneficial conduct, and working together. Personal communication with Khenpo Jikpün's nephew and attendant Passang, Khenpo Tsultrim Lodrö and Khenpo Sodargye, December 20, 2008, June 28-29, 2009. See also transcript of teachings of Khenpo Sodargye at <http://www.buddhanet.idv.tw/aspboard/dispbbs.asp?boardID=2&ID=15000&page=20> (accessed April 27, 2011).

¹⁵ Both the legends of Kashmiri monk Buddhapāli (Ch. Fotuo poli 佛陀波利), who visited Wutai Shan in 676 and 683, and South Indian siddha Padampa Sangye (d. 1117), between 1086-1097, indicate they have come to Wutai Shan to dispel calamities during times of political upheaval and natural disasters. See *Guang Qingliang Zhuan* 廣清涼傳, T. 2099: 51, 1111a19-b23; George Roerich and Gedun Choepel trans., *The Blue Annals* by Gö Lotsawa (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1976, Reprint in 1979) p. 867-878. The biography of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama states the same reason for his visit to Wutai Shan in 1908, a time of turmoil for Tibet and at the collapse of the Qing dynasty. Similar claims about the spread of the teachings and the discovery of treasures were made in his biography. See Phur lcog yongs 'dzin sprul sku thub bstan byams pa tshul khriims bstan 'dzin, *Thub bstan rgya mtsho'i rnam thar* [biography of thub btan rgya mtsho], Vol. 5 of *Phags pa 'jig rten dbang phyug gi rnam sprul rim byon gyi 'khrungs rabs deb ther nor bu'i 'phreng ba* (Dharamsala, Sku sger yig tshang, 1977), 283-287. For a summary translation, see Glenn Mullin, *Path of the Bodhisattva warrior: The Life and Teachings of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama* (Ithaca: Snow Lion Publications, 1987), 67.

¹⁶ Personal communication with Khenpo Tsultrim Lodrö, June 28, 2009.

¹⁷ See <http://www.buddhanet.idv.tw/aspboard/dispbbs.asp?boardID=2&ID=15000&page=20> (accessed April 27, 2011).

¹⁸ Germano noted this miraculous occurrence from Khenpo Jikpün's biography: "While he was giving an empowerment of the *Magical Net of Mañjusri* tantric cycle to more than one thousand disciples, after he invited the deity so that its inspiration descends and dissolves into the disciple's visualization of the deity (the "commitment being"), the empowerment deity descended in an inner visionary manifestation to Khenpo and gave him a prophecy:

informed his disciples that Mañjuśrī and Vimalamitra, the ninth-century Indian scholar of the Great Perfection (Rdzogs chen), personally came from Wutai Shan to extend an invitation to them, and prophesized the arrival of many Han-Chinese disciples at the Larung Academy.¹⁹ In order to generate the right conditions for such a visit, Khenpo encouraged all monasteries to perform thousands of ritual evocations of Mañjusri.²⁰

During the same year, Khenpo Jikpün went on a pilgrimage to the sacred mountain of Sotok (Bso thog, Ch. Suotuo 索托) located north of the city of Kardzé (Dkar mdzes) (Figure 4.3). Upon entering the cave of the protector deity Yamāntaka (Tib. *gshin rje gshed*), Khenpo sensed the strong power of sacred blessings (tib. *byin brlab*), and instructed his disciples that he would remain in the cave alone and propitiate Yamāntaka with smoke offerings in order to accumulate the merit to arrive at Wutai Shan the following year.²¹ After the ritual offering concluded, Khenpo Jikpün emerged from the cave to circumambulate the mountain, when a Tibetan monk in yellow robes appeared and offered Khenpo Jikpün a Tibetan-style (*dpe cha*) guidebook to Wutai Shan in anticipation of their visit there. The monk disappeared soon after, as did the guidebook after they reached Wutai Shan a year later, but many in the entourage still remember seeing the thirty-some leaves of this book.²² Khenpo Sodargye (Bsod nams dar rgyas) specifically recalls yellow-trimmed leaves that had been yellowed with age, and Chinese-language paginations on

‘Since there will be a great benefit to the teachings and living beings if you go to the Five Peak Mountains, you should go there.’ At that time an external sign of this vision was witnessed by everyone present: Khenpo was perceived to levitate three feet above the ground and hovered there for a short time...” From David Germano, “Re-membering the dismembered body of Tibet,” 84.

¹⁹ *Jigs med phun tshogs 'byung gnas dpal bzang po'i rnam thar*, 404; Suodaji kanbu, *Jinmei Pengcuo fawang zhuan*, 59-60.

²⁰ According to Germano, this involves recitation of Mañjusri’s mantra and visualization of his form. See David Germano, “Re-membering the dismembered body of Tibet,” 84-85.

²¹ *Jigs med phun tshogs 'byung gnas dpal bzang po'i rnam thar*, 397-398; Suodaji kanbu, *Jinmei Pengcuo fawang zhuan*, 60; in his seminal work *The Cult of Pure Crystal Mountain: Popular Pilgrimage and Visionary Landscape in Southeast Tibet* (Oxford, 1999), Toni Huber posits the ability to receive sacred empowerment (Tib. *byin kyis brlab*) from holy place (Tib. *gnas*) at the center of Tibetan Buddhist pilgrimage. According to specific logic of efficacy, a site becomes sacred by the residence of the highest class of deity. By association, everything at the site becomes saturated with positive power or energy, a sort that has a “transformative power of transcendent origins with generative, revitalizing, purifying, or preservative aspects.” See Toni Huber, *The Cult of Pure Crystal Mountain: Popular Pilgrimage and Visionary Landscape in Southeast Tibet* (London: Oxford University Press, 1999), 14-15.

²² Personal Communication with Khenpo Sodargye, June 29, 2009.

the margins of a Tibetan language-text.²³ Having received the text, Khenpo Jikpün recognized that the guidebook was an earth treasure (*sa gter*) revealed to him by the protector Yamāntaka.²⁴

Pilgrimage to Wutai Shan

Khenpo Jikpün and his disciples arrived at Wutai Shan in the spring of 1987 after a brief stay in Beijing and a meeting with the Tenth Panchen Lama Chökyi Gyaltsen (Chos kyi rgyal mtshan, 1938-1989).²⁵ His academy had gotten permission from the local authorities to bring two thousand people to Wutai Shan, but instead some three thousand showed up. According to numerous accounts, including that of Khenpo himself, the gathering of Tibetan, Mongolian, and Han Chinese grew up to almost ten thousand people, many of whom had come in truckloads from Tibet.²⁶ This number seems extraordinary, if not improbable, when we take into consideration the fact that there were only less than eight hundred registered and non-registered monastics living in the Wutai mountain range in 1986.²⁷ However large the gathering may have been, local authorities appealed to the Beijing bureau of religion, dispersed the gathering, and sent away two thousand of the three thousand monks at Wutai Shan from the Larung Gar Academy alone.²⁸ Equally numerous accounts of the swift dispersal of this gathering do lend some credibility to the sighting of a very large crowd.²⁹

Before the gathering was dispersed, a primarily Chinese and Mongolian audience received teachings from Khenpo Jikpün on *Three Principal Aspects of the Path* (*Lam gtso rnam gsum*), *Summarized Meaning of the Path* (*Lam rim sdus don*), and *Thirty-Seven Practices of a Bodhisattva* (*Rgyal sras lag len*), and the entire assembly of Tibetans, most of whom arrived from Eastern Tibet, together with Chinese and Mongolians, gathered in front of the Great White

²³ Ibid. Chinese paginations were seen on most Tibetan texts produced by the Qing court. For example, Zhangjia Rölpe Dorjé's guidebook to Wutai Shan printed at Songzhu si 嵩祝寺, the monastery that housed the Imperial Buddhist printing house in Beijing, has this feature. But Khenpo Sodargye did not think that the guidebook that appeared was the version by Rölpe Dorjé. A copy of Rölpe Dorjé's guidebook, *Zhing mchog ri bo dwangs bsil gyi gnas bshad dad pa'i padmo rgyas byed ngo mtshar nyi ma'i snang ba* [Pilgrimage Guide to the Clear and Cool Mountains: A Vision of Marvelous Sun Rays That Causes Lotuses of Devotion to Blossom] (90 ff.) is kept at the library of the Minorities Cultural Palace, Beijing (Text no. 001798).

²⁴ 'Jigs med phun tshogs 'byung gnas dpal bzang po'i rnam thar 397-398; Suodaji kanbu, *Jinmei Pengcuo fawang zhuan*, 60. Since the ritual was carried out with an eleven-year old girl, rather than a twelve-year old as was required for inviting the deity and "unlocking of the treasure," several pages of the guidebook were missing. The Tibetan text describes the young girl as a "Gter tshab 'jog mkhan."

²⁵ He departed for Wutai Shan on the sixth day of the fourth lunar month in Tibetan calendar. 'Jigs med phun tshogs 'byung gnas dpal bzang po'i rnam thar 404; Suodaji kanbu, *Jinmei Pengcuo fawang zhuan*, 61

²⁶ Khenpo references this in his *Song of Aspiration upon Seeing Mañjuśrī*.

²⁷ Personal communication with Raoul Birnbaum, who was at Wutai Shan in 1986.

²⁸ Personal communication with Ani Lodrö Palmo, March 10, 2011.

²⁹ Personal Communication with Khenpo Sodargye, June 29, 2009.

Stupa [Dabai ta 大白塔], where Khenpo conducted the *Prayer of Samantabhadra's Conduct* (*Bzang spyod smon lam*), and recited the prayer nearly thirty million times (Figure 4.4).³⁰ He expressed the aspiration for all of his disciples to be reborn in the pure land (Sukhāvātī), vowed to flourish Nyingma Buddhist teachings, and widely prayed for the welfare of sentient beings. During this gathering, a magnificent image of Mañjuśrī is said to have appeared in the sky, accompanied by many auspicious images of mantras, colored haloes, and rainbow rays.³¹

Most in the assembly were content to be forced by local officials to leave Wutai Shan after this extraordinary prayer gathering. But Khenpo Jikpün and his entourage stayed. At the Jamyang Gonpa (Shuxiang si 殊像寺) they offered sculptural images of Padmasambhava (8th century), Atiśa (982-1054), and Tsongkhapa (1357 – 1419).³² They inserted consecration relics into the body of the statues and offered the finest clothes and ornaments to the statues.³³ Similarly, they offered many images of Padmasambhava, Vimalamitra, King Gesar of Ling, Jigme Lingpa ('Jigs-med gling-pa, 1729-1798), and Rigdzin Godem (Rig 'dzin rgod ldem, 1337-1408) at Pusa ding and many other monasteries.³⁴ These acts of image-making were understood to further Khenpo Jikpün's connection with Mañjuśrī, as did images of Khenpo Jikpün himself offered by his disciples at various temples at Wutai Shan. These images' ubiquitous presence in the mountain range since his visit had also become a way of reasserting Tibetan emanations of Mañjusri, and in particular those in the lineage of the Great Perfection tradition of meditation. Even though most of the halls and temples at Wutai Shan are no longer maintained by Tibetan and Mongolian Buddhists and sculpted images from the Qing period and before are no longer present, these images offered by Khenpo Jikpün throughout the Wutai mountain range have formed a new corpus of Tibetan Buddhist holy objects that continue to receive veneration from pilgrims. Of the eminent kings and early masters whose images were offered, most include in their long travel credentials for visits to Wutai Shan. As mobility is considered highly important for early masters of the Nyingma tradition, their arrival in Wutai Shan attest to the feats of their meditative attainment. Some, like Vimalamitra, are believed to dwell there still in their rainbow

³⁰ Khenpo had asked his disciples Sodargye and Tsultrim Lodrö to translate *Lam Rim sdus don* and *Rgyal sras lag len* the texts into Chinese prior to their arrival, for while they are familiar to every Tibetan, they are not yet well known amongst Chinese Buddhists. <http://www.dymf.cn/Article/xmbd/zang/ningma/2009-03-18/1835.html> (accessed March 10, 2011).

³¹ Suodaji kanbu, *Jinmei Pengcuo fawang zhuan*, 61.

³² Though coming from a Nyingma tradition, Khenpo Jikpün's ecumenical orientation is reflected in his teachings of texts from different schools, and his visions of the three great emanations of Mañjuśrī, Sakya Paṇḍita (1182-1251), Vimalamitra, and Tsongkhapa (1357-1419). See David Germano, Re-membering the dismembered body of Tibet," 171; Suodaji kanbu, *Jinmei Pengcuo fawang zhuan*, 49.

³³ The Chinese biography describes the building of two halls for Mañjuśrī and Tsongkhapa, though it is not clearly where they were located. See Suodaji kanbu, *Jinmei Pengcuo fawang zhuan*, 61

³⁴ Regarding pilgrimage sites in Inner Mongolia symbolically related to Wutai Shan that were founded on the legend of Padmasambhava, see Isabelle Charleux, "Padmasambhava's Travel to the North: The Pilgrimage to the Monastery of the Caves and the Old Schools of Tibetan Buddhism in Mongolia," *Central Asiatic Journal* 46-2 (2002): 168-232.

bodies (*ja lus*), a state of pure light.³⁵ Accounts of their travel to Wutai Shan remain in a visionary discourse within the Nyingma tradition that follows a different system of authentication and a different spatial-temporal matrix than do historical sources. Consequently, they rarely make their way into local history, not to mention canonical gazetteers and records. Instead, the renewed presence of their sculpted images at Wutai Shan mark the existence of these luminaries via a more visual and material avenue than historical texts and oral traditions for remembering the site's Tibetan Buddhist past.

Places of Encounter

In the same way that the offerings of sacred images reaffirm Wutai Shan's hidden or unfamiliar past, descriptions of Khenpo Jikpün's visions by his disciples also invest the locations of encounters with renewed history and meaning. Since arriving in Wutai Shan, Khenpo had been residing at Pusa ding, the historic center that housed Qing emperors and the highest level of Buddhist clerics. Then, one day after a mass teaching, he suddenly moved to the Cave of Sudhana (Tib. Nor bzang phug, Ch. Shancai dong 善财洞), a small meditation cave with a modest structure built over its entrance, located mid-way up the steep hill of the Dailuo ding 黛螺顶 (The Conch-Shell Peak). Considered one of the holiest places by many Tibetan Buddhists, the provenance of the Cave of Sudhana appears to be entirely Tibetan (Figures 4.5 and 4.6). This cave received neither imperial attention nor mention of any kind in premodern Chinese language gazetteers or travel writings. We nonetheless learn from Thuken that this was where Zhangjia Rölpe Dorjé undertook his first few summer retreats, though his Manchu patron the Qianlong Emperor never seems to have paid attention to the site.³⁶ In fact, Rölpe Dorjé's Tibetan language guidebook to Wutai Shan contains what appears to be the first reference to the cave, explaining that it was where Sudhana beheld Mañjuśrī, and where Rölpe Dorjé himself subsequently renovated a retreat monastery.³⁷ Not much was recorded about the Cave of Sudhana until 1937, when Nenghai 能海 Lama (1886-1967), the influential Han-Chinese monk who trained and practiced in the Tibetan Buddhist tradition, established his own Vajrayana

³⁵ According to the same sources, he also promises to appear once every century as an emanation in Tibet to help elucidate the teachings of the innermost spirituality. See Tulku Thondup, *Masters of Meditation and Miracles: The Longchen Nyingthig Lineage of Tibetan Buddhism* (Boston and London: Shambhala, 1996), 72. Dudjom Rinpoche, *The Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism: Its Fundamentals and History* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1991), 763; Dodrup Chen, *Biography of Vimalamitra* (Gangtok: Dodrup Chen Rinpoche, 1967), 26-27. For more on the attainment of the rainbow body, see Matthew Kapstein, "The Strange Death of Pema and the Demon Tamer," in *The Presence of Light: Divine Radiance and Religious Experience*, ed. Matthew T. Kapstein (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 119-156

³⁶ Thu'u bkwan, *Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje'i rnam thar* (Lanzhou: Kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1989), 504-502. When Dzongsar Khyentse Rinpoche visited Wutai Shan in 1999, he pointed out to his disciples that Cave of Sudhana is center of Wutai Shan's sacred blessings. It is near this cave that a commemorative stupa of Dilgo Khyentse Rinpoche had been erected by Ani Lodrö Palmo. Personal communication with Ani Lodrö Palmo, March 10, 2011.

³⁷ See Lcang skya, Rol pa'i rdo rje. *Zhing mchog ri bo rtse lnga'i gnas bzhad* (Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe sgrun khang. 1993), 18.

school (Jingang yuan 金剛院) there with help of his teacher the *jasagh* lama Lozang Pasang (Bložang dpal sangs, 1882-1955).³⁸

When Khenpo Jikpün arrived at the Cave of Sudhana, the monastery adjacent to the cave housed no more than a few Han-Chinese monks.³⁹ When he arrived at the wooded area behind the Cave of Sudhana, known as the Cooling Charnel Ground (Tib. Dur khrod chen po bsil sbyin), seven children miraculously were said to have appeared in front of him, received teachings, and vanished without trace (Figure 4.7). Again obscure outside of the Tibetan Buddhist world, this wooded cemetery is considered equal in spiritual potency to the eight great charnel grounds in India for practitioners, and has been home to the remains of many masters.⁴⁰ Practitioners of the Great Perfection tradition, in particular, have identified the Cooling Charnel Ground as the place where the Great Perfection master Sri Singha meditated, and also where his disciple Jnanasutra met him.⁴¹ Images of Sri Singha and Jnanasutra had subsequently been offered at the Cave of Sudhana (Figure 4.6). It is not known whether meditational practices were in fact present at this cemetery at Wutai Shan, but Wutai Shan's popularity as a burial site, especially among the Mongolian population, has been well attested to from at least the eighteenth century.⁴² This practice was so prevalent that the Qing Court had to ban it for fear of "polluting the Buddhist pureland." The *Imperially Commissioned Norms and Regulations of the Lifan Yuan (Lifanyuan zeli 理藩院則例)*, an edict dated to the sixth year of the Yongzheng 雍正 reign (1728), forbids lamas, Buddhist and Daoist monks, bannermen, and Mongolians to send their corpses to Wutai Shan for burial. The regulation further stated that if eminent Tibetan and Mongolian lamas wish to be buried at Wutai Shan, they would have to petition, and that the remains of local lamas, Buddhist and Daoist monks were to be buried away from monastic grounds.⁴³ It is possible that under this measure, however strictly enforced, pockets of covert, out-of-the-way burial grounds developed.

³⁸ Gray Tuttle, "Tibetan Buddhism at Ri bo rtse Inga/Wutai Shan in Modern Times," 11; Dingzhi 定智, *Nenghai shangshi zhuan 能海上師傳* [Biography of Nenghai Lama], vol. 6 of *Nenghai shangshi zhuanji 能海上師專集* (Taipei: Fangguang wenhua shiye youxian gongci, 1995), 27-28; Nenghai's monastery was short-lived as the Sino-Japanese war that broke out in the same year (1937) forced him and his disciples to flee to Chengdu. Tuttle mentions that he relocated to Cave of Sudhana with more than one hundred disciples, but his biography in *Wutai xian zhi* mentions only forty disciples who fled with him. See Wutai xian bian cuan weiyuan hui ed., *Wutai xian zhi* (Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 1988), 656.

³⁹ Personal communication with Raoul Birnbaum, March 14, 2011.

⁴⁰ Personal communication with Ani Lodrö Palmo. March 10, 2011.

⁴¹ Erik Pema Kunsang trans., *Wellspring of the Great Perfection: Lives and Insights of the Early Masters in the Dzogchen Lineage* (Hong Kong; Ranjung Yeshe, 2006), 137, 140.

⁴² For the Mongolian practice of burying their deceased relatives at Wutai Shan, See Isabelle Charleux, "Mongol pilgrimages to Wutaishan in the late Qing Dynasty," *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies*, special issue on Wutaishan under the Qing dynasty, ed. Johan Elverskog and Gray Tuttle. Publication forthcoming. <http://www.thlib.org/collections/texts/jiats/>.

⁴³ See Zhao Yuntian 趙雲田 ed. *Qianlong chao nei fu chao ben "Li fan yuan ze li" 乾隆朝內府抄本《理藩院則例》* (Beijing: Zhongguo Zangxue chubanshe, 2006), 131-132.

After this auspicious occurrence Khenpo Jikpün entered retreat for three weeks and attained a clear vision of Mañjuśrī, who was described as “the primordial wisdom manifestation of all the Buddhas of the three times, wearing a five-Buddha crown, with one face and two arms, holding a scripture in his left hand and raising the wisdom sword in his right, sitting in the vajra posture, fully adorned with Sambhogakaya garment, abiding in a peaceful manner.”⁴⁴ Khenpo Jikpün supplicated to Mañjuśrī for the power to make Buddhist teachings flourish and to bring complete happiness to all sentient beings. Mañjuśrī replied, “Until the end of the world, you will have a diligent mind to achieve the purpose of sentient beings.”⁴⁵

There are various descriptions of Khenpo Jikpün’s vision at the Cave of Sudhana, but none expresses the profound love and devotion more powerfully than the master’s own words. At the moment of his vision, he spontaneously uttered a praise poem to Mañjuśrī:

Adamantine wisdom body—all pervading like the sky
Of one taste with the immaculate empty expanse,
Longing to see your beautiful major and minor marks again,
I pay homage to you, the youthful one.

Just as a small forlorn child yearns for its mother,
Distraught with longing brought about through strong faith,
I have searched for you day and night to no avail,
Till now, where did you abide?

Many thousands have journeyed here with great difficulty,
Thinking solely of you, protector,
Thinking that you and your kindness have abandoned us—
How are we to bear it, O treasure of compassion?

How sad! We miserable sentient beings
Having fallen into saṃsāra’s deep prison—so difficult to bear—
Bound tightly by the shackles of karma and emotion,
And devoid of virtue: Look upon us!

If you see this then—through the radiance of your compassionate power—
Awaken us all from all the delusive appearance of saṃsāric duality, and dissolve us into
the great bliss of equanimity;
You are the activity-agent of all victors,
And have been empowered as such, time and time again;
Grant that the sky of beings’ merit be filled
With the sun- and moonlight of the stainless Buddha’s teaching.
I pledge to persevere as long as space exists,
For the sake of all beings—as far as space extends,

⁴⁴ *Jigs med phun tshogs ‘byung gnas dpal bzang po’i rnam thar*, 405.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

Sole father bless me this very moment that my fortune equals yours!

O supreme deity from now onward and in all lifetimes,
May I never be separated from you for even an instant;
And may the results of all majestic prayers of good conduct, without exception, come to
fruition!⁴⁶

The above verses were immediately jotted down by his disciples, translated into Chinese and Mongolian, and placed on the walls of the Cave of Sudhana, along with a triad of images of Khenpo Jikpün, Sudhana, and Mañjuśrī (Figure 4.8). The colophon appended to the end reads:

At the center of the sacred place of the Five Peaked Mountain, at the base of the Eastern Peak lies the Clear and Cool Charnel Ground. Here the Vidyadhara Sri Singha, the Second Buddha of Uddiyana [Padmasambhava], the scholar Jnanasutra, the Pandita Vimalamitra, the great translator Vairotsana, among many, spent long periods in meditation. In particular Sudhana first beheld Mañjuśrī here and gave rise to Bodhicitta. Subsequently he relied upon a hundred and ten spiritual friends and ultimately through Mañjuśrī's blessing beheld an ocean of Samantabhadra's mandalas, and recited the verses of the *Prayer of Excellent Conduct* at the exalted Cave of Mañjuśrī's accomplishment. The unparalleled Ngawang Lodro (Khenpo Jikme Püntsok Rinpoche) when residing there, during the early hours of the twenty-ninth day of the fourth lunar month of the beginning of 17th rabjung the year of the fire-hare, 1987, straying slightly from pure perception, uttered whatever came to mind which was recorded and subsequently written down. May Virtue Increase!

⁴⁶ This is based on a 2007 translation by Ven. Sean Price at the request of Ani Lodrö Palmo. The original text comes from a handwritten copy of the prayer I received in 2009 at Wutai Shan from Ani Lodrö Palmo, who copied the text from Cave of Sudhana. The texts and the images offered were objects of both veneration and defamation/iconoclasm. Due to political intrigue and anti-sentiment against the Nyingmapas, the entire cave was destroyed sometime in the 1990s. Ani Lodrö subsequently restored the text to the cave wall. Several Chinese translations have been made available online and in print, although the original Tibetan does not seem to appear in either of the two sets of collected writings of Khenpo Jikpün. It is included in Bsod names dar rgyas, *Ri bo rtse lnga'i gnas bshad mthong ba don ldan* (2007), 97-98. The original text is as follows: rdul bral stong ba'i dbyings dang ro gcig pa/ mkha' dbyings kun khyab ye shes rdo rje'i sku/ mthong bas mi ngos mtshan dpe'i lang tsho cang/ gzhon nu'i tshul 'chang khyod la phyag 'tshal lo// skyabs med bu chung ma la re ba ltar/ shugs drag dad pas drangs pa'i gdung yid kyis/ nyin mtshan kun tu btsal kyang khyod kyi sku/ mjal bar ma gyur da sngon gang du bzhugs// khri phrag grangs las brgal ba'i skye bo rnams/ shugs ring lam nas ngal ba khyad bsad de/ mgon khyod 'ba' zhig dran pas 'dir lhags na/ thugs brtses 'dor bar phyod dam snying rje'i gter//kye ma bdag cag nyam thag sems can rnams / bzod dka' 'khor ba'i btson dong nang du tshud/ las nyon lcags sgrog dam pos bar med bsdams/ dge ble'i [sic] snang ba bral 'di gzigs lags sam// gzigs na thugs rje nus pa'i rtсал phyungs la/ gzung 'dzin srid pa'i 'khrul snang ma lus pa/ rmi lam sad pa'i snang ba ji bzhin du/ mnyam nyid bde chen ngang du zhi bar mdzod// khyod ni rgyal kun 'phrin las byed po ru/ bskal mang gong nas mngon par mnga' gsol phyir/thub bstan dri bral nyi zla'i snang ba yis/ 'gro bsod lha lam khyon kun khengs par mdzod// bdag ni mkha' khyab 'gro la sman slad du/ nam mkha' srid du brtson par dam bca' na/ yab gcig khyod dang skal ba mnyam pa ru/ da lta nyid du byin kyis brlab du gsol// da nas skye dang tsho rabs thams cad du/ lha mchog khyod dang skad cig mi 'bral bar/bzang po spyod pa'i smon lam rgyal po yi/ don 'bras mtha' dag mngon du 'gyur bar shog/' According to the colophon of this text, 'Jigs-med Phun-tshogs spontaneously composed this text orally on April 29, 1987, which was recorded and dictated.

Probably written by one of his disciples, the colophon makes clear that the poem had issued forth from Khenpo Jikpün's mouth in same exalted spot where Sudhana met Mañjuśrī, and where numerous early masters of the Great Perfection tradition meditated. Furthermore, this took place on the morning of the twenty-ninth of the fourth lunar month, which marks the anniversary of the passing of Mipham (Mi pham) Rinpoche (1846-1912), whom Khenpo Jikpün recognized as his direct teacher.⁴⁷ By receiving a vision of Mañjuśrī where and when he did, Khenpo Jikpün both affirms himself in a long lineage of teachers and brings (back) to Wutai Shan the historical period of the introduction of Buddhism to Tibet in the eighth century, invoking an alternate spatial temporal dimension to a site that had received little or no attention until the eighteenth century.

The colophon also refers to the Cave of Mañjuśrī's Accomplishment, otherwise known as the Nārāyaṇa Cave (Ch. Naluoyan ku 那羅延窟, Tib. Sred med bu'i brag phug), which would become the site for Khenpo Jikpün's next extraordinary encounter (Figure 4.9). Unlike the Cave of Sudhana, the Nārāyaṇa Cave became one of the mountain's most important sites from as early as the ninth century, and the depth of its interior was said to be accessible only to a person of extraordinary attainment (Figure 4.10).⁴⁸ It has been depicted in maps of Wutai Shan in Dunhuang as well as the Cifu si map. The name was first referenced in *Avatamsaka sūtra* as a dwelling place for Mañjuśrī, and later came to be recognized as a cave beneath the Eastern Peak at Wutai shan.⁴⁹ As its name suggests, it is also believed to be the dwelling place of Nārāyaṇa, a dharma protector who sits atop a coiled serpent. A photograph of Khenpo Jikpün teaching by the Nārāyaṇa Cave show the gathering outside this cave (Figure 4.11). An extensive description of Khenpo Jikpün's meditative attainment can be found in his biography:

On the Eastern Peak [Dongtai 東臺], from the Ocean Gazing Peak [Wanghai feng 望海峰], he went to the cave in which, according to the *Avatamsaka sūtra*, Mañjuśrī has always existed. He meditated there for two weeks, where for day and night he remained in the state of luminous clarity. In that vision of the nature of primordial wisdom [lit. the pure land of the youthful vase body of the center of the heart], the self-knowing Wisdom Mañjuśrī bodhisattva turned the wheel of Dharma for his attentive ocean-like retinues of his own awareness, such that the minds of teacher and disciples could not be differentiated. From this joint expression, he spontaneously manifested the Heart Teachings of Samantabhadra,

⁴⁷ An image of Mipham Rinpoche was offered at Sudhana's cave by Khenpo Pema Wangchen from Shechen Monastery in 1999 and can still be seen today (Figure 4.6). Personal Communication with Ani Lodrö, March 12, 2011.

⁴⁸ Yanyi, *Guang Qingliang zhuan*, T.2099: 51, 1126 b-c.

⁴⁹ The Huayan patriarch Chengguan 澄觀 (738-838) identified in Shandong Laoshan as the Nārāyaṇa Cave mentioned in the *Avatamsaka sūtra*. The late Ming-dynasty monk Hanshan Deqing subsequently went to the Nārāyaṇa Cave in Laoshan. See Sung-peng Hsu, *A Buddhist Leader in Ming China: Life and Thought of Hanshan. Te-Ch'ing, 1546-1623* (University Park: Pennsylvania State Univ Press, 1979), 75-76. Cited by Patricia Berger, *Empire of Emptiness: Buddhist art and political authority in Qing China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003), 53.

and various treatises of Tantra, statements, and instructions naturally burst forth. At that time, those including the Gesar King and his retinue of *dgra bla* sincerely vowed to support his spread of secret teachings.

Many subsequent gatherings continued. Because of that, whatever spiritual experience inside is outwardly expressed by his bodily gestures, speech syllables, and mind signs, in ways that are suitable to the three levels of students. Inside his mind he obtained the unprecedented special vision of bliss, clairvoyance and non-thought. After he beheld Mañjuśrī, he obtained mantras and attained meditative concentrations, among many accomplishments that were vast like the ocean. One day, in his vision, the master and disciple (Mañjuśrī and himself) are in the field of Sambhogakaya, never separating, and staying in one place by an auspicious coincidence without prior arrangement.

