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Wutai shan: Pilgrimage to Five-Peak Mountain

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Abstract: *The sacred mountain Wutai shan, located in Shanxi Province, China, is believed to be the earthly abode of the Bodhisattva of Wisdom, Mañjuśrī. While Wutai shan was a sacred site to Chinese Buddhists as far back as the fifth century, from the seventh century on, it became an international pilgrimage center, attracting Buddhist pilgrims from as far away as India, Kashmir, Tibet, Japan, and Korea. By the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Wutai shan had become especially important to Tibetans, Mongols, and Manchus, when Tibetan Buddhism was at its apex there and the mountain was a confluence of Himalayan cultures. The exhibition "Wutaishan: Pilgrimage to Five-Peak Mountain" (2007) introduced the nature of this transnational pilgrimage site dedicated to the embodiment of wisdom, Mañjuśrī, and explored the rich interrelationships between faith, politics, ethnicity, and identity which make the site unique. The accompanying introductory essay explores the history of Tibetan involvement on the mountain.*

Introduction

Figure 1. Map of Cultural Convergence at Wutai shan.

The sacred Five-Peak Mountain (Wutai shan, 五臺山, *ri bo rtse lnga*), located in Shanxi Province (Shanxi sheng, 山西省), China (Fig. 1), is believed to be the earthly abode of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī (*'jam dpal dbyangs*; Fig. 2). While Wutai shan was a sacred site to Chinese Buddhists as far back as the fifth century, from the seventh century on, it became an international pilgrimage center, attracting Buddhist pilgrims from as far away as India, Kashmir, Tibet, Japan, and Korea. By the eighteenth century Wutai shan had become especially important to Tibetans, Mongols, and Manchus. Although most studies have focused on the Chinese experience at Wutai shan, especially during the Tang (唐, 618-906)

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and Song (宋, 960-1279) dynasties,[1] the Columbia University conference "Wutai Shan and Qing Culture" held at the Rubin Museum of Art (May 12-13, 2007) and the coinciding exhibition "Wutaishan: Pilgrimage to Five-Peak Mountain" (May 10-October 16, 2007)[2] together highlighted a period from the seventeenth to twentieth century when Tibetan Buddhism was at its apex there and the mountain was a place of confluence with Himalayan cultures.

Over the course of 1500 years not only has this complex of mountains been a nexus of pilgrimage, cosmological conceptualization and cultural exchange, but it has also been the focal point of various religio-political discourses. The concatenation of these forces undoubtedly reached its apogee during the long reign of the Manchus, who were not only portrayed as emanations of the bodhisattva of wisdom, but also fostered the folk etymology of their ethnonym as deriving from Mañjuśrī. Yet, while this project of symbolic appropriation is now common knowledge, less is known about how it affected the inherently transnational nature of this site. In other words, an important unanswered question is: how did the various discourses during the Qing dynasty (清, 1644-1911) actually engage, shape and influence the practices and conceptualizations of the constituents of the Qing Empire? Moreover, how did innovations or transformations on the margins impact the imperial center? The aim of this conference was to employ the historical

[1] On the Chinese experience on Wutai shan, see for instance the writings of Raoul Birnbaum ("Buddhist Meditation Teachings and the Birth of 'Pure' Landscape Painting in China," *Studies on the Mysteries of Manjusri*, "The Manifestation of a Monastery: Shen-Ying's Experiences on Mount Wu-t'ai in T'ang Context," "Secret Halls of the Mountain Lords: The Caves of Wu-t'ai," "Visions of Manjusri on Mount Wutai," and "Light in the Wutai Mountains") and Robert Gimello ("Chang Shang-ying on Wu-ta'i Shan" and "Wu-t'ai shan during the Early Chin Dynasty: The Testimony of Chu Pien"). Only very recently have important inroads been published in western scholarship on the Tibetan involvement on Wutai shan: Gray Tuttle, *Tibetan Buddhists in the Making of Modern China* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2005); and Gray Tuttle, "Tibetan Buddhism at Ri bo rtse lnga/Wutai shan in Modern Times," *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies*, no. 2 (August 2006): 1-35, http://www.thlib.org?tid=T2723 (a paper originally presented at the 1998 meeting of the *International Association of Tibetan Studies* held in Bloomington, Indiana); 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* 29, no. 1 (June 2008): 73-119 (based on her 2006 MA thesis); and Wen-shing Chou, "Ineffable Paths: Mapping Wutaishan in Qing Dynasty China," *Art Bulletin* 89, no. 1 (March 2007): 108-29. This new generation of scholarship on Wutai shan in late imperial times culminated in the conference "Wutaishan and Qing Culture" with which this exhibition was conceived. As one will see from the many Chinese secondary sources cited here, Chinese interest in Tibetan Buddhism on Wutai shan began to appear in print in the late 1980s and 1990s.

[2] The author would like to thank co-curator of the exhibition Jeff Watt for all of his suggestions, input, and his guidance in mounting the exhibition. Thanks also to Donald Rubin and Caron Smith for their support appointing me the first Rubin Museum of Art curatorial fellow which gave me the opportunity to work on this project. Special thanks to Wen-shing Chou and Gray Tuttle for enthusiastically sharing their materials, and to David Newman for his collaboration creating the on-line interactive digitally decoded 1846 map of Wutai shan. Gene Smith of TBRC and Pema Bhum of Latse Library were both invaluable in locating Tibetan sources, as well as clearing up several questions arising out of the literature. Thanks to Jann Ronis and Alex Gardner, fellow Rubin Foundation Scholars in Residence, for their help in coming to accessible yet faithful translations of Tibetan texts. Thanks to Elliot Sperling, Gray Tuttle, Johan Elverskog, Kristina Dy-Liacco, Helen Abbott and Neil Liebman for their many valuable suggestions in improving this essay. Also thanks to Jessica Klein, Lisa Arcomano, John Monaco, Dudu Etzion, Jennie Coyne, Kathryn Selig-Brown, Kei Tateyama and Zhu Runxiao for their help at various stages of the exhibition and publication.

importance and transnational nature of Wutai shan in order to attempt a re-evaluation of Qing culture.

Within this framework the concurrent exhibition sought to introduce the nature of this transnational pilgrimage site dedicated to the embodiment of wisdom, Mañjuśrī, and explore the rich interrelationships between faith, politics, ethnicity and identity which make the site unique. As Wutai shan is located in China, this exhibition also sought to highlight the importance of Himalayan art which extends well outside the traditionally narrow confines of the Himalayas. The broad cultural diversity characteristic of Himalayan art is reflected in the objects in this exhibition, which come from Nepal, Tibet, Mongolia, and China and include paintings, sculptures, masks, and book covers and feature a six-foot wide woodblock print (Cat. 1), a panoramic view of Wutai shan filled with temples and miraculous visions.

Figure 2. Chinese Form of Mañjuśrī. Yuanzhao si, Wutai shan. Photograph by Gray Tuttle.

The Mountain

Wutai shan is identified by its five flat-topped peaks, the origin of its Chinese name, "Five-Terrace Mountain" (Wutai shan, 五臺山).[3] In Tibetan and Mongolian the site is known as "Five-Peak Mountain" (*ri bo rtse lnga*) from whence the exhibition takes its name. Each peak is inhabited by a unique form of Mañjuśrī.[4] Wutai shan is Mañjuśrī's "field of activity" or "place of practice" (*daochang*, 道場, *maṇḍa*), where a Buddha or high-ranking bodhisattva exerts his or her influence

[3] Wutai shan as a geographic place is not actually a single mountain, but in fact a group of five mountains arranged in a rough semicircular arc, which have been identified with the five peaks of Mañjuśrī's abode.

[4] The Mañjuśrī astrological system arranges the mountain's five peaks into a cosmic diagram (*maṇḍala*, *dkyil 'khor*) format, with each peak placed in a cardinal direction and assigned a corresponding primary color under one of the five Buddha realms: on South Peak (Fig. 4, no. 2) resides a white form of Mañjuśrī called Jñānasattva on a peak of semi-precious stones (turquoise?; blue), associated with the realm of the Buddha Ratnasaṁbhava; on the West Peak (Fig. 4, no. 9) resides a form of Mañjuśrī seated on a lion called Vādisiṁha on a peak made of rubies (red), associated with the realm of the Buddha Amitābha; on the Central Peak (Fig. 4, no. 11) resides a form of Mañjuśrī wielding a sword called Mañjuśrī Nātha on a peak of gold (yellow), associated with the realm of the Buddha Vairocana; on the North Peak (Fig. 4, no. 18) resides a form of Mañjuśrī called Vimala, meaning "Stainless" on a peak of sapphire (green), associated with the realm of Amoghasiddhi; on East Peak (Fig. 4, no. 28) resides a four-armed form of Mañjuśrī called Mañjughoṣa Tikṣṇa on a peak of crystal (white), associated with the realm of Akṣobhya.

and preaches, greatly aiding the faithfuls' ability to develop spiritually and attain enlightenment. What is important about Mañjuśrī's field is that unlike many other buddhafields, or pure realms, such as Amitābha's Western Paradise (*sukhāvatī*) into which one prays to be reborn, Mañjuśrī's is thought to be here on earth and is associated with a particular geographic location, reachable by foot, and thus the focus of both local and international pilgrimage.

Figure 3. Miraculous Light over Pusa ding. Wutai shan. Photograph by Gray Tuttle.

The numerous anecdotes concerning his miraculous appearances constitute an important aspect of the cult of Mañjuśrī at Wutai shan. Pilgrims who visit this sacred mountain go to see visions of Mañjuśrī. These have often taken the form of miraculous light and cloud formations, for which the mountain is famous (Fig. 3). Accounts of these encounters with the divine were first compiled in Chinese gazetteers beginning in the seventh century, which helped to spread the cult of this mountain; they were later translated and adapted into Tibetan, Mongolian, and Manchu. Visual records of these divine manifestations were also mapped onto the mountain (Cat. 1) as discussed by Chou,[5] and brought to life in the exhibition through an interactive digitally decoded map (http://wutaishan.rma2.org/rma_viewer.php?image_id=1&mode=info, Fig. 4). Wutai shan, also known in Chinese as "Clear and Cool Mountain" (Qingliang shan, 清涼山, *ri bo dwangs bsil*), is one of the four great sacred mountains in China, and its importance is underscored by the fact that more gazetteers were produced for Wutai shan than for any other pilgrimage site.[6] As the introduction to one edition of its gazetteer, *Records of Clear and Cool Mountain* (*Qingliang chuan*), put it: "Qingliang shan (Wutai shan) is foremost among all sacred mountains for those who hold mystic manifestation to be the essence of Buddhism."[7]

[5] Wen-shing Chou, "Maps of Wutai Shan: Individuating the Sacred Landscape through Color," *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies*, no. 6 (December 2011), http://www.thlib.org?tid=T5713.