The progress of his practices of the Three Gatherings ('du ba nam gsum) accumulated like water of the monsoon rain. His three practices of energy ('bar ba nam gsum) blaze like fire at the end of the world⁵⁰

This passage describes not only the depth of his inner realizations, but also what could be observed by everyone else. While he was experiencing this vision, his retreat house was said to have been “encircled by a sphere of rainbow light witnessed by all.”⁵¹ This encounter was seen as the beginnings of his teachings not only in Han-Chinese regions but all over the world. The pilgrimage was followed by travels to India, Europe, and the United States.⁵² It was also at the same time that the Larung Gar Buddhist academy drastically expanded in size and number.⁵³ The transformative quality of these visionary encounters was already evident in Khenpo's self-representation. In the most frequently recited prayer of empowerment at Larung Gar today, Khenpo Jikpün refers to himself as none other than “the one who has been empowered by the

⁵⁰ de nas shar ri rgya mtsho mthong ba'i ri sul mdo phal bo che las 'jam pa'i dbyangs rtag tu bzhugs pa'i gnas su gsungs pa'i phug par byon te zhag bdun phrag gnyis su sku mtshams mdzad/dir bzhugs ring la nyin mtshan bar med du 'od gsal gyi snang ba 'ba' zhid la 'phyan par gsungs/ der snying dbus gzhon nu bum pa sku'i zhing khams su rang rig 'jam dpal ye shes sems dpas dran rig gi 'khor tshogs rgya mtsho lta bu la ston 'khor dgongs pa dbyer med kyis chos kyi 'khor lo bskor zhing/de'i rtsal las kun bzang thugs kyi bstan pa gzhir bzhengs su slong nus pa'i rgyud lung man ngag gi bstan bcos du ma rang rdol du byung/ de dang chabs cig ge sar dgra bla'i rgyal po 'khor dpa' thul drangs sman dang bcas pas skal bzang snying gi bu nmams la don brgyud rtogs pa'i byon chen btsan thabs su 'bebs pa'i 'da' dka' rdo rje'i tha tshig gi gyar dam gnyan po chos kyi dbyings su bsre bar mdzad do/de lta bu'i legs smon zung du tshogs pa'i ma tshang med rgyu las dbang po rab 'bring tha ma'i skal ba dang 'tsham par dngos nyams rmi lam ci rigs par phyi ril du sku phyag rgya/gsung yig 'bru/thugs phyag mtshan gyi snang ba sna tshogs pa dang/nang du sngar ma byung ba'i bde gsal mi rtog pa'i nyams phyad par can dang/gsang ba 'od gsal rdzogs pa chen po nges pa don gyi 'jam dpal gyi rang zhal mjal te gzungs dang ting nge 'dzin la sogs pa'i yon tan rgya mtsho lta bu thob cing/nam zhid rang snang longs sku'i zhing du dpon slob 'du 'brel med par tshom bu gcig tu 'tshogs pa'i rten 'brel ma bsgrigs rang 'grig tu gyur/de ltar 'du ba nam gsum dbyar gyi mtsho bzhin du rgyas shing/'bar ba nam gsum dus mtha'i me bzhin du mched nas rang snang dbang du bsdu/ See *Jigs med phun tshogs 'byung gnas dpal bzang po'i nam thar*, 405-406.

⁵¹ Ibid., 406

⁵² His teachings became “as wide and lofty as the sky...from India to the Fire Continent (America) by the compassion of his tutelary deity Mañjuśrī.” Ibid., 406

⁵³ Personal communication with Lama Lakshey, April 28, 2011.

heart of Mañjuśrī from the realm of the Five Peaks,” illustrating how much his journey to Wutai Shan and, in particular, this meeting and merging with Mañjuśrī had become a part and parcel of his permanently established identity⁵⁴

Off the main paths and only capable of being visited on foot, the Nārāyaṇa Cave and Cave of Sudhana have become two of the most visited sites on the mountain range for Tibetan pilgrims and Tibetan Buddhist practitioners today (Figure 4.12). Especially since Khenpo Jikpün passed away in 2004, pilgrims and Khenpo’s disciples go to the sites of his contemplative visions to remember him and to receive the sites’ sacred empowerment, affirmed and enhanced by their teacher’s transformative experiences (Figure 4.13). Many of these pilgrimages have been aided and encouraged by a new Tibetan-language guidebook to Wutai Shan written in 2007 by Khenpo Sodargye, a chief disciple of Khenpo Jikpün who now teaches and directs the curriculum of one thousand plus Han-Chinese students at Larung Gar.⁵⁵ Sodargye’s guidebook was published locally at Larung during the same year that Ngawang Tendar, a Geluk monk who practices traditional Tibetan medicine at Wutai Shan’s Guanyin dong, published a popular guidebook based on the Cifu si map and Rölpe Dorjé’s guidebook.⁵⁶ But while Rölpe Dorjé’s guidebook of Chapter I and the Cifu si map of Chapter II present an overwhelmingly Geluk history of Wutai Shan, Sodargye’s guidebook focuses on previous Indian siddhas of the Great Perfection lineage that is most central to the Nyingma school, as well as on extensive descriptions of Khenpo Jikpün’s various activities and encounters.⁵⁷ As the abode of Mañjuśrī, Wutai Shan has always held enormous ecumenical potential for all major schools of Tibetan Buddhism, each connecting to the deity by way of his human emanations or teacher-disciple relations. Even though historically the grounds of Wutai Shan were always dominated by one school or another and that since the Qing dynasty the Gelukpas have overseen all religious affairs, Khenpo Jikpün’s pilgrimage and its subsequent draw of Nyingma pilgrims from eastern Tibet demonstrate the possibility of reinventing Wutai Shan’s religious topography through narratives of visionary encounters.

Topography of Revelations

An equally authoritative means of asserting presence is the revelation of treasures (*gter ma*), adding yet a new dimension to Wutai Shan’s already rich textual and material history. As

⁵⁴ Gnas chen ri bo rtse lnga’i zhing khams su/ ’jam dpal thugs kyi byin rlabs yid la smon/ The prayer titled “bla ma’i rnal ‘byor byin rlabs myur stsol” is one of the main prayers recited daily by students at Larung Gar.

⁵⁵ Bsod names dar rgyas, *Ri bo rtse lnga’i gnas bshad mthong ba don ldan* (2007). It is not clear what the print run was and how widely circulated this guidebook had been. It was available neither at Larung nor at Wutai Shan. I received my copy from Khenpo Sodargye.

⁵⁶ Ngag dbang bstan dar (1971-), *Phags pa ’jam dpal dbyangs kyi sgrub pa’i gnas mchog dwangs bsil ri bo rtse lnga’i rten dang bsten pa’i gnas bshad khungs btsun shel gyi me long* (Beijing: Krung go’i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2007). Ngawang Tendar received a printed copy of the Cifu si map from Ngawang Kelden of Shifang tang, my primary contact at Wutai shan who helped to circulate the maps images I brought back.

⁵⁷ Bsod names dar rgyas, *Ri bo rtse lnga’i gnas bshad mthong ba don ldan* (2007).

an accomplished treasure-revealer (*gter ston*), Khenpo Jikpün's visions were accompanied by the extremely prolific composition of texts whose authorship was attributed, in varying degrees, to his spiritual teachers and predecessors, such as Mañjuśrī and Padmasambhava. His revelation of these texts, together with the unearthing of images, endowed the mountain range with an unprecedented sense of numinous mystery. After his first vision at the Cave of Sudhana, Khenpo Jikpün spontaneously composed numerous seminal pieces of writing, including *The Essence of Heart Advice* (*Snying gdam snying gi thig le*), which became one of the most famous mind-treasure (*dgongs gter*) teachings he revealed.⁵⁸ After his second vision at the Nārāyaṇa Cave Khenpo Jikpün revealed from his heart (*thugs gter du*) the *Sadhana of Peaceful Mañjuśrī* (*'Jam dpal zhi sgrub*), a Great Perfection meditation manual that has since been strictly but widely transmitted with initiation.⁵⁹

Just as he had revealed many important mind treasures through spontaneous composition, he also uncovered many earth-treasures (*sa gter*), having recognized them during previous trips to Wutai Shan in his dream body (*rmi lam sgyu lus la*).⁶⁰ In one account, while he was staying at the Cave of Sudhana, he looked toward the Central Peak and recognized that he had visited the place thrice in his dreams, and he informed his disciples about a broken stone statue of Mañjuśrī. They subsequently went to the Central Peak and discovered under a tree a broken image Mañjuśrī, which was brought back to Larung Gar and is housed in the Hall of Mañjuśrī atop the sacred mountain of Wish-Fulfilling Gem (Tib. *tsin ta ma ni*, Skt. *cintā-maṇi*) near the Larung Gar Academy.⁶¹ While I am not aware of any tree-high vegetation on the wind-swept central peak, the discovery of the image under a tree matches the story of Mañjuśrī's appearance at Wutai Shan from *Péma Katang* (*Pad ma bka' thang*), a popular name for a biography of Padmasambhava revealed by the fourteenth-century Tertön Orgyen Lingpa (O rgyan gling pa) (1323 – circa 1360).⁶² According to this story, Mañjuśrī emerged out of a Jambutiśa tree on one

⁵⁸ *Snying gdam snying gi thig leg* in *Chos rje dam pa yid bzhin nor bu 'jigs med phun tshogs 'byung gnas dpal bzang po'i gsung 'bum*, vol. 3 (Gser rta: gser thang bla rung lnga rig nang bstan slob gling, 200?), 348-351. It has been translated into English at <http://www.lotsawahouse.org/heartdrops.html> (accessed March 14, 2011). The *snying thig* is a system of meditation and liturgical teachings that was allegedly diffused and transmitted in Tibet in dynastic times (eighth and ninth century). It is summarized in Antonio Terrone, "Tibetan Buddhism beyond the Monastery," 772-773.

⁵⁹ Many of the teachings, such as *Sadhana of Peaceful Mañjuśrī*, are still only made available to practitioners initiated into the practice. Many other prayers and teachings naturally burst forth, including *'Jam dpal zhi sgrub byin rlabs*, *'Jam dpal zhi sgrub kyi cha lag*, *gsol 'debs byin rlabs nyi 'od*. According to Yéshé Püntso, one of his chief disciples and the translator of his collected works into Chinese, he also composed many other works. See his Preface to the translation of Khenpo Jikpün's collected writings at <http://www.xianmifw.com/book/newsview.php?id=219> (accessed March 16, 2011). For more on sadhanas in Great Perfection tradition, see Samten G. Karmay, *The Great Perfection: A Philosophical and Meditative Teaching of Tibetan Buddhism* (Leiden: Brill, 1988).

⁶⁰ *'Jigs med phun tshogs 'byung gnas dpal bzang po'i rnam thar*, 407.

⁶¹ The mountain range is nestled in the Garuda Mountain, and known in Chinese as Xinbao shan 心寶山. It towers over the Larung Gar valley like a bird with its wings stretched.

⁶² See O rgyan gling pa (1323-?), *Pad ma bka' thang* (Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1988); for English translation, see *The Life and Liberation of Padmasambhava*, 2 vols., trans. Kenneth Douglas and Gwendolyn Bays (Berkeley: Dharma Publishing, 1978).

of the five peaks of Wutai Shan after a yellow ray emanating from the Buddha's head pierced into the tree.⁶³ Another exquisite golden Buddha Khenpo Jikpün recovered from the Nārāyaṇa Cave below the Eastern Peak was offered to the Dalai Lama when Khenpo visited Dharamsala in 1990.⁶⁴ In addition to uncovering texts and images, he also actively buried many statues and precious boxes of Buddhist teachings. Such concealed treasures, like the ones he had revealed, would be exposed in a future time of great need for the benefit of sentient beings. Khenpo Jikpün's visionary activities at Wutai Shan distinguished him from other treasure-revelers throughout the ages, who rarely managed to practice their profession outside of the Tibetan soil.⁶⁵ Within the Nyingma tradition, Khenpo Jikpün's revelations place him on par and in direct connection with the greatest of all treasure-revealers, Padmasambhava, who is believed to have traveled to Wutai Shan during a time when Tibet was stricken with great disasters; according to the *Péma Katang*, Padmasambhava took on the form of a four-faced Brahman and revealed eighty-four thousand astrological teachings that Mañjuśrī had concealed at Wutai Shan for the benefit of sentient beings in Tibet.⁶⁶

Even though the tradition of treasure-revelation belongs squarely to the Bon religion and the Nyingma school of Buddhism and was to some extent mapped onto Wutai Shan later, the idea of Wutai Shan's landscape as a repository for sacred objects and teachings was already firmly established by the seventh century, as has been noted in Raoul Birnbaum's study of the Diamond Cave (Jingang ku 金剛窟).⁶⁷ Moreover, the notion that the timely introduction of a sacred text could quell all calamities in troubled times has also been integral to the establishment of the cult of Wutai Shan. In the mountain's most beloved story of an early encounter with Mañjuśrī, frequently depicted in the Dunhuang murals, the Diamond Cave of Wutai Shan was seen as a portal for the spread of Buddhism from India to China in times of hardship.⁶⁸ In this legend, the Kashmiri monk Buddhapāli (Ch. Fotuo poli 佛陀波利) comes to Wutai Shan to pay respect to Mañjuśrī. When he arrives at Wutai Shan in the year 676, longing to meet Mañjuśrī, an old bearded man in white appears and asks Buddhapāli if he had brought with him a particular *Uṣṇīṣavijayā-dhāraṇī* sutra (Figure 4.14). When Buddhapāli replies with a negative, the old man asks him to go back to India and return with the text in translation, as the magic power of the *dhāraṇī* could eliminate all the great diseases and calamities suffered by people in the land of China. Overcome with joy and devotion, Buddhapāli duly returns with the translated text in the year 683. He is ushered into the Diamond Cave by Mañjuśrī and never seen again. A virtually

⁶³Ibid., *Pad ma bka' thang*, 222-223; *The Life and Liberation of Padmasambhava*, 224-225

⁶⁴ Personal communication with Khenpo Sodargye, June 29, 2009. Germano, "Re-membering the dismembered body of Tibet," 90.

⁶⁵ Germano noted the difficulty of transplanting the treasure tradition outside of Tibet, in particular to the exile communities in India. See David Germano, "Re-membering the dismembered body of Tibet," 56.

⁶⁶ See O rgyan gling pa (1323-?), *Pad ma bka' thang*, 222-229; for English translation, see *The Life and Liberation of Padmasambhava*, 224-230.

⁶⁷ See Raoul Birnbaum, "Secret Halls of the Mountain Lords: the Caves of Wu-t'ai," *Cahiers d'Extreme-Asie* 5 (1989-1990): 116-140.

⁶⁸ *Guang Qingliang zhuan*, T. 2099: 51, 1111a19-b23.

identical story in Tibetan sources about the twelfth-century South Indian tantric siddha Padampa Sangye, which is depicted on the Cifu si map, illustrates the widespread and enduring nature of this tale (Figure 4.15). As Karl Debreczeny has noted, Padampa Sangye's encounter with Mañjuśrī reenacts Buddhapāli's in the seventh century.⁶⁹ Only this time, the siddha had no need to undergo the toils of a long roundtrip journey back to India, but instead could travel through the cavity of a rock at Wutai Shan to reach back to Vajrāsana and effectively pacify the epidemics.⁷⁰ That Padampa Sangye could go back to Vajrāsana through the interconnected passage ways of caves, rather than via the arduous conventional route, reveals yet again the expansive spatial and temporal dimension in Tibetan religious and literary imagination that acknowledges alternate means of travel and circuits/channels of connection between exalted places.⁷¹ The understanding of Wutai Shan's supra-geographical link to other exalted places of the Buddha's

⁶⁹ Karl Debreczeny, "Wutaishan: Pilgrimage to Five Peak Mountain" in *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies*, special issue on Wutaishan under the Qing dynasty, Johan Elverskog & Gray Tuttle (eds.), Publication forthcoming. <http://www.thlib.org/collections/texts/jiats/>. The fifteenth century *Blue Annals* (*Deb ther sngon po*) records this encounter: "When Dam pa proceeded to China, he met on the road leading to Wutaishan (rtse lnga'i ri) an old sage (ṛṣi), carrying a staff made of rattan wood (chu shing). This was a manifestation of Mañjuśrī, who said to him: "In this country there are many epidemics. At Vajrāsana (Bodhgaya, India) there exists a dhāraṇī of Vijaya (rNam par rgyal ma). If you bring it to-day, the epidemics in this country will disappear". Dam pa inquired: "Vajrāsana is far off. From where could I get it today?" The sage replied: "Inside a certain cavity in a rock (brag khung [cave]) there is a hole (bug pa). Go there and bring it here." Dam pa went toward this cavity, and within an instant was transported to Vajrāsana, and back. Having obtained the dhāraṇī, he pacified the epidemics. After that he again met the Venerable Mañjughoṣa ('Jam dpal dbyangs). The picture depicting his journey to Vajrāsana was drawn by Chinese (artists), and printed copies (of it) have found their way to Tibet. Dam-pa spent twelve years (in China), preached and propagated the doctrines of the Zhi byed. It is said that (his) Meditative Lineage exists there (in China). Some maintain even that Dam pa had died in China." See George Roerich, *Blue Annals*, 911-912.

⁷⁰ Similar portrayals are known to exist in Tibet. See Toni Huber, *The Holy Land Reborn*, 1-2; Matthew Epstein and Peng Wenbin, "Ganja and Murdo: The Social Construction of Space at Two Pilgrimage Sites in Eastern Tibet." In *Sacred Spaces and Powerful Places in Tibetan Culture: A Collection of Essays*, ed. T. Huber (Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1999), 324-326; for more on the formulation of interconnected cave tunnels in Tibetan Buddhism, see Isabelle Charleux, "Padmasambhava's Travel to the North: The Pilgrimage to the Monastery of the Caves and the Old Schools of Tibetan Buddhism in Mongolia," 184.

⁷¹ In general, it seems that many accounts of Indian and Tibetan luminaries' visits to Wutai Shan might have been dream or visionary journeys rather than ones taken physically, even if biographical accounts do not state explicitly the means or categories of travel. Jampel Gyatso ('Jam dpal rgya mtsho, 1356-1428) is said to have visited Wutai Shan in his dreams due to his correct meditation of Mañjuśrī from the instructions of Tsongkhapa. See Janice D. Willis, *Enlightened Beings: Life Stories from the Ganden Oral Tradition* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1995), 34. Within the Nyingma tradition itself, the treasure revealer Guru Chökyi Wangdruk (Chos kyi dbang phyug, 1212-1270) is said to have traveled to Wutai Shan to receive teachings from Mañjuśrī. See Dudjom Rinpoche, *The Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism*, 763. Aside from those who have journeyed there by dreams or on foot, there are also many instances of those who, like Tangton Gyalpo, probably simply emanated there. See Cyrus Stearns trans., *King of the empty plain: the Tibetan iron-bridge builder Tangton Gyalpo* (Ithaca: Snow Lion Publishing, 2007), 316-319. Many have questioned the historical veracity of these pilgrimages. Indeed, the question of "Did Marco Polo go to China?" also haunts many of the famous Tibetan pilgrims to Wutai Shan, of which we have little records in other sources to corroborate, other than to observe yet again the a divergence between empirical investigation and the logic and rhetoric of a visionary tradition. For dreams in Tibetan Buddhism, see Alex Wayman, "Significance of Dreams in India and Tibet," *History of Religions* 7, No. 1 (Aug., 1967): 1-12; for an evaluation of dreams in the Chan/Zen tradition, Bernard Faure, *Rhetoric of Immediacy: A Cultural Critique of Chan/Zen Buddhism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 209-230.

teachings served as a backdrop for Khenpo Jikpün's recoveries and concealment of treasures there.

At Wutai Shan, as in many parts of Tibet, the treasure tradition has proven to be especially compelling in a post-cultural revolution landscape, in which many sacred images and objects were intentionally buried for fear of their destruction.⁷² More and more images are being unearthed with the temple construction and renovation boom of the last decade. Khenpo Jikpün's recovery of earth treasures may be seen as a visionary response to the conventional reality of a landscape filled with broken and buried images. That his revealed treasure at the Central Peak is a broken statue of Mañjuśrī speaks to that history of destruction, as revealed treasures are rarely found damaged. In 2009 when I visited Sanquan si 三泉寺 (Monastery of Three Springs), a Qing-dynasty Geluk monastery located in the hills behind Pusa ding, several dozen images of Mañjuśrī made by a Mongolian lama patron in the 19th century had just been dug up in an area beside the temple near the source of the springs (Figure 4.16).⁷³ Since Wutai Shan won its nomination as a UNESCO World Heritage site in 2009, it will be interesting to see how traditions of treasure-revelation continue to interact with developments in archaeological discovery, historical conservation, monastic life and religious tourism.⁷⁴

Miracle-Prone Skies

Accounts of miraculous sightings intensified as Khenpo Jikpün's stay at Wutai Shan progressed. After he moved to the Clear and Cool Rock Monastery (Ch. Qingliang shi 清凉寺), during a large prayer offering to Mañjuśrī he was conducting, it is said that everyone present witnessed an extraordinary play of rainbow light, just as described in the guidebook to Wutai Shan.⁷⁵ The miraculous play of light on the clouds continued into sunset, and photographs were taken.⁷⁶ Among all the tropes describing Mañjuśrī's presence at the miracle-prone mountain range, none is as consistent, enduring, and transcending of cultural and sectarian divides as descriptions of the play of light and cloud.⁷⁷ Descriptions of rainbow rays and clouds in Khenpo

⁷² For the development of the *gter ma* tradition in present-day Eastern Tibet, See Antonio Terrone, "Tibetan Buddhism beyond the Monastery," 749-799.

⁷³ An inscription behind one stone carving reads, "'Made by ...[Duke?] Yogar-a of Kharchin mangan Banner." I thank Orna Tsultem for this identification.

⁷⁴ For more on the UNESCO inscription, see <http://whc.unesco.org/en/news/523> (accessed March 22, 2011).

⁷⁵ This happened during the tenth day of the sixth lunar month. See *Jigs med phun tshogs 'byung gnas dpal bzang po'i rnam thar*, 406- 407.

⁷⁶ David Germano, "Re-memembering the dismembered body of Tibet," 86.

⁷⁷ On the phenomena of light in medieval narratives of Wutai Shan that continue to this day, see Raoul Birnbaum, "Light in the Wutai Mountains," in *Presence of Light Divine Radiance and Religious Experience* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 195-226. On the trope of Five-colored clouds praise poems of Wutai Shan in Dunhuang, see Mary Anne Cartelli, "On a Five-Colored Cloud: The Songs of Mount Wutai" in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 124, no. 4 (Oct. - Dec., 2004): 735-757. For descriptions of the colored rays, Cartelli cites Fazang, *Huayan jing chuanji*, T. 2073: 51, 157a-b.

Jikpün's biography, as in other Tibetan accounts seen in earlier chapters, stress the visibility of these miraculous lights and clouds to all in attendance.⁷⁸ In comparison to the attainment of inner visions, the play of light in the sky remains the most outwardly and conventionally visible sign of Mañjuśrī's manifestation in a discursive world dominated by highly elaborated visionary experiences. These descriptions not only reference explicitly and implicitly the abundantly documented historical occurrences of light at Wutai Shan, but also deploy a rich vocabulary for the play of light within Tibetan visionary literature. As noted earlier, Vimalamitra, whose presence was invoked throughout Khenpo Jikpün's biographical narrative, is said to have gone to Wutai Shan at the end of his thirteen-year stay in Tibet, and still dwells there in his "rainbow body, the state of pure light he promised to remain in for as long as teachings of the Buddha remain."⁷⁹

Medium of Replication

Just as Wutai Shan has been recreated in various mediums throughout the centuries in various parts of Buddhist Asia, Khenpo Jikpün recreated a surrogate Wutai Shan in the hills behind the Larung Gar Buddhist Institute, known as the "Riwo Tsenga" of Dokham (Mdo khams). But in contrast to Qianlong's recreation of Shuxiang si's image discussed in Chapter I, or the two-dimensional maps of panoramic Wutai Shan studied in Chapters II and III, Larung Gar's Wutai Shan entailed no replication based on formal resemblance. Instead, Khenpo Jikpün led a ritual touring of the hills behind Larung Gar, where five local protector deities were invited to dwell on each of the five peaks.⁸⁰ Annual rituals have since been conducted to propitiate these mountain deities, who are Amnye Machen (A myes rma chen), Gowo Lhatsi (Go bo lha rtsi), Nyenpo Gyutsé (Gnyan po gyu rtse), Drü ri ('Brus ri), and Tsengyel Dorjé Penpuk (Btsan rgyal rdo rje 'phen phugs).⁸¹ Students at Larung Gar are encouraged to make a pilgrimage circuit of the five hills during their scheduled breaks from the academy. Khenpo Jikpün pointed out to his disciples that because the mountain range provides the same level of empowerment as the Wutai Shan in Shanxi, for those who make a pilgrimage at the five peaks behind Larung Gar, the efficacy would also be equal to that of making a pilgrimage to the actual Wutai Shan. In comparison to other mediums of replication, this method of bringing Wutai Shan home may be

⁷⁸ While Rölpe Dorjé was at Wutai Shan, rainbows and miraculous clouds formations at Wutai Shan appeared frequently to all. See Thu'u bkwan, *Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje'i rnam thar*, 520-522; Chinese translation by Chen Qingying (Beijing: Zhongguo Zangxue Chubanshe, 2006), 248-249; The Thirteenth Dalai Lama visit to Wutai Shan was populated by numerous elaborate accounts of rainbow and cloud formations. See Phur lcog yongs 'dzin sprul sku thub bstan byams pa tshul khribs bstan 'dzin, *Thub bstan rgya mtsho'i rnam thar*, 392, 400, 407.

⁷⁹ See note 35. Another famed instance of sky miracles is the Fifth Karmapa's visit to Linggu Monastery in Nanjing, which was followed by a visit to Wutai Shan. See Patricia Berger, "Miracles in Nanjing: An Imperial Record of the Fifth Karmapa's Visit to the Chinese Capital," in Marsha Weidner, ed., *Cultural Intersections in Later Chinese Buddhism*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001), 145-169.

⁸⁰This is related to me by Khenpo Jikpün's nephew Passang in Dharamsala. See also Andreas Gruschke, *The Cultural Monuments of Tibet's Outer Provinces: Kham* (Bangkok: White Lotus Press, 2004), 82.

⁸¹ Personal communication with Lama Lakshey, April 29, 2011.

the least imagistic/representational, but for pilgrims it elicits an experience of physicality and *communitas* most similar to that of an actual journey to the five peaks themselves.

Persistent Revivals

The rhetoric of sacred empowerment, visionary encounters, treasure revelations, miraculous occurrences in the sky, and recreations of surrogate pilgrimages we have observed in Khenpo Jikpün's biographical narratives participate in a long tradition of longing for, remembering and envisioning Wutai Shan that can be traced back to the seventh century.⁸² Similar to Rölpe Dorjé's recalling of Wutai Shan's past(s), Qianlong's quest for Wutai Shan's sacred power, Badyar Coyiling Süme's mural reproductions of sacred Tibetan Buddhist monasteries, map-carver Gelong Lhundrup's exhaustive mapping of Wutai Shan's sacred traces, and the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's incorporation of his own empirical experiences at Wutai Shan and Bodh Gaya into a Tibetan Buddhist cosmography, Khenpo Jikpün's participation in reinventing Wutai Shan's visionary landscape both re-centered the identity of Tibetan Buddhist geography and reaffirmed an extremely intimate connection with Wutai Shan.

In the most recent decades after Khenpo Jikpün's 1987 visit, Wutai Shan has emerged again as a locus for the revival of Buddhist practice and religious tourism in northern China. Unsurprisingly, Tibetan Buddhism has played a major part. While it is outside the scope of my dissertation to systematically document and examine this revival, I present here some trends I have observed during my fieldwork at Wutai Shan from 2004 to 2009. (I anticipate more in-depth ethnographic studies of these and other trends as the future permits.) Currently, monks from Eastern Tibet and Inner Mongolia reside at four temples, Pusa ding, Shifang tang, Guanyin dong, and Zhenhai si. Their congregations at these four temples has allowed them more or less to continue the monastic routines of their home monasteries. At Shifang tang 十方堂 (Hall of Ten Directions), located at the foot of the main path leading up to Pusa ding in Taihuai, about twenty resident monks from Amdo (and one from Inner Mongolia) conduct morning and evening prayers, as well as numerous prayer offerings of varying scale at the request of donors throughout the year (Figure 4.17).⁸³ Photographs of the annual Mani puja show Han-Chinese monks, pilgrims, devotees, and tourists participating in the annual day-long prayer retreat at the end of which mani ribu (empowered medicine pills) are distributed to the lay community (Figure 4.18). Several of the more senior lamas at Shifang tang have also drawn increasingly large numbers of Han-Chinese disciples from the metropolitan centers of Beijing, Taiyuan, and still

⁸² See discussion in Chapter II on the tradition of picturing Wutai Shan.

⁸³ The temple compound itself dates to the mid-nineteenth century. It was initially built as a hostel for Tibetan and Mongolian monks, and has remained a primary lodging place for Tibetan and Mongolians. Its halls feature elaborate architectural carvings that closely resemble those of its contemporary in Cifu si. Thanks to the defense of its resident abbot Losang Nyima (Luozhen Nima 罗真尼玛, 1891-1966) during successive wars and destructions of the twentieth century and the care of current resident monks, the buildings as well as many of its holdings survived the destructions and have been well maintained. See "Shanxi wutai gaoseng mingseng yeji," *Shanxi wenshi ziliao*, no. 4 (1994), 154-156. For more on Shifang tang, see Caihong 彩虹, "Shifang tang 十方堂," *Wutai Shan Yanjiu*, no. 1 (1999): 23-25.

more distant cities of Shanghai and Guangzhou.⁸⁴ For most Han Chinese in northern and coastal China, Wutai Shan has become a gateway to Tibet and to Tibetan Buddhism. Shifang tang's central location at the entrance to the cluster of monasteries in Taihuai has also made it the most public face of this micro-Tibet at Wutai Shan, so much so that it became the official traveling palace (replacing Pusa ding) for the current Chinese-elected Panchen Lama Gyeltsen Norbu (Rgyal mtshan nor bu), who visited Wutai Shan in 2004.

While Shifang tang commands by far the most lively presence of Tibetan Buddhist rituals at Wutai Shan today, many other historically numinous sites have received the renewed attention of Tibetan Buddhist pilgrims and residents. Besides the most well known five terraces, Zhenhai si, the Cave of Sudhana, the Nārāyaṇa Cave, and the historic center of Pusa ding, as discussed in this dissertation, there has also been the construction of new Tibetan temples on the one hand, and persistent pilgrimages to ruin sites outside of the main circuits, on the other. A brand-new temple was completed in 2005 below the hills of Guanyin dong 觀音洞 (Cave of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara), the famed dwelling abode of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, which was known to have served as a meditation cave for the Sixth Dalai Lama Tsangyang Gyatso (Tshang dbyangs rgya mtsho, 1683-1706) discussed in Chapter II (Figure 4.19). The site has also become a popular destination for Han-Chinese visitors in recent years after a traditional Tibetan medical clinic opened half way up the hill. Notably, the new prayer hall was built entirely by carpenters, builders, and mural painters from Amdo, with traditional building materials and sacred images directly transported from Amdo (Figure 4.20). Similarly “purist” Tibetan halls were being erected at other monasteries like Pusa ding, with attentiveness to the quality of the material and craftsmanship that is rarely seen in the temple building boom of its Han-Chinese counterpart at Wutai shan. At other sites like Pule yuan 普樂院 (Tib. Bde mchog lha khang or kun bde tshal, or Grove of Monastery of Universal Happiness), which was detonated together with Wulang miao 五郎廟 (Shrine of Yang Wulang) in December of 1970 to make way for a vacation lodge for the Chinese leader Lin Biao 林彪 (1907-1971), and which until today remains part of a military compound, pilgrims trespass the borders to pay homage to what was once the beloved retreat temple of Rölpe Dorjé (Figure 4.21).⁸⁵ The fact that Pule yuan has been reduced to mere rubble does not diminish the power of its sacred blessings. Instead, the sight of its ruins adds an important layer of history to be commemorated by the pilgrims, many of whom continue, in one way or another, to cope with the aftermath of the Cultural Revolution and struggle for tolerance and respect for their religion.

⁸⁴ One of them is Lama Ngawang Kelden (Ch. Awang Gedan), a monk from Amdo who first took an interest in my project of uncovering the nineteenth century Wutai Shan of its mapmaker Gelong Lhundrup. Whenever I have visited with him, he has had an endless stream of Han-Chinese visitors who come to request teachings, make prayer offering for themselves and their family members, or make requests for blessings.

⁸⁵ A local official in charge published a detailed account to expose the appalling details of the destruction and construction forty years later. See Lin Boxiang 林柏祥, “Lin Biao ‘xinggong’ xiujian shimo 林彪‘行宮’修建始末 [The beginning and end of the building of Lin Biao’s ‘traveling palace’],” *Shanxi Laonian*, (November, 2008), 10-11; “Lin Biao zai Wutai Shan jian ‘tebie bieshu’ jianwen jishi 林彪在五台山建‘特别别墅’见闻纪实 [Eye witness account of the building of Lin Biao’s ‘special country villa’ at Wutai Shan],” *Wenshi yuekan*, no. 2 (2009), 18-19. The occasion of the detonation, too, was marked by strange manifestations of clouds and mists in the sky. See <http://www.wu-tai-shan.cn/mingrenyuwutaishan/11-34.html> (accessed March 23, 2011).