[6] Wutai shan's gazetteer had twenty editions, whereas the next largest Tai Mountain (Tai shan), Emei Mountain (Emei shan, 峨眉山), and Putuo Mountain (Putuo shan, 普陀山) only had half as many with ten each. Gray Tuttle ("Tibetan Buddhism at Wutai Shan in the Qing: The Chinese-language Register," *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies*, no. 6 [December 2011], http://www.thlib.org?tid=T5721) notes that "not only does the number of Qing gazetteers devoted to Wutai shan exceed those of almost any other site in the empire, but their production was also more closely connected to the imperial court than any other place." The other three mountains in the set of four great Buddhist mountains of China (Si da ming shan, 四大名山), each with their own bodhisattva in residence, are: Putuo Mountain (Putuo shan, 普陀山) in Zhejiang Province (Zhejiang, 浙江省), seat of the Bodhisattva of Compassion (*avalokiteśvara*); Emei Mountain in Sichuan, seat of the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra; and Jiuhua Mountain (Jiuhua shan, 九華山) in Anhui, seat of the Bodhisattva Ākāśagarbha.

[7] Preface to the *Records of Clear and Cool Mountain* (*Qingliang chuan*), dated 1164. Translated by Robert Gimello, "Wu-t'ai shan during the Early Chin dynasty: The Testimony of Chu Pien," *Zhonghua Foxue xue bao* 7 (1994): 514.

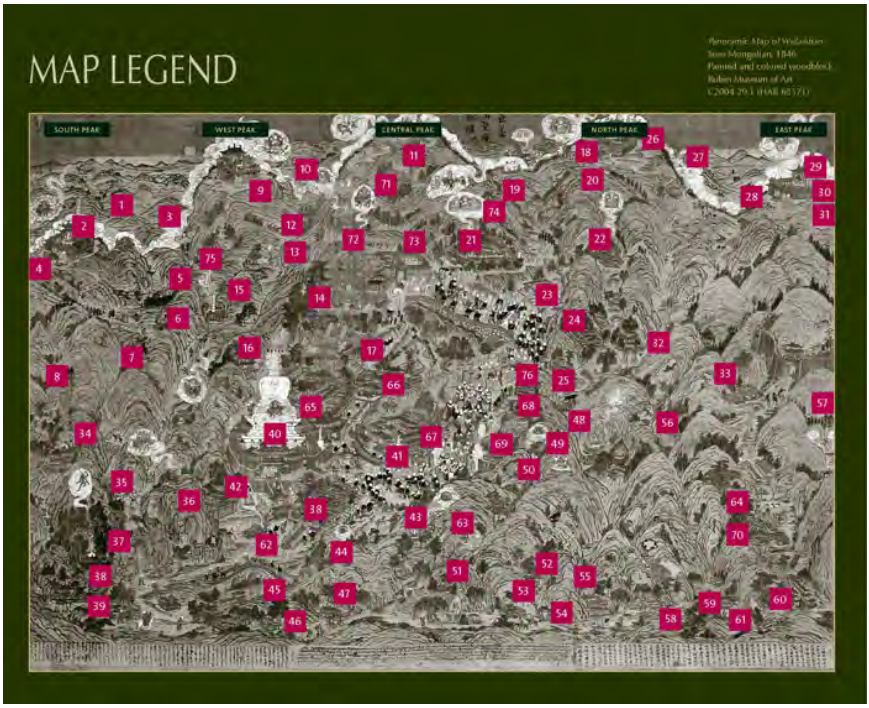

Figure 4. 1846 Wutai shan map and key with Tibetan.

1 Old Bamboo Grove 古竹林; Light of the Buddha Temple 佛光寺
2 Southern Terrace 南台; Samantabhadra Stupa 普賢塔
3 Eternal Peace Temple 永安寺
4 White Dragon Pool 白龍池
5 Arhat Cave 羅漢洞; Clear and Cool Stone 清涼石
6 Golden Pavilion Temple 金閣寺
7 Sunshine Temple 日照寺
8 Golden Lantern Temple 金灯寺
9 Western Terrace 西台
10 Secret Convent 秘庵
11 Central Terrace 中台; Spreading the Doctrine Temple 演教寺
12 Clear and Cool Bridge 清涼橋
13 Western Heaven ("India") Cave 西天洞
14 Bodhisattva Peak 菩薩頂
15 Bamboo Grove Temple 竹林寺; Phoenix Grove Temple 鳳林寺
16 Three Stupa Temple 三塔寺
17 Ancestral Honor Temple 慶宗寺
18 Northern Terrace 北台
19 Ice of Myriad Years 萬年冰; Kangxi emperor mistakes Manjushri for a dissolute monk
20 Black Dragon Pool 黑龍池
21 Kindness and Happiness Temple 慈福寺
22 Universal Joy Cloister 普喜院
23 Two Houses Cloister 兩房院
24 Auspicious Blessing Temple 吉福寺
25 Seven Buddhas of the Past Temple 七佛寺
26 Arhat Terrace 罗汗台
27 Lanran Temple 闌然寺
28 Eastern Terrace 東台
29 Bamboo Hat Stupa 竺子塔
30 Viewing the Ocean Pavilion 望海樓
31 Luoluo Cave 罗罗洞
32 Western Heaven ("India") Temple 西天寺
33 Well Spring Temple 源泉寺
34 Thousand Buddha Cave 千佛洞
35 Serpent Pond Temple 蛇潭寺
36 Indian Sage Mountain 梵仙山
37 Taming the Ocean Temple 鎮海寺
38 Residential Palaces 行宮
39 White Cloud Temple 白雲寺
40 Stupa Grove Temple 塔院寺
41 Rahula Temple 羅睺寺
42 Manjushri Image Temple 殊像寺
43 Avalokiteshvara Cave 觀音洞
44 Grandmother Temple 奶奶廟
45 Kindness and Happiness Temple 慈福廟
46 Jade Emperor Temple 玉皇廟
47 Respite of the Worthy Temple 憩賢寺
48 Manjushri Cave 文殊洞
49 Mahakala Mountain 公布山
50 Rising Sun Cave (Vajrapani Cave) 朝陽洞
51 Southern Mountain Temple 南山寺
52 Bright Moon Pool 明月池
53 Myriad Green Convent 萬綠庵
54 Black Cliff Cave 黑崖洞
55 Universal Peace Temple 普安寺
56 Water Confluence Cave 水擁洞
57 White Cloud Cave 白雲洞
58 Vajra Cave 金剛窟
59 Return to the Ocean Convent 海回庵
60 Great Temple 大寺
61 Black Horse Stone 黑馬石
62 Taranatha Stupa
63 Sixth Dalai Lama living in exile in a cave
64 Shot Tiger Stream 射虎川
65 Clear Understanding Temple 顯通寺
66 Complete Illumination Temple 圓照寺
67 Ten Directions Hall 十方堂
68 Great Conch Peak 大螺頂
69 Sudhana Cave 善財洞
70 Terrace Foothill Temple 台麓寺
71 Jade Flower Pool 玉花池
72 Longevity and Tranquility Temple 壽寧寺
73 Three Spring Temple 三泉寺(三全寺)
74 Iron Tile Temple 鐵瓦寺
75 Lion's Den 獅子窩 (文殊寺)
76 Dragon King Temple 龍王廟

More than 120 sites of interest to the pilgrims who ventured to Wutai shan are labeled with Chinese and Tibetan inscriptions on this 19th-century woodblock, including Buddhist monasteries, Taoist temples, villages, sacred objects, and locations of events, both historic and miraculous.

Early Political Significance

Figure 5. Chos rgyal 'phags pa (1235-1280). Tibet; late 17th century. Pigments on cloth; 26" h. Purchased from the Collection of Navin Kumar, New York. Rubin Museum of Art. C2002.3.2 (HAR 65046).

Figure 6. Shākya ye shes. Embroidered thang ka, Xuande period (circa 1434-35). (After precious deposits, Fig. 55).

Since the eighth century Mañjuśrī has been seen as the patron deity of China; therefore, Wutai shan was a focus of imperial attention. Rulers tied their own legitimacy to the deity and promoted his cult at Wutai shan, blurring and intertwining religious, state, and ethnic identities. Already in the eighth century a foreign monk from the Central Asian city of Samarkand, Amoghavajra (Bukong Jingang, 不空金剛, 705-774), who rose in the ranks of the official bureaucracy and became one of the most politically powerful monks in Chinese history, was instrumental in establishing Mañjuśrī as the protector of the nation and the emperor and in fostering the cult of pilgrimage at Wutai shan. Amoghavajra initiated the Chinese emperor as a divinely anointed Buddhist ruler (*cakravartin*) in 759, linking Mañjuśrī worship at Wutai shan and the imperial cult. A miraculous "true image" of Mañjuśrī on his lion, which was said to have been made with Mañjuśrī's own assistance in the eighth century and is therefore seen as being a true likeness (or "true image") of the deity, was installed at the Cloister of the True Contenance (Zhenrong yuan, 真容院; later renamed Pusa ding, 菩薩頂, *byang chub sems dpa'i spor*, Fig. 4, no. 14) and became an early focus of imperial patronage at Wutai shan. Rituals for the protection and preservation of the nation subsequently became a characteristic feature of state involvement at Wutai shan. In fact, mountain worship

had long been an integral part of the Chinese state cult, wherein the emperor communed with heaven and received its mandate to rule the earth.[8] This was therefore a traditional application of Buddhist theology to statecraft within China, and it provided an important early Chinese model sanctioned by historical precedent for later Tibetan religious masters who served successively at the Mongol, Chinese, and Manchu imperial courts at Wutai shan, such as 'Phags pa (Fig. 5 and Cat. 25) in the thirteenth century, Shākya ye shes (Shijia Yeshi, 釋迦也失, d. 1435; Fig. 6) in the fifteenth century, and Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje (Cat. 2) in the eighteenth century. While Chinese temples vastly outnumbered Tibetan and Mongolian monasteries on Wutai shan, by the seventeenth century Tibetan Buddhism came to hold a disproportionately prominent place of religious and political authority there, and Tibetan and Mongolian Buddhists were charged by the imperial throne to govern all religious affairs on the mountain.

Tibetan Identification with Wutai shan

The earliest Chinese texts that refer to Mañjuśrī's residence at Wutai shan are late seventh- to early eighth-century translations of the *Flower Garland Sūtra* (*avataṃsaka sūtra*, *Huayan jing*, 華嚴經) and the *Mañjuśrī Precious Treasury of the Law Dhāraṇī Sūtra* (*mañjuśrī-dharma-ratnagarbha-dhāraṇī sūtra*, [*Wenshu shili fa*] *Baozang tuoluoni jing*, [文殊師利法]寶藏陀羅尼經), both of which are quoted in the opening passage of the trilingual dedicatory inscription on the bottom of the panoramic map of Wutai shan (Cat. 1, texts 1-3).[9] The presence of this text serves as a kind of scriptural authentication of the mountain as Mañjuśrī's realm and the image as an accurate reflection of the site. However, the Tibetan version of the *Ratnagarbha-dhāraṇī Sūtra* (*rin chen snying po gzungs*) does not mention Mañjuśrī or Clear and Cool Mountain, and the original Sanskrit version is no longer extant. Furthermore, it has been suggested that the Chinese translation of the *Flower Garland Sūtra* was falsified to assign Mañjuśrī a dwelling place in China.[10]

[8] See Stephen Bokenkamp, "Record of the Feng and Shan Sacrifices," in *Religions of China in Practice* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), 251-61.