The primary task of this dissertation has been to illustrate the ways in which the discourse of memories, visionary encounters, rituals, travel, and cosmography in Tibetan Buddhist traditions has altered the religious landscape of Wutai Shan from the eighteenth to the twentieth century. As this dissertation has shown, representations of these seemingly ephemeral or intangible experiences constitute the core the mountain's religious identity, defining the ways Wutai Shan came to be viewed in the Tibetan Buddhist world with a potency, persistence, and visual spectacle that outstrips its physical topography, material structure or holdings. These strategies of transcendence continue to assume new meanings and agencies in the history and future of the holy mountain range.

APPENDIX I

Inscriptions on the Wutai Shan painting at the Cogcin dugang, Badyar Coyiling Süme.¹

*Underlined Chinese inscriptions indicate the sites are illustrated in the *Magnificent Record of the Western Inspection Tour*.

<u>Chinese</u>	Tibetan	Mongolian
<u>西台頂</u>		
<u>殊像寺</u>	cu shyang se	Γulir terigütü manzusiri (Manjushri with a flour's head)
竹林寺	cu ling se	
清涼石	ching lan shi	cing lang cilayu (stone of cing lang)
獅子□		
古南台		gü nan tai
古清涼	gu chin □□	gü cing ?
由五台縣入山路	'u tas shyan	
金閣寺	ci ge se	jing ? se
<u>南台頂</u>	nan tas	emün-e ? (South...)
清涼橋	ching lan cho	cing liang cho
<u>玉花池</u>	yu ha khri	tabun jayun bandida, (500 pandits)
法會庵		
金燈寺	cing deng se	altan jula-tu süm-e (Monastery of the Golden Lamp)
古佛寺	ku hphu'e se	N/A
前石佛	byan shi hphu'e	N/A

¹ I thank Isabelle Charleux for help in identifying the Mongolian inscriptions.

後石佛	he'u shi hphu'e	N/A
<u>壽寧寺</u> ²	zho'u ning se	ebügen Manzusiri (Old Manjusri)
千佛洞	phyan hphu'e si	“eke-yin ayui”
<u>白塔寺</u>	bas ta se	cayan subury-a (White Pagoda)
黃土嘴	hrang thu bru'i	N/A
<u>中台頂</u>	cung thas	?? Dumdadu (Center, middle)
<u>菩薩頂</u>	phu sa ting	Pu (or bu) sa ding
<u>顯通寺</u>	<i>illegible</i>	<i>illegible</i>
達立可	ta're 'ekhir su me	Dara eke-yin süm-e (Mother Tara Temple)
N/A	Ri bo rtse lgna	u-tai
台懷街	N/A	N/A
圓照寺	ywan co'u se	
<u>台懷行宮</u>	shin kung	ejen ordu (Palace of the Lord)
棲賢寺	chi shyan se	tergetü manzusiri (Manjusri “with a cart”)
<u>鎮海寺</u>	ceng ha'i se	jangya gegen-ü subury-a (Stupa of the Zhangjia Qutuytu)
西庵村	zhi 'an s□□	N/A
妙德庵	mi'o ti ngang	
□□泥 (楊西泥?)		
<u>羅睺寺</u>	lu'e ho se	luu fuu se
白頭庵	bas the'u ngan	N/A
□□塔 (綠塔?)		

² Mis-written shou 壽

七佛寺	chi hwa se	dolun (for doluyan) burqan (Seven Buddha)	
紫府廟	tsi h□ mi'o	N/A	
蛤蟆石	ha ma shi		
<u>東台頂</u>			
<u>長城嶺</u>			
直隸碑			
交界碑			
<u>普樂院</u>			
平章寺			
<u>金剛窟</u>		<i>illegible</i>	
<u>碧山寺</u>	bi shan se	Bilig baramid-un süm-e (“Monastery of Prajnaparamita”)	
五郎廟	'u lang se	u lang-un süm-e (Monastery of U lang)	
<u>北台頂</u>	bi thas		
水神堂	shu'i sheng □□	N/A	
尖營	N/A	N/A	
善才洞	shan sa'i dong	manjusiri ??	
<u>白雲寺</u>	shin kung (translit. 行宮)	<i>illegible</i>	
關帝廟		N/A	N/A
下鉄舖	zha thya phu	N/A	N/A
廣寧寺?			
<u>黛螺頂</u>	tas lu'i ding	tabun ayula-yin ?, (? of the five mountains)	

甘和村

gan ho sung

uta-yin ordu? (Wutai palace)

盧家莊?

明月池

台麓寺

萬佛閣

湧泉寺

illegible

上鉄鋪

Total number of Chinese inscriptions found: 65

APPENDIX II

Donative Inscription on the Cifu Si Map

Inscription of Gelong Lhundrup, Panoramic Picture of the Sacred Realm of the Mountain of Five Terraces, 1846, bottom corner on the right.

Chinese Inscription

詩曰: 三世諸佛稱清涼, 法照三界及萬方, 文殊变化通凡聖, 三寶諸仙即此身, 真容久在清涼境, 人人敬禮無所觀。大華嚴經云, 東北方有處名清涼山, 從昔以來, 諸菩薩眾於中止住, 現有菩薩名文殊師利, 其眷屬諸菩薩眾一萬人, 俱常在其中而演說法。又寶藏陀羅尼經云, 佛告金剛密跡王言, 我滅度後於此南瞻部州東北方, 有國名大震那, 其中有山, 名曰五頂, 文殊童子遊行居住, 爲諸衆生於中說法, 即有無量, 天龍八部圍繞供養, 斯言可謂審矣。此五台一小山圖, 未能盡其詳細, 四方善士凡朝清涼聖境, 及見此山圖, 聞講菩薩靈驗妙法者, 今生能消一切災難疾病, 享福享壽, 福祿綿長, 命終之後, 生於有福之地, 皆賴菩薩慈化而得也。故大窟圖智宗丹巴佛之徒桑格阿麻格, 名格隆龍住, 大發願心, 親手刻造此板, 以施四方善士。如有大發願心, 印此山圖者, 則功德無量矣。

Translation

All Buddhas of the Three Ages praise the Clear and Cool [Mountain]; the dharma illuminates the three realms and all directions. Mañjuśrī's transformations reach all ordinary beings and sages. The Three Treasures and all immortals are this very person. Mañjuśrī's true countenance has for long dwelled in realm of Clear and Cool Mountains, where people have paid respect to it without seeing it. The *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* says, "In a place northeast of here, there is a certain region called the Cool and Clear Mountains.

Many bodhisattvas from olden times have calmly abided in there. Nowadays the holy Mañjuśrī, together with a retinue of ten thousand bodhisattvas, dwell there and preaches the Dharma." In addition, the [Mañjuśrī] *Ratnagarbha-Dhāraṇī Sūtra* says, "The Buddha said to the Vajra-wielding guardian bodhisattva: after I enter nirvāna, in the northeastern part of the Jambūdvīpa is a country called the Great China, where there is a holy mountain called the Five Peaks, in the midst of which the youthful Mañjuśrī roams, dwells, and preaches the Dharma for the benefit of all sentient beings. At that time innumerable gods and the Eight Classes of Beings, together with their retinue, gather around to make offerings." You can investigate this for yourself. This little map of Wutai Shan cannot possibly exhaust every detail of the mountain. The benefactors from all four directions who make a pilgrimage to the sacred realm of Clear and Cool, see this map of the mountain, listen to and recount the spiritual efficacy and wondrous Dharma of the bodhisattva, will in this life be free from all calamities and diseases, and enjoy boundless blessings, happiness and longevity. After this life, they will reborn in a blessed land. All these can be acquired through the bodhisattva's compassionate transformations. Therefore, the disciple of Jetsun dampa of Da Khūriye, the engraver, the fully ordained monk Lhun grub (ch. Longzhu) from the Sengge aimag, make a great vow, to carve this woodblock with his own hands, in order to extend [the merit] to benefactors of the four directions. Should a person make the vow to print this image, they will accumulate immeasurable merit.

Tibetan Inscription

རི་བོ་དྲུང་ས་བསིལ་གྱི་གནས་བཤེས་།།

།། ལྷ་ས་གསུམ་རྒྱལ་ཀུན་ཀུན་ནས་བསྐྱབས་པའི་ཁམས་།། ཁམས་གསུམ་བར་སྐྱང་སྐྱང་བྱེད་འོད་འཕྲོས་སྐྱུ་སྐྱུ་
 གསུམ་གཟུགས་སྟོན་སྟོན་པ་འཇམ་དཔལ་མཚོག་མཚོག་གསུམ་རང་ཉིད་ཉིད་དུ་གྱུར་བར་འདུད་།། སལ་པོ་ཆེ་འུ་མདོ་
 ལས་།། འདི་ནས་བྱང་ཤར་མཚམས་གྱི་གནས་ཤིག་ན།། རི་བོ་དྲུང་ས་བསིལ་ཞེས་བྱའི་གནས་ཡོད་དེ།། སྟོན་ཆད་རྒྱལ་
 སྐལ་མང་པོ་དེ་ན་བཞུགས་།། ད་ལྟོ་རྒྱལ་སྐལ་འཕགས་པ་འཇམ་དཔལ་གྱིས་།། འཁོར་གྱི་བྱང་རྒྱལ་སེམས་པ་བྲི་ཕྱག་
 བཅས་།། དེ་དུ་བཞུགས་ནས་དམ་པའི་ཚོས་ཀྱང་གསུངས་།། ཞེས་པ་དང་།། ཡང་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་སྟོང་པོའི་གཟུངས་ལས་།། རྒྱལ་
 བོ་གྱིན་ཀང་མེ་གྱི་ལ།། བཅོམ་ལྷན་འདས་གྱིས་བཀའ་སྐྱེལ་པ།། དང་རྒྱ་དན་ལས་འདས་པའི་འོག་དུ་འཇམ་བུ་སྟོང་གི་བྱང་
 ཤར་གྱི་མཚམས་སུ་རི་བོ་ཕྱོ་ལྷ་ཞེས་པའི་གནས་ཆེན་ཡོད་དེ།། འཇམ་དཔལ་གཞོན་རྩལ་དེར་འགོ་འཇག་དང་འདུག་
 གནས་བྱེད་ཅིང་འགོ་བ་ཐམས་ཅད་གྱི་དོན་དུ་ཚོས་གསུངས་སོ།། གངས་མེད་པའི་ལྷ་ལྷ་སྟེ་བརྒྱུད་འཁོར་དང་བཅས་པ་
 རྣམས་བསྟེན་བཀའ་བྱེད་ཞེས་པ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་མདོ་རྒྱུད་དུ་མ་ནས་བསྐྱབས་པའི་གནས་མཚོག་འདི་ཉིད་གྱི་བཤེས་པ་
 མདོར་བསྐྱུས་ཅོམ་གྱིས་པ།། འདི་ལ་མཐོང་ཐོས་དྲན་རེག་གི་འབྲེལ་བ་འཐོབ་ཚད་ཆོ་རབས་ཀུན་དུ་རྗེ་བཙུན་འཇམ་པའི་
 དབྱངས་གྱིས་རྗེས་སུ་འཛིན་པའི་རྒྱུར་དམིགས་ཏེ།། རི་བོ་ཕྱོ་ལྷ་འི་བྱམས་དག་སྟོང་གི་སྟེང་བྱང་དུ།། དང་ལྷན་སྟེན་བདག་
 ཏུ་འུ་འུ་རྗེ་བཙུན་དམ་པའི་ཞབས་གས་སྐྱེད་འཇམ་མག་གི་བཞོས་པ་དག་སྟོང་ལྷན་གྱུ་བ་ཞེས་བུ་བས་རྒྱ་ཡོན་
 སྐུར་སྟེ།། ༡ ཏའི་ཚིང་ཏོ་ཏུ་ཀྱང་རྒྱལ་བོ་བྲི་བཞུགས་ལོ་ཉིད་དུག་པའི་ས་གསུམ་བའི་ཚོས་བཅོ་ལྷའི་ཉིན་པར་སྐར་དུ་
 བཞོས་པའོ།།

།། སྐབས་མཚོག་འཇམ་དབྱངས་གནས་བཤེས་འདི།། གང་དང་གང་ལ་མཚོད་བྱས་པ།། དེ་དང་དེ་རུ་མི་མཐུན་ཕྱོ་
 གས།། ཞིན་ས་བདེ་སྦྱིད་དར་བར་ཤོག།།
 །། བཀའ་ཤིས་པར་གྱུར་ཅིག།། །། སྐྱེ་ལོ།།

APPENDIX III

Chinese and Tibetan Site Inscriptions on the Cifu Si Map

*Underlined Chinese characters are found in the imperially sponsored Qing gazetteers. The picture is evenly divided into four vertical sections, from left to right, for purpose of transcription.

1st Section

虎陽嶺 cho yang lin 五台點 a'u ra shan to thu 洗鉢池
rnam rgyal mchod rten

佛光寺 古竹林 ku ju lin
yu'i gu'e

四溝 si' ku'u 永安寺 rmgon yan sI

普賢塔 phu shan tha 南台 古南台 sngon gyi lho'i ri

白龍池 pa lung khri lor ci tha'u' khre' hwo dung

清涼石 ching lyeng shi 羅漢洞 lo hang dung 古清涼 ku ching lyan

金閣嶺 kyin gang ling 金閣寺 kyin gang si na 竹林寺 ju len sI

金灯寺 gin teng sI 日照寺 ri gro' sI

千佛洞 ? ha phu dung 天誠寺 brin chen sI 靈峰寺
¹ gi dza sI

蛇溝寺 梵仙山 rang srong ri 殊像寺

鎮海寺 Jin ha' sI 廟爺宮 ? oM a ra pa za na di ling gung thA

行宮 沐浴堂 mu yu ? 楊伯□ yang pe yu'i 台懷 ha?

白雲寺 bo' yin sI 碑樓寺 pe'lo sI 護恩王

2nd Section

西台 nub ri 秘魔岩 mri mo yan 中台

八攻德水 ba gung tl shu' 牛心石 羅漢平 lo hang pung 玉花池 yu'i hO ce

¹ Described in *Imperial Record of Clear and Cool Mountains* as in ruins.

清涼橋 ching la? khro'u 壽寧寺 shr? ning sI 三全寺² San c?n sI
 'ing ho shan 西天洞 rgya khar phug
 鳳林寺³ ??? 菩薩頂⁴ phu sa ting
 □ □ 塔 chin bya 廣宗寺 gwong ?ng sI
 三塔寺 san thA sI 顯通寺 shyan thwan sI 圓照寺 yon d rjo? sI 坡子店
 塔院寺 tha yon sI 髮塔 dza co? yan 十方堂 shis ?prang thang
 陽鈴子 羅睺寺 lo ho'u sI
 行宮⁵ 觀音洞 gwan yin □
 火神廟 tA ra na thA'i chod rten 奶奶廟 nas nas mi'u
 □ □ □ (bridge) 慈福廟 慈福洞 tsi h? dung
 玉皇廟⁶ 棲賢寺 cA shi sI
 yu' hwa'u mi'u

3rd Section

澡浴池 日 □ 寺 北台 byang ri 說法台 lo han ? de
 萬年冰 wan nyan bing han 'ng 黑龍池 he lun chi
 □ 頂廟? ting ? 雜花庵⁷ □ □ an □ □
 鐵瓦殿 草地 tsho ti
 byeng lwa ti'u?
 慈福寺 □ □ ? yo'o 普樂院 □ □
 馬房院 ma hA yan 金剛窟 chin ??
 東廟村 吉福寺 碧山寺 pe □ □

² Variant of 三泉寺

³ Described in *Imperial Record of Clear and Cool Mountains* as in ruins.

⁴ Also known as 大文殊寺

⁵ Tibetan inscription absent.

⁶ Also known as 帝釋宮

⁷ Though not mentioned in any of the four texts, it is reputedly built by a Tibetan Lama in between 1689-1704.

Legend has it that a stupa flew over from Tibet and landed here. See Zhao Lin'en 趙林恩, *Wutaishan shige zongji* 五臺山詩歌總集 [Complete poems of Wutaishan] (Beijing: Zongjiao chubanshe, 2002), 235.

stong grong? tshon

<u>妃子寺</u>	<u>諸山龍王廟</u>	<u>七佛寺</u> khri ho sI	
<u>善財洞</u> chan ?? dung	<u>大螺頂</u> tA lo ting	<u>飲牛池</u> yin ? chi	<u>西天寺</u> ???
<u>公布山</u> mgon po ri	<u>文殊洞</u> 'jam 'byangs phug	<u>梭羅樹</u> ⁸ sr'U la shu	
<u>朝陽洞</u> byag rdor phug			
<u>南山寺</u> nan san sI	<u>明月池</u> min yu chi	<u>普安寺</u> phu a sI	<u>白頭庵</u> b? ?? an
<u>滩子村</u> ? rtsi ni	<u>萬緣庵</u> wan yung an	<u>黑崖洞</u> ha eng'U bdung	
<u>磕大頭朝五台捨力还愿</u> phyag 'tshal lo		<u>南? 子</u> nan ? rtsi	

4th Section

<u>罗汗台</u> ? khungs ?	<u>闌然寺</u> lan zhan sI	<u>笠子塔</u> rtsa wa? mchod rten	
<u>華嚴嶺</u> ha yan lin	<u>東台</u> shar ri	<u>望海樓</u> o'u har lo'u	<u>罗罗洞</u> lo? lu dung
<u>白子洞</u>	<u>西湾子</u> ???	<u>東台</u> □ stong ? gu'u	
<u>光明寺</u>	<u>平掌寺</u> ⁹ ???	□ □ □	<u>馬跑泉</u> ma ba'u chun'u
<u>西天寺</u> ???	<u>湧泉寺</u>	<u>長城嶺</u> ? cha'u ? ling	
<u>水連洞</u> zhu'i lan bdung	<u>萬佛閣</u> wang ho ge	<u>白雲洞</u> ? yon bdung	
<u>褚家庄</u>	<u>芦家庄</u>	nas nas	
<u>台麓寺</u>	<u>行宮</u>		
<u>後石佛</u> ho'u shis hu'u	<u>前石佛</u> can shis hu'u	<u>甘和村</u> ¹⁰	
<u>金剛窟</u> ¹¹ bying khang ?	<u>海回庵</u> ???	<u>大寺</u> ? gi sI	<u>石嘴</u>
<u>黑馬石</u> had ma shis?			

⁸ Also known as 旃林寺

⁹ Also known as 平章寺

¹⁰ Also written as 甘合村

¹¹ Also known as 般若寺

APPENDIX IV

Map of the Imperially Established Wutai Shan of the Clear and Cool Realm of Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī

Chijian Wutai Shan Wenshu pusa qingliang shengjing tu
勅建五臺山文殊菩薩清涼勝境圖

91 x 50 cm. Late Qing period (c. 1870), National Library, Beijing.

Transcription of Site Labels: Underlined characters are found in the 1846 map.

1st section from left:

西臺頂 中臺頂 北臺頂 東臺頂 漫天石

牛心石 太華池 生陌獄 那羅洞

伽藍溝 香山 泥□和尚處 黑龍池 說法台 觀來石 現聖台 黃巍嶺 龍璠樹

八攻德水 洗鉢池 妙德菴 樓觀樓 華嚴嶺 □嶺寺 □伽羅山

寒山石 清涼泉 萬年冰 九□泉 澡池 金沙□ 平章寺

秘魔岩 古清涼 清涼谷 清涼橋 紫霞 太黃□ 碧山寺 報恩寺

薩垂崖 鳳林寺 蕨真谷 光明寺 仙人菴 白水池 五郎祠 金剛窟 □□泉 日光寺

臥雲菴 玉花池 禪堂院¹ 菩薩頂 妃子寺 七佛寺 積福寺 興國寺 □□寺

淨土菴 鐵瓦殿 廣宗寺 圓照寺 金界寺 大螺頂 清涼□

圭峰寺 大林菴 三泉寺 甘露泉 顯通寺 宝塔寺

西天洞 壽寧寺 善財洞 對談石 上常住

演教寺 法雷寺 □導菴 羅睺寺 下常住 香雲

羅漢洞 黑厓洞 三塔寺 護眾菴

清涼石 金閣寺 天盆谷 殊像寺 般若泉 塔院寺 雜花園 文殊寺 奶奶廟

梵仙山 南台頂 皇成 紫府廟 婆娑寺

¹ Alternative name for 慈福寺.

獅子窩 蛇溝寺 竹林寺 風水橋 台懷鎮 明月池 觀音洞

古竹林 佛光寺 日照寺 聖佑寺 古南台 鎮海寺 護國寺

虜陽嶺 白頭菴 白雲寺 碑樓寺? 玉皇廟 棲賢寺 文殊洞

志公洞 七□□ 萬木坪 沐浴堂 萬聖估目□? 萬綠?菴 聖鐘山 插劍嶺 龍泉寺

千佛洞 白龍池 三界寺 新城菴 化竹林

法華洞 石塔寺 □定寺 □齊寺 台麓寺 益壽寺

海回庵 普濟寺 金灯寺 神武□ 湧泉寺 桂甲樹 万僧嶺 大會谷

濫□泉 殊言寺 □日□ 觀海寺 □□□ 長城嶺 龍泉關

Total number of inscribed sites: 155

APPENDIX V

Inscription of Murals of Ri bo rtse Inga/Wutai Shan at Bskal bzang bde 'khyil pho brang, Nor bu gling ga

*Underlined inscriptions also appear in the mural in the Eastern Sunlight Hall, Potala Palace

Inscription	Translation
<u>lho ri</u>	Southern Peak
<u>'jam dpal yi shes sems dpa'</u>	Mañjuśrī of the Wisdom Body
<u>nub ri</u>	Western Peak
<u>'jam dbyangs smra seng</u>	Mañjuśrī of the Lion of Speech
<u>dbus ri</u>	Central Peak
<u>'jam dbal zhun nu</u>	Youthful Mañjuśrī
<u>byang ri</u>	Northern Peak
<u>'jam dbal dri med</u>	Immaculate Mañjuśrī
<u>Shar ri</u>	Eastern Peak
<u>'jam dbal rnon po</u>	Mañjuśrī of Sharp Intelligence
<u>dgra bcom lnga brgya ri lha khang</u>	Temple of the Mountain of Five Hundred Arhats
<u>mchod rten sngon po</u>	Blue Stupa ¹
<u>phu gsar sting</u>	Pusa ding 菩薩頂 (Potala: phu sa ting)
<u>smān lha'i lha khang</u>	Temple of the Medicine Buddha 藥師王殿
<u>bsam gtan gling</u>	Temple of Meditation (Chantang yuan 禪堂院, another name for 慈福寺)
<u>lcang skya lha khang</u>	Temple of Lcang skya Khu. 章嘉寺
<u>dbu lang me'</u>	Shrine of Wulang (Wuliao miao 五郎廟)

¹ Also known as "seng ge'i khyim," or Lions' Den (Shizi wo 獅子窩)

<u>bde mchog lha khang</u>	Hall of Cakrasamvara (Pule yuan 普樂院)
<u>rdo rje phug</u>	Vajra Cave (Jingang ku 金剛窟)
Sangs rgyas dpa' bdun gyi lha khang	Hall of Seven Buddhas (Qifo si 七佛寺)
ri rtse dgon gsar lha khang	New Retreat Monastery of the Mountain Peak
klu rgyal dkar po'i lha khang	Temple of the White Dragon King
Dge shes so mo	Geshe Somo
'jam dbyangs rigs lnga'i lha khang	Hall of the Five Emanations of Mañjuśrī
shes snying lha khang	Hall of the Heart Sutra
ma ni ba dang lha khang	Chapel of the Mani-reciters?
nor bzang phug	Cave of Sudhana (Shancai dong 善財洞)
<u>'jam dbyangs ser po'i phug</u>	Cave of the Yellow Mañjuśrī
spnyu'u luru spi	?
<u>phung zhing li:</u>	Village of Phung Zhing?
<u>phyag rdor phug</u>	Cave of Vajrapani
<u>mgon po ri</u>	Mountain of the Protector [Mahākāla]
<u>dpag bsam shing gi dgon pa</u>	Monastery of the Wish-Fulfilling Tree (Suoluo shu 娑羅樹)
stag gi lha khang	Temple of the Tiger (Shehu chuan 射虎川)
khri rtsud tshe	?
'jam dbyangs dkar po'i sgrub phug	Meditation Cave of the White Mañjuśrī
<u>kwan yan tung</u>	Cave of Avalokiteśvara (Guanyin dong 觀音洞)
chos rje dgon pa	Monastery of the Dharma King
chel 'ing me'o	Shrine of ?? (miao 廟)

yang ling rtse	Name of a street? (Yangling zi 陽鈴子?)
lo hu si	Temple of Rahula (Luohou si 羅睺寺)
zhi lwan thang	Temple of Ten Directions (Shifang tang 十方堂)
<u>bka' 'gyur dgon pa</u>	Monastery of the Kanjur
mkhar ru lha khang	Hall of Kharu
klu rgyal lha khang	Hall of the Dragon King
rgyal bo'i pho brang	Palace of the Emperor (Xingong 行宮)
<u>'jam dbyangs shing rti lha khang</u>	Hall of Mañjuśrī's carriage
'jam dbyangs 'mar po lha khang	Hall of the Red Mañjuśrī
<u>t'a ran a tha'i mchod rten</u>	Stupa of Tāranātha
me lha'i lha khang	Hall of the Fire God
<u>'jam dbyangs tsam mgo ma'i lha khang:</u>	Temple of the Barley Flour head of Mañjuśrī's statue (Shuxiang si 殊像寺)
drang srong ri	Mountain of Indian Sages (Fanxian shan 梵仙山)
<u>mchod rten dkar po</u>	White Stupa (Dabai ta 大白塔)
chu mig zla ba	Fountain of the Moon (Mingyue chi 明月池)
sangs rgyas stong gi lha khang	Hall of the Thousand Buddhas (Qianfo si 千佛寺)
'jam dbyangs dkar po'i lha khang	Hall of the White Mañjuśrī
lha dbang rgyal chen lha khang	Great King Temple
thu mu ra ma h'a ka la	A specific form of Mahākāla?
<u>ching ha'i zi</u>	Zhenhai si 鎮海寺

sangs rgyas stong gi sgrub phug	Cave of Thousand Buddhas (Qianfo dong 千佛洞)
rdo gchod lha khang ²	Hall of the Diamond Sutra?
<u>kun yan phu</u>	?
<u>dbyar gnas lha khang</u>	Hall of Summer Retreat
<u>ae ka dza ti</u>	ekasiddhi
<u>rnam gcod lha khang</u>	Hall of Exclusion
<u>dpyang pu me ba rang ri</u>	Self-arisen Mountain
<u>sgrol ma'i lha khang</u>	Hall of Tara
<u>mchod rten dgon pa</u>	Monastery of Stupa(s) (Santa si 三塔寺)

Total number of inscriptions: 67

² Appears on Potala map, excluded from the Norling map.

APPENDIX VI

Inscription on Wutai Shan mural
Center of eastern Corridor, Second floor
Dbu rtse rigs gsum, Bsam yas Monastery

1. Shar phyogs akharaddha ri 'i rtse la 'jam dpal ye shes sems dpa' bzhugs pa

Mañjuśrī of the Wisdom Body dwells in the Peak of the Eastern direction

2. rgya nag gahi 'u ti'i shar a ri bo chen po rtse lnga yod par dbus kyi ri bo'i rtse la 'jam dpal gzhon nur gyur ba bzhugs ba

The Youthful Mañjuśrī dwells on the Central Peak of the Great Mountain of Five Peaks in China

3. nub phyogs a pa ri yi rtsi man 'jam dpal smra ba'i seng ge bzhugs pa

Mañjuśrī of the Lion of Speech dwells on the Peak of the Western direction

4. byang phyogs ??? ri yi ? mon 'jam dpal dri ma med pa bzhugs ba

The Immaculate Mañjuśrī dwells in the Peak of the Northern Direction

5. lho phyogs gha na ri rtser 'jam dpal rnon po bzhugs ba

The Mañjuśrī of Sharp Intelligence dwells in the Southern direction

APPENDIX VII
Tibetan Language Texts on Wutai Shan/Ri bo rtse lnga¹
in Chronological order

Chos rgyal 'Phags pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan (1235-1280). *'Jam dbyangs la ri bo rtse lngar bstod pa nor bu'i phreng ba*. [The Garland of Jewels: Praise to Mañjuśrī at Wutai shan] (1257). In *Sa skya bka' 'bum* (Sde dge: Sde dge par khang). vol. 15, 226.3-237.

_____. *Ri bo rtse lnga so so'i rigs su mthun pa'i bstod pa* [Praise to the Five Peaks of Wutai Shan] In *Sa skya bka' 'bum* (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig dpe skrun khang, 2007), vol. 22, 43-44

_____. *Chos rje pa la bstod pa ri bo rtse lngar bris pa* [Praise to the Dharma master composed at Wutai Shan] (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig dpe skrun khang, 2007), vol. 19, 108-110.

Bka' 'gyur ba Blo bzang tshul khriims (b. 17th century). *Ri bo rtse lnga'i gnas bstod* [Praise of the Five Peak Mountain]. Collection of the Library of the Minorities Cultural Palace, Beijing. *Shes bya'i gter mdzod* vol.1, p. 125, no. 003895 (15). Reprinted in *Gangs ljongs mkhas dbang rim byon gyi rtsom yig gser gyi sbram*, 1579~1584.

Thu'u bkwan 02 Ngag dbang chos kyi rgya mtsho (1680-1736). *Ri bo rtse lnga'i gzhi bdag rnam la bsangs mchod 'bul tshul legs tshogs lhun grub* [Ritual of Incense offerings to various local deities of Wutai Shan: Spontaneously Accomplished Prosperity and Well-being]. Collection of the Library of the Minorities Cultural Palace, Beijing. *Shes bya'i gter mdzod* no. 001229 (18) 5.

Kham Sprul 03 Ngag dbang kun dga' bstan 'dzin (1680-1728). *Rgya nag ri bo rtse lnga'i bkod yig 'jam dpal zhing mchog rab snang 'dren byed* [Clarifying the manual of Wutai Shan in China, the excellent pure abode of Mañjuśrī] (late 17th, early 18th century). Location unknown.

Bla ma Rtse lnga pa Dpal ldan grags pa, (18th c.?). Guidebook mentioned in *Ri bo rtse lnga'i dkar chag rab gsal me long*.

Sum pa mkhan po Ye shes dpal 'byor (1704-1788). Poem from 1772 composed in autobiography (1776) *Pañḍita sum pa ye shes dpal 'byor mchog gi spyod tshul brjod pa sgra 'dzin bcud len* (Beijing: Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang, 2001). pp. 442.12-443.9.²

Lcang sky Rol pa'i rdo rje (1717-86). *Ri bo rtse lnga'i gnas bstod dang 'brel ba'i mgur 'jam dpal dgyes pa'i chod sprin* [Cloud of Offerings to Please Manjushri: A Song Coupled to a Place-

¹ This partial list is of a larger working database compiled with the help of the late Gene Smith, Sharwu Lijia of the Library of the Sichuan Minorities University, and Tashi Tsering of the Amnye Machen Institute. Some entries are drawn from Kurtis Schaeffer, "Tibetan Poetry on Wutai Shan" in *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies*, special issue on Wutaishan under the Qing dynasty, Johan Elverskog & Gray Tuttle (eds.), Publication forthcoming. <http://www.thlib.org/collections/texts/jiats/>.

² See also reference to Ri bo rtse lnga in *Chos 'byung dpag bsam ljon bzang* (Lanzhou: Kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1992) 936-959.

Praise for Wutai Shan]. In *Gsung 'bum*, vol. 4, 397-406. Reprinted in Karma 'phrin las ed., *Nye rtsom gces bsgrigs* (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2005), 64-73.