[9] Taisho 279.10.1b-444c; and Taisho 1185 (Takakusu Junjirō and Watanabe Kaigyoku, eds., *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* (Tokyo: Taisho issaikyo kankokai, 1924-32). The trilingual dedication texts are translated at the end of the entry for catalog number 1 (Cat. 1).

[10] Étienne Lamotte, "Mañjuśrī," *T'oung Pao* 158 (1960): 61; Mary Anne Cartelli, "On a Five-colored Cloud: The Songs of Mount Wutai," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (Oct 2004): 738. The *Flower Garland Sūtra* (*avataṃsaka sūtra*) with references to "Clear and Cool Mountain" as Mañjuśrī's abode in China was translated in 699 for the infamous empress Wu Zetian, China's only female emperor. The political application of Buddhism at the Chinese court reached new heights in the late seventh to early eighth centuries under the empress Wu, who was the first to openly promote herself as a bodhisattva and officially adopt titles and symbols of Buddhist absolute sacral power. Empress Wu Zetian went so far as to liken her rule to the millenarian prophesy of the coming of the Future Buddha Maitreya. Wu Zitian enjoyed power for almost half a century, and from 690-705 ruled as China's sole female emperor. Confucian strictures against women's involvement in politics, let alone female rulership, likely forced her to seek a new ideology to legitimate her power. Subtly interpolated translations of Buddhist texts, such as the *Flower Garland Sūtra*, with cryptic passages inserted to bolster her claims of divinity, were part of a well coordinated Buddhist campaign of legitimation, reinforcing Wu Zitian as a *cakravartin* ruler and a bodhisattva. For instance an interpolated translation of the *Baoyu jing* (寶雨經), or *Sutra*

Interestingly, where the Tibetan inscription on the Wutai shan map "quotes" the *Ratnagarbha-dhāraṇī* [*Sūtra*] (*rin chen snying po gzungs*) it does not give the Tibetan for a common deity such as Vajrapāṇi but instead gives a cumbersome transcription from the Chinese, strongly suggesting that this passage of the text was a Chinese interpolation unknown in Tibetan.[11]

Figure 7. Great White Stūpa on Wutai shan. Photograph by Gray Tuttle.

Figure 7a. Great White Stūpa (Tayuan si) on Wutai shan.

One important source of the later common Tibetan identification of Wutai shan in China with the earthly abode of Mañjuśrī comes from far west in Nepal, in the famous legend of the creation of the Kathmandu Valley.[12] This legend tells that

of Precious Rain, was presented at court in 693 with such references. Wu Zitian adopted the title "Golden Wheel Cakravartin August Divine Emperor" (Jinlun Shengshen Huangdi, 金輪生身皇帝) less than two weeks later, and even had the seven jewels of the monarch (*baoqi*, 寶七) – the symbols of the divinely anointed *cakravartin* ruler – displayed at court during audiences. This was the first time in Chinese history that a sovereign officially adopted a title and symbols of Buddhist absolute sacral power (Antonio Forte, *Political Propaganda and Ideology in China at the End of the Seventh Century* [Naples, 1977], 143, fn. 75). On her activity on Wutai shan, see: Tansen Sen, *Buddhism, Diplomacy, and Trade: The Realignment of Sino-Indian Relations, 600-1400* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003), 79-81.

[11] Rgyal bo kyin kang me kyi is transliterated from the Chinese, Jingang Miji Wang (金剛密跡王; William E. Soothill, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms: With Sanskrit and English Equivalents and a Sanskrit-Pali Index* [London : K. Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1937], 281; a form of Vajrapāṇi). Other such differences between the Chinese and Tibetan inscriptions can be found on this map, see translations of the trilingual inscriptions in entry for Cat. 1.

[12] The earliest source is probably the *History of the Svāyambhū Stūpa* (*svāyambhūpurāṇa*, *bal yul rang byung mchod rten chen po'i lo rgyus*), the date of which is unknown. The earliest dated extant copy appears to be as late as 1522. On the difficulty of dating this text see: Theodore Riccardi, "Some Preliminary Remarks on a Newari Painting of Svayambhūnāth," *Journal of the American Oriental*

Mañjuśrī, seated on the tallest peak of his mountain dwelling in China, saw the light of a relic far to the west, but when he flew there found that a lake prevented beings from reaching it, so he cut a gorge with his sword, forming the Kathmandu Valley. Atop this relic a reliquary (*stūpa*, *mchod rten*) was built, which was originally called Mañjuśrī Stūpa (*mañju-caitya*; Cat. 16) and later renamed Svāyambhū, one of the greatest Buddhist sacred sites in Nepal. Mañjuśrī (Cat. 17) is also central to the geography and culture of Nepal and appears throughout Nepalese ritual life. The centrality of the *stūpa* (an architectural symbol of wisdom) in this tale is parallel to the Great White Stūpa (Baita si, 白塔寺) on Wutai shan (Fig. 7; Fig. 4, no. 40), which has become an icon for the mountain itself. This is part of a larger concept of the sacred geography of Mañjuśrī, connecting sites like Kathmandu in Nepal and Wutai shan in China. The Mañjuśrī system, which became one of the main Tibetan systems of astrology and divination (Cat. 50), also came to be seen as having been taught by Mañjuśrī specifically at Wutai shan.[13]

Tibetan Involvement with Wutai shan

Figure 8. Depiction of Wutai shan. Dunhuang Cave 61, West Wall. China; Mogao Caves, Dunhuang, Gansu Province.

Tibetan interest in Wutai shan was expressed as early as the Tibetan imperial period (seventh-ninth century), when Tibet arose as one of the greatest military powers of Asia and the first significant cultural interactions between Tibet and China were recorded. According to one early Tibetan historical source, the

Society 93, no. 3 (Jul.-Sept. 1973): 336, fn. 7. For a summary of this legend, see: Keith Dowman, *Power Places of Kathmandu: Hindu and Buddhist Sites in the Sacred Valley of Nepal* (Rochester, VT: Inner Traditions International; London, UK: Thames & Hudson, 1995). Si tu paṇ chen also made an annotated/critical translation of the *Svāyambhūpurāṇa*, the *History of the Svāyambhū Stūpa* (*bal yul rang byung mchod rten chen po'i lo rgyus*). See: Hubert Decleer, "Si tu Paṇ chen's Translation of the Svayaṃbhu Purāṇa and His Role in the Development of the Kathmandu Valley Pilgrimage Guide (gnas yig) Literature," in *Si-tu Paṇ-chen: His Contribution and Legacy*, edited by Tashi Tsering et al. (Dharamshala, India: Amnye Machen Institute, 2000), 33-64. For an annotated translation of the *Descriptive Catalog of Svāyambhū* (*'phags pa shing kun gyi dkar chag*) by Nas lung pa ngag dbang rdo rje (b. seventeenth century), see: Keith Dowman, "A Buddhist Guide to the Power Places of the Kathmandu Valley," *Kailash: A Journal of Inter-disciplinary Studies* (1981): 183-291.

[13] It is unclear when this association first started, though it is mentioned by the fourteenth century. See Cat. 50.

Testament of Ba (*sba bzhed*), Tibetan envoys returning from China circa 755 made a long detour in order to return via Wutai shan.[14] Also it is said that several eighth-century figures prominent in the establishment of Buddhism in Tibet, such as the Indian master Vimalamitra, one of the founding figures of the early Tibetan Rdzogs chen meditation tradition, were said to have "set out for Wutai shan."[15] Later historians, such as the famous Tibetan scholar Bu ston rin chen grub (1290-1364) in his *Bde gshegs bstan pa'i gsal byed chos kyi 'byung gnas*, projected back contemporary interest in Wutai shan to the imperial period, writing that the first Tibetan emperor, Srong btsan sgam po (ca. 569-649; r. 617-650), went to Wutai shan and built one hundred and eight temples there.[16] Early Tibetan interest in Wutai shan is also corroborated in more contemporary Chinese official histories such as the *Old Tang Dynasty History* (*Jiu tangshu*), which records that in 824 the Tibetan emperor requested a map of Wutai shan from the Tang court.[17] Shortly afterward in the 830s, the earliest depictions of Wutai shan in murals at Dunhuang, an important Buddhist center of activity and a trade site along the Silk Route bordering Tibet, China, and Central Asia, were being painted when the Tibetan

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[14] *Sba' bzhed zhabs btags ma* (*Sba bzhed zhabs btags ma (btsan po khri srong lde btsan dang mkhan po slob dpon padma'i dus mdo sngags so sor mdzad pa'i sba bzhed zhabs btags ma)* Chengdu: Sichuan minzu chubanshe, 1990), 93; Matthew Kapstein, *The Tibetan Assimilation of Buddhism Conversion, Contestation, and Memory* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2000), 72; citing the *Testament of Ba* (Sba gsal snang, *Sba bzhed ces bya ba las sba gsal snang gi bzhed pa bzhugs* [Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, Beijing, 1980], 8). This passage does not appear in other editions of the *Sba bzhed*/*Sba' bzhed* published by the Austrian Academy of Science (H. Diemberger and Pasang Wangdu, eds., *dBa' bzhed: The Royal Narrative Concerning the Bringing of the Buddha* [Vienna: Austrian Academy of Science], 2000) or R. A. Stein, *Une chronique ancienne de bSam-yas, sBa-bžed* (Paris: Institut des hautes études chinoises, 1961).

[15] Bdud 'joms 'jigs bral ye shes rdo rje [Dudjom Rinpoché], *The Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism: Its Fundamentals and History*, trans. Gyurme Dorje (Boston, MA: Wisdom Publications, 1991), vol. 1, 555. Of course it is quite possible that this reflects more the popularity of Wutai shan at a much later time when these historical texts were written down, in which the contemporary relationship with the mountain was being projected back into the past. Buddhajñānapāda (active eighth century) is also said to have set out for Wutai shan to meet Mañjuśrī (Dudjom Rinpoché, *Nyingma School*, 495). At about the same time Vimalamitra's teacher, the master Śrī Siṃha, was said to have studied the doctrines of *mantra* on the five-peaked mountain of Wutai shan under the outcaste master Bhelakīrti (Dudjom Rinpoché, *Nyingma School*, 497). Some suggest that Buddhajñānapāda and Śrī Siṃha are one and the same person (Samten Karmay, *The Great Perfection (rDzogs chen): A Philosophical and Meditative Teaching of Tibetan Buddhism* [Leiden; New York: E. J. Brill, 1988], 63, fn. 16). At other times Tibetan masters, such as the treasure revealer (*gter ston*) Guru Chos kyi dbang phyug (1212-1270), traveled to Wutai shan in their dreams to receive teachings from Mañjuśrī (Dudjom Rinpoché, *Nyingma School*, 763). Later, in the fifteenth century, a 'Bri gung monk ran away to Wutai shan. See: Elliot Sperling, "Early Ming Policy toward Tibet: An Examination of the Proposition that the Early Ming Emperors Adopted a 'Divide and Rule Policy,'" PhD diss., Indiana University, 1983.