_____. *Ri bo rtse lnga'i gzhi bdag rnams la gtor 'bul 'phrin bcol mdor bsdu pa* [Abridged ritual of gtorma offerings to various local deities of Wutai Shan]. In *Gsung 'bum*, vol. 5, 467-472.

_____. *Ri bo dwangs bsil gyi kar [sic] chag mjug ma tshang ba* [Partially completed guidebook to Clear and Cool Mountains]. In *Gsung 'bum*, vol. 7, 687-742.

_____. *Zhing mchog ri bo dwangs bsil gyi gnas bshad dad pa'i padmo rgyas byed ngo mtshar nyi ma'i snang ba*. [Pilgrimage Guide to the Clear and Cool Mountains: A Vision of Marvelous Sun Rays That Causes Lotus of Devotion to Blossom]. Beijing: Songzhu si 嵩祝寺. Collection of the Library of the Minorities Cultural Palace, Beijing. Reprinted Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe sgrun khang. 1993.

Thu'u bkwan 03 Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma (1737-1802). Poem (1784) recorded in Gung thang Bstan pa'i sgron me, *Thu'u bkwan chos kyi nyi ma'i rtogs brjod padma dkar po* (Lhanzhou: Kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1992). vol. 1, pp. 410.19-413.5.

A kya yongs 'dzin Dbyangs can dga' ba'i blo gros (1740-1847). *Gnas mchog ri bo rtse lngar mjal skabs kyi gnas bstod dang 'brel ba'i mgur 'jam dpal dgyes pa'i mchod sprin dang dus chen khyad par can gyi rnambshad*. [In praise of Wutai shan, a place of pilgrimage in china; songs made on the occasion of visiting there; notes on the origins of the great buddhist festivals observed there] (1799). In *Gsung 'bum*, vol. 2, 4 folios.

Ye shes don grub (19th c.) and A lag sha Ngag dbang bstan dar (1759-1831). *Ri bo dwangs bsil gyi 'jam dpal mtshan ldan gling gi mtshar sdug sku brnyan gyi lo rgyus bskor tshad dang bcas pa dad ldan skye bo'i spro bskyod me tog 'phreng mdzes* [A beautiful flower garland to rouse the faithful: the history and environs of the Beautiful statue of the Temple of Mañjuśrī's Marks at the Mountain of Clear and Cool]. Beijing: Songzhu si, 1818. Collection of the Library of the Minorities Cultural Palace, Beijing.

Rgyal dbang mkhan Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1762-1835/1837). *Ri bo rtse lnga'i gnas bstod don ldan tshangs pa'i sgra dbyangs* [Praise poem of the Five Peak Mountain possessing the melodious voice of Brahma] (1785). Reprinted in *Gangs ljongs mkhas dbang rim byon gyi rtsom yig gser gyi sbram*, 1445-1455.

Sde khri 'Jam dbyangs thub bstan nyi ma (1779-1862). Reference to Wutai shan in *Gil bar jo bo'i lo rgyus rin po che'i za ma tog*. Reprinted in *Gangs ljongs mkhas dbang rim byon gyi rtsom yig gser gyi sbram*, 1522.

'Jam dpal chos kyi bstan 'dzin 'phrin las (1789-1839). *Rgya nag gi yul rgyas par bshad pa in 'Dzam gling rgyas bsahd* (Xining: mi rigs par khang, 2009), 212-231.

Har chen Lha btsun Mthu stobs nyi ma. *Sprul ba'i gnas mchog ri bo dwangs bsil gyi gnas bstod gsol 'debs* [Praise poem and prayers to the miraculously manifested supreme Clear and Cool mountains]. In section on teachings in *Gsung 'bum*.

Dznya'ana shri'i man/Ye [shes] dpal [ldan] (mid 19th c.). *Ri bo rtse lnga'i dkar chag rab gsal me long* [Guidebook to Five Peak Mountain]. (1831) Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1994.

Gsang bdag rdo rje, 19th c. *Ri bo rtse lnga'i phyag mchod 'jam dbyangs mnyes byed kun bzang mchod sprin*. In *Ri bo rtse lnga'i dkar chag rab gsal me long*, 212.13-219.5.

_____. *Rje btsun 'jam dpal gyi lha tshogs rnams la bsang mchod 'bul tshul 'dod kun 'grub*. In *Ri bo rtse lnga'i dkar chag rab gsal me long*, 220.13-221.18.

_____. *Rje btsun 'jam pa'i dbyangs kyi 'dod gsol smon lam dang bcas pa shes rab myur stsol*. In *Ri bo rtse lnga'i dkar chag rab gsal me long*, 221.19-223.10.

Byams pa mthu stobs Kun dga rgyal mtshan (1835-1895). Reference to Wutai shan in his biography *Rje bstun byams pa mthu stobs kun dga' rgyal mtshan gyi rnam thar* (Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs par khang, 1994).

'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa 04 Skal bzang thub bstan dbang phyug, (1856-1916). Two aspiration prayers in 'Jigs med phrin las rgya mtsho, *Zhva ser ring lugs pa Skal bzang thub bstan dbang phyug gi rtogs pa brjod pa rin chen phreng ba stod cha*. (1898) (Bla brang: Bla brang bkra shis 'khyil dgon pa, 1999?), ff. 217a.3-218a.5, and 219b.5-221a.1.

Dalai Lama 13 Thub bstan rgya mtsho. *Rje btsun 'jam pa'i dbyangs kyi gnas la bstod pa dwangs gsal mdzes pa'i me long* [Beautiful Clear Mirror: A Praise to Lord Manjugosha's Abode]. In *The Collected Works of Dalai Lama XIII Vol. 3*, 395-404.

Panchen Lama 09 Thub bstan chos kyi nyi ma (1883-1937). *Rje btsun 'jam dpal dbyangs la gsol ba 'debs pa'i bden tshig thugs rje bskul ba'i pho nya* (1925). In *Gsung 'bum*, vol. 6, 71-78.

_____. *Ri bo dwangs bsil du smon lam skabs bsnyen bkur mang 'gyed stsal ba'i dpyad khra*. (1925) In *Gsung 'bum*, vol. 6, 421-428.

_____. *Ri bo rtse lnga'i rten gtso rnams la na bza' sogs 'bul gnanng gi 'dod gso la smon tshig khag* [Wish-granting Prayers on the occasion of Making Offerings of Many Clothes and etc. to the Many Holy Images Of Five-Peaked Mountain] (1925). In *Gsung 'bum*, vol. 6, 611-616.

Rdo sbis dge bshes Shes rab rgya mtsho (1884-1968). *Rang gi gam na mo lnga la rtse lnga'i gnas tshul bshad pa dad gsum gso ba'i bdud rtsi* (1950s). In *Rje btsun shes rab rgya mtsho 'jam dpal dgyes pa'i blo gros kyi gsung rtsom* (Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1984). vol. 3, 444-448.

Mkhan po 'Jigs med phun tshogs (1933-2004). Prayer to Mañjuśrī in *Ri bo rtse lnga'i gnas bshad mthong ba don ldan*, 97-98.

Khro ru tshe rnam (1928-2005). *Gnas mchog ri bo rtse lnga rtogs pa brjod pa*. In *mkhan chen gyi gsung 'bum*, vol. 8, ff. 293v-298r.

Ngag dbang bstan dar. *Dwangs bsil ri bo rtse lnga'i gnas bshad* [Pilgrimage Guide to the Clear and Cool Five Peak Mountain]. Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig dpe skrun khang: 2007.

Bsod names dar rgyas. *Ri bo rtse lnga'i gnas bshad mthong ba don ldan*. 2007.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Convention

T Taishō shinshū Daizōkyō 大正新修大藏經 [The Buddhist Canon, comp. Taisho era, 1912-26] Edited by Takakusu Junjiro 高楠順次郎 and Watanabe Kaigyoku 渡邊海旭, et. (Tokyo: Taisho issaikyo kankokai, 1924-32), 100 vols. Following standard convention, references to texts in the Taisho canon are indicated by text number (T.), followed by the volume number.

“Buddhists’ Ruler Long a Wanderer; Dalai Lama Left Holy City of Lhasa After “Infidels Trod Its Sacred Streets.” 1,000 Men in his Retinue Costs \$5,000 a Day to Entertain Spiritual Protector on His Pilgrimage in Tibet, but He Refuses to Return Home.” *New York Times*, July 13, 1908.

“Dalai Lama at Ting-Chow; Wandering Head of Buddhist Faith Has a Wild and Disorderly Retinue.” *New York Times*, Sept. 29, 1908.

“Lun zhengdun Xizang buke zhuanxun dalai zhi yijian 論整頓西藏不可專尋達賴之意見 [op: government should not only consult the Dalai Lama on reforming Tibet].” *Shenbao*, August 20, 1908, section 1, page 3.

“Qizhi dalai lama zai jing qingxing 七誌達賴喇嘛在京情形 [The Dalai Lama in Beijing, Part Seven].” *Shenbao*, section 1, page 5. September 28, 1908.

“Snying gdam snying gi thig leg.” in *Chos rje dam pa yid bzhin nor bu ‘jigs med phun tshogs ‘byung gnas dpal bzang po’i gsung ‘bum*, vol. 3. Gser rta: gser thang bla rung lnga rig nang bstan slob gling, 200?.

“Xizang baoyao 西藏譯要[Summary of Western News].” *Shenbao*, August 20, section 2, page 2.

A kya yongs 'dzin Dbyangs can dga' ba'i blo gros (1740-1847). *Gsung 'bum*. Sku 'bum: Sku 'bum par khang, 1990s.

Alisal, Maria Rodríguez del, Peter Ackermann, and Dolores P. Martinez eds. *Pilgrimages and Spiritual Quests in Japan*. London and New York: Routledge, 2007.

Ambros, Barbara. *Emplacing Pilgrimage the Ōyama Cult and Regional Religion in Early Modern Japan*. Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2008.

Andreyev, Alexander. “Russian Buddhists in Tibet, from the end of the nineteenth century – 1930.” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* Vol. XI, Part 2 (November 2001): 349-362

_____. *Soviet Russia and Tibet*. Leiden: Brill, 2003.

Areford, David S. "The Image in the Viewer's Hands: The Reception of Early Prints in Europe." *Studies in Iconography* 24 (2003): 5-42.

Aris, Michael. *Hidden Treasures and Secret Lives: A Study of Pemalingpa (1450-1521) and the Sixth Dalai Lama (1683-1706)*. London and New York: Kegan Paul International, 1989.

Arnold, Dan. "Mādhyamika Buddhism." *Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. Accessed on April 11, 2011. <http://www.iep.utm.edu/b-madhya/>.

Ary, Elijah. "Logic, Lives and Lineage: Jetsun Chokyi Gyaltzen's Ascension and the Secret Biography of Khedrup Geleg Pelzang." PhD Diss., Harvard University, 2007.

Bakhtin, Mikhail. M. "Forms of Time and Chronotope in the Novel." in *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by M.M. Bakhtin*, translated by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist, 84-258. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981.

Banyou 半憂. "Waiba miao yu qingdai zhengzhi 外八廟與清代政治." *Chengde minzu zhiyie jishu xueyuan xuebao* 承德民族職業技術學院學報 4 (1996): 43-48.

Bawden, Charles R. Review of *Mongolische Ortsnamen. Teil II. Mongolische Manuskriptkarten in Faksimilia*, by Walther Heissig. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 42, no. 3 (1979): 579-581.

Beer, Robert. *The Encyclopedia of Tibetan Symbols and Motifs*. Boston: Shambhala, 1999.

Béguin, Gilles. *Musée national des arts asiatiques-Guimet. Les peintures du bouddhisme tibétain*. Paris: R.M.N., 1995.

Bell, Charles. *Portrait of a Dalai Lama*. London: William Collins, 1946.

Benca Dawa, *Shisanshi dalai lama de jinshi tudeng gongpei* 十三世達賴喇嘛的近侍土登貢培 [Thubten Kunphel, the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's body guard]. Lhasa: Xizang renmin chubanshe, 2008).

Benjamin, Walter. "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction." In *Illuminations*, trans. Harry Zohn, 211-44. London: Fontana, 1992.

Bentor, Yael. *Consecration of Images and Stupas in Indo-Tibetan Tantric Buddhism*. Leiden: Brill, 1996.

Berger, Patricia, and Terese Tse Bartholomew. *Mongolia: the legacy of Chinggis Khan*. San Francisco: Asian Art Museum, 1995.

Berger, Patricia. "Miracles in Nanjing: An Imperial Record of the Fifth Karmapa's Visit to the Chinese Capital." *Cultural Intersections in Later Chinese Buddhism*, ed. Marsha Weidner. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001.

_____. *Empire of Emptiness: Buddhist Art and Political Authority in Qing China*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003.

_____. "The Jiaqing Emperor's Magnificent Record of the Western Tour." *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies*, special issue on Wutaishan under the Qing dynasty, eds. Johan Elverskog and Gray Tuttle. Publication forthcoming.
<http://www.thlib.org/collections/texts/jiats/>.

Bernbaum, Edwin. *The Way to Shambhala: A Search for the Mythical Kingdom Beyond the Himalayas*, 1st Shambhala ed. Boston: Shambhala, 2001.

Berzin, Alexander. "Russian and Japanese Involvement with Pre-Communist Tibet: The Role of the Shambhala Legend." Accessed on March 3, 2010. http://www.berzinarchives.com/web/en/archives/advanced/kalachakra/shambhala/russian_japanese_shambhala.html. (2003)

Bianchi, Esther. "Protecting Beijing: The Tibetan Image of Yamāntaka- Vajrabhairava in Late Imperial and Republican China." In *Images of Tibet in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, ed. Monica Esposito, 359-385. Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 2008.

Birnbaum, Raoul. *Studies on the Mysteries of Manjusri*. Boulder: Society for the Study of Chinese Religions, 1983.

_____. "Secret Halls of the Mountain Lords: the Caves of Wu-t'ai." *Cahiers d'Extreme-Asie* 5 (1989-1990): 116-140.

_____. "The Manifestation of a Monastery: Shen-Ying's Experiences on Mount Wu-t'ai in T'ang Context." *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 106, No. 1, Sinological Studies Dedicated to Edward H. Schafer (Jan. -Mar., 1986), 119-137.

_____. "Human Traces and the Experience of Powerful Places: A Note on Memory, History, and Practice in Buddhist China." Paper given at Symposium "Image, Relics and Legends: Formation and Transformation of Buddhist Sacred Sites." University of British Columbia, October, 2004.

_____. "Light in the Wutai Mountains," in *The Presence of Light: Divine Radiance and Religious Experience*, ed. Matthew Kapstein, 195-226. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.

Bischoff, F. A. "Die Wu T'ai Shan Darstellung von 1846." In *Contributions on Tibetan language, History, and Culture. Proceedings of the Csoma de Koros Symposium*, ed. Ernst Steinkellner and Helmut Tauscher, 17-18. Vienna: Universität Wien, 1983.

Blo bzang chos grags, and Bsod nams rtse mo, eds. *Gangs ljongs mkhas dbang rim byon gyi rtsom yig gser gyi sbram* [Gold Nugget: Compositions, Chronologically Arranged, of the Master Scholars of the Snow Land]. Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1989.

Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes, *Shambha la'i lam yig*. In *Collected Works of the Third Panchen Lozang Palden Yeshe (1738-1780)*, vol. 10, 9-108, 50 ff. New Delhi: Mongolian Lama Gurudeva, 1975-1978.

Blo bzang 'phrin las rnam rgyal, *'Jam mgon chos kyi rgyal po tsong kha pa'i mam thar* [biography of the dharma king Tsongkhapa]. Mtsho sngon: mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1981.

_____. [Ch. Zhou Jiexiang]. *Zhizun zongkeba dashi zhaun* 至尊宗喀巴大師傳 [biography of venerable master Tsongkhapa]. Translated by Guo Heqing 郭和卿. Xining: Qinghai remin chubanshe, 1988.

Blo bzang thub bstan, Khri drung [Chizhong luosang tudeng 赤仲·洛桑土登]. “Luobu lingka jianzhu he jiansai puzhang xiujian shimo 羅布林卡建築和堅賽頗章修建始末 [Concerning of the history of the building of Norbu Lingka and Chensel Palace].” In *Xizang wenshi ziliao xuanji* 西藏文史資料選集 [Collection of literary and historical materials from Tibet] 21, 110-115. Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 2004.

_____. “Nor gling pho brang khag gi bkod pa rags tsam dang spyang bsal pho brang gсар skrun skor [Concerning of the history of the building of Norbu Lingka and Chensel Palace]” *Bod kyi lo rgyus rig gnas dpyad gzhi'i rgyu cha bdams bsgrigs* [Tibetan historical research series] 10 (19), 215-226. Beijing: bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1996.

_____. “Pho brang chen po po ta la nyams gso'i skor rags tsam gleng ba [A summary of the restoration of the Potala Palace].” In *Bod kyi rig gnas lo rgyus dpyad gzhi'i rgyu cha bdams bsgrigs* [Tibetan historical research series], volume number unspecified, 550-551. Beijing: mi rigs dpe skrun khang 1990.

_____. *Pho brang po ta la chags tshul dang 'dzugs skrun snga phyi rtsa che'i rig dngos bcas kyi lo rgyus dpyad gzhi'i yig cha mdor bsodus* [A History and Description of the Potala Palace in Lhasa]. Lhasa: Bod rang skyong ljongs rig dngos do dam u yon lhan khang, 1982.

Blofeld, John. *The Wheel of Life: The Autobiography of a Western Buddhist*. Berkeley: Shambhala, 1972.

Blondeau, Anne-Marie and Ernst Steinkellner eds. *Reflections of the Mountain: Essays on the history and social meaning of the mountain cult in Tibet and the Himalaya*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1996.

Brauen, Martin, ed. *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History*. Chicago: Serindia Publications, 2005.

_____. *Mandala: Sacred Circle in Tibetan Buddhism*. New York: Rubin Museum of Art, 2009.

Bsod names dar rgyas. *Ri bo rtse lnga'i gnas bshad mthong ba don ldan*. 2007.

C. G. Mannerheim. *Across Asia from West to East in 1906–1908*. Kansatieteellisiiä julkaisu 18. Translated by Edward Birse. Revised by Harry Halén. Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura • Société Finno-Ougrienne & Otava Publ. Co. Ltd, Helsinki, 2008.

Cabezón, Jose Ignacio. *Tibetan Literature: Studies in Genre*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion Publications, 1995.

_____. *A Dose of Emptiness: An Annotated Translation of the sTong thun chen mo of mKhas grub dge legs dpal bzang*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992.

Caihong 彩虹. "Shifang tang 十方堂," *Wutai Shan Yanjiu*, no. 1 (1999): 23-25.

Cartelli, Mary Anne. "The Poetry of Mount Wutai: Chinese Buddhist Verse from Dunhuang." PhD diss., Columbia University, 1999.

_____. "On a Five-Colored Cloud: The Songs of Mount Wutai." In *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 124, no. 4 (Oct. - Dec., 2004): 735-757.

Carter, Martha. *The Mystery of the Udayana Buddha*. Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1990.

Carter, Thomas Francis. *The Invention of Printing in China and Its Spread Westward*. New York: Ronald Press, 1955.

Casey, Edward. *Representing Place: Landscape Painting and Maps*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002.

Certeau, Michel de. *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 91-110

_____. *The Writing of History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Charleux, Isabelle. "Mongol pilgrimages to Wutaishan in the late Qing Dynasty." *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies*, special issue on Wutaishan under the Qing dynasty, ed. Johan Elverskog and Gray Tuttle. Publication forthcoming.
<http://www.thlib.org/collections/texts/jiats/>

_____. "Padmasambhava's Travel to the North: The Pilgrimage to the Monastery of the Caves and the Old Schools of Tibetan Buddhism in Mongolia." *Central Asiatic Journal* 46-2 (2002): 168-232.

_____. *Temples et monastères de Mongolie-intérieure*. Paris: Éditions du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques; Institut national d'histoire de l'art, 2006.

Chavannes, Edouard. *Le T'ai Chan; Essai De Monographie d'une Culte Chinois*. Paris: E. Leroux, 1910.

Chayet, Anne. "Le monastère de bSam-yas: sources architecturales." *Arts Asiatiques* 43 (1988): 19-29.

_____. *Les temples de Jehol et leurs modèles tibétains*. Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1985.

Chen Nan 陈楠. "Shijia yeshi zai nanjing, wutai shan ji qi yu Mingchengzu guanxi shi shi kaoshu 释迦也失在南京、五台山及其与明成祖关系史实考述[An examination of Śākya

Yeshe's stay in Nanjing and Wutai Shan and its relation to Ming Yongle emperor]." *Xizang Yanjiu* no.3 (2004): 99-106.

Chen Qingying 陳慶英 and Jin Chengxiu 金成修. "Ke-erkebu zhebuzundanba huo fo zhuanshi de qiyuan xintan 喀尔喀部哲佈尊丹巴活佛轉世的起源新探 [A New Investigation into the Origin of the Reincarnation of the Jebtsundambas of the Khalka Region]." *Qinghai minzu xuebao*, no. 3 (2003): 9-14.

_____. "Zhangjia Ruobi duoji nianpu 章嘉若必多吉年谱[Chronology of Rölpe Dorjé]." *Qinghai minzu yanjiu* no. 2(1990): 37-44.

Chengde Cultural Heritage Bureau, Hebei Cultural Heritage Bureau, and The Getty Conservation Institute. *Assessment Report on Shuxiang Temple, Chengde, rev. Sept. 2009*. Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute, 2009.

Childs, Geoff. "Refuge and revitalisation: Hidden Himalayan sanctuaries (sbas-yul) and the preservation of Tibet's imperial lineage." *Acta Orientalia* 60 (1999): 126-158

Chong Baolin 充寶琳. "Banchan lai jing yu Xizang zhi guanxi 班禪來京與西藏之關係 [The Panchen lama's arrival in Beijing and relation with Tibet]." *Haichaoyin* 海潮音 [The Voice of the Ocean Tide] 6, no. 2 (1925): 191-199 (13-21).

Chos kyi rgyal mtshan, Rje btsun. *Mkhas grub thams cad mkhyen pa'I gsang ba'i rnam thar*. In *Mkhas grub dge legs dpal bzang gi sung 'bum*. vol. Ka. New York: Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center, 2003.

Chou, Wen-shing. "Ineffable Paths: Mapping Wutai shan in Qing Dynasty China." *Art Bulletin* 89, no. 1 (2007): 108–29.

Chun Rong 春荣. "Cifu si 慈福寺 [Monastery of Benevolent Virtues]." *Wutai Shan yanjiu* no. 1 (1999): 21-22.

Chung, Anita. *Drawing Boundaries: Architectural Images in Qing China*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004.

Coleman, Simon and John Elsner. "The Pilgrim's Progress: Art, Architecture and Ritual Movement at Sinai." *World Archaeology* 6, No. 1 (Jun., 1994), 73-89.

Connolly, Daniel K. *The Maps of Matthew Paris: Medieval Journeys through Space, Time and Liturgy*. Rochester: Boydell and Brewer, 2009.

_____. "Imagined Pilgrimage in the Itinerary Maps of Matthew Paris." *Art Bulletin* 91 (1999): 598-622.

Crossley, Pamela. *A Translucent Mirror: History and Identity in Qing Imperial Ideology*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999.

Cui Wenkui 崔文魁. "Wutai Shan yu Wutai Shan tu 五臺山與五臺山圖 [Wutai Shan and the Image of Wutai Shan]." *Wutai Shan yanjiu*, no. 3 (2004): 17-23.

Cui Zhenseng 崔正森 and Wang Zhichao 王志超 eds. *Wutai Shan beiwen xuanzhu 五臺山碑文選註* [Annotated selection of stele inscriptions from Wutai Shan]. Taiyuan: Beiyue Wenyi Chubanshe, 1995.

Dafangguofo huayan jing 大方廣佛華嚴經, T.279: 10

Dai, Yingcong. *The Sichuan Frontier and Tibet: Imperial Strategy in the Early Qing*. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2009.

Danzhu angben 丹珠昂奔 [Don grub dbang 'bum]. *Libei Dalai Lama yu Banchen E'erdeni nianpu 历辈达赖喇嘛与班禅额尔德尼年谱* [Chronicle of the successive the Dalai Lama and Bainqen Erdeni]. Beijing: Zhongyang minzu daxue, 1998.

Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667). *Ji shengzhou sanbao gantong tu 集神州三寶感通錄* [Collected Records of Sympathetic Resonances of the Three Jewels in the Divine Land], T.2106: 52.

Dargyay, Eva. "Srong-Btsan Sgam-Po of Tibet: Bodhisattva and King" in *Monks and Magicians: Religious Biographies in Asia*, ed. Phyllis Granoff und Koichi Shinohara, 99-113. New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1994.

Davidson, Ronald. *Indian Esoteric Buddhism: A Social History of the Tantric Movement*. New York, Columbia University Press, 2002.

_____. *Tibetan Renaissance: Tantric Buddhism in the Rebirth of Tibetan Culture*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2005.

Debreczeny, Karl. "Wutaishan: Pilgrimage to Five Peak Mountain." *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies*, special issue on Wutaishan under the Qing dynasty, ed. Johan Elverskog and Gray Tuttle. Publication forthcoming. <http://www.thlib.org/collections/texts/jiats/>

Dge 'dun chos 'phel ed. *Gnas yig phyogs bsgrigs* [Collection of Pilgrimage Guides]. Si khron: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1998.

Dharmatāla, Damcho Gyatsho. *Rosary of White Lotuses: Being the Clear Account of How the Precious Teaching of Buddha Appeared and Spread in the Great Hor Country*, translated and annotated by Piotr Klafkowski. Supervised by Nyalo Trulku Jampa Kelzang Rinpoche. Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1987.

Dharmatala, Gu-sri and Piotr Klafkowski. *The Secret Deliverance of the Sixth Dalai Lama*. Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde 3. Vienna: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien, Universität Wien, 1979.

Dhondup, K. *The Water-bird and Other Years: A History of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama and after*. New Delhi: Rangwang Publishers, 1986.

- Dibyesh, Anand. "The British Imperial Scripting of Tibet's Geopolitical Identity." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 68, No. 1 (2009): 227-252.
- Dingzhi 定智, *Nenghai shangshi zhuan 能海上師傳* [Biography of Nenghai Lama] Taipei: Fanguang wenhua shiye youxian gongci, 1995.
- Doctor, Andreas. *Tibetan Treasure Literature: Revelation, Tradition, and Accomplishment in Visionary Buddhism*. Ithaca: Snow Lion Publications, 2005.
- Dodrup Chen. *Biography of Vimalamitra*. Gangtok: Dodrup Chen Rinpoche, 1967.
- Dott, Brian. *Identity Reflections: Pilgrimages to Mount Tai in Late Imperial China*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004.
- Dou Guangnai 竇光鼐 (1720-1795) ed. *Qinding rixia jiuwen kao 欽定日下舊聞考* [Imperial edition of legends of old about the capital]. Beijing: Wuying dian, 1774. Collection of Library of the library of the Freer and Sackler Galleries, Washington D.C.
- Dudjom Rinpoche. *The Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism: Its Fundamentals and History*. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1991.
- Dunhuang wenwu yanjiu suo 敦煌文物研究所. *Dunhuang mogao ku 敦煌莫高窟*. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1982-1984.
- Dznya'ana shri'i man/Ye [shes] dpal [ldan] (mid 19th c.). *Ri bo rtse lnga'i dkar chag rab gsal me long*. Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1994.
- Eade, John and Michael J. Sallnow. *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage*. London: Routledge, 1991.
- Eliade, Mircea ed. *The Encyclopedia of Religion*. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1987.
- Elikhina, Yu. I. E. *Tibetan paintings (Tangka) from the collection of Yu. N. Roerich stored in the State Hermitage Museum*. St. Petersburg, 2010.
- Elliot, Mark. *The Manchu Way: The Eight Banners and Ethnic Identity in Late Imperial China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001.
- Ennin 圓仁 (794-864). *Nittō guhō junrei gyōki 入唐求法巡礼行记*, 2 Vols. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe. Trans. by Edwin O. Reischauer in *Ennin's diary: the record of a pilgrimage to China in search of the law*, New York: Ronald Press Co, 1955.
- Fang Qingqi 方庆奇. "Wutai Shan Wenshu Pusa 五台山文殊菩萨 [Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī of Wutai Shan]." *Wutai Shan yanjiu*, no. 2 (1994): 20-24.
- Fang Qingqi 方庆奇 et al., *Wutai Shan fengwu chuanshuo 五台山风物传说* [Legends of Wutai Shan]. Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 1985.

Farquhar, David M. "Emperor as Bodhisattva in the Governance of the Ch'ing Empire." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 38 (1978): 5 -34

Faure, Bernard. "Bodhidharma as Textual and Religious Paradigm." *History of Religions* Vol. 25, No. 3 (1986): 187-198.

_____. *Rhetoric of Immediacy: A Cultural Critique of Chan/Zen Buddhism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991..

Feng Mingzhu 馮明珠. *Jindai zhongying xizang jiaoshe yu chuanzang bianqing* 近代中英西藏交涉與川藏邊情 [Negotiations between China and Great Britain regarding Tibet and relations on the border of Sichuan and Tibetan]. Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1996.

Feng Shudong 馮術東. "Shuxiang si yu manwen dazing jing 殊像寺與滿文大藏經 [Shuxiang si and the Manchu Canon]," *Wenwu Chunqiu*, no. 1 (2005): 41-43.

Ferrari, Alfonsa and Luciano Petech eds. *Mk'yen Brtse's Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet*. Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1958.

Fisher, Emil. *The Sacred Wu Tai Shan: In Connection with Modern Travel from Tai Yuan Fu via Mount Wu Tai to the Mongolian Border*. Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1925.

Foshuo wenshu shili ban niepan jing 佛說文殊師利般涅槃經 [Mañjuśrī Parinirvana Sutra], T.464:14.

Foucault, Michel. "Of Other Spaces." Published in English in *Diacritics*, Spring 1986.

Fraser, Sarah. *Performing the Visual: The Practice of Buddhist Wall Painting in China and Central Asia, 618-960*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004.

Frye, Stanley, trans. *The Sutra of the Wise and Foolish*. Dharmasala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1981.

Fu Xihua 傅惜華, *Qingdai Zaju Quanmu* 清代雜劇全目 [Complete catalogue of dramas during the Qing]. Beijing, Renmin chubanshe, 1981.

Fuchs, Walther. "Zum mandjurischen Kandjur." *Asia Major* 6 (1930): 388-402.

Futaki, Hiroshi and Akira Kamimura, *Landscapes Reflected in Old Mongolian Maps*. Tokyo: Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, 2005.

Gao Lintao. "Basiba yu Wutai shan 八思巴与五台山 [‘Phags pa and Wutai Shan]." *Wutaishan yanjiu* no. 4(2000): 25-26 & 46

Gell, Alfred. *Art and Agency*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Germano, David. "History and Nature of the Collected Tantras of the Ancients." <http://www.thlib.org/encyclopedias/literary/wiki/history%20of%20ngb.html>. Last modified March, 2002.

_____. "Re-membering the dismembered body of Tibet: The contemporary Ter movement in the PRC." In *Buddhism in Contemporary Tibet: Religious Revival and Cultural Identity*, ed. Melvyn Goldstein and Matthew Kapstein, 53-94. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.

Gimello, Robert M. "Chang Shang-yin on Wu-t'ai Shan." In *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China*, ed. Susan Naquin and Chün-fang Yü, 89-149. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.

Gomez, Luis O. *The Land of Bliss: The Paradise of the Buddha of Measureless Light*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1996.

_____. "Wu-t'ai Shan 五臺山 during the Early Chin Dynasty 金朝: The Testimony of Chu Pien 朱弁." *Chung-Hwa Buddhist Journal* 7 (1994): 501-612.

Graves, Robert. *Good-bye to all that: An Autobiography*. Providence: Berghahn Books, 1995.

Grupper, Samuel. "Manchu Patronage and Tibetan Buddhism During the First Half of the Ch'ing Dynasty: A Review Article." *Journal of the Tibet Society* 4 (1984): 47-75.