[16] "Then the king having gone to Five Peaked Mountain in China built one-hundred and eight temples" (*de nas rgyal pos rgya nag ri bo rtse lngar byon nas lha khang brgya rtsa brgyad bzhengs so/*). Bu ston rin chen grub, *Bde gshegs bstan pa'i gsal byed chos kyi 'byung gnas* [Bu ston chos 'byung; History of Buddhism in India and Tibet] (Beijing: Zhongguo Zangxue zhongxin, 1988), 183; Eugéne Obermiller, *The History of Buddhism in India and Tibet* (New Delhi: Paljor Publications, 1999), 185; Li Jicheng, "Zangchuan Fojiao yu Wutai Shan," *Wutai shan yanjiu*, no. 4 (1988): 16.

[17] Dorothy Wong, "A Reassessment of the Representation of Mt Wutai from Dunhuang Cave 61," *Archives of Asian Art* 46 (1993): 38; citing the *Old Tang Dynasty History* (*Jiu tangshu*), 945, *juan* 17, *Jingzong ji*, *juan* 196, and *Tufan zhuan* [Liu Xu et al., *Jiu Tangshu* (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1975)]).

empire occupied the area.[18] Tibetans would, therefore, have been aware to some degree of Chinese associations with Mañjuśrī at Wutai shan since at least the ninth century.

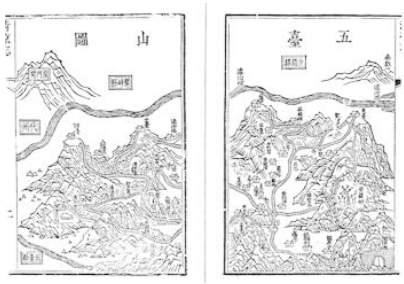

Figure 9. Map from gazetteer of Wutai shan. Qingliang shan zhi, dated 1596.

Although many of these early images of Wutai shan were simple and schematic, by the tenth century sophisticated topographic devotional paintings of Wutai shan appeared in the caves of Dunhuang, like the main mural in Cave 61 (Fig. 8).[19] In this wall painting on China's northern frontier with Tibet and Mongolia, many of the inscriptive and visual conventions for depicting the topographic, historical, and miraculous narrative landmarks of Wutai shan, which also appear in the panoramic map dated 1846 in this exhibition (Cat. 1), are already established.[20] Thus, this nineteenth-century map is part of a larger visual tradition of depicting Wutai shan as the pure realm of Mañjuśrī, one that stretches back nearly a millennium. Topographically, these maps are also closely related to woodblock maps that were printed in the local gazetteers of Wutai shan, which first started being published in the seventh century and continue to appear up to the present day (Fig. 9).[21] However, more than just conveying geographical information, these panoramic images of Wutai shan are devotional in nature, and, as Dorothy Wong puts it, they "translate a religious ideology, a cosmography into pictorial form of a landscape in a reconstructed space analogical to reality."[22]

Tangut Western Xia (Xixia, 西夏*)*

During the early eleventh and twelfth centuries Wutai shan was becoming very popular in this same area among groups with close cultural, political, and economic ties to Tibet, like the Tanguts, who took over the Dunhuang area in 1036. The

[18] Simple depictions of Wutai shan from this period can be found in Caves 159, and 361 (Wong, "A Reassessment," 41). The Tibetan occupation of Dunhuang was from 781-848. During the eighth and ninth centuries the Tibetan empire ruled over large Chinese subject populations in the Hexi area. However, the phrase "Ri bo rtse lnga" does not seem to appear in the oldest Tibetan documents (eighth-ninth centuries) published in *Choix de documents tibetains a la Bibliotheque nationale*.

[19] See Wong, "A Reassessment." Chinese textual evidence suggests that murals of Wutai shan were already being painted in China during the late Tang period (ninth century?). Cave 61 is dated to ca. 947-957, and the major donor was a member of the local ruling Cao family, who were major patrons of Buddhist artistic projects in the area. Interestingly all of the donors listed in this cave are women. See Wong, "A Reassessment," 28-29, 38. However, members of the Dunhuang Research Academy have recently revised the dating of the paintings in Cave 61 to the fourteenth century.

[20] Chou, "Ineffable Paths," 116.

[21] For a comparison of the Wutai shan woodblock to a contemporary gazetteer map (printed 1887) see: Chou, "Ineffable Paths," 109-10.

[22] Wong, "A Reassessment," 45.

Tangut Empire of Western Xia (Xixia, 西夏) was a multi-ethnic state located along the Silk Route that included large Chinese and Tibetan subject populations and drew heavily on Chinese cultural models in establishing its own imperial culture. Buddhism served to legitimize the Tangut state and engendered lavish imperial patronage, which consciously included an active mixture of Chinese and Tibetan clergy.[23] The prominent place that Mañjuśrī held within the Chinese imperial cult, coupled with his role as protector of the state, would have made involvement at Wutai shan a natural step in the development of Tangut Buddhist state ideology. Also Wutai's close association with Flower Garland (Avataṃsaka, Huayan, (華嚴) Buddhism, to which the Tanguts were especially devoted, further assured Tangut interest in Wutai shan.[24] The Tangut rulers not only patronized many sites at Wutai shan but even went so far as to build their own Wutai shan complex in the Helan Mountains (Helan shan, 賀蘭山) to the west of their capital some time in the eleventh century, calling it "Northern Wutai shan," where major temples on Wutai shan like Qingliang si (清凉寺) and Foguang si (佛光寺; Fig. 4, no. 1) were re-created.[25] This was not a strategy unique among peoples of Inner Asia, whose access to Wutai shan were limited due to the complex political relations with China. The Khitans of the Liao dynasty (遼, 907-1125) also built their own surrogate site well within their borders, calling it "Little Wutai shan," and much later the Mongols would also follow suit, building their own "Little Wutai shan."[26]

By the late twelfth to early thirteenth century, as Wutai shan became increasingly important to Tibet, Tibetans began to write the site back into accounts of their ancient history.[27] For instance Nyang ral nyi ma 'od zer (1136-1204), a famous treasure revealer of the Rnying ma order, who wrote several influential accounts of the lives of Padmasambhava and the Tibetan "religious kings" of the eighth century, included an account of the divine conception of the Tibetan *btsan po*, Khri srong lde btsan (742-796), through the intersession of Mañjuśrī from Wutai shan

[23] The Tangut emperors presented themselves as sacral *cakravartin* rulers. The *cakravartin*, or "wheel turning king," was a concept of sacral rule in India that was imported into Central and East Asia with Buddhism, whereby conquest was presented as a proselytizing tool, and thus gave the ruler divine sanction to expand his empire. Among the northern nomads the Tangut emperors were known as the *Burqan Khan*, or "Buddha *Khan*." Christopher P. Atwood, *Encyclopedia of Mongolia and the Mongol Empire* (New York: Facts on File, 2004), 48.

[24] Gimello, "Wu-t'ai shan," 506.

[25] The first record of Tangut patronage of sites on Wutai shan was in 1007, when the Tangut ruler made offerings at ten temples, and the earliest known references to the Tangut's "Northern Wutai shan" date to the late eleventh century. Ruth Dunnell, *The Great State of White and High: Buddhism and State Formation in Eleventh-century Xia* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996), 35-36; Gimello, "Wu-t'ai shan," 507.

[26] See Isabelle Charleux, "Mongol Pilgrimages to Wutai Shan in the Late Qing Dynasty," *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies*, no. 6 (December 2011), http://www.thlib.org?tid=T5712; and Gimello, "Wu-t'ai shan," 507.

[27] See for instance described below, as well as the history of the Pacification of Suffering (Zhi byed) which, according to Dan Martin, also dates to the early thirteenth century, contained in the *Zhi byed snga bar phyi gsum gyi skor* (*Zhi byed snga bar phyi gsum gyi skor* [*The Tradition of Pha Dam-pa Sangs-rgyas: A Treasured Collection of His Teachings Transmitted by Thugs-sras-Kun-dga'*], ed. with an English introduction by Barbara Nimri Aziz [Thimphu, Bhutan: Druk Sherik Parkhang, 1979]).

in China, in order to convert the people and establish Buddhism in Tibet.[28] This is significant as it was the emperor Khri srong lde btsan who built Tibet's first monastery and declared Buddhism the Tibetan state religion. The implication is that these important steps toward establishing Buddhism in Tibet were the direct result of Mañjuśrī's activities. Khri srong lde btsan himself came to be considered an emanation of Mañjuśrī, indicated by Mañjuśrī's identifying implements, the book and sword, at his shoulders (Cat. 30).[29]

Pha dam pa

One of the first historical figures who may have directly linked Tibet and Wutai shan was the South Indian adept Pha dam pa sangs rgyas (Padangba Sangjie, 帕當巴桑结, d. 1117; Fig. 10), founder of the Pacification of Suffering tradition, who was said to have traveled in China and lived on Wutai shan for approximately twelve years from about 1086 to 1097, before returning to Tibet to found a monastery.[30] Little is recorded about Pha dam pa's life in China, though his trip to Wutai shan is mentioned in some of the earliest available historical sources on his

Figure 10. Pha dam pa sangs rgyas. Tibet; c. 13th century. Copper alloy; Height: 25 cm (9.75" h. x 7.25" w. x 5.625" d.). Nyingjei Lam Collection. L2005.9.51 (HAR68480).

[28] Nyang ral nyi ma 'od zer, *Bka' thang zangs gling ma* (Chengdu: Sichuan minzu chubanshe, 1989), 32-33. On the author Nyi ma 'od zer, who was himself considered an incarnation of the "Dharma King" Khri srong lde btsan, see: Dudjom Rinpoché, *Nyingma School*, 755-59. On the writings of Nyi ma 'od zer, see Dan Martin, *Tibetan Histories: A Bibliography of Tibetan-Language Historical Works* (London: Serindia, 1997), 30-32.

[29] Within this context Nyang ral nyi ma 'od zer refers to Khri srong lde btsan as "an emanation of Mañjuśrī": *'phags pa 'jam dpal gyi sprul pa rgyal po khri srong lde'u btsan/* (Nyi ma 'od zer, *Bka' thang zangs gling ma*, 32).