Gruschke, Andreas. *The Cultural Monuments of Tibet's Outer Provinces: Kham*. Bangkok: White Lotus Press, 2004.

Gung thang Bstan pa'i sgron me, *Thu'u bkwan chos kyi nyi ma'i rtogs brjod padma dkar po*. Lhanzhou: Kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang.

Gyatso, Janet. *Apparitions of the Self: The Secret Autobiographies of a Tibetan Visionary*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998.

Halen, Harry. *Mirrors of the Void: Buddhist Art in the National Museum of Finland: 63 Sino-Mongolian Thangkas from the Wutai Shan Workshops, a Panoramic Map of the Wutai Mountains and Objects of Diverse Origin*. Helsinki: National Board of Antiquities, 1987.

Harley, J. B. *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001.

Harvey, David. *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1990.

He Zongying 何宗英. "Di shisan shi dalai lama nianpu 第十三世達賴喇嘛年譜 [Chronicles of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama]." In *Xizang wenshi ziliao xuanji 西藏文史資料選集 [Collection of literary and historical materials from Tibet]*, vol. 11, 160-167. Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 2004.

Heissig, Walther. *Mongolische Handschriften, Blockdrucke, Landkarten (Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland)*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH, 1961.

Heller, Natasha. "Visualizing Pilgrimage and Mapping Experience: Mount Wutai on the Silk Road." In *The Journey of Maps and Images on the Silk Road*, ed. Philippe Forêt and Andreas Kaplony, 29-50. Leiden/Boston: E. J. Brill, 2008.

Henmi Baiei 逸見梅榮, *Manmō hokushi no shūkyō bijutsu* 滿蒙北支の宗教美術 [Religious art of the Mongols and Manchus]. Tokyo: Maruzen: 1943-44.

Henss, Michael. "From Tradition to 'Truth': Images of the 13th Dalai Lama." *Orientalism* 36, No. 6 (2005): 61-6.

Hessig, Walther, ed. *Mongolische Ortsnamen. Teil II. Mongolische Manuskriptkarten in Faksimilia*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1978.

Heuschert, Dorothea. "Legal Pluralism in the Qing Empire: Manchu Legislation for the Mongols." *The International History Review* 20, no. 2 (Jun., 1998): 310-324.

Hibino Takeo 日比野丈夫 and *Ono Katsutoshi* 小野勝年. *Godaisan* 五台山 [Mount Wutai]. Tokyo: Zayuhō Kankokai, 1942; reprint ed. Toyo Bunko 593. Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1995.

Hsu, Sung-peng. *A Buddhist Leader in Ming China: Life and Thought of Han-Shan. Te-Ch'ing, 1546-1623*. University Park: Pennsylvania State Univ Press, 1979.

Hu Jinshan 胡進杉. "Qianlong hongyuan, fabao mingzhu: qingwen quanzang jing 乾隆宏願, 法寶明珠: 清文全藏經 [Qianlong's grand wish and the jewel of dharma: the Manchu Canon]." *Gugong wenwu yuekan* 206 (2004): 36-40.

Huang Hao 黃顥. *Zai Beijing de zangzu wenwu* 在北京的藏族文物 [Tibetan cultural materials in Beijing]. Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 1993.

Huanyu 還玉. "Shuxiang si li de chuanshuo gushi 殊像寺里的传说故事 [legends of Shuxiang si]." *Wutai Shan yanjiu* no. 3 (1996): 47-48.

Huber, Toni ed., *Sacred Spaces and Powerful Places in Tibetan Culture: A Collection of Essays*. Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1999.

_____. *The Cult of Pure Crystal Mountain: Popular Pilgrimage and Visionary Landscape in Southeast Tibet*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

_____. *The Holy Land Reborn: Pilgrimage & Tibetan Reinvention of Buddhist India*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008.

Huixiang 慧祥 (?-706+). *Gu Qingliang zhuan* 古清凉傳 [Ancient Record of the Clear and Cool Mountains], T.2098: 51

Illich, Marina. "Selections from the life of a Tibetan Buddhist polymath: Chankya Rolpai Dorje (lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje), 1717-1786." Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2006.

Irving, Christopher [Reginald Johnston]. "Wu-t'ai-shan and the Dalai Lama." *The New China Review* 1 no. 2(1919): 151-163.

Ishihama Yumiko 石濱裕美子. "The process by which the Gusi Khan family lost its regal authority over Tibet: A Reconsideration of the Rebellion of Blo bzang bstan 'dzin / 「グシハン王家のチベット王権喪失過程に関する一考察--ロブサン・ダンジン (Blo bzang bstan 'dzin) の「反乱」再考." *Toyo gakuho* 69, no. 3 (1988): 151-171.

Jagchid Sechin (Zhaqi Siqin 扎奇斯欽). "Xianfu shishi shisanshi dalai lama shilue 先父師事十三世達賴喇嘛事略 [A brief sketch of my father serving the Thirteenth Dalai Lama]." *Wenshi zilaio* 21, 145-152. Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 2004.

_____. "Manzhou tongzhi xia menggu shenquanfengjian zhidu de jianli 滿洲統治下蒙古神權封建制度的建立 [The Establishment of the Manchu-Controlled Mongolian Feudal System of Incarnation]." *Gugong wenxian* 2, no. 1 (1970): 1-18.

Jagou, Fabienne. "The thirteenth Dalai Lama's visit to Beijing in 1908: In Search of a New Kind of Chaplain-Donor Relationship." In *Buddhism Between Tibet and China*, ed. Matthew Kapstein, 349-350. Somerville: Wisdom Publications, 2009.

'Jam dpal rgya mtsho, Rtog ldan. *Rje btsun tsong kha pa'i rnam thar chen mo'i zur 'debs rnam thar legs bshad kun 'dus* [Supplement to the Great Biography of the lord Tsongkhapa, the Biography [entitled] the compendium of Eloquent Teachings]. In *The Collected Works (gsun 'bum) of Rje Tsong-Kha-Pa Blo-bzang-grags-pa*. New York: Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center, 2003

Jiang Huaiying 姜懷英, ed. *Xizang Budala gong* 西藏布達拉宮 [Potala Palace of Tibet]. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1996.

Jin Sheng 金申. *Wudang zhao* 五當召 [Badkar Choiling Süme]. Baotou : Wenwu chubanshe, 1982.

Jin Yong 金庸. *Luding ji* 鹿鼎記 [The Deer and the Cauldron]. Hong Kong: Wugong Press, 1973?.

_____. *The Deer and the Cauldron: the Adventures of a Chinese Trickster*. Translated by John Minford as Australia: Institute of advanced studies, Australia national university, 1994.

Jinpa, Thupten. *Self, Reality and Reason in Tibetan Philosophy: Tsongkhapa's Quest for the Middle Way*. London and New York: Routledgecurzon, 2002.

Kämpfe, Hans-Rainer. "Einige tibetische und mongolische Nachrichten zur Entstehungsgeschichte des mandjurischen Kanjur." *Zentralasiatische Studien* 9 (1975): 537-46.

Kapstein, Matthew. "The Strange Death of Pema and the Demon Tamer," in *The Presence of Light: Divine Radiance and Religious Experience*, ed. Matthew T. Kapstein, 119-156. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.

_____. *The Tibetans*. Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2006.

Karmay, Samten G. *The Great Perfection: A Philosophical and Meditative Teaching of Tibetan Buddhism*. Leiden: Brill, 1988.

Köhle, Natalie. "Why Did the Kangxi Emperor Go to Wutai Shan?: Patronage, Pilgrimage, and the Place of Tibetan Buddhism at the Early Qing Court." *Late Imperial China* 29, No. 1 (June 2008): 73-110.

Kohn, Richard. "An Offering of Torma." In *Religions of Tibet in Practice*, ed. Donald S. Lopez, 255-265. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.

Kollmar, Paulenz. "Utopian Thought in Tibetan Buddhism: A Survey of the Shambhala Concept and Its Sources." *Studies in Central and East Asian Religions*, 5/6 (1992/3): 78-96.

Kong Zongqing 孔宗庆. "Huiyi guomingdang zhengfu dui xizang zhengwu de guanli 回忆国民党政府对西藏政务的管理 [Recalling the Nationalist government's administration of Tibetan political affairs]." *Zhonghua wenshi ziliao wenku* [Collection of Chinese literary and historical materials]18. Beijing: Wenshu ziliao chubanshe, 1996.

Ku Cheng-mei 古正美. *Cong tianwang chuantong dao fowang chuantong: Zhongguo zhongshi fojiao zhiguo yishi xingtai yanjiu* 從天王傳統到佛王傳統: 中國中世佛教治國意識形態研究 [From Devarāja Tradition to Buddhārāja Tradition: Research into the Ideology of Buddhist Statecraft in Medieval China]. Taipei: Shangzhou, 2003.

Kunsang, Erik Pema. trans. *Wellspring of the Great Perfection: Lives and Insights of the Early Masters in the Dzogchen Lineage*. Hong Kong; Ranjung Yeshe, 2006.

Kyo, Yi Yi Mon. "One, Two or None at all? Doubles and Mirrors in the Photographic Portraits of Empress Dowager Cixi." Qualifying Paper, History of Art, University of California, Berkeley, 2010.

Lamotte, Etienne. "Mañjuśrī." *T'oung Pao* 48, no. 1-3 (1960): 1-96.

Lcang skya, Rol pa'i rdo rje. *Gsung 'bum* [Collected Works] (Beijing: krung go bod brgyud mtho rim nang bstan slob gling nang bstan zhib 'jug khang, 1995).

_____. *Zhing mchog ri bo rtse lnga'i gnas bzhad*. Zi ling: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe sgrun khang. 1993. Trans. By Wang Lu 王璐, "Shengdi Qingliang Shan zhi 聖地清涼山志 [Record of the exalted place of Clear and Cool Mountains]." *Wutai Shan yanjiu*, no. 2 (1990): 8-48.

Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of Space*, trans. by Donald Nichols-Smith. Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 1991.

Leoshiko, Janice. *Bodhgaya: The Site of Enlightenment*. Bombay: Marg, 1988.

Lha 'dzoms sgröl dkar. "Sku bear thub bstan kun 'phel gyi skor [About Thubten Kunphel]." In *Bod kyi rig gnas lo rgyus dpyad gzhi'i rgyu cha bdams bsgrigs* [Tibetan historical research series], vol. 3, 141-172. Lhasa: bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1993.

Li Jicheng 李冀誠. "Zangchuan fojiao yu Wutai Shan 藏传佛教与五台山 [Tibetan Buddhism and Wutai Shan]." *Wutaishan yanjiu* no. 4 (1988): 18-21

Li Kecheng 李克城. "Cong Bukong zhi Zhangjia - Mizong zai Wutai shan de fazhan 從不空至章嘉-密宗在五臺山的發展 [From Bukong to Lcang skya, the development of esoteric Buddhism at Wutai shan]." *Wutaishan yanjiu* no.3 (1995): 21-27

Li Longhai 李隆海, et. al. ed., "Wutai shan heshang de kangri aiguo shiji 五臺山和尚的抗日愛國事跡." *Shanxi wenshi ziliao* 6 (1985): 99-109

Li Qianlang 李乾朗, "Beijing Biyun si jingang baota zuo 北京碧云寺金剛寶座塔 [The Diamond Throne at Beijing Biyun si]." *Zijin cheng* no.9 (2009): 12-15.

Li Xiaocong, *A Descriptive Catalogue of pre-1900 Chinese Maps Seen in Europe*. Beijing: Qinghua University Press, 1996.

Liang Sicheng 梁思成. "Dunhuang bihua zhong suo jian de zhongguo gudai jianzhu 敦煌壁畫所見的中國古代建築 [Ancient Chinese Architecture Seen in the Dunhuang Murals]." In *Liang Sicheng quan ji* 梁思成全集 [Complete Works of Liang Sicheng], 1-48. Beijing: Zhongguo jian zhu gong ye chu ban she, 2001.

_____. "Dunhuang mogaoku zhong de wutaishan tu 敦煌莫高窟中的五臺山圖 [The Wutaishan mural in Dunhuang Cave 61]." *Wenwu zankao ziliao* 2 (1951), no. 5.

Lin Boxiang 林柏祥. "Lin Biao 'xinggong' xiujian shimo 林彪'行宮'修建始末 [The beginning and end of the building of Lin Biao's 'traveling palace']." *Shanxi Laonian*, (November, 2008): 10-11

_____. "Lin Biao zai Wutai Shan jian 'tebie bieshu' jianwen jishi 林彪在五台山建'特別別墅' 見聞紀實 [Eye witness account of the building of Lin Biao's 'special country villa' at Wutai Shan]." *Wenshi yuekan*, no. 2 (2009): 18-19.

Lin Shixuan 林士鉉. *Qingdai menggu yu manzhou zhengzhi wenhua* 清代蒙古與滿洲政治文化 [Mongolia and the Political Culture of the Manchus in the Qing Dynasty]. Kaohsiung: fuwen, 2009.

Liscomb, Kathlyn Maureen. *Learning from Mount Hua: A Chinese Physician's Illustrated Travel Record and Painting Theory*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Liu Lizhong 劉勵中. *Tangka Yishu* 唐卡藝術 [the art of Thangka]. Chengdu: Sichuan Meishu chubanshe, 1992.

Liu Xu 劉昫 (887-946), comp., *Jiu Tang Shu* 舊唐書[Old Tang History]. Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1975.

Lopez, Donald. *Buddhism and Science: A Guide for the Perplexed*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2008.

Lubtsangdamba (Ch: Laozang danba 老藏丹巴). *Qingliang shan xinzhì* 清涼山新志 [New Record of Clear and Cool Mountains]. 1701; reprinted in *Qingliang shan zhi, Qingliang shan xin zhi, Qinding Qingliang shan zhi*. Haikou: Hainan chubanshe, 2001.

Luo Wenhua 羅文華. *Longpao yu jiasha: Qing gong Zangchuan fojiao wenhua kaocha* 龙袍与袈裟: 清宮藏傳佛教文化考察 [Dragon Robes and Kasaya: An Investigation of Tibetan Buddhist Culture at the Qing Court]. Beijing: Zijincheng chubanshe, 2005.

Macdonald, Ariane. "Le Dhānyakataka de Man-luns Guru." *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 57 (1970): 169-213.

Maiduo Wangmu 麦朵旺姆. "Wutai Shan Shengji Yilai 五臺山聖跡一覽 [Visit to Wutai Shan's sacred traces]." Accessed on April 30, 2011. http://foz.xuefo.net/show1_28050.htm.

Marchand, Ernesta. "The Panorama of Wutaishan as an Example of Tenth Century Cartography." *Oriental Art* 22, no. 2 (1976): 158-73.

Martin, Dan. "Bonpo Canons and Jesuit Cannons: On Sectarian Factors Involved in the Ch'ien Lung Emperor's Second Gold Stream Expedition of 1771 to 1776 Based Primarily on Some Tibetan Sources." *The Tibet Journal* 15, no. 2 (Summer 1990): 3-28.

Marx, Emanuel. "Communal and individual pilgrimage: the region of Saints' Tombs in South Sinai." in *Regional Cults*, ed. Richard. P. Werbner, 29-51. London: Academic Press, 1977.

Mdzangs blun zhes bya ba 'i mdo. In *The Sde-dge Mtshal-par Bka'-'gyur: A Facsimile Edition of the 18th Century Redaction of Si-tu Chos-kyi 'byuñ-gnas Prepared Under the Direction of H.H. the 16th Rgyal-dban Karma-pa* (Delhi: Delhi Karmapae Chodhey Gyalwae Sungrab Partun Khang) Vol. 74, 257-595. Tohoku catalogue no. 341.

Mehra, Parshotam. *Tibetan Polity, 1904-1937: The Conflict between the 13th Dalai Lama and the 9th Panchen Lama: A Case Study*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1976.

Meinheit, Susan. "Gifts at Wutai Shan: Rockhill and the Thirteenth Dalai Lama." *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies*, special issue on Wutaishan under the Qing dynasty, eds. Johan Elverskog and Gray Tuttle. Publication forthcoming. <http://www.thlib.org/collections/texts/jiats/>.

Meng Fanxing 孟繁興. "Chengde Shuxiang si yu Wutai Shan Shuxiang si 承德殊像寺與五台山殊像寺." In *Bishu shanzhuang luncong* 避暑山莊論叢 [Collected essays on the summer palace], 450-454. Beijing: Zijincheng chubanshe: 1986.

Meyer, Fernand. "The Potala Palace of the Dalai Lamas in Lhasa." *Orientalia* 18, no. 7 (1987):42-61.

Miaozhou 妙舟, *Mengzang fojiao shi* 蒙藏佛教史 [History of Tibeto-Mongolian Buddhism]. Beijing: Jingcheng chubanshe, 1935.

Millward, James, Ruth Dunnell, Mark Elliot and Philippe Forêt eds. *New Qing Imperial History: The Making of Inner Asian Empire at Qing Chengde*. London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004.

Millward, James. "'Coming onto the Map': Western Regions' Geography and Cartographic Nomenclature in the Making of Chinese Empire in Xinjiang." *Late Imperial China* 20, no. 2 (1999): 61-98.

Mitchell, W. J. T. ed. *Landscape and Power*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002.

Moerman, Max. *Localizing Paradise: Kumano Pilgrimage and the Religious Landscape of Premodern Japan*. Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2006.

Moran, Louis. "The Inscription of the King's Memory: On the Metallic History of Louis XIV." *Yale French Studies* 59 (1980): 17-36.

Mosca, Matthew. "Qing China's Perspective on India, 1750-1847." Ph.D. Diss, Harvard University, 2008.

Mullin, Glenn. *The Bodhisattva Warrior: The Life and Teachings of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama*. Ithaca: Snow Lion Publications, 1988.

Nagao Gajin 長尾雅人. *Môko gakumon ji* 蒙古學文寺 [Monastic universities in Mongolia]. Kyôto: Chûkô bunko, 1991 [1947].

_____. *Môko ramabyô ki* 蒙古喇嘛廟記 [Records of Mongolian Lamaist Temples]. Kyôto: Chûkô bunko, 1987 [1947].

Namgyal, Gyeten, and Kim Yeshe. "A Tailor's Tale." *Chô Yang: The Voice of Tibetan Religion & Culture* 6 (1994): 28-63.

Naquin, Susan et al., *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China, Studies on China*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.

Nattier, Jan. "The Realm of Aksobhya: A Missing Piece in the History of Pure Land Buddhism." *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 10, no. 1 (2000): 71-102.

Nebresky-Wojkowitz, Rene de. *Tibetan Religious Dances*. New Delhi: Paljor Publications, 1997.

Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho. *Za hor bande Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho'i 'di snang 'khrul pa'i rol rtsed rtogs brjod kyi tshul du bkod pa du k'u la'i gos bzang* [The autobiography of the Fifth Dalai Lama Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, 1617-1682] Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang , 1989.

Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho. *Wushi dalai lama zhuan* 五世達賴喇嘛傳 [biography of the Fifth Dalai Lama] trans. Chen Qingying. Beijing: Zhongguo zangxue chubanshe, 1997.

Ngag dbang bstan dar. *Dwangs bsil ri bo rtse lnga'i gnas bshad* [Pilgrimage Guide to the Clear and Cool Five Peak Mountain]. Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig dpe skrun khang: 2007.

Ngawang Zangpo. *Sacred Ground: Jamgon Kongtrul On "Pilgrimage and Sacred Geography."* Ithaca N.Y.: Snow Lion Publications, 2001.

Niu Song. *Yonghe gong tangka guibao* 雍和宮唐喀瑰寶 [Thangka Paintings in the Yonghegong] Beijing: Beijing Chubanshe, 2002.

Nor bu gling ka chags tshul dang 'brel ba'i dkar chag [History of the Construction of Nor bu gling ka and its Catalogue]. Unpublished manuscript, date unknown.

Nussbaum, Martha. *Love's Knowledge: Essays on Philosophy and Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990.

O rgyan gling pa. *The Life and Liberation of Padmasambhava*, 2 vols., trans. Kenneth Douglas and Gwendolyn Bays. Berkeley: Dharma Publishing, 1978.

_____. *Pad ma bka' thang*. Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1988.

Oldham, Charles E.A. W. "Some Remarks on the models of the Bodh Gaya Temple Found at Nar-thang." *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* 23 (1937): 418-28.

Orofino, Giacomella. "The Tibetan myth of the Hidden Valley in the visionary geography of Nepal." *East and West* (n. s.) 41 (1991): 239-271

Orzech, Charles. *Politics and Transcendent Wisdom: The Scripture for Humane Kings in the Creation of Chinese Buddhism*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998.

Ou Chaogui 歐朝貴. "Wutai shengdi yu xizang shengseng 五臺聖地與西藏聖僧" [The Sacred Land of Wutai and Tibetan Monks], *Xizang Minzu Zongjiao* no. 1 (Spring 1994): 22-25.

Peng lin 彭齡. *Xi xun sheng dian* 西巡盛典 [Magnificent Record of the Western Inspection Tour]. Beijing: Wuying dian, 1812; reprint ed. Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 1996.

Petech, Luciano, ed. *I Missionari Italiani nel Tibet e nel Nepal*. Rome: IsMEO, 1952-1956.

Phuntsok Namgyal. *The Potala Palace: Splendor of Tibet*. Dumont: Homa & Sekey Books, 2002.

Phur lcog yongs 'dzin sprul sku thub bstan byams pa tshul khriims bstan 'dzin. *Thub bstan rgya mtsho'i rnam thar* [Biography of thub btan rgya mtsho]. Lhasa: 'Bras spungs Dga' ldan Pho brang; reprinted in *Collected Works of Dalai Lama XIII*, vols. 7. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1982. Typeset version in *Phags pa 'jig rten dbang phyug gi rnam sprul rim byon gyi 'khrungs rabs deb ther nor bu'i 'phreng ba*, Vol.5. Dharamsala: Sku sger Yig tshang, 1977.

Po Sungnien and David Johnson. *Domesticated, Deities and Auspicious Emblems: The Iconography of Everyday Life in Village China*. Publications of the Chinese Popular Culture Project 2. Berkeley: Chinese Popular Culture Project, 1992.

Pomeranz, Kenneth. "Power, Gender, and Pluralism in the Cult of the Goddess of Taishan." In *Culture and State in Chinese History: Conventions, Accommodations, and Critiques*, ed. Theodore Hutters, R. Bin Wong, and Pauline Yu, 182-204. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997.

Pozdneyev, A.M. *Mongolia and the Mongols*. Bloomington: Indiana University, 1971.

Qi Jingzhi 齊敬之. *Wai ba maio beiwen zhushi* 外八廟碑文註釋 [The Eight Outer Temple's Annotated Inscriptions]. Beijing: Zijing cheng chubanshe, 1985.

Qinding Lifan yuan zeli 欽定理藩院則例 [Imperially Commissioned Norms and Regulations of the Board for the Administration of Outlying Regions]. In *Gugong Zhenben Congkan* 300. Haikou shi: Hainan chubanshe, 2000.

Qinding Midian Zhulin, Shiqu Baoji, xubian 欽定秘殿珠林, 石渠寶笈, 續編 [Imperially ordered Beaded Grove of the Secret Hall and Precious Bookbox of the Stone Drain, supplement]. Taipei: Guoli Gugong Bowuyuan, 1971

Qinding Qingliang Shan zhi 欽定清涼山志 [Imperial Record of Clear and Cool Mountains] 22 *juan*. Beijing: Wuying dian, 1811 (compiled 1785); reprinted in *Qingliang shan zhi, Qingliang shan xin zhi, Qinding Qingliang shan zhi*. Haikou: Hainan chubanshe, 2001.

Rawski, Evelyn. *The Last Emperors: A Social History of the Qing Imperial Institutions*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998.

Reader, Ian. *Making Pilgrimages: Meaning and Practice in Shikoku*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005.

Renjian shanguo 人間善果[Lama at Shiftang tang]'s blog. "Wutai shan shifangtang 五臺山十方堂." http://blog.sina.com.cn/s/blog_605c559a0100dy5k.html

Rhie, Marilyn and Robert Thurman, eds. *Worlds of Transformation: Tibetan art of Wisdom and Compassion*. New York: Tibet House in association with The Shelley and Donald Rubin Foundation, 1999.

Rhie, Marilyn. *The Fo-kuang ssu: Literary Evidences and Buddhist Images*. New York: Garland, 1977.

Richardson, Hugh E. *Ceremonies of the Lhasa Year*. London: Serindia Publication, 1993.

_____. "The Fifth Dalai Lama's Decree Appointing Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho as Regent." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 43, no. 2 (1980): 329-344.

Rigzin, Tsepak. *Festivals of Tibet*. Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1993.

Robson, James. *Power of Place: The Religious Landscape of the Southern Sacred Peak (Nanyue 南嶽) in Medieval China*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009.

Rockhill, William W. "The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa and Their Relations with the Manchu Emperors of China, 1644-1908." *T'oung p'ao* 11 (1910): 1-104.

Roerich, George and Gedun Choepel, trans. *The Blue Annals* by Gö Lotsawa. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1976, Reprint in 1979.

Rong Xinjiang 榮新江. "Dunhuang wenxian he huihua fanying de wudai song chu zhongyuan yu xibei diqu de wenhua jiaowang 敦煌文獻和繪畫的五代宋初中原與西北地區的文化交往 [The Cultural Exchange between the Central Plains and Northwest Regions during the Five Dynasties Seen in Dunhuang Manuscripts and Murals]." *Beijing daxue xuebao*, no. 2 (1988): 55-62

Rudy, Kathryn. "A Guide to Mental Pilgrimage: Paris, Bibliotheque de l'Arsenal Ms. 212." *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 63 (2000): 494-513

Ruegg, David Seyfort. *The life of Bu ston Rin po che: With the Tibetan text of the Bu ston rNam thar*. Roma: Istituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1966.

Sacred Images of Tibet: Traditional Tibetan Painting in collection of the State Museum of Oriental Art. Moscow: Samara, 2002.

Sagaster, Klaus. *Nag dbang blo bzang chos ldan (1642-1714), Leben und Historischebedeutung des 1. (Peking) lCang skya khutukhtu: dargestellt an hand seiner Monglischen Biographie Subud Erike und Anderer Quellen*. Bonn: Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, 1960.

Sāṅkrtyāyana, Rāhula. "Second Search of Sanskrit Palm-leaf Mss. in Tibet." *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* 23 (1937): 1-57.

Schaeffer, Kurtis. "Tibetan Poetry on Wutai Shan." In *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies*, special issue on Wutaishan under the Qing dynasty, Johan Elverskog & Gray Tuttle (eds.), Publication forthcoming. <http://www.thlib.org/collections/texts/jiats/>.

Sekino Tadashi 關野貞 and Tokiwa Daijo 常盤大定. *Shina Bukkyo shiseki 支那佛教史蹟*. Tokyo: Bukkyo shiseki kenkyu, 1925-1929.

Sems khong na 'bar ba'i dus rabs kyi sgron me: Chos rje yid bzhin nor bu mya ngan las 'das nas lo gsum 'khor bar dran gso [The Epoch Lamp that Blazing from the Heart: Commemorative the Three-Year Anniversary of the Wish-fulfilling jewel Khenpo Jikpün's passing]. Gser rta: bla rung nang bstan slob gling, 2006.

Sen, Tansen. *Buddhism, Diplomacy, and Trade: The realignment of Sino-Indian relations, 600-1400*. Honolulu: University of Hawa'ii, 2005.

Shakabpa, Tsepon Wangchuk Deden. *One Hundred Thousand Moons: An Advanced Political History of Tibet*, trans. and annot. Derek F. Maher. Leiden: Brill, 2010.

_____. *Tibet, a Political History*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1967.

Shaumian, Tatiana. *Tibet, The Great Game and Tsarist Russia*. New Delhi; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Shen Weirong 沈衛榮. “Shentong, yaoshu, he zeikun: lun yuandai wenren bixia de fanseng xingxiang 神通、妖術與賊髡：論元代文人筆下的番僧形象 [Magic power, sorcery, and evil spirits: the image of Tibetan monks in Chinese Literature during the Yuan dynasty].” *Hanxue yanjiu* 21, no. 2 (2003): 219–47.

Shes bya'i gter mdzod=Zangwen dianji mulu 藏文典籍目錄 [Catalog of the collected works of Tibetan Buddhist masters preserved in the library of the Minorities Cultural Palace, Beijing]. Chengdu: Mi rigs dpe mdzod khang, 1984.

Shi Jinbo 史金波. *Xixia fojiao shilue* 西夏佛教史略 [Survey of Tangut Buddhist history]. Yinchuan: Ningxia renmin chubanshe 1988.

Shirasu, Joshin 白須淨眞. “1908 (meiji 41) nen 8 gatsu no shinkoku Godaisan ni keru ichi kaidan kaidan to sono hamon: gaikō kiroku kara miru gaimushō no tai Chibetto shisaku to Ōtani Tankentai 1908 (明治 41)年 8 月の清国五台山における一会談とその波紋：外交記録から見る外務省の対チベット施策と大谷探検隊 [The meeting at Qing-dynasty Wutai Shan on August, 1908 and its subsequent reverberations: Policy of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs toward Tibet and the Ōtani Exploration as seen from Japanese diplomatic records]” *Hiroshima daigaku Daigaku Daigakuin Kyōikugaku Kenkyūka kiyō* Vol. 2, no. 56 (2007): 55-64.

Siklos, Bulscu. “The Evolution of the Buddhist Yama.” *The Buddhist Forum*, Vol. IV (Vol 4, 1993-95): 165-190.

Silk, Jonathan. *Wisdom, compassion, and the search for understanding: the Buddhist studies legacy of Gadjin M. Nagao*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2000.

Smith, E.Gene. “The Life of Lcang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje.” In *Among Tibetan Texts*. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2001.

Snelling, John. *Buddhism in Russia: The Story of Agvan Dorzhiev: Lhasa's Emissary to the Tsar*. Rockport: Element Books, 1993.

Sperling, Elliot. “The Thirteenth Dalai Lama at Wutai shan: Exile and Diplomacy.” *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies*, special issue on Wutaishan under the Qing dynasty, eds. Johan Elverskog and Gray Tuttle. Publication forthcoming.
<http://www.thlib.org/collections/texts/jiats/>.

Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. “Mongolische Landkarten” Accessed May 4, 2011.
<http://oega.crossasia.org/digital/mongolische-karten/index/show/page/0>.

Stearns, Cyrus, trans. *King of the empty plain: the Tibetan iron-bridge builder Tangtong Gyalpo* Ithaca: Snow Lion Publishing, 2007.

Stevenson, Daniel. "Visions of Mañjuśrī on Mount Wutai." In *Religions of China in Practice*, ed. Donald Lopez, 203-22. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.

Stoddard, Heather. "Dynamic Structures in Buddhist Maṇḍalas: Apradakṣina and Mystic Heat in the Mother Tantra Section of the Anuttarayoga Tantras." *Artibus Asiae* 58, No. 3/4 (1999): 169-213

Su Bai 宿白, "Dunhuang mogaoku zhong de Wutai Shan tu 敦煌莫高窟中的五臺山圖 [The Wutai Shan Mural in Dunhuang Cave 61]." *Wenwu Cankao ziliao* 2, no. 5 (1951): 49-71.

Suodaji kanbu 索达吉堪布 [Khenpo Sodargye = Bsod nams dar rgyas]. Jinmei Pengcuo fawang zhuan 晋美彭措法王傳 [Biography of Jikmé Püntsock]. Taipei: Zhonghua mingguo ningmaba larung sancheng falin foxuehui 中華民國寧瑪巴喇榮三乘法林佛學會, 2001.

Tada, Tokan. *The Thirteenth Dalai Lama*. East Asian cultural studies series 9. Tokyo: Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies, 1965.

Terrone, Antonio. "Tibetan Buddhism beyond the Monastery: Revelation and Identity in rNying ma Communities of Present-day Kham." In *Images of Tibet in the 19th and 20th Centuries*. Etudes thématiques 22, ed. Monica Esposito, Vol.2, 747-779. Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 2008.