[30] According to Tibetan sources he traveled five times to Tibet, and on his fifth trip he traveled on to China for twelve years where he was known as "Bodhidharma." Later in 1097 he returned to Ding ri where he founded a monastery, Ding ri glang 'khor (1097), and then passed away in 1117. On Pha dam pa's life and lineage see: George Roerich, *Blue Annals* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1976), 867-78; Jerome Edou, *Machig Labdrön and the Foundations of Chöd* (Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 1996), 31-38; Chos kyi seng ge and Gang pa, *Pha dam pa dang ma cig lab sgron gyi rnam thar* [Biographies of Dampa Sanggyé and Machik Lapdrön] (Xining: Qinghai Nationalities Publishing House, November 1992). Also see Li Jicheng, "Zangchuan Fojiao," 17.

tradition.[31] According to a much later biography, in the pure realm of Five-Peak Mountain Pha dam pa actually met the reverend Mañjuśrī and his retinue, and in that realm (Wutai shan) he also achieved and demonstrated many signs of Spiritual Attainment (*siddhi*) such as suppressing the sun, and the Chinese king together with his ministers bowed respectfully. He also placed many Chinese worthy ones on the sublime path and founded a chapel (*gtsug lag khang*, *vihāra*) there called "Tsi tsu sa ra."[32] In the fifteenth-century *Blue Annals* (*deb ther sngon po*, written ca. 1476-1478) one of Pha dam pa's miraculous encounters with Mañjuśrī at Wutai shan is recorded:

> When Dam pa proceeded to China, he met on the road leading to Wutai shan (*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.[33]

Regardless of whether Pha dam pa's visit to Wutai shan was also an imagined projection back of later Tibetan interest in the sacred mountain, by the Qing period these stories became an important part of Tibetan lore at Wutai shan. This is

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[31] In the earliest work devoted entirely to the history of the Pacification of Suffering, which dates to the early thirteenth century, contained in the *Zhi byed snga bar phyi gsum gyi skor*, only brief mention is made of Pha dam pa's visit to Wutai shan (vol. 4, p. 325). I would like to thank Dan Martin for bringing this to my attention, as well as the early thirteenth-century dating of the text.

[32] *tsi tsu sa ra zhes pa'i gtsug lag khang 'ga' zhig bzhengs/*. "Tsi tsu" appears to be a transliteration from Chinese (possibly *zi zu* or *zi zai*?), and "*sa ra*" from the Sanskrit for temple. Alternatively "Tsi tsu" could be a phonetic rendering of *rtse btsugs*, "established [on] the peak." I can find no other reference to this temple, and the most said even in Chinese secondary literature is that "He had a deep influence on Wutaishan's magnificent temple architecture" (Li Jicheng, "Zangchuan Fojiao," 18) but without further elaboration. This later elaboration can be found in: Chos kyi seng ge, *Pha dam pa*, 50. A more detailed account of Pha dam pa's activities on Wutai shan, including the following story in the *Blue Annals*, can be found in: Chos kyi seng ge, *Pha dam pa*, 49-51 and 55.

[33] Roerich, *Blue Annals*, 911-12; *Deb ther sngon po*, 809-10. One other reference to Pha dam pa and Wutai shan is found in the *Blue Annals*: "I will stay with a Jñāna-Dakini on Wutaishan of China" (Roerich, *Blue Annals*, 898). Interestingly, despite the fact that it is stated that his meditative lineage exists in China (Wutai shan?), there do not appear to be any references to Pha dam pa sangs rgyas (Padangba Sangjie, 帕當巴桑结) in Chinese primary sources. He is commonly mentioned in modern Chinese secondary literature as the first historical figure to link Tibet and Wutai shan, but without any details. See for instance: Li Jicheng, "Zangchuan fojiao," 17; Wang Lu, "Shengdi Qingliang shan zhi," *Wutai shan yanjiu*, no. 2 (1990): 22; Wen Jinyu, "Wutai shan zangchuan fojiao yu min zu tuan jie," *Fojiao wen shi* 2 (2003): 23.

expressed clearly on the panoramic map of Wutai shan (Cat. 1) in which Pha dam pa is depicted sitting in a cave (Fig. 11; Fig. 4, no. 13) holding a staff, not an object usually part of his iconography (Fig. 12), and likely a reference to his encounter with the sage carrying a staff in this story.[34] The cave he sits in is labeled in both Tibetan and Chinese as "India Cave" (*rgya gar phug*, Xitian Dong, 西天洞) on the map, a reference to this story of Pha dam pa's cave serving as a magical portal to India. It is said that today's visitors can still see a record of Mañjuśrī meeting Pha dam pa at Wutai shan and a stone door panel (*rdo sgo glegs*) of Pha dam pa's meditation cave there.[35]

Figure 11. Pha dam pa depicted sitting in a cave. 1846 Wutai shan map detail (Cat. 1; Fig. 4, no. 13).

Figure 12. Pha dam pa. Detail from Ma gcig lab sgron (1055-1153). Tibet; 19th century . Pigments on cloth; 22" h. x 16" w. Rubin Museum of Art . F1998.4.11 (HAR 619).

This story of Pha dam pa's meeting with Mañjuśrī disguised as a sage follows typical Chinese narrative formulas of encounters with Mañjuśrī on Wutai shan. In particular, the details of this tale are almost identical to the famous story of another monk from the west, Buddhapālita (Fotuo Poli, 佛陀波利) of Kashmir, who visited Wutai shan about four centuries earlier in 676, which is prominently illustrated on the famous mural of Wutai shan in Cave 61 at Dunhuang (Fig. 8), that predates Pha dam pa's visit by more than a century.[36] This conflation of miraculous stories

[34] This staff is part of the woodblock, and can be seen on other printings, such as the one in Helsinki. However the color of the staff is not consistent between block prints. See for instance Harry Halén, *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), 147. Note an old bearded sage rides by on a tiger – probably an emanation of Mañjuśrī.

[35] Chos kyi seng ge, *Pha dam pa*, 51.

[36] Cave 61 is thought to date to 947-957. See Wong, "A Reassessment," 29 and 37. Also see: Yanyi, *Guang Qingliang zhuan* [Extended History] (Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin chubanshe: Shanxi sheng xin

that collapse time is common to both Wutai shan narratives and images, and it may be that this story was added to Pha dam pa's biography later as Wutai shan grew in the Tibetan imagination.[37] Similarly, the Chinese printed images referred to in the *Blue Annals* as circulating in Tibet may, in fact, illustrate any one of a number of such well-known Chinese stories, such as that of the aforementioned Buddhapālita (Fig. 13).[38] Such stories reveal the timeless nature of these miracles, which are at once linked to specific prominent historical figures to provide an air of authenticity and at the same time infinitely repeatable, imbuing a limitless power to the site. Thus the visual inscription of these miracles on the map is not only an immediately accessible record of their occurrence in the past but also holds out the promise of such an experience for the viewer as a worthy pilgrim in the present.

Figure 13. Buddhapālita (Fotuo Poli, 佛陀波利) meets Mañjuśrī. Detail from The Bodhisattva Wensu (Manjusri) on Wutaisan. China; Mogao Caves, Dunhuang, Gansu Province; 975-1025. Silk; 164 cm. high x 107.5 cm. wide. Musée national des Arts asiatiques – Guimet, Pelliot Collection, EO 3588.

Mongol Yuan (元) Empire

It was the incorporation of Tibet and then China into the larger Mongol empire in the mid-thirteenth century (Fig. 14) that fostered the establishment of a regular Tibetan presence on Wutai shan, for which we have reliable documentation. Wutai shan is located only two-hundred miles southwest of (the imperial court in) Beijing (北京), which became the political center of China under Mongol rule in the thirteenth century. While the Mongol Empire was known for a policy of religious tolerance among the peoples it conquered and for generous patronage across a broad spectrum of faiths, it was the Tibetan tradition that Qubilai Khan (Hubilie, 忽必烈, 1215-1294; Fig. 15) singled out among all the faiths competing for imperial attention as a prominent religion of his court, and Qubilai Khan himself

hua shu dian fa xing, 1989), 1111; and Edwin Reishauer, *Ennin's Diary: The Record of a Pilgrimage to China in Search of the Law* (New York, NY: Ronald Press Co., 1955), 246-47. The story of Buddhapālita's encounter with Mañjuśrī is recorded in the gazetteer under the entry for the Vajra Cave (Jingang ku, 金剛窟, *rdo rje phug*; Fig. 4, no. 58).

[37] Evidence suggests that this story of Pha dam pa's encounter with Mañjuśrī is a later addition. This narrative does not appear in his earlier biographies, but only seems to appear in later sources, such as the *Blue Annals* (fifteenth century). Another example of such a conflation is the story of a Tang/Song dynasty official who mistakes Mañjuśrī for a lecherous monk and shoots him with an arrow. In later telling the official becomes the Kangxi emperor. See Chou, "Ineffable Paths," 124.

[38] One such example of an illustration of similar stories is a Chinese stone relief carving dating to the late ninth-tenth century which is inscribed in a suitably generic manor: "A foreign monk from the western country came to pay tribute to the Buddha. Mañjuśrī manifested himself in the body of an old man." Wong, "A Reassessment," 48, figure 24.

came to be seen as an imperial emanation of Mañjuśrī.[39] Patronage of several Tibetan traditions was divided up among the Mongol princes and their monasteries flourished as never before.

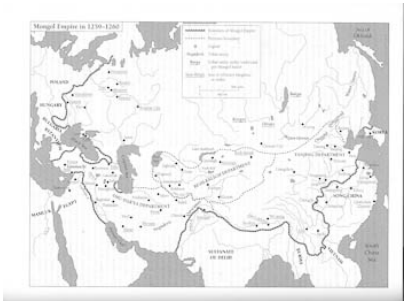

Figure 14. Map, Mongol empire in the mid-thirteenth century (ca 1249-50). (After Atwood, p. 366.)

Figure 15. Qubilai Khan. Album Leaf; ink and color on silk; 23 3/8 x 18 ½ in. National Palace Museum, Taiwan. (After Possessing the Past, p. 264, plate 136).

On account of this growing interest in Tantric Buddhism among the Mongol elite many Tibetan *bla ma*s (*guru*) started visiting the Mongol court, and when they did so they also visited Wutai shan. It was during the Mongol period that a number of prominent Tibetan historical figures traveled to Wutai shan and contributed to the popularity of the sacred mountain in Tibet. According to Tibetan tradition, Sa skya paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (1182-1251; Cat. 25 & Cat. 26), who was (later?) seen as a Tibetan emanation of Mañjuśrī on Earth (one of the "Three Mañjuśrī of Tibet"), was one of the most influential thirteenth-century Tibetan figures said to have visited Wutai shan.[40] A local Tibetan history (dated

[39] Christopher P. Atwood, "Validation by Holiness or Sovereignty: Religious Toleration as Political Theology in the Mongol World Empire of the Thirteenth Century," *The International History Review* 23, no. 2 (2004): 237-56.

[40] However, early sources do not seem to mention this trip, and only attest to Sa skya paṇḍita going as far as Liangzhou in Gansu Province (甘肃), where he died. For instance Sa skya paṇḍita is not mentioned going to Wutai shan in the brief account of his travel to the Mongol empire the fifteenth century *Rgya bod yig tshang chen mo*, where it records his death at Huanhua Monastery (*ltog gi spag ri*, Huanhua si, 幻化寺) in Las stod (Liangzhou, 凉洲; Dpal 'byor bzang po, *Rgya bod yig tshang chen mo* [Thim phu: Kunsang Topgyel and Mani Dorji, 1979], 15r-15v; [Chengdu: Sichuan minzu chubanshe, 1985], 324; Chinese translation, 179). The earliest dated source that I am aware of which mentions Sa skya paṇḍita visiting Wutai shan is the early sixteenth century poetical telling of his life, the *Sa paṇ rtogs brjod bskal bzang legs lam*, written in 1519, which only mentions that he went there and described what he saw (*Sa paṇ rtogs brjod bskal bzang legs lam* [Chengdu: Sichuan minzu chubanshe, 1985], 202-203.) Interestingly, the author of this sixteenth-century account mentions the biography of Sa skya paṇḍita written by Sa paṇ's personal physician Bi ji, which suggests that later sources like this one and

1884), describes another Wutai shan in miniature recreated in Dpa' ri, complete with five peaks, just south of Liangzhou (Gansu Province) where Sa skya paṇḍita passed away. According to this account, Sa skya paṇḍita founded the monastery Brag dgon mchog dga' gling in 1246, and praised the site as comparable in beauty to Wutai shan, and even described it as a branch of Wutai.[41] This text also lists the main images in the various chapels, including a wall painting depicting the landscape of Wutai shan, drawing a direct visual connection between the ideal and its surrogate.[42]

The historical record is more clear regarding Sa skya paṇḍita's nephew Chos rgyal 'phags pa blo gros rgyal mtshan (1235-1280), who spent years on Wutai shan composing texts that eulogized Mañjuśrī and the mountain. Schaeffer demonstrates that 'Phags pa's poetry of Wutai shan was some of the most influential, such as his one-hundred verse poem: "The Garland of Jewels: Praise to Mañjuśrī at Five-Peak Mountain," written in 1257.[43] Chos rgyal 'phags pa (Fig. 5) later became Qubilai Khan's Imperial Preceptor (*dishi*, 帝師), the emperor's chaplain and the highest spiritual authority in the empire. In fact every succeeding Yuan emperor appointed a Tibetan to this supreme religious position in the Yuan government, underscoring the importance with which Tibetan Buddhism was held at the Mongol court.

Many other important Tibetan clerics stayed on Wutai shan in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries for protracted time periods, such as 'Phags pa's disciple and an influential tantric ritual specialist to Qubilai's court, Sga a gnyan dam pa kun dga' grags (Danba, 膽巴, 1230-1303), who lived on Wutai shan for close to ten years. Dam pa was appointed abbot of Temple of Longevity and Tranquility (Shouning si, 壽寧寺, *rtag brtan bde chen gling*; Fig. 4, no. 72), raising the status of that monastery and making it what many consider to be the first Tibetan Buddhist

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the *Sa skya'i gdung rabs* were in part based on contemporary thirteenth-century sources now lost to us, and may not simply be later embellishments (I would like to thank Pema Bhum for bringing this to my attention).

[41] Gdong drug snyems pa'i blo gros, *Lan jus sde bzhi sogs kyi dkar chag* (Gansu Province: Minzu chubanshe, 1988), 59-73 (especially 62); Zhongguo ren min zheng zhi xie shang hui yi and Tianzhu Zangzu Zizhixian wei yuan hui, eds., *Tianzhu zangchuan fojiao si yuan gai kung* (Tianzhu, 2000), 235-245 (especially 239). This site also has five peaks, just like Wutai shan, and fits into the larger pattern of mirror/surrogate sites described above. Thanks to Gray Tuttle for sharing this information. Could this surrogate site near Liangzhou, where Sa paṇ died, be the source for the tradition of Sa paṇ visiting Wutai shan? Or is this comparison to the beauty of Wutai evidence that he had in fact visited Wutai shan? The historicity of Sa paṇ's visit to Five-Peak Mountain remains unresolved.

[42] *logs bris su ri wo rtse lnga'i gnas kyi bkod pa yod pa'i lha khang bcas lha khang gsar du bzhengs/*. See: Gdong drug snyems pa'i blo gros, *Dkar chag*, 64; and Zhongguo, *Tianzhu Zangchuan Fojiao*, 240.

[43] In 1257 Chos rgyal 'phags pa wrote several important works while residing on Wutai shan; see Kurtis Schaeffer, "Tibetan Poetry on Wutai Shan," paper given at the "Wutai Shan and Qing Culture" Conference at the Rubin Museum of Art, May 12-13, 2007. On 'Phags pa at Wutai shan see: Gao Lintao, "Basiba yu Wutai shan," *Wutai shan yanjiu*, no. 4 (2000): 25-26, 46; Zhou Zhuying, "Yuandai Dishi Basiba yi guan ta," *Wutai shan yanjiu*, no. 4 (2000): 27.

establishment on the mountain.[44] He was also said to have founded temples at Wutai shan himself.[45] Dam pa was a key figure within Qubilai Khan's court for the military application and employment of tantric esoteric power in the service of the Mongol imperium. It was his ritual interventions that were credited for Mongol victories in several key battles, including the final fall of the Southern Song (Nan Song, 南宋, 1127-1279), allowing for the conquering of all of China and the very founding of the Yuan dynasty.[46] Later, the same sculpture of the protective deity Mahākāla (Da Heitian, 大黑天) that was made to be used in those destructive rites, which had became a potent symbol of both Qubilai's rule and the Yuan imperial lineage, was installed at Wutai shan for worship.[47] On the map of Wutai shan there is, in fact, a site labeled "Mgon po ri," or "Mahākāla Hill" (Fig. 16; Fig. 4, no. 49).

Figure 16. Mahākāla Hill. 1846 Wutai shan map detail (Cat. 1).

Visual records of such visits by Tibetan hierarchs from this period can also be found in Tibetan paintings. For instance, the Third Karma pa Rang byung rdo rje's (1284-1339) visit to Wutai shan in 1333/34 during his trip to the Mongol court is depicted in a later sixteenth-century

[44] Li Jicheng, "Zangchuan fojiao," 18; Liu Yao, et al., *Wutai shan lüyou cidian* (Beijing: Tuanjie chubanshe, 1992), 227.

[45] Gao Lintao, "Basiba," 26. One of these temples may include Youguo Monastery (Youguo si, 佑國寺, *yul bsrung gling*), founded in 1295. While Dam pa's Tibetan biography has yet to be located (at least one by Ngor mkhan chen sangs rgyas phun tshogs [1649-1705] is known to exist), several short biographies exist in Chinese sources such as *A Comprehensive Registry of the Successive Ages of the Buddhas and the Patriarchs* (*Fozu lidai tongzai*, 佛祖历代通載; written before 1340) and a shorter biography found in the official Yuan imperial history, the *Yuanshi* (chapter 202). Dam pa's biography in *A Comprehensive Registry of the Successive Ages of the Buddhas and the Patriarchs* (chapter 22) mentions him building temples on Wutai. In 1293 a temple was built on Wutai shan in his honor for healing the emperor (Li Jicheng, "Zangchuan Fojiao," 18).

[46] On Dam pa see: Elliot Sperling, "Lama to the King of Hsia," *The Journal of the Tibet Society* 7 (1987); Elliot Sperling, "Some Remarks on sGa A-gnyan dam-pa and the Origins of the Hor-pa Lineage of the dKar-mdzes Region," in Tibetan History and Language: Studies Dedicated to Uray Geza on His Seventieth Birthday, ed. Ernst Steinkellner (Wien: Arbeitskreis fur Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien, Universitat Wien, 1991), 455-65; Elliot Sperling, "Rtsa-mi Lo-tsa-ba Sang-rgyas Grags-pa and the Tangut Background to Early Mongol-Tibetan Relations," in *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 6th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies Fagernes 1992* (Oslo: Brill, 1994), 801-24; and Herbert Franke, "Tan-pa, A Tibetan Lama at the Court of the Great Khans," in *Orientali Venetiana* I, edited by Merio Sabatini (Firenze, Italy: Leo S. Olschki, 1984), 157-80.

[47] What is described as "'Phags pa's" one thousand (*jin*, 斤) catty bronze sculpture of Mahākāla on Wutai shan is mentioned in Wen Jinyu, "Wutaishan Zangchuan Fojiao," 23. Four centuries later when the Manchus declared themselves the rightful inheritors of the Yuan legacy they installed this same statue of the protective deity Mahākāla in the Manchu imperial shrine at Mukden in 1635. The 1638 dedicatory inscription reads: "'Phags pa *bla ma* had cast the golden image of Gur Mahākāla made the statue an offering at Wutaishan..." Grupper, *The Manchu Imperial Cult*, 76, fn. 19.

biographical painting (Fig.17).[48] This painting is one of a set of paintings illustrating "The Third Karma pa with Episodes from His Life." Amid the six episodes depicted from the master's life in this painting is his meeting with the Yuan emperor in 1332 at lower right and his pilgrimage the following year to Wutai shan at lower left.[49] The landscape of Wutai shan's five peaks are prominently displayed in different colors, dominated by an emanation or vision of Mañjuśrī on his blue lion, which is associated with Wutai shan's central peak, at center.

Figure 17. The Third Karma pa Rang byung rdo rje's visit to Wutai shan. Detail of "The Third Karmapa with episodes from his life." Ca. late 16th century. 29 ½ x 17 7/8 in. (75 x 45.5 cm). The Hahn Cultural Foundation Collection. Literature: K. Tanaka 1999, vol. 2, no. 47. (After Jackson 2009, Fig. 5.5, p. 93).

It was also during Qubilai's reign that the Great White Stūpa (Fig. 4, no. 40), which became the icon of Wutai shan, was built in 1301 by 'Phags pa's protégé, the Nepalese artist Anige (阿尼哥, 1244-1278/1306), who had become head of the Mongol imperial atelier.[50] This *stūpa* is a monumental Himalayan-style architectural landmark, which contrasts with the Chinese temple architecture it towers over (Fig. 18). It is believed to contain one of the miraculously created Buddha relic *stūpa*s of the Indian emperor Aśoka, the archetypal model of the ideal Indian Buddhist sacral ruler (*cakravartin*). This reliquary on Wutai shan closely resembles another Great White Stūpa dedicated to Mañjuśrī, also built by Anige, in Beijing (Fig. 19) twenty-two years earlier at the founding of the Yuan dynasty in 1279, which was a symbol of Mongol imperial authority.[51] The Nepalese Anige was involved in many other

[48] "The Third Karma pa with Episodes from his Life," ca. late sixteenth century (75 x 45.5 cm.), Hahn Cultural Foundation. Tanaka Kimiaki, ed., *Art of Thangka from Hahn Kwang-ho Collection*, vol. 2 (Seoul: Hahn Foundation for Museum, 1999), 114-15, no. 47. On this painting also see David Jackson, *Patron & Painter: Situ Panchen and the Revival of the Encampment Style* (New York, NY: Rubin Museum of Art, 2009), 160.

[49] This was probably Toghon Temür (Wenzong, 文宗, r. 1328/9-1332), great grandson of Qubilai Khan. The Mongol emperor Toghon Temür is depicted in a beautiful contemporary cut silk appliqué (*kesi*, 缂丝) *thang ka*, a monumental sized Yamantaka *maṇḍala* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, closely dateable to circa 1328-1329. Interestingly this deity is also an emanation of Mañjuśrī.

[50] Gao Lintao, "Basiba," 26. Anige was first brought from Nepal to Tibet for a Mongol imperial commission to construct a reliquary *stūpa* for Sa skya paṇḍita in 1260, and so impressed 'Phags pa that he recommended Anige for service to Qubilai Khan. Anige rose to Supervisor-in-Chief of All Artisans at the Mongol court in 1273, and as the imperial construction apparatus was expanded Anige's status only rose (on Anige's life, see Jing Anning, "The Portraits of Khubilai Khan and Chabi by Anige (1245-1306), a Nepali Artist at the Yuan Court," *Artibus Asiae* 54, no. 1/2 [1994]: 40-86).