Terrone, Antonio. "Visions, Arcan Claims, and Treasures: Charisma and Authority in a Present-day Treasure Finder," in *Tibet, Self, and the Tibetan Diaspora: Voices of Difference*, ed. Christiaan Klieger, 213-228. Proceedings of the Ninth Seminar of the IATS. Leiden: Brill, 2002

Thondup, Tulku. *Hidden teachings of Tibet: An Explanation of the Terma tradition of Tibetan Buddhism*. London: Wisdom Publications, 1986.

_____. *Masters of Meditation and Miracles: The Longchen Nyingthig Lineage of Tibetan Buddhism*. Boston and London: Shambhala, 1996.

Thu'u bkwan blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma. *Zhangjia Guoshi Ruobi Duoqi zhuan* 章嘉国师若必多吉传 [biography of the National Preceptor Rölpe Dorjé]. Translated into Chinese by Chen Qingying 陳庆英 and Ma Lianlong 马连龙. Beijing: Zhongguo Zangxue Chubanshe, 2006.

Thu'u bkwan blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma. *Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje'i rnam thar* [biography of Rölpe Dorjé]. Lanzhou: Kan su'u mi rig s dpe skrun khang, 1989.

Thub bstan chos kyi nyi ma. *Gsung 'bum* [Collected writings of the Ninth Panchen Lama]. (Shigatse: Bkra shis lhun po, 199?)

Thub bstan rgya mtsho. *The Collected Works of the XIII Dalai Lama*. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1981.

Thurman, Robert, ed. *Life and Teachings of Tsongkhapa*. Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1982.

Tibetan Center for Human Rights and Democracy. "Destruction of Serthar Institute: A special report." Washington, D.C., 2002. Accessed March 21, 2011.
http://www.tchrd.org/publications/topical_reports/destruction_of_serthar-2002/

Toh, Hoong Teik. "Tibetan Buddhism in Ming China." Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2004.

Tshul khrims blo gros, Bsod nams dar rgyas, and Bstan 'dzin rgya mtsho. *Snyigs dus bstan pa'i gsal byed gcig pu chos rje dam pa yid bzhin nor bu 'jigs med phun tshogs 'byung gnas dpal bzang po 'rnam thar bsod pa dad pa'i gsol sman* [The abridged biography of Khenpo Jikmé Püntsock]. In *Chos rje dam pa yid bzhin nor bu 'jig med phun tshogs 'byung gnas dpal bzang po 'i gsung 'bum*, Vol.3, 364-418. Hong Kong: Xianggang xinzhì chubanshe, 2002.

Tsien, Tsuen-Hsuei. *Paper and Printing*, pt. 1 of *Chemistry and Chemical Technology, Science and Civilization in China*, ed. Joseph Needham, vol. 5. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Tucci, Giuseppe. *The Religions of Tibet*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980.

_____. *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*. Roma: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1949.

Turner, Victor and Edith Turner. *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1978.

Tuttle, Gray. "Tibetan Buddhism at Ri bo rtse Inga/Wutai Shan in Modern Times." *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies* 2 (August 2006): 1-35

_____. *Tibetan Buddhists in the Making of Modern China*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2005.

Uspensky, Vladimir. "The Legislation Relating to the Tibetan Buddhist Establishments on Wutaishan under the Qing Dynasty." *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies*, special issue on Wutaishan under the Qing dynasty, ed. Johan Elverskog and Gray Tuttle. Publication forthcoming. <http://www.thlib.org/collections/texts/jiats/>.

Valentine, Daniel, E. *Fluid Signs: Being a Person the Tamil Way*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984.

van der Kuijp, Leonard. "Jayananda. A twelfth century *Guoshi* from Kashmir among the Tangut." *Central Asiatic Journal* 37 (1993): 188-197.

van Walt van Praag, Micheal.C. *The Status of Tibet: History, Rights, and Prospects in International Law*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1987.

Waley-Cohen, Joanna. *The Culture of War in China: Empire and the Military under the Qing Dynasty*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2006.

Wang Chang 王昶, Taihuai Suibi 臺懷隨筆 [Notes from Taihuai]. Beijing: Qingpu Wangshi shunian shushe 青浦王氏塾南書舍: 1808.

- Wang Han 王菡. "Yangshi lei bixia de wutai shan xingong 样式雷笔下的五台山行宫 [traveling palaces of Wutai shan designed by Yangshi lei]." *Visible Traces (Wenjin liuchang)*, special volume on Yangshi lei (2006): 43-44.
- Wang Jiapeng 王家鹏. "Qianlong yu Manzu lama siyuan 乾隆與滿族喇嘛寺院 [Qianlong and Manchu Tibetan Buddhist Monasteries]." *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan* 1 (1995): 58-65.
- Wang Junzhong 王俊中. *Dongya Hanzang fojiao shi yanjiu 東亞漢藏佛教史研究* [Research in Han and Tibetan Buddhist history in East Asia]. Taipei: Dongda tushu, 2003.
- Wang Leiyi 王磊义. "Wudangzhao de jiuda fosi bihua 五当召的九大佛寺壁画 [mural of nine major monasteries at Wudangzhao]." *Nei Menggu wenwu kaogu* no. 1 (2000): 145-150.
- Wang Shucun 王樹村, ed., *Zhongguo gudai minsu banhua 中國古代民俗版畫* [Popular Prints of Pre-modern China]. Beijing: Xin shijie, 1992
- Wang, Xiangyun. "Tibetan Buddhism at the Court of Qing." PhD diss., Harvard University, 1995.
- Wayman, Alex. "Significance of Dreams in India and Tibet." *History of Religions* 7, no. 1 (Aug., 1967): 1-12
- Weinstein, Stanley. *Buddhism Under the T'ang*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Wenshu shili fa Baozang tuoluoni jing 文殊師利法寶藏陀羅尼經* [Mañjuśrī Precious Treasury of the Law Dhāraṇī Sūtra], T. 1185:20.
- Whitfield, Roderick. *The Art of Central Asia: The Stein Collection in the British Museum*. London: British Museum, 1985.
- Willis, Janice. *Enlightened Beings: Life Stories from the Ganden Oral Tradition*. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1995.
- Winichakul, Thongchai. *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-body of a Nation*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1994.
- Wong, Dorothy. "A Reassessment of the Representation of Mt. Wutai from Dunhuang Cave 61." *Archives of Asian Art* 46 (1993): 27-52.
- Wood, Ben. "The Power of Symbols and Silence: World-System Paintings and Inscription Editing in the Zhwa lu Skor lams." unpublished paper partially presented at interdisciplinary conference "Art History, Buddhist Studies, Tibet: New Perspectives From the Tibet Site Seminar," March 7-9, Princeton University.
- Wu Meiyun 吳美雲, ed., *Wutai shan luo ma da hui 五臺山驢馬大會* [Mule and Horse Festival of Mt. Wutai]. Taipei: Hansheng zazhishe, 1991.

Wu Xiaoling, "Glowing Clouds in an Azure Sky: A Newly Discovered Royal Pageant" *Gest Library Journal* 3 (1989): 46–55. .

Wu Yong. *The flight of an empress, told by Wu Yung, whose other name is Yu-ch'uan; transcribed by Liu K'un*. Translated and edited by Ida Pruitt. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1936.

_____. *Gengzi Xiwu Congtan* 庚子西狩叢談. Dictated by Liu Zhixiang 劉治襄. Taipei: Wenhai Publishing, 1966.

Wutai xian bian cuan weiyuan hui 五台縣編纂委員會 ed., *Wutai xian zhi* 五台縣志 [Gazetteer of Wutai county]. Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 1988.

Wyatt, Don J. and Nicola Di Cosmo, eds. *Political Frontiers, Ethnic Boundaries and Human Geographies in Chinese History*. London; New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003.

Xiang Si 向斯. *Huangdi yu foyuan* 皇帝的佛緣 [Emperors and Buddhism]. Hong Kong: Heping tushu, 2005.

Xie Yinhu 謝音呼. "Wutai Shan sengzhong kangri douzheng shilue 五臺山僧衆抗日鬥爭史略." *Shanxi lishi wenhua congshu* 7, 15-30. Taiyuan: Shanxi remin chubanshe, 2002.

Xizang wenshi ziliao xuanji 西藏文史資料選集 [Collection of literary and historical materials from Tibet] 21. Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 2004.

Ya Hanzhang 牙含章, *Dalai lama zhuan* 達賴喇嘛傳 [Biography of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama] (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1984), 41.

Yasuko Kojima 小島裕子. "Godaisan bukkyō bunka no tenrai to nihonteki tenkai 五台山佛教文化の伝来と日本的展開 [Buddhist culture of Wutai shan and its development in Japan]." Paper presented at Wutai shan conference, Wutai shan, Shanxi, August 12-14, 2009.

Yang Boda 楊伯達. "Qing Qianlong chao huayuan yange 清乾隆朝畫院沿革 [The development of the Qianlong painting academy in the Qing dynasty]." *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan* (1992, no.1): 3-11.

Yang Fuxue 楊富學. "Xixia Wutai shan xinyang zhenyi 西夏五臺山信仰斟議 [Notes on Wutai shan veneration in the Xixia dynasty]." *Xixia yanjiu* 1(2010): 14-22.

Yang Jiaming 楊嘉銘. *Xizang jianzhu de lishi wenhua* 西藏建築的歷史文化 [The history of Tibetan architecture]. Xining: Qinghai chubanshe, 2003.

Yanyi 延一 (fl. 1060). *Guang Qingliang zhuan* 廣清涼傳 [Expanded Record of the Clear and Cool Mountains], T.2099: 51

Ye shes don grub and A lag sha Ngag dbang bstan dar. *Ri bo dwangs bsil gyi 'jam dpal mtshan ldan gling gi mtshar sdug sku brnyan gyi lo rgyus bskor tshad dang bcas pa dad ldan skye bo'i*

spro bskyod me tog 'phreng mdzes [A beautiful flower garland to rouse the faithful: the history and environs of the Beautiful statue of the Temple of Mañjuśrī's Marks at the Mountain of Clear and Cool]. Beijing: Songzhu si, 1818. Collection of the Library of the Minorities Cultural Palace, Beijing.

Ye Xiaoqing. "Ascendant Peace in the Four Seas: Tributary Drama and the Macartney Mission of 1793." *Late Imperial China* 26, No. 2 (2005): 89-113.

Yee, Cordell. *The History of Cartography*, vol. 2, bk. 2. In *Cartography in the Traditional East and Southeast Asian Societies*, ed. J. B. Harley and David Woodward. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.

Yu, Chun-fang. *Kuan-yin: The Chinese Transformation of Avalokitesvara*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2001.

Zhang Dunggu 張沌谷. *Wutai shan canfo riji* 五台山參佛日記 [pilgrimage diary of Wutai Shan] Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1925.

Zhang Huiming 張惠明. "Dunhuang 'Wutai shan huaxian tu' zaoqi diben de tuxiang ji qi lai yuan 敦煌五臺山化現圖早期底本的圖像及其來源 [Early sketches of maps of Wutai Shan in Dunhuang and their origin]." *Dunhuang Research* 66, no.4 (2000): 1-9

Zhang Shangyin 張商英(1043~1122). *Xu Qingliang zhuan* 續清涼傳 [Further Records of the Clear and Cool Mountains], T.2100: 51

Zhang Yuxin 張雨新. *Qingdai lamajiao beiwen* 清代喇嘛教碑文 [Stele inscriptions from Qing-dynasty Lamaism]. Beijing: Tianjing guji chubanshe, 1987.

_____. *Qing zhengfu yu lama jiao* 清政府與喇嘛教 [The Qing government and lamaism]. Lhasa: Xizang remin chubanshe, 1988.

Zhao Lin'en 趙林恩, ed. *Wutai Shan shige zongji* 五台山诗歌总集 [Anthology of Wutai shan poems] Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2002.

Zhao Shengliang 赵声良. *Dunhuang shiku yishu, Mogaoku di 61 ku* 敦煌石窟艺术·莫高窟第61窟 [Dunhuang Cave 61]. Nanjing: Jiangsu meishu chubanshe, 1995.

Zhao Yuntian 趙雲田 ed. *Qianlong chao nei fu chao ben "Li fan yuan ze li"* 乾隆朝内府抄本《理藩院则例》 Beijing: Zhongguo Zangxue chubanshe, 2006.

Zhencheng 鎮澄(1546-1617). *Qingliang shan zhi* 清涼山志 [Record of the Clear and Cool Mountains]. 1596; revised in 1660 by Lama Awanglaozang 阿王老藏(1601-1687); reprinted in *Qingliang shan zhi, Qingliang shan xin zhi, Qinding Qingliang shan zhi*. Haikou: Hainan chubanshe, 2001

Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'an guan 中國第一歷史檔案館 ed. *Qianlong di qiju zhu* 乾隆帝起居注 [Imperial Diaries of the Qianlong reign]. Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2002.

_____. "Qianjia nianjian Wutai shan simiao xinggong xushan gongcheng shiliao 乾嘉年間五台山寺廟行宮修繕工程史料 [Historical documents concerning the building and restoration of temples at Wutai Shan in the Qianlong and Jiaqing era]." *Historical Archives (Lishi dang'an)* no.3 (2001):31-44.

_____. *Qingmo shisanshi dalai lama dang-an shiliao xuaniann* 清末十三世達賴喇嘛檔案史料選編 [Selected Historical Sources of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama in the Late Qing Period]. Beijing: Zhongguo Zangxue Chubanshe, 2002

Zhongguo minjian wenxue jicheng quanguo bianji weiyuanhui 中國民間文學集成全國編輯委員會, ed. *Zhongguo minjian guoshi jicheng: Shanxi Juan* 中國民間故事集成：山西卷 [Collected works of Chinese folk legends: Shanxi Province]. Beijing: Zhongguo minjian wenxue jicheng quanguo bianji weiyuanhui, 1999.

Zhongguo Xizang Budala gong guan li chu 中國西藏布達拉宮管理處. *Budala gong bihua de yuanliu* 布達拉宮壁畫的源流—*A mirror of the murals in the Potala*. Beijing: Jiuzhou tushu chubanshe, 2000.

Zhou Zhenhua 周振華. *Wutai Shan beiwen, bian-e, yinglian, shifu xuan* 五臺山碑文匾額楹聯詩賦選 [Selection of stele inscriptions, placard inscriptions, couplets, and poems from Wutai Shan]. Taiyuan: Shanxi Jianyu Chubanshe, 1998.

Zhu Lishuang 朱麗雙. "Zai zhenshi yu xiangxiang zhijian: minguo zhengfu de xizang teshi men 在真實與想象之間：民國政府的西藏特使們 (1912-1949) [Between Truth and Imagination: Republican Envoys to Xizang, 1912-1949]." PhD diss., Hong Kong Chinese University, 2006.

Zla ba tshe ring, Jiang Cheng'an, and Yan Zhongyi, et al. *Precious Deposits: Historical Relics of Tibet, China*, 5 vols. Beijing: Morning Glory Publishers, 2000.



Figure 1.1

Portrait of Rölpe Dorjé, 1787. Thangka, colors on cloth, 124 cm x 68 cm. Palace Museum, Beijing (After *Qinggong Zangchuan Fojiao Wenwu*)



Figure 1.2 Portrait of the Sixth Panchen Lama, 1780. Thangka, colors on cloth. 124 x 68 cm. Palace Museum, Beijing (After *Qinggong Zangchuan Fojiao Wenwu*)



Figure 1.3 Portrait of Rölpe Dorjé. 18th century. Thangka, colors on cloth. 125 x 75 cm. State Museum of Oriental Art, Moscow (After *Sacred Images of Tibet*)



Figure 1.4 Portrait of Rölpe Dorjé. Mid 19th century. Thangka, colors on cotton. 68 x 45 cm. The Yu N. Roerich Collection, State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. (After *Tibetan paintings (Tangka) from the collection of Yu. N. Roerich*)

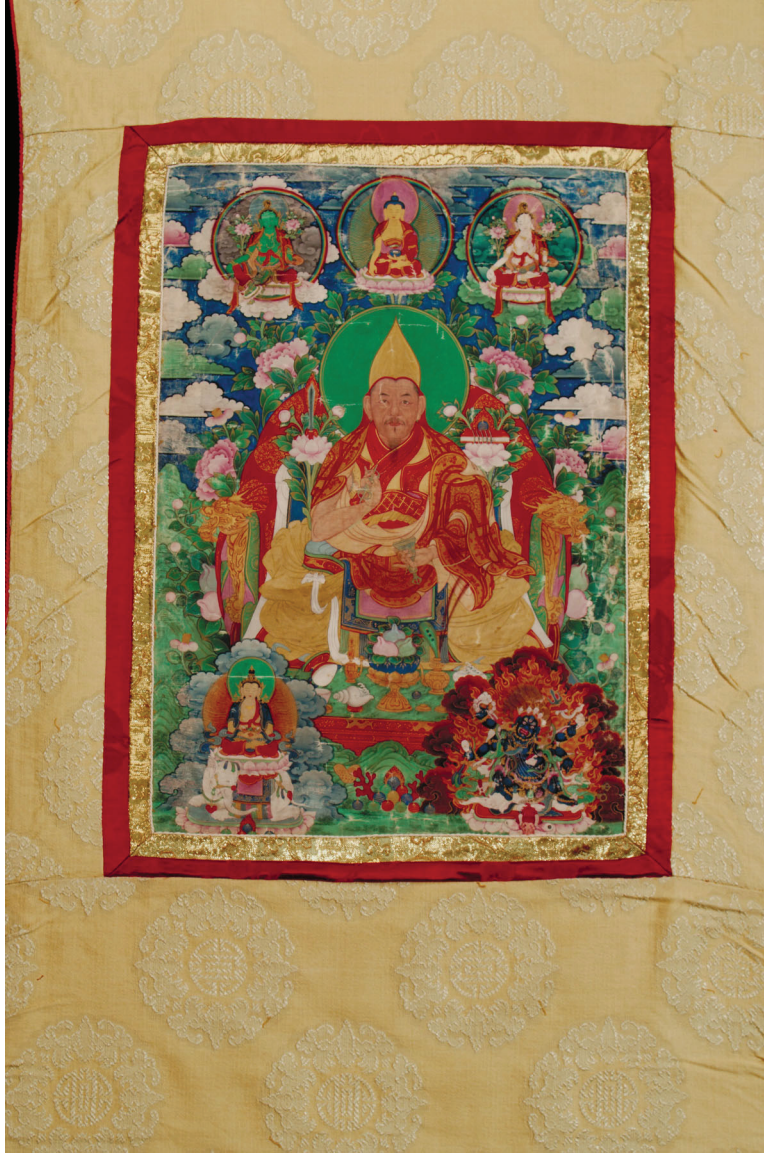


Figure 1.5 Portrait of Rölpe Dorjé. 19th century? Thangka, colors on cloth mounted on silk brocade. Mounting 85 x 42.5 cm. Painting 48 x 33.5 cm. (Courtesy of Division of Anthropology, American Museum of Natural History, New York)



Figure 1.6 Zhang Ruo'ai, Zhenhai si, 1746. Colors on paper. 127.6 x 62.8 cm. (Palace Museum, Taipei)



Figure 1.7 Zhang Ruocheng, Zhenhai si, 1750. Colors on paper. 103.4 x 56.9 cm. (Palace Museum, Taipei)



Figure 1.8 The Qianlong Emperor, Mt. Pan. 1745. Hanging scroll. Ink on paper. 162 x 93.5cm. Palace Museum, Beijing. (After *The Three Emperors*)



Figure 1.9 Golden Stupa of Rölpe Dorjé, Zhenhai si, Wutai Shan.



Figure 1.10 Pusa ding Monastery, Wutai Shan.
(After *Shina Bukkyō Shiseki*)



Figure 1.11 Stone gate to Baodi si, Xiangshan, 1750.
(Photograph by Ernst Boerschmann, 1906-09)



Figure 1.2 Gateway to Pusa ding, Wutai Shan
(Photography by Lodrö Palmo)



Figure 1.13 Stone gate to Biyun si, Xiangshan, 1748.



Figure 1.14 Shuxiang si, Wutai Shan.



Figure 1.15 Mañjuśrī on a lion, Shuxiang si, Wutai Shan.



Figure 1.16 Inscription for restoration during the reign of Kangxi, Shuxiang si, Wutai Shan.



Figure 1.17 Ding Guanpeng, Shuxiang si's Mañjuśrī on a lion. 1761. Hanging Scroll.
Ink and colors on paper. 297.3 x 159.1 cm.
(Palace Museum, Taipei)



Figure 1.18 Ding Guanpeng, Shuxiang si's Mañjuśrī on a lion. 1761. Hanging Scroll.
Ink and colors on paper. 297.3 x 159.1 cm.
(Palace Museum, Taipei)



Figure 1.19 Main Hall of Baoxiang si, Xiangshan.
(Photograph by Cui Jinze)



Figure 1.20 Shuxiang si, Chengde

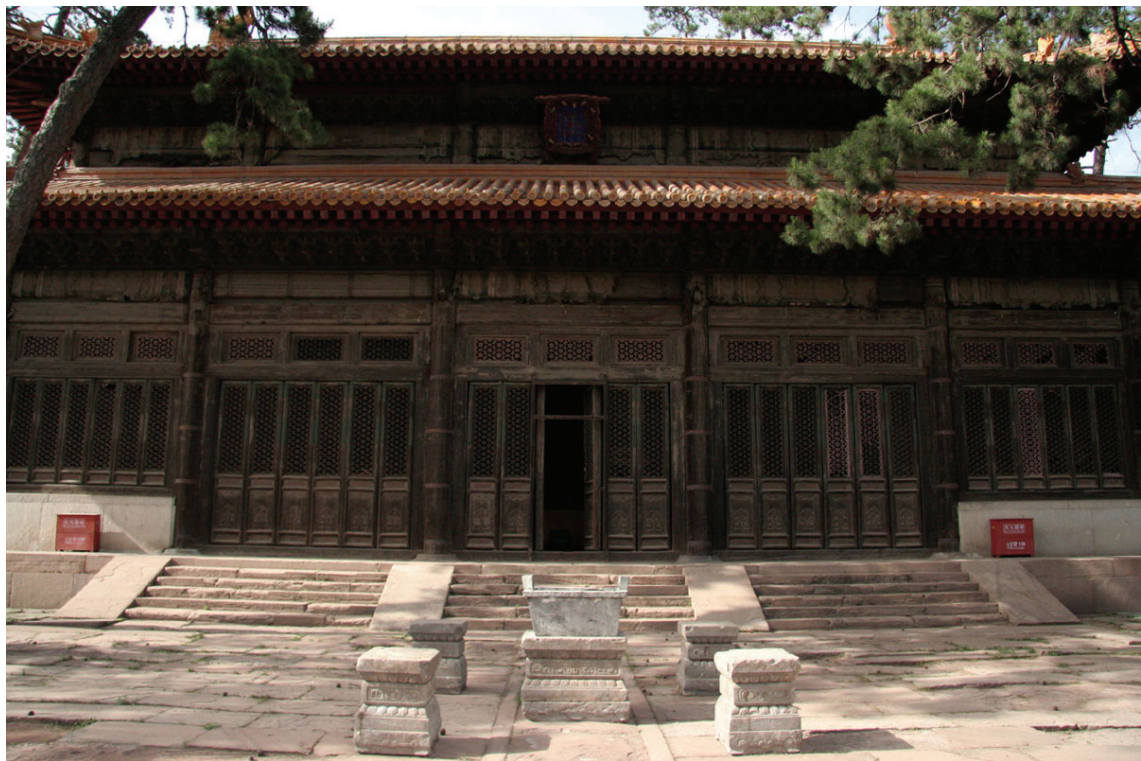


Figure 1.21 Huicheng dian, Shuxiang si, Chengde

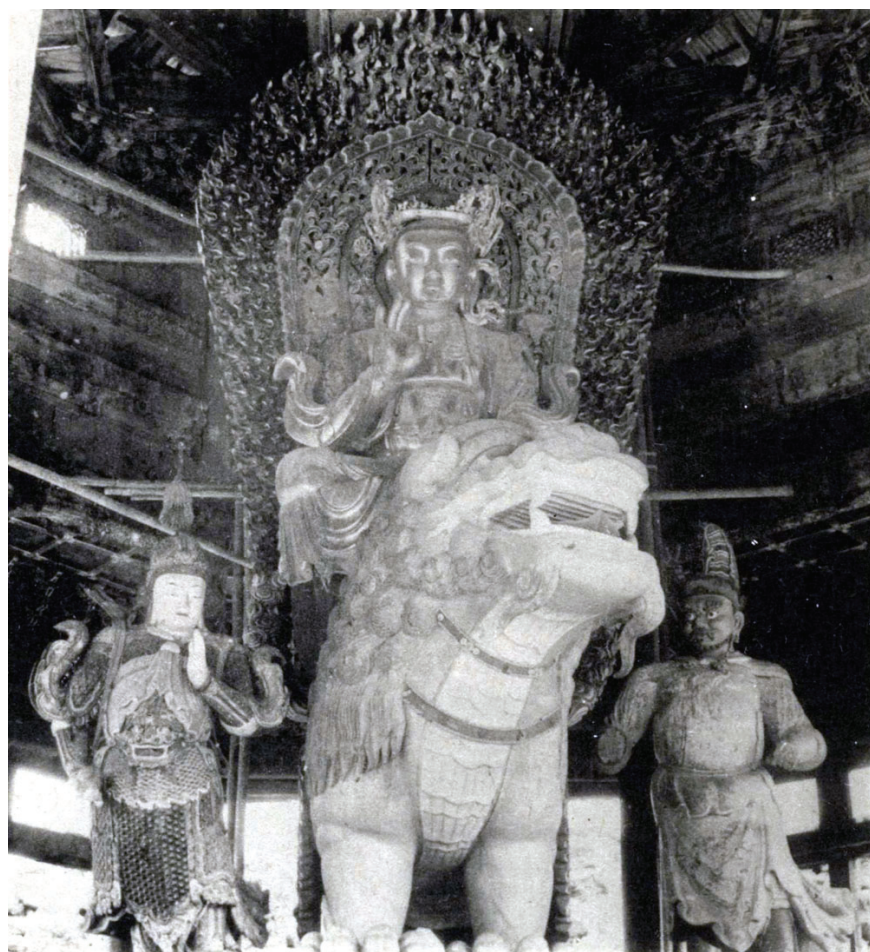


Figure 1.22 Baoxiang lou, Shuxiang si, Chengde.
(After *Manmō hokushi no shūkyō bijutsu*)



Figure 1.23 *Homage to the dharma-body of the great sage Mañjuśrī in four languages.* Palace Museum, Beijing. (After *Qinggong Zangchuan fojiao wenwu*)



Figure 1.24 *Homage to the dharma-body of the great sage Mañjuśrī in Chinese.*
(Palace Museum, Taipei)



Figure 1.25 Golden stupa of the Sixth Panchen Lama, Xihuang si, Beijing. 1782.



Figure 2.1 View of entire monastic complex, Badgar Coyiling Süme.
(Photograph by Wei Wen)



Figure 2.2 View of Cogcin dugang, the main assembly hall at Badgar Coyiling Süme.
(Photograph by Wei Wen)



Figure 2.3 Exterior corridor, second story of Cogcin dugang.



Figure 2.4 Mural depicting a nunnery near Lhasa, second story of Cogcin dugang.



Figure 2.5 Mural depicting Wutai Shan, second story of Cogcin dugang Süme.
(Courtesy of Wang Leiyi)



Figure 2.6 Mural depicting the Potala Palace, second story of Cogcin dugang.



Figure 2.7 Mural depicting the Jokhang Temple, second story of Cogcin dugang.

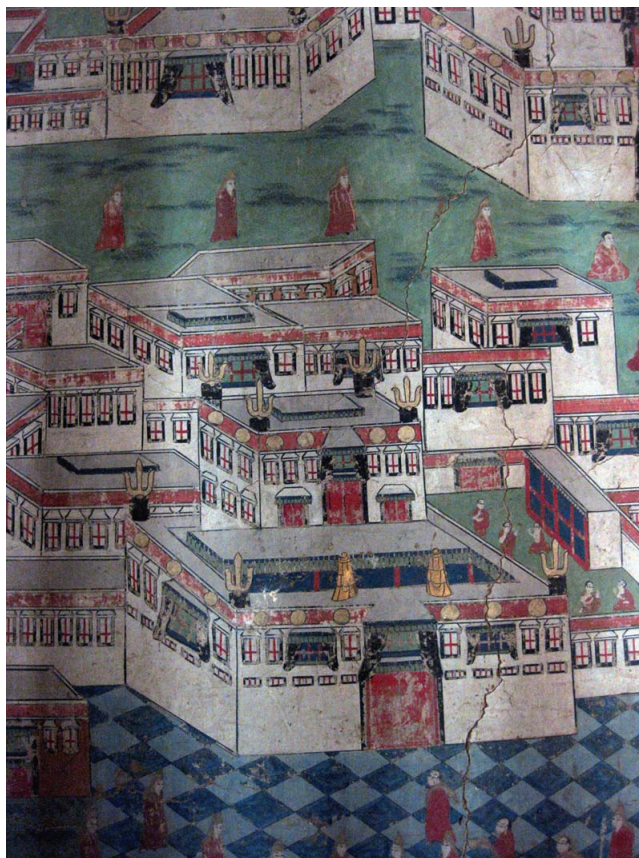


Figure 2.8 Mural depicting Sera je Monastery, second story of Cogcin dugang.



Figure 2.9 Mural depicting Badgar Monastery, second story of Cogcin dugang.
(Photograph by Isabelle Charleux)

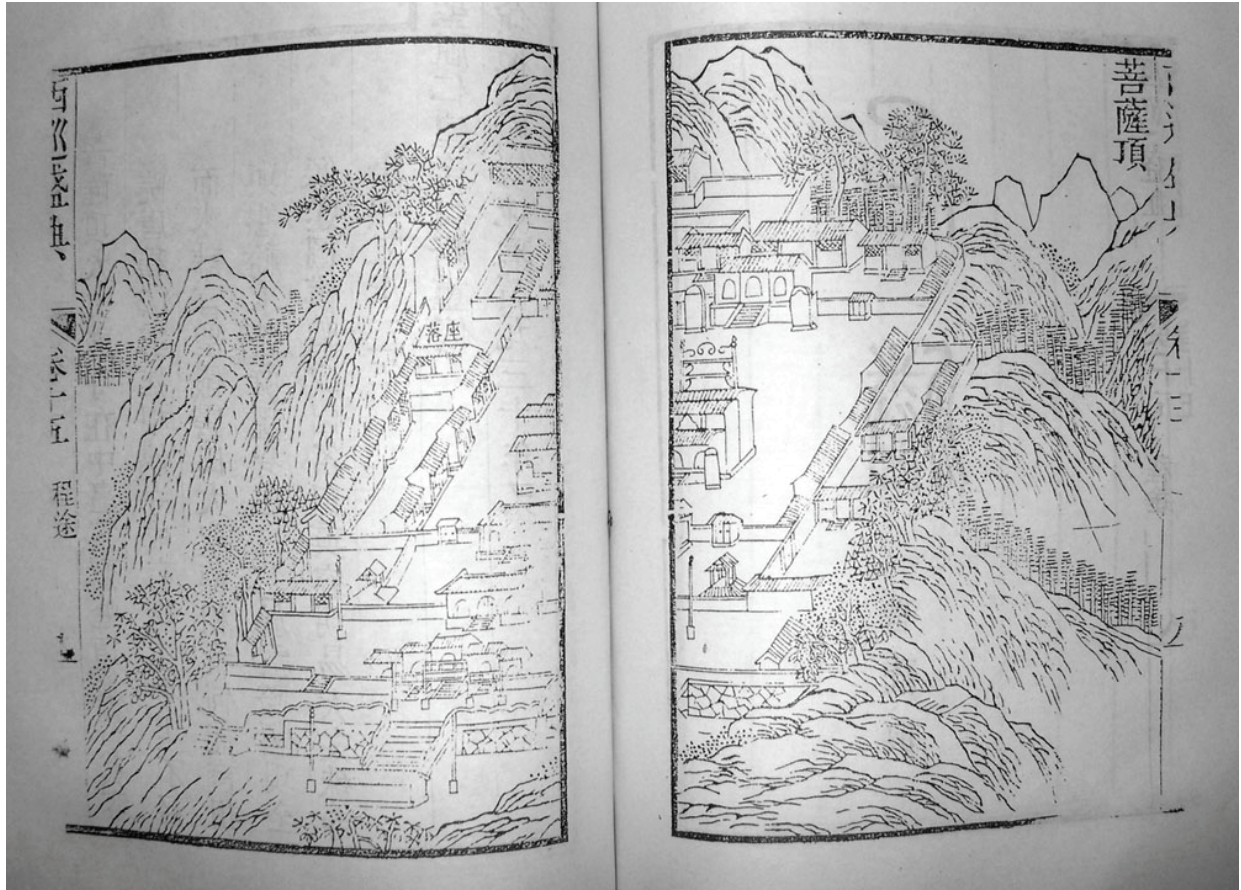


Figure 2.10 Illustration of Pusa ding 菩薩頂 (Temple of the Bodhisattva's Peak). From *Magnificent Record of the Western Inspection Tour* (*Xixun Shengdian* 西巡盛典), 1812.