[51] The Manchus also built a Great White Stūpa in Beijing (Beihai Gongyuan, 北海公园) dedicated to Mañjuśrī's powerful tantric form, Vajrabhairava (Daweide Jingang, 大威德金刚). See Herbert Franke, "Consecration of the 'White Stupa' in 1279," *Asia Minor* 7, no. 1 (1994): 155-183.

Mongol court construction projects on Wutai shan, such as Southern Mountain Temple (Nanshan si, 南山寺; Fig. 4, no. 51), which was founded by the Mongol emperor Temür (Öljeitü Khan, r. 1294-1307) in 1297 to generate merit for the emperor's mother and is one of the most extravagant Mongol court temple constructions ever recorded.[52]

Figure 18. White stūpa & Chinese temple architecture. Photograph by Gray Tuttle.

Figure 19. Great White Stūpa in Beijing. Photograph by author, 2008.

It is within this context of Mongol rule that the ancient rhetoric of conflating imperial identity with Mañjuśrī was revived and broadened to transcend ethnic proscriptions on rulership, where non-Chinese peoples could declare that they carried heaven's mandate to rule.[53] This ideology can be found stated in Mongol Yuan imperial inscriptions on a Buddhist monument, the Juyong Stūpa Gate (Juyong guan, 居庸关; Fig. 20), built near Beijing in 1354 by the last Mongol emperor to rule China, which states that Qubilai Khan (and by extension the Mongol line of emperors), were emanations of a bodhisattva from the area of Wutai shan (Mañjuśrī) divinely sanctioned to rule the empire:

[52] Natalie Köhle, "Why Did the Kangxi Emperor Go to Wutai Shan?" (Master's Thesis, Harvard University, 2006), 73-119. New monasteries built in the Yuan include: Wansheng Youguo Monastery (Wansheng youguo si, 万圣佑国寺), Dayuanzhao Temple (Dayuanzhao si, 大圆照寺), Pu'en Monastery (Pu'en si, 普恩寺), Tiewa Temple (Tiewa si, 铁瓦寺, *lha khang lcags thog can bya ba*), Temple of Longevity and Tranquility (Shouning si, 壽寧寺, *rtag brtan bde chen gling*), West Shouning Temple (Xishouning si, 西寿宁寺), Protection of the Nation Monastery (Huguo si, 護國寺), Gold Lamp Temple (Jindeng si, 金灯寺), Wanghai Temple (Wanghai si, 望海寺), Spring Water Temple (Wenquan si, 温泉寺), Stone Stupa Temple (Shita si, 石塔寺), and Clear and Cool Monastery (Qingliang si, 清凉寺). Wen Jinyu, "Wutai shan zangchuan fojiao," 24.

[53] Johan Elverskog, "The Mongolian Big Dipper Sūtra," *The Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 29, no.1 (2008): 87-123.

> That blessed Bodhisattva the Emperor Sečen (Qubilai Khan), possessed of vast wisdom...the wise one from the vicinity of Wutaishan... bodhisattvas destined by heaven [to rule]. [54]

Figure 20. Juyong Stūpa Gate. Photograph by author, 2003.

Figure 20a. Juyong Stūpa Gate. Photograph by author, 2003.

Tuttle questions the identification of the bodhisattva mentioned in this inscription with Mañjuśrī, and calls into question if Qubilai Khan was regarded as an emanation of Mañjuśrī in his own lifetime.[55] However Qubilai does appear to be referred to as Mañjuśrī in a few roughly contemporary Tibetan sources. One of the earliest such references is found in the biography of U rgyan pa rin chen dpal (1229/1230-1309) by his student Bsod nams 'od zer (b. thirteenth c.), in which U rgyan pa not only remarks on this notion that Qubilai Khan was viewed by some as an emanation of Mañjuśrī, but even challenges the legitimacy of this divine claim:

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[54] David Farquhar, "Emperor as Bodhisattva in the Governance of the Ch'ing Empire," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 38, no. 1 (1978): 12. The Juyong Stūpa Gate was constructed on the order of the last Mongol emperor in 1345 and its construction was supervised by the Tibetan cleric Nam mkha' seng ge (fourteenth c.). *Stūpa* gates such as these were used to mark the cardinal directions in delineating the sacred space of a city, like those found in the deity palace of a *maṇḍala*. This gate marked the road that led from the north from Mongolia to the Yuan capital Dadu (大都; Beijing), and a key military victory for the Mongols that gave them control of the North China plain.

[55] The straightforward reading of the Juyong Stūpa Gate inscription by Farquhar has been challenged by Tuttle, "Tibetan Buddhism at Wutai Shan," 3-5, who points out that the earliest clear identification of Qubilai with Mañjuśrī is in the sixteenth century. Still, for later generations this association was strong, and important in understanding the development of the state Mañjuśrī cult at Wutai shan. On the rest of the Juyong Stūpa Gate inscription see: Yael Bentor, "In Praise of Stupas: The Tibet Eulogy at Chu-Yung-Kuan Reconsidered," *Indo-Iranian Journal* 38 (1995): 31-54.

> The precious lord (U rgyan pa) said: "Because that Qubilai Khan wields immeasurable power, he has limitless glory. [Thus] there is a prophecy of the appearance of a miraculous emanation of Mañjuśrī in the Mongolian royal line. [However,] having thought about whether or not that is true, I feel that [if it were true, Qubilai would] have subjugated (others) through the meditative concentration (samādhi) of the Lord of Secrets, however there is oppression. If he is really a miraculous emanation of Mañjuśrī, [it should be done] through his glory, not oppression (force)."[56]

In other words if Qubilai Khan was really the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī incarnate he would not need to use such brute tactics as violence and intimidation. This direct quote suggests that not only was this idea of Qubilai as Mañjuśrī current in Qubilai's own time, but even contested. Extremely telling in this context is, directly after making this comment U rgyan pa then travels to Wutai shan, and while his biography describes what he saw and the initiations he gave there, no further mention of Qubilai as Mañjuśrī is made, as if for U rgyan pa the matter is settled. Another only slightly later fourteenth-century source, Tshal pa's biography of his father Smon lam rdo rje (1284-1346/7), mater-of-factly characterizes Qubilai as a wondrous manifestation of Mañjuśrī.[57] While there maybe some question as to whether or not this association between Qubilai Khan and Mañjuśrī was accepted in his own lifetime, it became firmly established in later centuries and became a touchstone of later imperial authority. Thus Wutai shan became increasingly important within the Buddhist cosmology of China and Inner Asia as a locus of both religious and temporal power, even a source of political legitimation.

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[56] *rje rin po che'i zhal nas/ se chen rgyal po de bsags pa tshad med pa mnga' bas/ zil dpag tu med pa 'dug hor gyi rgyal rgyud la/ 'jam dpal gyi sprul pa 'byon par lung bstan pa de/ 'di yin nam m yin snyam nas/ gsang ba'i bdag po'i ting nge 'dzin gyis mnan pas/ non gyi 'dug 'jam dpal gyi sprul pa yin na zil gyis mi non gsungs//*. Bsod nams 'od zer, *Grub chen u rgyan pa'i rnam par thar pa byin brlabs kyi chu rgyun* (Gangtok, 1976), 174; and Rta mgrin tshe dbang, ed. (Lhasa, 1997), 242. While the language is somewhat softer in the Gangtok edition (using *yod pa* instead of *'dug*), the content is the same for both texts.

[57] Per Sørensen, Guntram Hazod, and Tsering Gyalbo, *Rulers on the Celestial Plain: Ecclesiastic and Secular Hegemony in Medieval Tibet. A Study of Tshal Gung thang*, vol. 2 (Wien: Verlag der O□sterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007), 5b. Both these early references to Qubilai Khan as an emanation of Mañjuśrī were identified by Leonard van der Kuijp in "The Tibetan Expression 'bod wooden door' (bod shing sgo) and Its Probable Mongol Antecedent," in Shen Weirong, ed., *Wang Yao Festschrift* (Beijing: Science Press 3, 2010), note 89. I would like to thank Professor van der Kuijp for sharing his manuscript before it was published.

Chinese Ming (明) Dynasty

Figure 21. Fifth Karma pa de bzhin gshes pa (1384-1415). Ca. late 18th–early 19th century. 39 3/8 x 23 5/8 in. (100 x 60 cm). (After Pal 1984, Plate 92).

The conflation of the emperor with the deity Mañjuśrī may have subsided when Mongol rule in China was overthrown, and the Chinese established the native Ming dynasty (明, 1368-1644), and Tibetan Buddhism was not as prominent among the imperial elite; nonetheless, patronage of Tibetan Buddhism continued among the Chinese emperors and their court. Several Chinese Ming monarchs such as the Yongle (永樂, r.1403-1424) and Zhengde emperors were especially known for their devotion to Tibetan Buddhism, much to the dismay of their Confucian advisers, who worked hard to restore Chinese orthodox culture and social values in the wake of Mongol rule.[58] This imperial Chinese patronage of Tibetan Buddhism during the Ming period is especially notable at Wutai shan, seen in the renovation and expansion of Clear Understanding Monastery (Xiantong si, 顯通寺, *mngon par gsal ba'i lha khang*; Fig. 4, no. 65) by the Yongle emperor in 1406 for the visit of a high Tibetan cleric, the Fifth Karma pa (1384-1415), as part of his trip to visit

[58] The Yongle emperor was the first Ming sovereign to establish significant ties with Tibetan patriarchs, and very recently there has been some acceptance that he was probably a believer in Tibetan Buddhism (see for instance James Watt and Denise Patry Leidy, *Defining Yongle: Imperial Art in the Fifteenth-Century China* [New York: The Metropolitan Museum, 2005]). The Zhengde Eperor was an enthusiastic patron of Tibetan Buddhism who took his zeal to a level few had dared. Not only did he study Tibetan Buddhist religious practice, but he also studied the Tibetan language. Wuzong (武宗, *rin chen dpal ldan*, r. 1506-1521) even went so far as to style himself an emanation of the Seventh Karma pa (*chos grags rgya mtsho*, 1454-1506), and adopted the Tibetan name Rin chen dpal ldan (Elliot Sperling, unpublished paper presented at Fourth Seminar of the International Association of Tibetan studies, 1985). He built new temples within the Forbidden City (Zijing Cheng, 紫禁城), kept many Tibetan monks around him and even wore monk's robes at court. This horrified the Confucians, who had to compete with the monks for the emperor's ear. Much of this is omitted from the official accounts of his reign, which simply say that he was an ineffectual ruler "not interested in culture." Testament to some of Zhengde's religious interests are found in the form of an invitation letter sent in 1515 to the Eighth Karma pa (*mi bskyod rdo rje*, 1507-1554) preserved at Mtshur phu Monastery, and a detailed Tibetan account of the invitation mission in the *Mkhas pa'i dga' ston* (See Hugh E. Richardson, "The Karma-pa Sect: A Historical Note. Part I," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1958: 139-64 and "The Karma-pa Sect: A Historical Note. Part II, Appendixes A, B, C," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1959: 1-18).

the Chinese imperial court (Fig. 21).[59] Later the emperor sent a eunuch of the imperial court to have an image of the Karma pa made and installed at Xiantong si,[60] (Fig. 22) which became a center for the practice of both Chinese and Tibetan Buddhism at Wutai shan and can be seen as emblematic of Wutai shan as a unique site for the confluence of these traditions. The neighboring Great White Stūpa (Fig. 18; Fig. 4, no. 40) was also rebuilt in 1407 with donations made on behalf of the Fifth Karma pa during his stay on the mountain.[61]

Figure 22. Clear Understanding Monastery (Xiantong si). Photograph by Gray Tuttle.