Figure 2.11 Painting of a famous Tibetan monastery, 112 x 76.5 cm. Color on cloth.
Photographed by Henmi Baiei at the imperial storage in Chengde.
(After *Manmō hokushi no shūkyō bijutsu*)

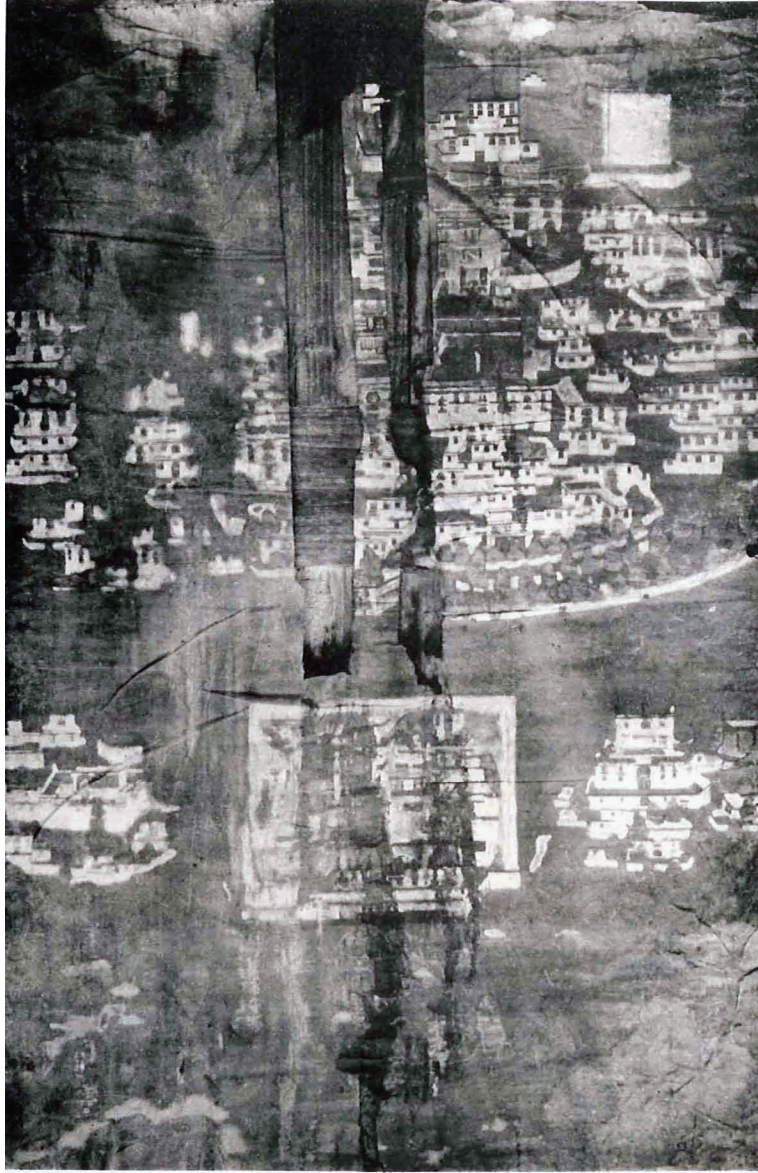


Figure 2.12 Painting of a famous Tibetan monastery, 112 x 76.5 cm. Color on cloth.
Photographed by Henmi Baiei at the imperial storage in Chengde.
(After *Manmō hokushi no shūkyō bijutsu*)

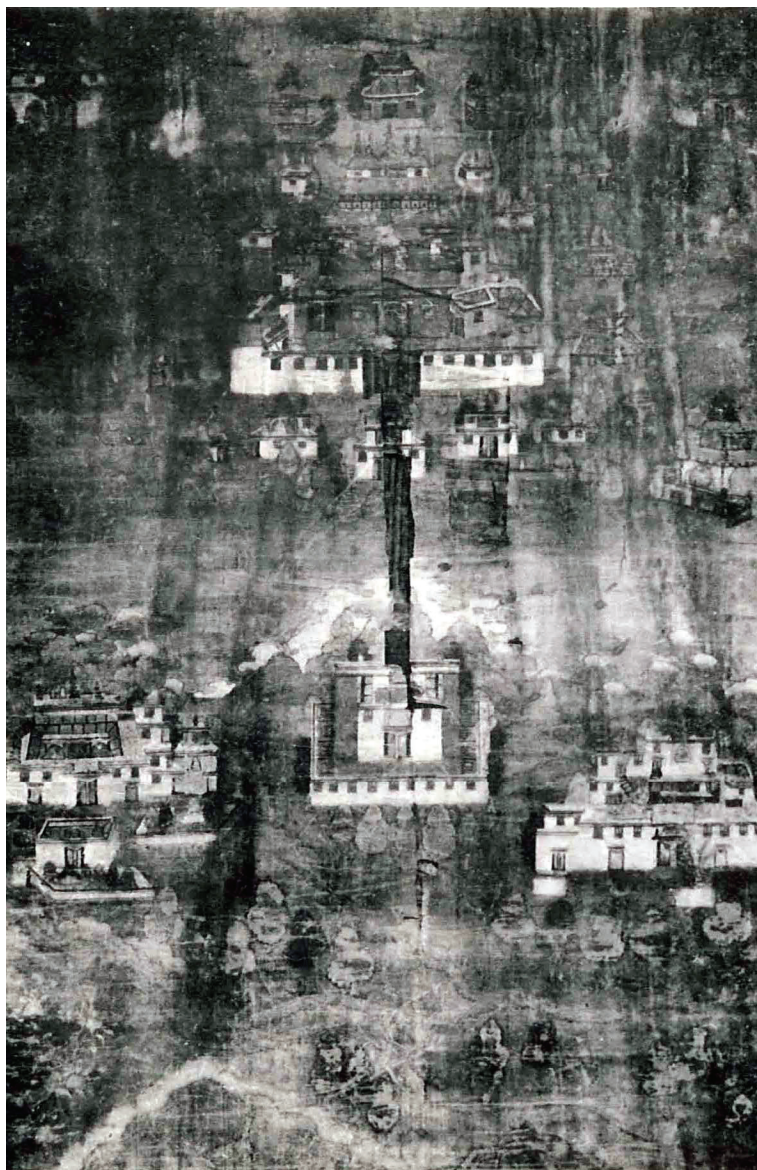


Figure 2.13 Painting of a famous Tibetan monastery, 112 x 76.5 cm. Color on cloth.
Photographed by Henmi Baiei at the imperial storage in Chengde.
(After *Manmō hokushi no shūkyō bijutsu*)



Figure 2.14 Painting of a famous Tibetan monastery, 112 x 76.5 cm. Color on cloth.
Photographed by Henmi Baiei at the imperial storage in Chengde.
(After *Manmō hokushi no shūkyō bijutsu*)



Figure 2.15 Painting of a famous Tibetan monastery, 112 x 76.5 cm. Color on cloth.
Photographed by Henmi Baiei at the imperial storage in Chengde.
(After *Manmō hokushi no shūkyō bijutsu*)



Figure 2.16 Painting of a famous Tibetan monastery, 112 x 76.5 cm. Color on cloth.
Photographed by Henmi Baiei at the imperial storage in Chengde.
(After *Manmō hokushi no shūkyō bijutsu*)

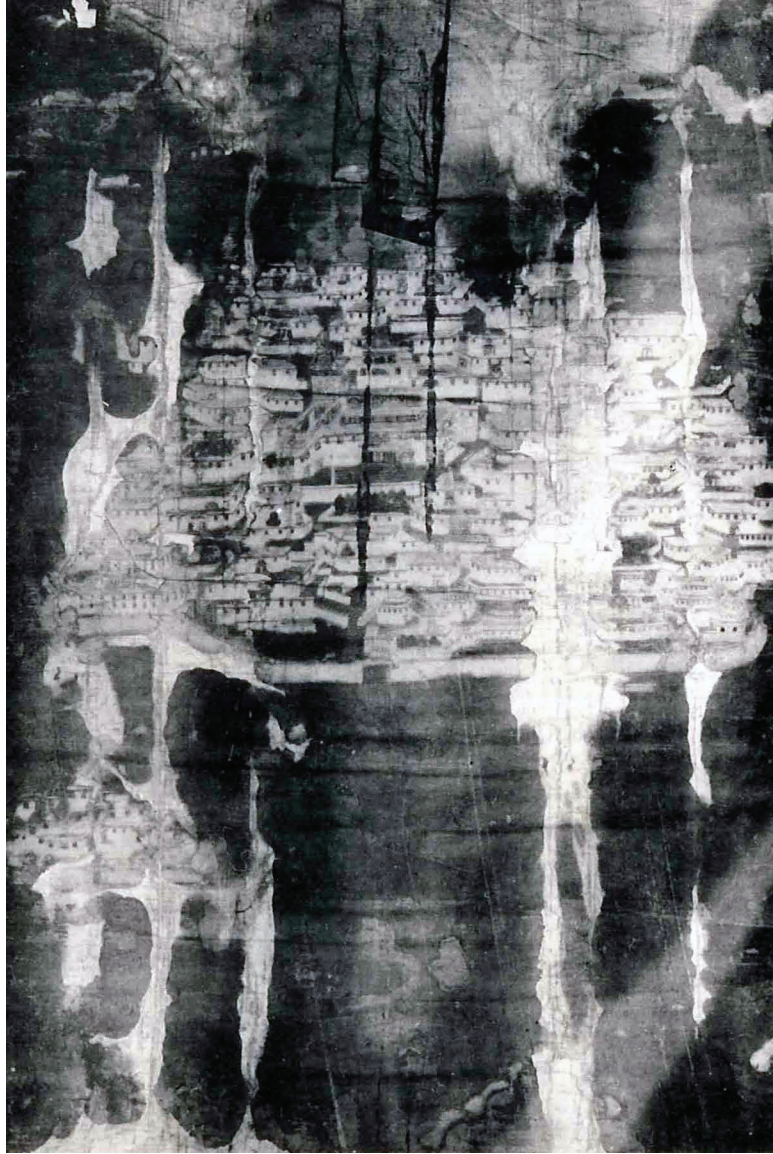


Figure 2.17 Painting of a famous Tibetan monastery, 112 x 76.5 cm. Color on cloth.
Photographed by Henmi Baiei at the imperial storage in Chengde.
(After *Manmō hokushi no shūkyō bijutsu*)

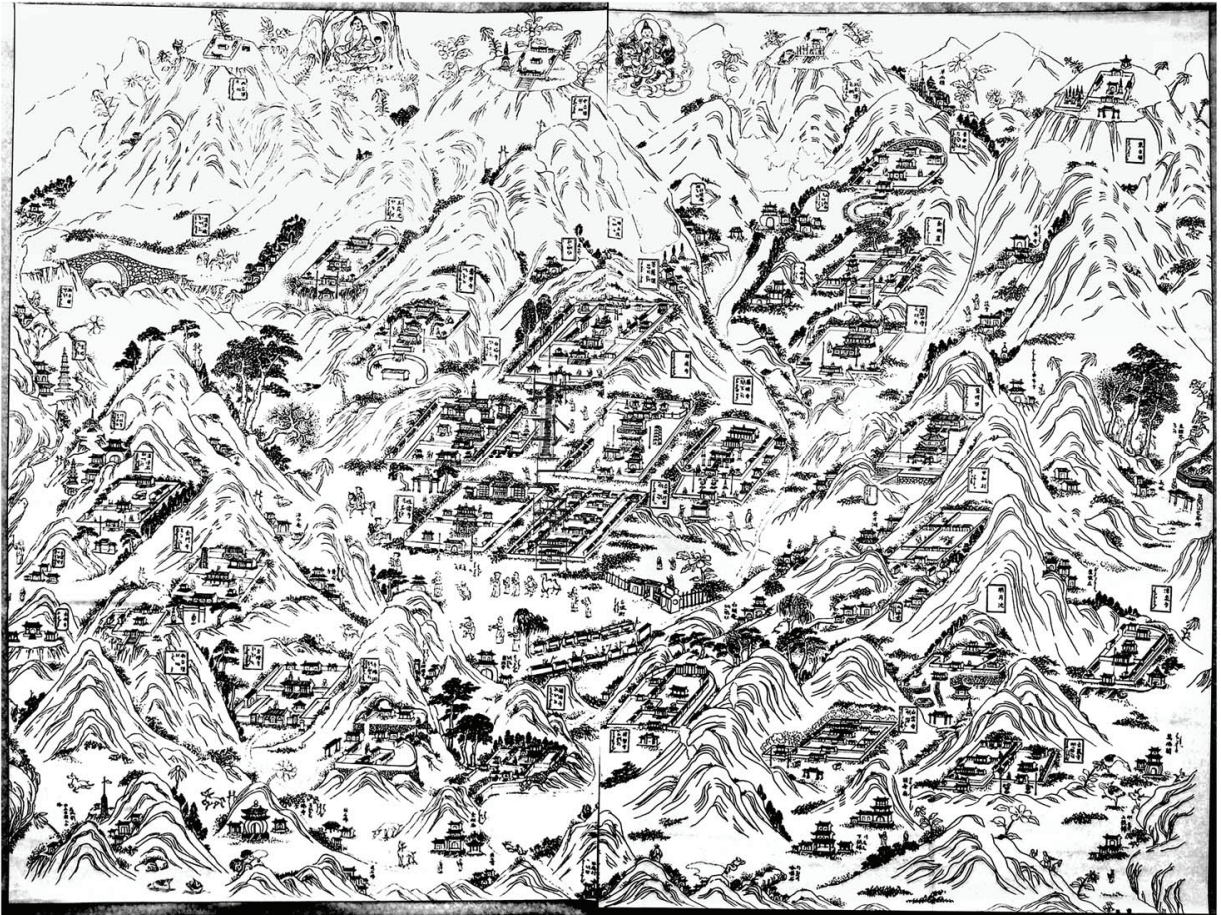


Figure 2.18 Outline drawing of the map mural of Wutai Shan
(Courtesy of Wang Leiyi)



Figure 2.19 Map of Wutai Shan in *Qingliang shan zhi* 清凉山志. First edition printed in 1661; woodblocks recarved in 1775; book reprinted in 1887. (East Asian Library, UC Berkeley)



Figure 2.20 Detail of Milarepa, mural depicting Wutai Shan, second story of Cogcin dugang, Badgar Coyiling Süme.



Figure 2.21 Detail of Mañjuśrī riding on a lion, mural depicting Wutai Shan. Second story of Cogcin dugang, Badgar Coyiling Sūme.



Figure 2.22 Detail of pine trees and bird, mural depicting Wutai Shan, second story of Cogcin dugang, Badgar Coyiling Süme.



Figure 2.23 Detail of peony blossom, mural depicting Wutai Shan, second story of Cogcin dugang, Badgar Coyiling Süme.

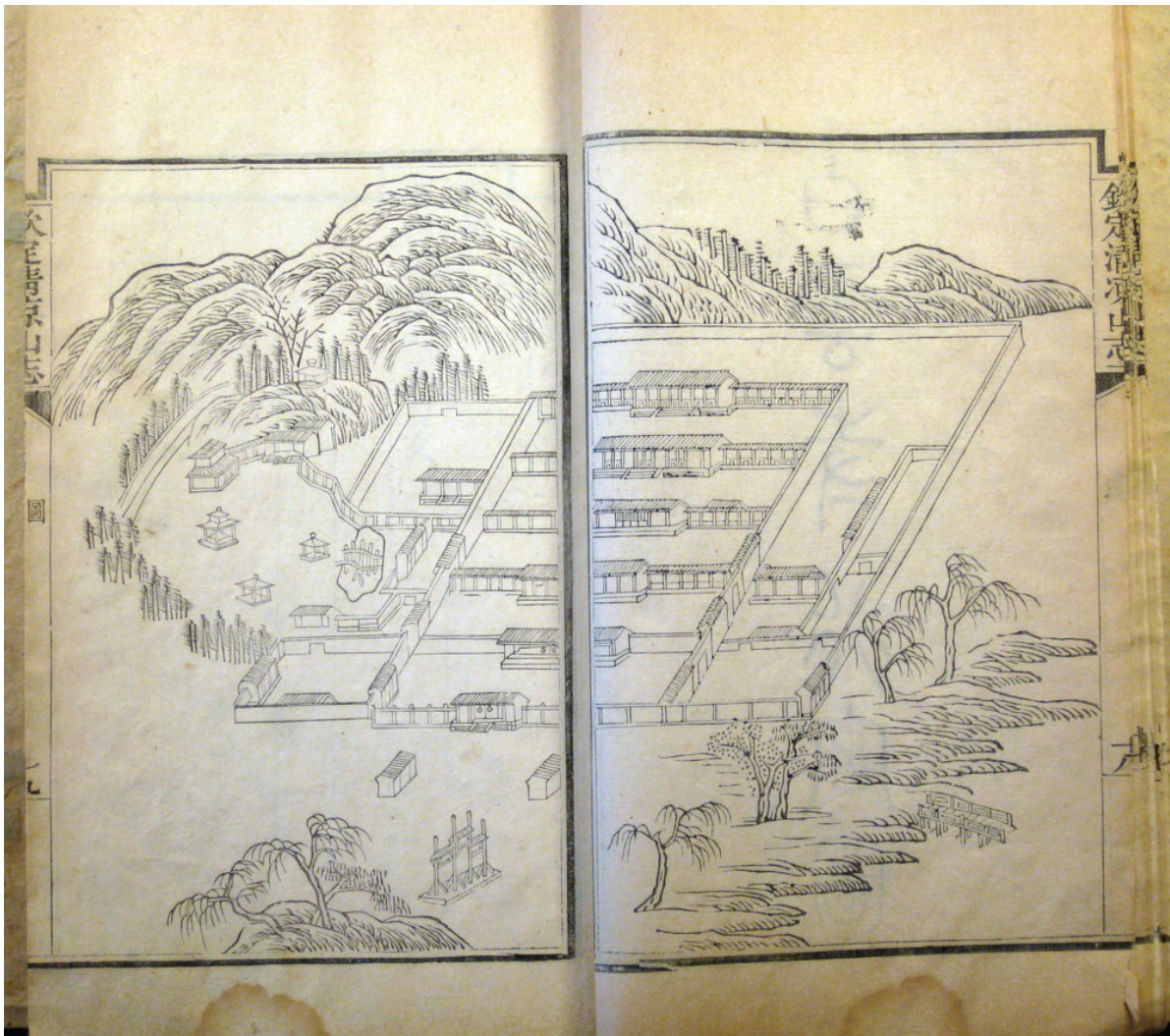


Figure 2.24 Illustration of Baiyun si 白雲寺 from *Imperial Record of the Clear and Cool Mountains (Qinding Qingliang shanzhi 欽定清涼山志)*. First edition in 1785. Book reprinted after 1811. (Library of Congress, Washington D.C)

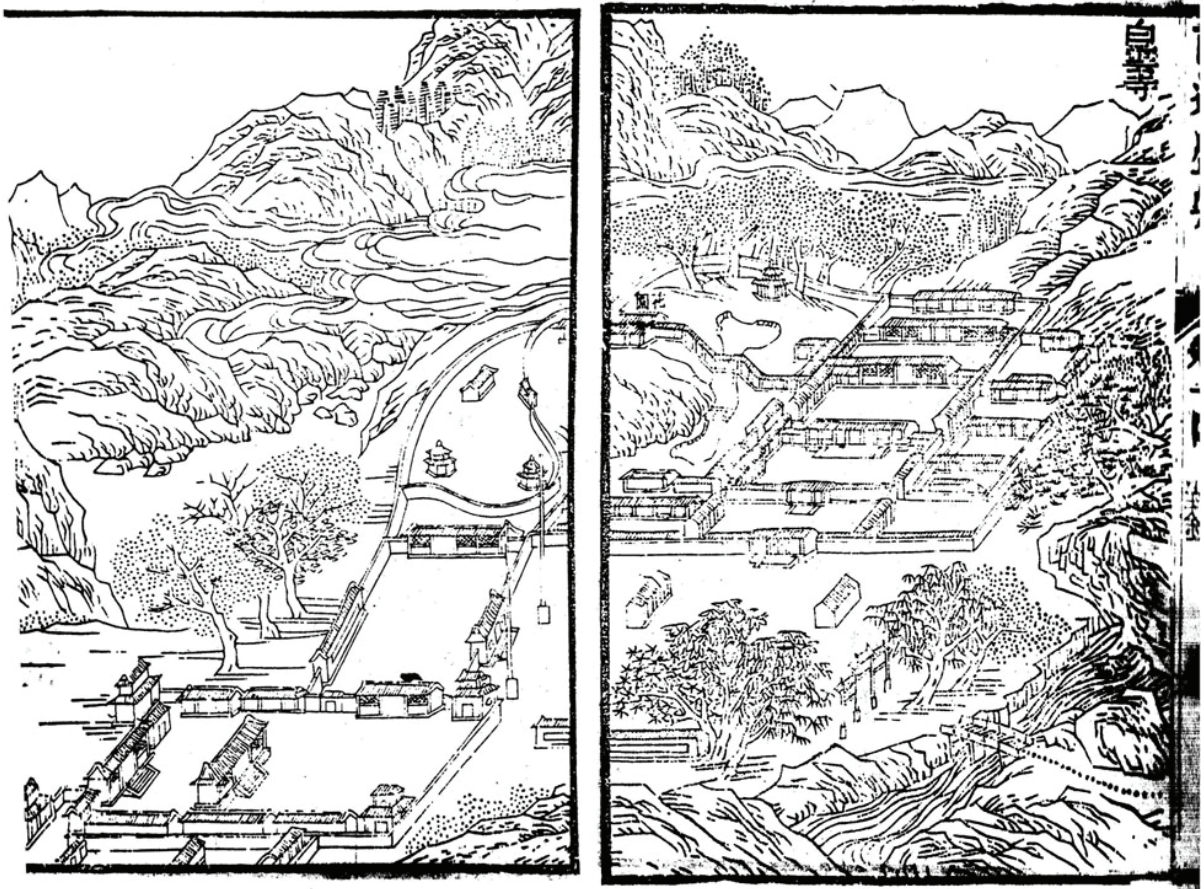


Figure 2.25 Illustration of Baiyun si 白雲寺 from *Magnificent Record of the Western Inspection Tour (Xixun Shengdian 西巡盛典)*, 1812.



Figure 2.26 Detail of Baiyun si 白雲寺, mural depicting Wutai Shan, second story of Cogcin dugang, Badgar Coyiling Süme.



Figure 2.27 Detail of imperial traveling palace, mural depicting Wutai Shan, second story of Cogcin dugang, Badgar Coyiling Süme.

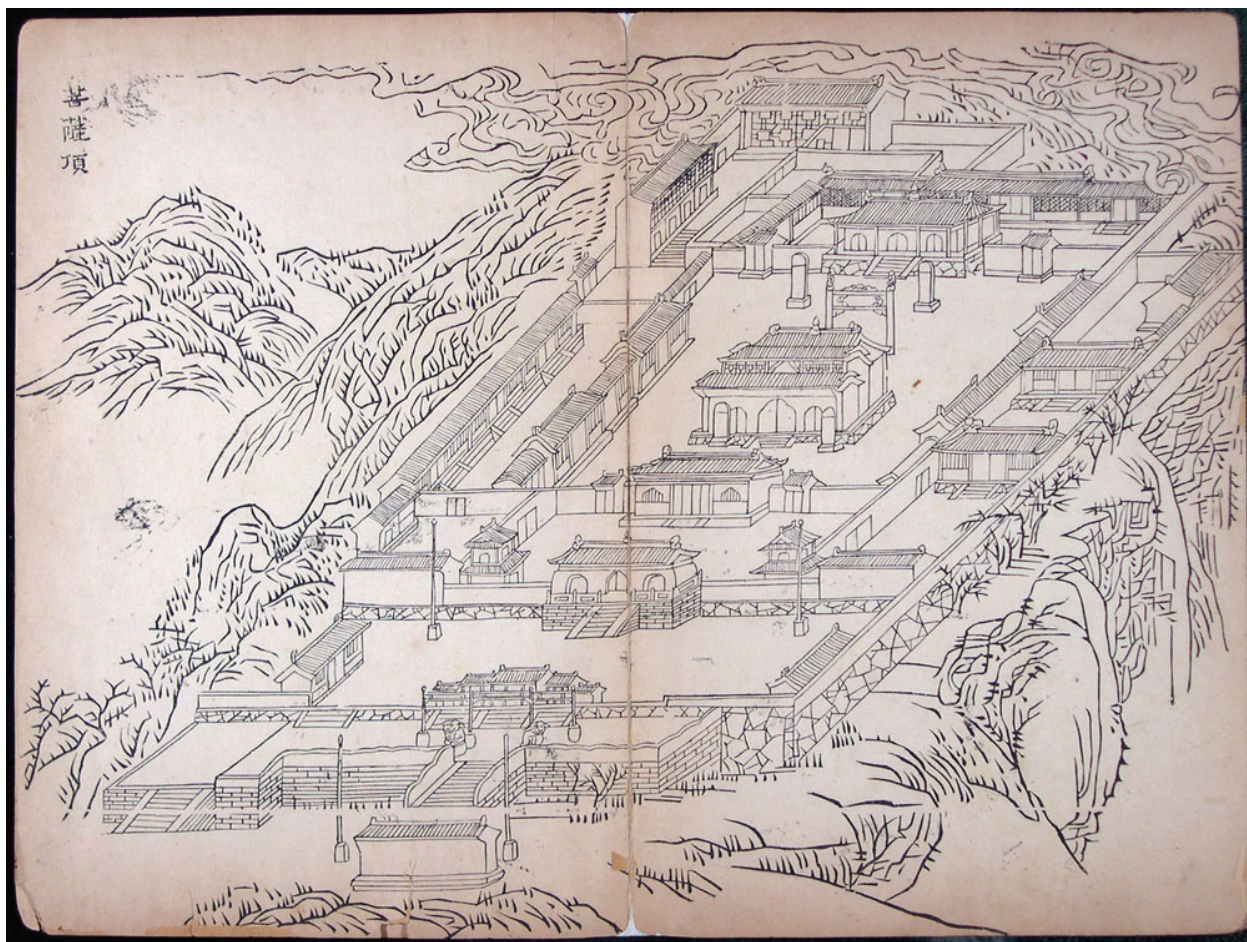


Figure 2.28 Pusa Ding 菩薩頂 (Temple of the Bodhisattva's Peak), from *The Complete Map of the Location of the Imperial Traveling Palaces in Wutai Shan* (*Wutai Shan xinggong zuoluo quantu* 五臺山行宮坐落全圖). 29 x 19 cm. Guangxu era (1875-1908). National Library, Beijing.

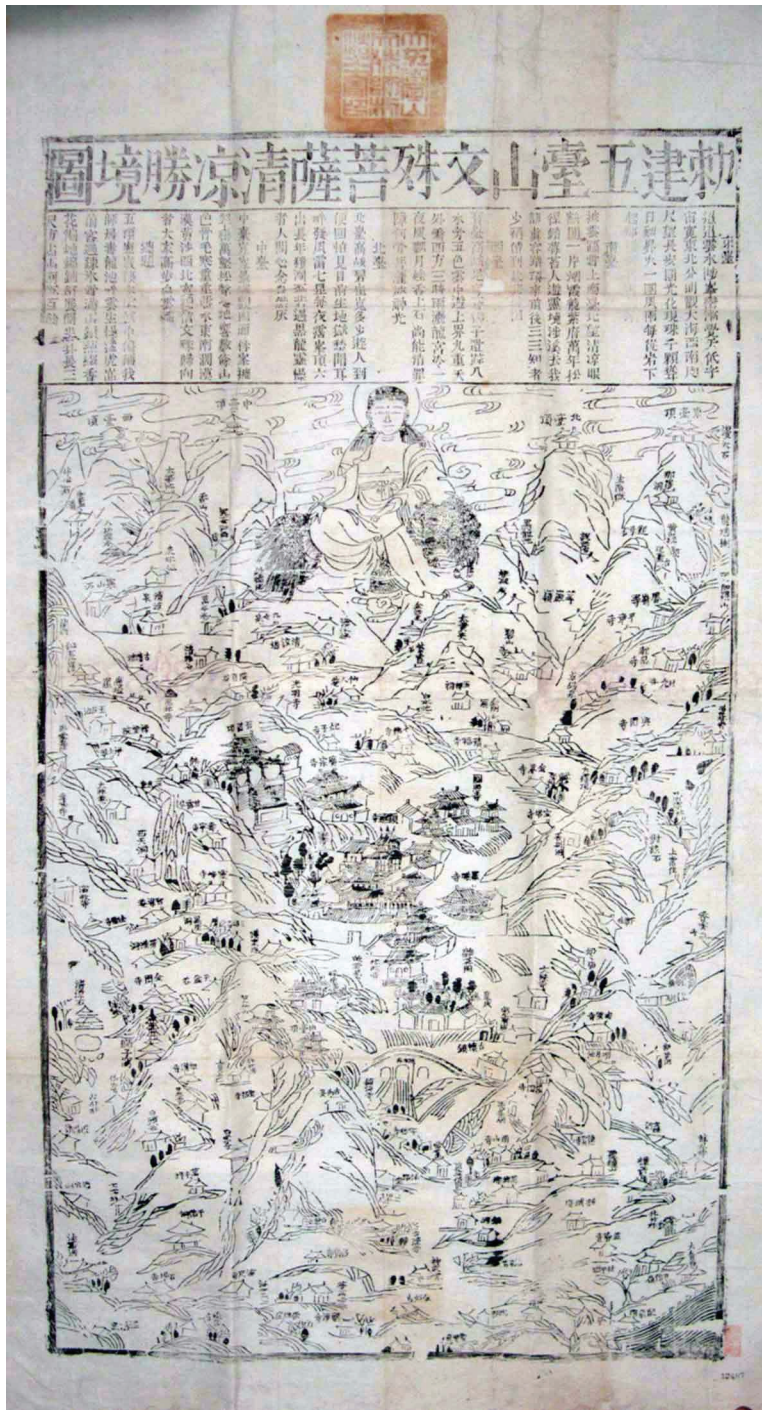


Figure 2.29 Map of the Imperially Established Wutai Shan of the Clear and Cool Realm of Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī (Chijian Wutai Shan Wenshu pusa Qingliang shengjing tu 勅建五臺山文殊菩薩清涼勝境圖). 91 x 50 cm. Late Qing period (c. 1870). National Library, Beijing.



Figure 2.30 Map of Aru qorcin Banner in Inner Mongolia, 1908. 132 x 73.5 cm, Staatsbibliothek ehem. Preuss. Kulturbesitz, Berlin. (After “Mongolische Landkarten”)



Figure 2.31 Gelong Lhundrup, *Panoramic View of Wutai Shan*, 1846, woodblock print on linen, hand-colored. Woodblocks from Cifu si 慈福寺 (Monastery of Benevolent Virtues) at Wutai Shan. 118 x 165cm. National Museum of Finland, Helsinki. (After *Mirrors of the Void*)



Figure 2.32 Gelong Lhundrup, *Panoramic View of Wutai Shan*, 1846, woodblock print on linen, hand-colored. Woodblocks from Cifu si 慈福寺 (Monastery of Benevolent Virtues) at Wutai Shan. 118 x 165cm. Rubin Museum of Himalayan Art, New York. (After Himalayanart.org)



Figure 2.33 Gelong Lhundrup, *Panoramic View of Wutai Shan*, 1846, woodblock print on linen, hand-colored. Woodblocks from Cifu si 慈福寺 (Monastery of Benevolent Virtues) at Wutai Shan. 118 x 165cm. Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

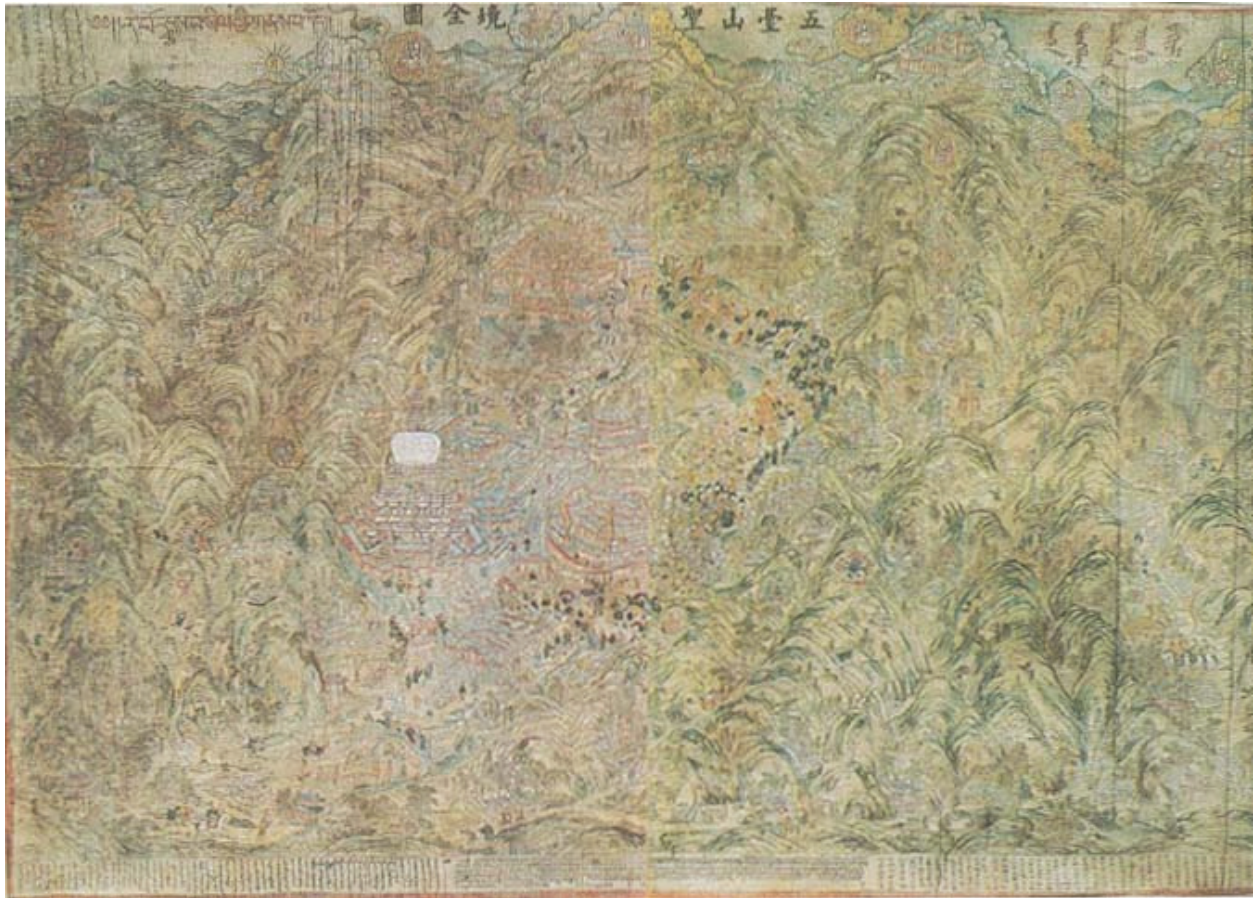


Figure 2.34 Gelong Lhundrup, *Panoramic View of Wutai Shan*, 1846, woodblock print on linen, hand-colored. Woodblocks from Cifu si 慈福寺 (Monastery of Benevolent Virtues) at Wutai Shan. 118 x 165cm. Confucian Temple, Tokyo. (After "Die Wu Tai Shan Darstellung von 1846," 17-18)



Figure 2.36 *Panoramic View of Wutai Shan*, 1874. Woodblock print on linen, hand-colored. 115x174cm. (Astamangala Gallery, Amsterdam)



Figure 2.37 *Panoramic View of Wutai Shan*, 1874. Woodblock print on linen, hand-colored. 113 x 184cm. (National library, Beijing)



Figure 2.38 *View of Wutai Shan*, 1908. Ink and color on paper, mounted on horizontal scroll.
(National Library, Beijing)



Figure 2.39 Set of original 1846 blocks from Cifu si, Wutai Shan (2009)



Figure 2.40 Detail of Figure 2.31

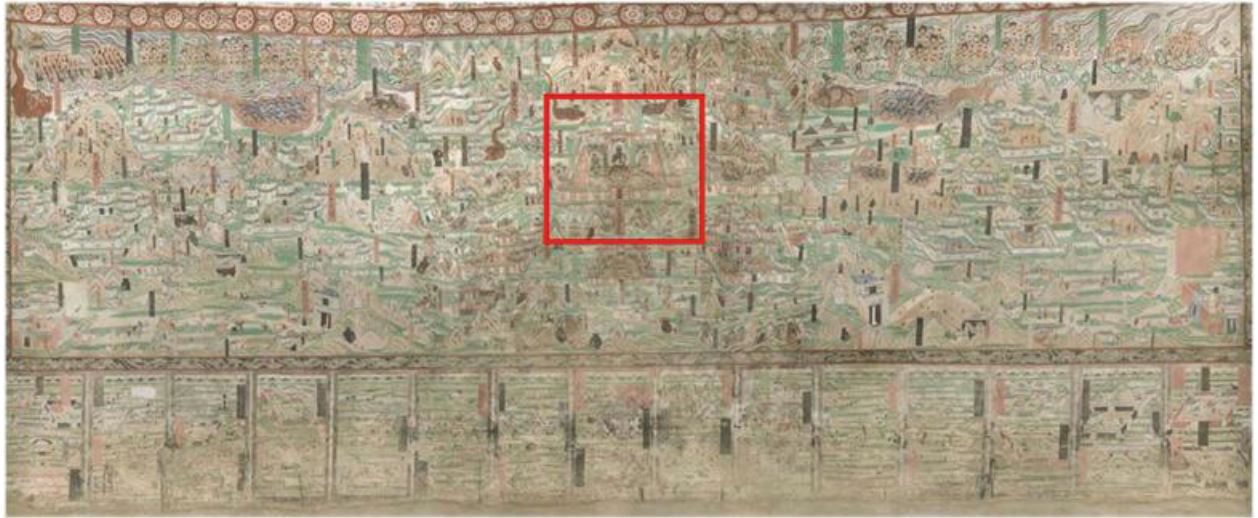


Figure 2.41 Panoramic View of Wutai Shan, 10th century. Wall painting. 5.92 x 13.60 m. West wall, Mogao Cave 61, Dunhuang. (After *Artstor*)



Figure 2.42 Outline drawing of the map mural of Wutai Shan, Badgar. (Drawing by Wang Lei)



Figure 2.43 Hall of Mañjuśrī, Cifu Si, Wutai Shan. (Photograph by Isabelle Charleux, 1993)



Figure 2.44 Interior of the Hall of Mañjuśrī, Cifu si, Wutai Shan. (2009)



Figure 2.45 Paintings on beams inside Hall of Mañjuśrī, Cifu si, Wutai Shan. (2009)



Figure 2.46 Detail of Figure 2.31



Figure 2.47 Detail of Figure 2.32



Figure 2.48 Detail of Figure 2.32



Figure 2.49

Detail of Figure 2.32



Figure 2.50

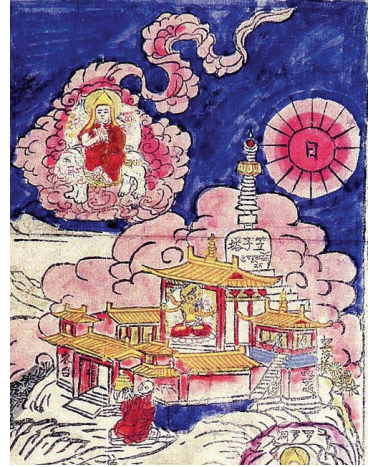
Detail of Figure 2.31



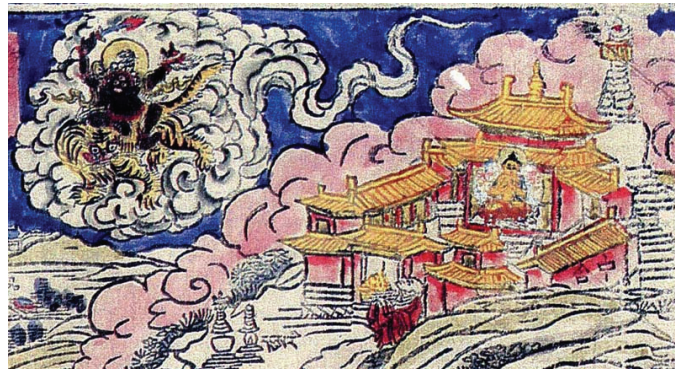
Southern Peak



Western Peak



Eastern Peak



Central Peak



Northern Peak

Figure 2.51

Details of Figure 2.31



Figure 2. 52 The Vision of Khedrup Je with Tsongkhapa Appearing to him on an Elephant. 19th century. Ink on cloth mounted on a hanging scroll. 69.8 x 42 cm. (Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.)



Figure 2.53 Green Tara's paradise, exterior of the Hall of Mañjuśrī, Cifu si, Wutai Shan.



Figure 2. 54 Amitabha's paradise, exterior of the Hall of Mañjuśrī, Cifu si, Wutai Shan.



Figure 2.55 Tsongkhapa as a Mahasiddha riding a tiger, exterior of the Hall of Mañjuśrī, Cifu si, Wutai Shan.



Figure 2.56 Tsongkhapa as a monk seated on a throne supported by gods and goddesses, exterior of the Hall of Mañjuśrī, Cifu si, Wutai Shan.



Figure 2.57 Tsongkhapa as a monk riding on an elephant, exterior of the Hall of Mañjuśrī, Cifu si, Wutai Shan.



Figure 2.58 Tsongkhapa as Mañjuśrī riding on a lion, exterior of the Hall of Mañjuśrī, Cifu si, Wutai Shan.



Figure 2.59 Tsongkhapa as a monk with a Pandita hat, exterior of the Hall of Mañjuśrī, Cifu si, Wutai Shan.



Figure 2.60 Avalokiteśvara's paradise, exterior of the Hall of Mañjuśrī, Cifu si, Wutai Shan.



Figure 2.61 Kingdom of Shambhala, exterior of the Hall of Mañjuśrī, Cifu si, Wutai Shan.



Figure 2.62

Detail of Figure 2.42



Figure 2.63

Detail of Figure 2.32



Figures 2.64 and 2.65

Details of Figures 2.33 and 2.32



Figure 2.66 Detail of Figure 2.31



Figure 2.67 Monks from Eastern Tibet examining map of Wutai Shan at Shifang tang 十方堂, Wutai Shan. (2005)

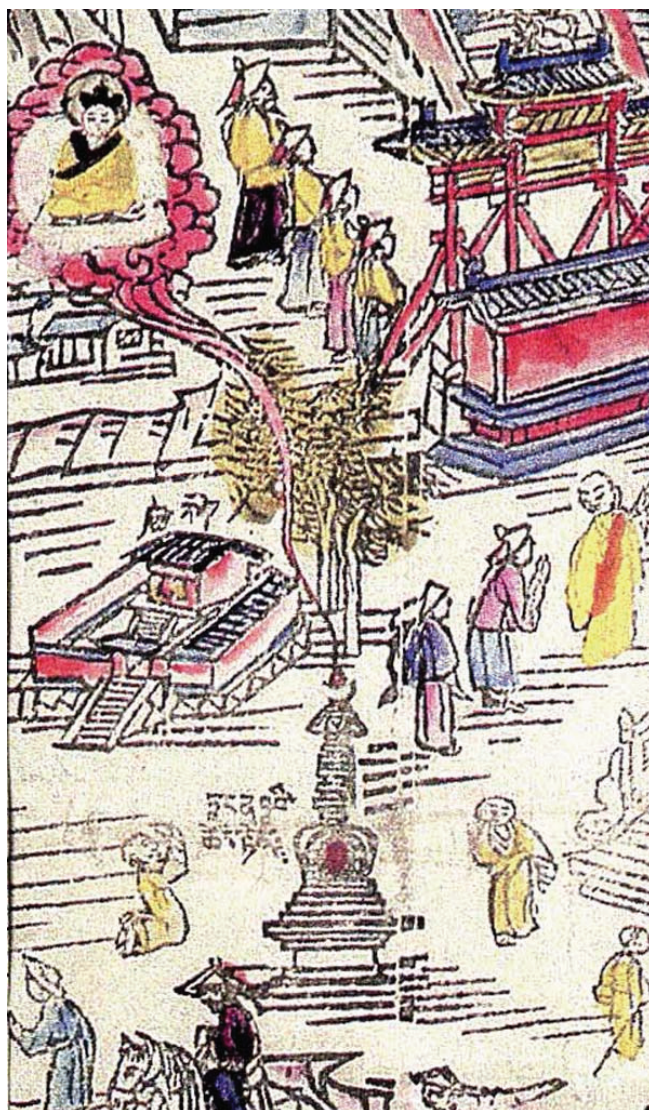


Figure 2.68 Detail of Figure 2.31



Figure 2.69 Detail of Figure 2.32



Figure 2.70 Jebtsundamba of Urga, 19th century. Color on cloths, 11.3 cm x 9.5 cm, Mongolia.
(Museum of Natural History, New York)



Figure 2.71 Detail of Figure 2.32



Figure 2.72 Detail of Figure 2.31



Figure 2.73

Detail of Figure 2.31



Figure 2.74

Detail of Figure 2.32



Figure 2.75 Mogao Cave 61, 10th century, Dunhuang.
(After *Dunhuang Mogao ku*)



Figure 2.76

Detail of Figure 2.42

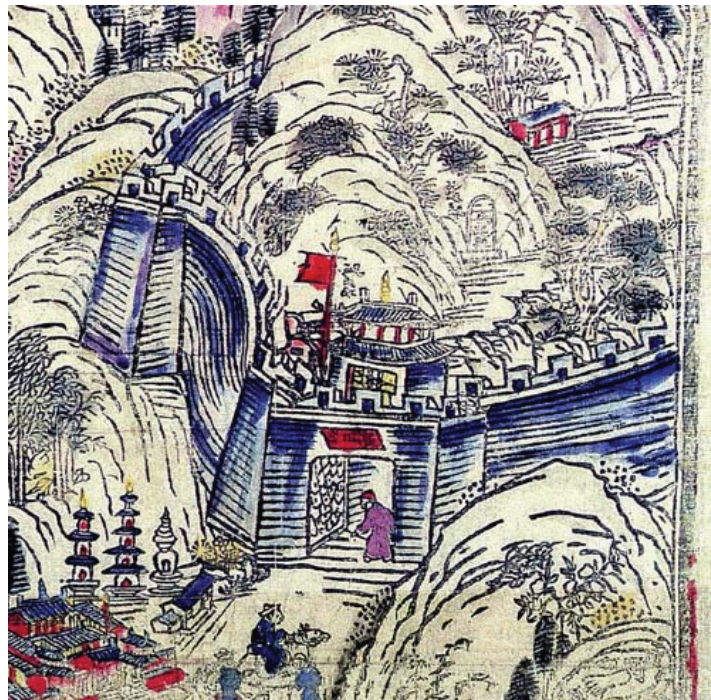


Figure 2.77

Detail of Figure 2.31



Figure 2.78

Detail of Figure 2.42



Figure 2.79

Detail of Figure 2.31



Figure 3.1 *Wutai Shan*, 1922-24. Wall painting, south end of west wall, Eastern Sunlight Hall, White Palace of the Potala, Lhasa. (Photograph by Karl Ryvec)

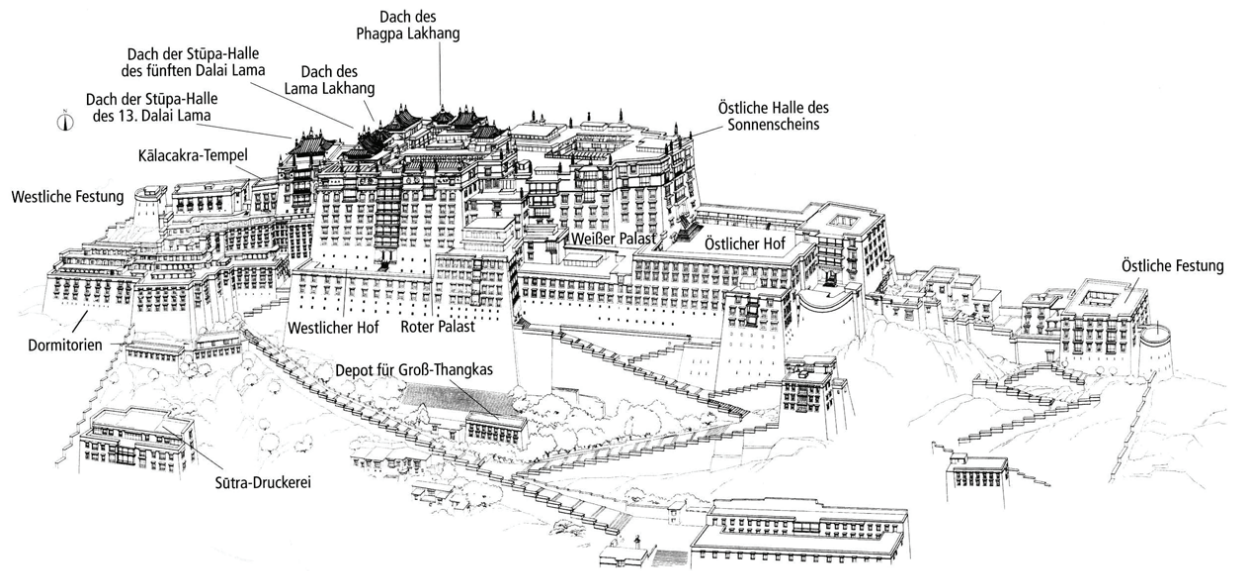


Figure 3.2 Drawing of the Potala Palace (After Phuntsok Namgyal, *The Potala Palace*, 35)



Figure 3.3 Eastern Sunlight Hall, Audience Room of the Dalai Lama, Potala Palace Lhasa, 1922-24. (After *Xizang Budala gong*)

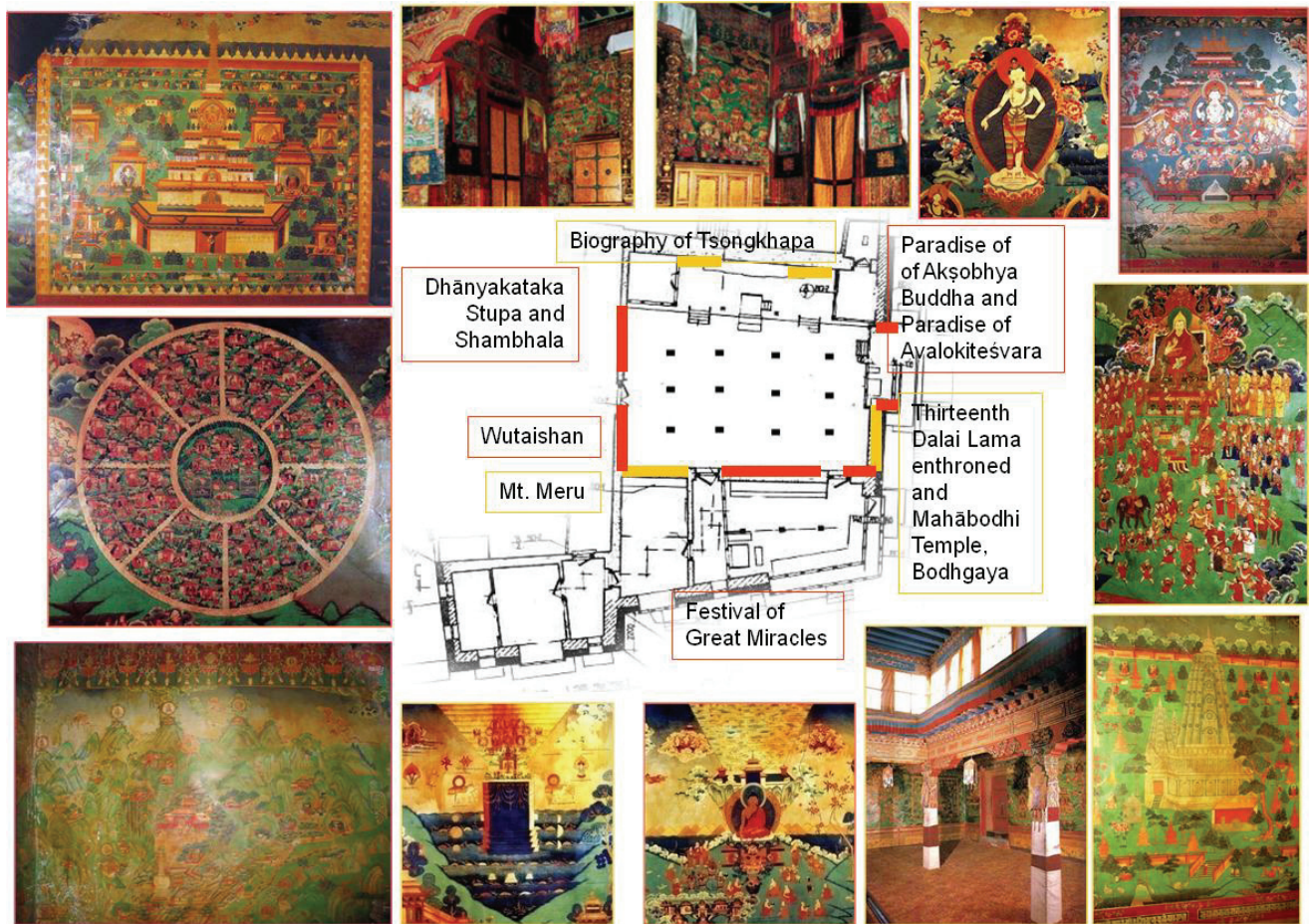


Figure 3.4 Mural Program of the Eastern Sunlight Hall



Figure 3.5 The Potalaka, South Wall, Eastern Sunlight Hall, Potala Palace, 1922-24.



Figure 3.6 Wall painting of the Dhānyakataka stupa in southwestern corner of Tagten Paltseg [Room of Everlasting Merit], adjacent to the Eastern Sunlight Hall.



Figure 3.7 Gyantse Kumbum (Rgyal rtse sku 'bum).



Figure 3.8 Kelsang Dekyi Potrang [Palace of the Fortunate Eon of Happiness], Norbu Lingka, Lhasa, 1926 to 1928.



Figure 3.9 East-facing side of the outermost corridor, first floor of the main assembly hall (*dbu rtse rigs gsum*) Samye Monastery, Central Tibet.



Figure 3.10 Cakravāla: Buddhist World System. Tibet, 17th century. Pigments on cloth, 110 x 85 cm. (Rossi and Rossi, London)



Figure 3.11 Jambudvīpa, detail of figure 3.10



Figure 3.12 Mahābodhi Temple of Bodh Gaya, south end of East Wall, Eastern Sunlight Hall, Potala Palace, Lhasa. 1922-24. (After *Bodhgaya: The Site of Enlightenment*)



Figure 3.13 Mahābodhi Temple of Bodh Gaya, east-facing side of the outermost corridor, first floor of the main assembly hall, 17th century, Samye Monastery, Central Tibet.



Figure 3.14 Mahābodhi Temple of Bodh Gaya, colors on cloth. In the collection of the Potala Palace, 18th – 19th century, Central Tibet.
(After *Xizang Budala gong*)



Figure 3.15 From left to right: Sir Charles Bell, Mahārāja of Sikkim, and the Thirteenth Dalai Lama. Photograph by Johnston and Hoffman, 1910. (British Library, London)



Figure 3.16 The Thirteenth Dalai Lama enthroned, 1910. Photograph by British Officer Charles Bell, dedication inscription and seal of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, hand-colored by Tibetan artist.



Figure 3.17 Devotional image of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama. Painted with insertion of faded photograph of his face. Collection of Lambert Verhoeven, Gouda. (After *The Dalai Lamas*)



Figure 3.18 The Thirteenth Dalai Lama, 1933. Photograph by British Officer Frederick Williamson. (After *Chö Yang*)



Figure 3.19 Portrait of last Jebtsundamba of Urga, Baldugiin 'Marzan' Sharav (1869-1939), ca.1924. Color on cotton, ca. 110 x 84cm. (Museum of Fine Arts, Ulaanbaatar)



Figure 3.20 Portait of Ekh Dagin Dondongdulam, Baldugiin 'Marzan' Sharav (1869-1939), ca. 1912-23. Color on cotton, 115 x 86.2 cm. (Museum of Fine Arts, Ulaanbaatar)



Figure 3.21 Mural of Wutai Shan, east-facing side of the outermost corridor, first floor of the main assembly hall, Samye Monastery, Central Tibet.



Figures 3.22 - 3.36 The Fifteen Great Miracles (*cho 'phrul dus chen*), south Wall, eastern Sunlight Hall, Potala Palace, 1922-24. (After *A Mirror of the Murals*)



Figure 3.37 A Decree announcing the regency of Desi Sanggye Gyatso, with handprints of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama over the original handprints of the Fifth Dalai Lama. (After *Xizang Budala gong*)



Figure 3.38 Shambhala, East-facing side of the outermost corridor first floor of the main assembly hall (*dbu rtse rigs gsum*), Samye Monastery, Central Tibet.



Figure 3.39 Battle of Shambhala, northern side of west wall, Eastern Sunlight Hall, Potala Palace, 1922-24. (After *Xizang Budala gong*)



Figure 3.40 Willem de Pannemaker, active 1535 – 1578. After designs by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, 1502 - 1550, and Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen, c. 1500 - c. 1559. *Review of the Troops at Barcelona*, from the series "The Conquest of Tunis", Brussels, Brabant, c. 1554. Gold, silver, silk, and wool tapestry. 532 x 715 cm. Patrimonio Nacional, Palacio Real de Madrid.



Figure 3.41 Dhānyakataka stupa, Northern side of West Wall, Eastern Sunlight Hall, Potala Palace, 1922-24. (After *Xizang Budala gong*)



Figure 3.42 Meeting Between the Fifth Dalai Lama and Qing Shunzhi Emperor in Beijing, Western Audience Hall (Srid zhi'i phun tshogs), Red Palace of the Potala, Lhasa, circa 1652. (After *Xizang Budala gong*)



Figure 3.43 Pencil Drawing of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama by N. Kozhevnikov (Urga, 1905), given to Tsar Nicholas II by P. Kozlov, Russian adventurer and explorer, at the request of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. (After *The Dalai Lamas*)



Figure 3.44 Serdung Gelek Döjo (Gser gdung dge legs ‘dod ‘jo), Mausoleum of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, Potala Palace, Lhasa. 1933-35. (After *A Mirror of the Murals*)



Figure 3.45 Pilgrimage to Mahābodhi Temple in Bodh Gaya, Mausoleum of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, Potala Palace, 1933-35.
(After *A Mirror of the Murals*)



Figure 3.46 The prophecy at Lake Lhamo, Mausoleum of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, 1933-35.
(After *A Mirror of the Murals*)



Figure 3.47 Performance of Rope at the Potala, Mausoleum of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, 1933-35. (After *A Mirror of the Murals*)



Figure 3.48 Butterlamp offerings at the Great Prayer Festival, Mausoleum of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, 1933-35. (After *A Mirror of the Murals*)



Figure 3.49 Summer Opera Festival (*zho ston dus chen*) at Norbu Lingka, Mausoleum of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, 1933-35. (After *A Mirror of the Murals*)



Figure 3.50 The Thirteenth Dalai Lama's arrival in Beijing, Mausoleum of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, 1933-35. (After *A Mirror of the Murals*)



Figure 3.51 Meeting Between the Thirteenth Dalai Lama and Empress Dowager Cixi, Mausoleum of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, 1933-35.
(After *A Mirror of the Murals*)



Figure 3.52 The Thirteenth Dalai Lamas the Thousand-eyed Thousand-armed Avalokitêsvara, Mausoleum of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, 1933-35. (After *A Mirror of the Murals*)



Figure 4.1 Khenpo Jikmé Püntsok, Gate to Pusa ding, Wutai Shan (1987).
(After *Sems khong na 'bar ba'i dus rabs kyi sgron me*)



Figure 4.2 Larung Nangten Lobling (Larung Five Sciences Academy), Serta, Kardzé Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province.



Figure 4.3 Sotok Mountain, Kardzé Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province.



Figure 4.4 Khenpo Jikmé Püntsoik leading a prayer gathering at the Great White Stupa, Wutai Shan, 1987 (After *Sems khong na 'bar ba'i dus rabs kyi sgron me*)



Figure 4.5 Exterior of Cave of Sudhana, Wutai Shan, 2009.



Figure 4.6 Interior of Cave of Prince Sudhana, with images of Prince Sudhana in the middle, Mipham Rinpoche to his left, Sri Singha and Jnanasutra in white marble statues (After ““Wutai Shan Shengji Yilan””)



Figure 4.7 The Cooling Charnel Ground, Cave of Prince Sudhana, Wutai Shan. (After ““Wutai Shan Shengji Yilan””)



Figure 4.9 Path from the Eastern Peak to the Nārāyaṇa Cave, Wutai Shan
(After “Wutai Shan Shengji Yilan”)



Figure 4.10 Entrance to the Nārāyaṇa Cave below the Eastern Peak, Wutai Shan
(After “Wutai Shan Shengji Yilan”)



Figure 4.11 Khenpo Jikmé Püntsok and disciples on the Eastern Peak, Wutai Shan (1987).
(After *Sems khong na 'bar ba'i dus rabs kyi sgron me*)



Figure 4.12 Interior corridor of the Nārāyaṇa Cave with offerings
(After “Wutai Shan Shengji Yilan”)



Figure 4.13 Image of Khenpo Jikmé Püntsok inside the Nārāyaṇa Cave, Wutai Shan
(After “Wutai Shan Shengji Yilan”)



Figure 4.14 Encounter between Buddhapāli and Mañjuśrī, West Wall, Mogao Cave 61, Dunhuang, circa 948. (After *Artstor*)



Figure 4.15

Detail of Padampa Sangye Meeting Mañjuśrī , from Gelong Lhundrup, *Panoramic View of Wutai Shan*, 1846, woodblock print on linen, hand-colored. Woodblocks from Cifu si at Wutai Shan. (Rubin Museum of Art, New York)



Figure 4.16 Newly Unearthed Images from Sanquan si (Monastery of the Three Springs), Wutai Shan (2009)



Figure 4.17 Moring prayer at Shifang tang (Hall of Ten Directions), Wutai Shan
(After “Wutai Shan Shifang tang”)



Figure 4.18 Fire Offering to Vajrabhairava at Shifang tang, Wutai Shan (2009)
(After “Wutai Shan Shifang tang”)



Figure 4.19 Guanyin dong (Cave of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara), Wutai Shan.



Figure 4.20 New hall below Guanyin dong, Wutai Shan (2005).



Figure 4.21 Ruins of Pule yuan (Retreat Monastery of Universal Happiness), Wutai Shan (2006).