Figure 22a. Clear Understanding Monastery (Xiantong si). Photograph by Gray Tuttle.

Later, in 1414, Tsong kha pa's (Zongkaba, 宗喀巴) famous disciple Shākya ye shes also stayed at Xiantong si, as well as at Yuanzhao si (圓照寺, Kun tu khyab pa'i lha khang; founded 1309; Fig. 23; Fig. 4, no. 66).[62] Shākya ye shes (Fig. 6)

[59] Köhle, "Why Did the Kangxi Emperor Go to Wutai Shan?" 79; Hoong Teik Toh, "Tibetan Buddhism in Ming China" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2004); 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), 122-124. A short biography of the Fifth Karma pa can be found in the Five-Peak Mountain gazetteer by Zhencheng (1546-1617), *Qingliang shan zhi* [Record of Clear and Cool Mountain] (Yangzhou: Jiangsu Guangling guji keyin she, 1993 [1596, revised 1661]), 82.

[60] Zhencheng (1546-1617), *Qingliang shan zhi*, 82; Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje, *Zhing mchog ri bo dwangs bsil*, 126.

[61] The Great White Stūpa was rebuilt in 1567 by the Chinese empress dowager, and repeatedly in the Qing period by the Mongols (in 1703, 1887, 1895, 1905).

[62] Shākya ye shes also renovated the Temple of Longevity and Tranquility (Shouning si, 壽寧寺, *rtag brtan bde chen gling*; Fig. 4, no. 72) while on Wutai shan. Shākya ye shes was a personal attendant to Tsong kha pa, the founder of Se ra (Sela, 色拉) Monastery, and the third of three main Tibetan patriarchs received by the Yongle emperor. A short biography of Shākya ye shes can be found in the Wutai shan gazetteer by Zhencheng (1546-1617), *Qingliang shan zhi*, 83. A brief account of Shākya ye shes's dealings with the Ming court can be found in a history of Se ra Monastery contained within Phur lcog ngag dbang byams pa, *Grwa sa chen po bzhi dang rgyud pa stod smad chags tshul pad dkar 'phreng bo* (Lha sa: Tibetan Peoples Publishing House, 1989), 50-58. For more information on Shākya ye shes and the court, see Elliot Sperling, "The 1413 Ming Embassy to Tsong-kha-pa and the Arrival of Byams-chen chos-rje Sha-kya ye-shes at the Ming Court," *Journal of the Tibet Society* 2 (1982): 105-108 and Sperling, "Early Ming Policy toward Tibet," 146-55; Huang Hao, *Zai Beijing de Zangzu wenwu* (Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 1993), 32-33; Heather Karmay, *Early Sino-Tibetan Art* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1975), 80-82; Cha har dge bshes blo bzang tshul khrims, *Rje thams cad mkhyen pa tsong kha pa chen po'i rnam thar go sla bar brjod pa bde legs kun gyi 'byung gnas*, in *Blo bzang tshul khrims cha har dge bshes kyi gsung 'bum*, vol. kha (New Delhi: 1971); and Tshe mchog gling yongs 'dzin ye shes rgyal mtshan, *Byang chub lam gyi rim pa'i bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam par thar pa rgyal btsan mdzes pa'i rgyan mchog phul byung nor bu'i phreng ba* (New Delhi: 1970).

lived on Wutai shan for four years and is credited with building five or six temples there and developing the Dge lugs church in both Chinese and Mongolian areas.[63] Not long afterward, in 1426, the Chinese Xuande (宣德, r. 1426-1435) emperor officially designated Yuanzhao si's abbot the manager of Chinese and Tibetan Buddhist affairs on the mountain, effectively making this monastery the first Dge lugs temple in China.[64] While literary evidence suggests that Tibetan oversight of major institutions at Wutai shan, like Xiantong si and Yuanzhao si, had already begun to appear in the fifteenth century under the Chinese in the Ming period, it was under the Manchus that this practice was formally established as imperial court policy in the seventeenth century.[65]

Figure 23. Complete Illumination Monastery (Yuanzhao si). Photograph by Gray Tuttle.

Figure 24. "Iron Bridge Man" Thang stong rgyal po. Tibet; second half of the 15th century. Copper alloy with pigment. Nyingjei Lam Collection. L2005.9.63 (HAR 68496).

During this period a famous Tibetan cultural hero, the "Iron Bridge Man" (*lcags zam pa thang stong rgyal po*, 1361?-1485; Fig. 24) also went to Wutai shan, where he gave a reading transmission of the *Litany of the Names of Mañjuśrī* (*mañjuśrī*

[63] According to Shākya ye shes's biography in the history of Se ra Monastery by Phur lcog ngag dbang byams pa (Phur lcog ngag dbang byams pa, *Grwa sa chen po bzhi*, 50-51), because Shākya ye shes's had cured the emperor from a serious illness "the six great monasteries of Wutai shan…were founded, and in all of those places he spread the practice of the Dge lugs order." Some Chinese sources say five temples, while others say six. Li Jicheng, "Zangchuan Fojiao," 18; Zhao Hong, "Huangjiao zai Wutai shan de chuanbo," *Wutai shan yanjiu*, no. 2 (1988): 17.

[64] Zheng Lin, "Yuanzhao si fojiao jian shi," *Wutai shan yanjiu*, no. 1 (1997): 21; Tuttle, "Tibetan Buddhism at Ri bo rtse lnga," 17. Yuanzhao si was later associated with the Chinese master Qinghai (1922-90) who was a key figure in the recent revival of Tibetan Buddhism among the Chinese at Mount Wutai. See: Tuttle, "Tibetan Buddhism at Ri bo rtse lnga."

[65] Köhle, "Why Did the Kangxi Emperor Go to Wutai Shan?" 80-83.

nāmasaṃgīti) to an eager congregation of (Chinese?) meditators.[66] Thang stong rgyal po stayed on Wutai shan in meditation for eight months, during which time the five forms of Mañjuśrī appeared to him in a series of visions and spoke a prophecy instructing him to build geomantic focal points (often taking the form of *stūpa*s) to suppress the four elements, another activity for which Thang stong rgyal po became famous.[67] Thang stong rgyal po's travels to Wutai shan are mentioned in early biographical materials such as his own edicts (*bka' shog*), suggesting that this was not simply a later embellishment.[68]

Second Conversion of the Mongols

It is at this time in the late sixteenth century that the Mongols underwent a second more deeply rooted conversion to Tibetan Buddhism. From this point on the Mongols would play a key role in the politics of Tibet, Tibetan relations with China, and imperial interest in Tibetan Buddhism into the modern period. Although Tibetan Buddhism was important for the imperial elite, especially during the later Yuan, when the Mongols returned to the steppe their connections with the *dharma* waned. However, the Mongols did not give up their connections with Tibet entirely, and one ambitious leader, Altan Khan (1507-1582), saw promoting Tibetan Buddhism as a strategy to overcome the tradition of primogeniture and thereby not only legitimate his power locally within Ordos, but also secure trade alliances with the Ming court.[69] To this end Altan Khan invited a number of Tibetan teachers,

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[66] See Cyrus Stearns, *King of the Empty Plain: The Tibetan Iron-bridge Builder Tangtong Gyalpo* (Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 2007), 316-20. Thang stong rgyal po was famous for building fifty-eight iron chain-link suspension bridges throughout the Himalayas, hence his epithet "Iron Bridge Man." According to an inscription on the back of this sculpture in Fig. 24, the image was blessed by Thang stong rgyal po, and thus likely a contemporary "portrait." The inscription reads: "[This] image of the siddha Thang stong rgyal po contains (blessed) hand-barley of the lord himself" (*grub thob thang stong rgyal po'i sku rje rang nyid gyi phyag nas bzhugs so/*). This inscription is (miss-)translated as "This is the image of the siddha Thangtong Gyalpo, by his own hand" and stating that he was himself involved in the making of the image in David Weldon and Jane Casey Singer, *The Sculptural Heritage of Tibet: Buddhist Art in the Nyingjei Lam Collection* (London: Laurence King Publishing, 1999), 184. Sculptures of Thang stong rgyal po said to have made by his own hands were kept in the Jo khang in Lhasa. On Thang stong rgyal po as an artist see Stearns, *King of the Empty Plain*, 44-46.

[67] Stearns, *King of the Empty Plain*, 319-20, and 557, fn. 865. Thang stong rgyal po is said to have built one hundred and one *stūpa*s.

[68] Stearns, *King of the Empty Plain*, 5. The biography translated by Stearns was written considerably after his life (1609). Thang stong rgyal po then went on to meet the Chinese emperor in Beijing, who Stearns identifies as Yingzong (英宗, 1427-1464), emperor of both the Zhengtong (正统, 1436-1449) and Tianshun (天顺, 1457-1464) reigns (Stearns, *King of the Empty Plain*, 557, fn. 867). However, there is no confirmation of this in Chinese sources.

[69] Another important factor that motivated Altan Khan to invite Tibetan masters was a much more practical one: After the 1571 peace accord smallpox ran rampant due to the newly opened Sino-Mongol markets, and Altan Khan was seeking a tantric ritual cure to suppress the epidemic. Thus neither the reestablishment of the Tibet-Mongol connection or the Mongol conversion to the Dge lugs order was far from inevitable, nor was the Third Dalai Lama, the only player in this process, as is often depicted by later historians like the Fifth Dalai Lama. I would like to thank Johan Elverskog for this clarification. See also Johan Elverskog, *Our Great Qing: The Mongols, Buddhists and the State in Late Imperial China* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 2006), 107-108, 111-12. On the smallpox epidemic see: Johan Elverskog, "Tibetocentrism, Religious Conversion and the Study of Mongolian Buddhism,"

among them a famous monk of the relatively new Dge lugs monastic order, Bsod nams rgya mtsho (1543-1588), to proselytize among his people and was so impressed with the monk's wisdom that he gave him the title "Oceanic Guru" (Dalai Lama, *ta la'i bla ma*). The next reincarnation of the Dalai Lama was then recognized in the grandson of Altan Khan, a shrewd political move that bound the Mongols closely to Dge lugs interests.

This second conversion of the Mongols was so thorough that Tibetan Buddhism became part and parcel of their identity. This was a historical turning point in Inner Asian politics that would have serious consequences for the following generations. The Mongols became fiercely loyal to the Dge lugs order and were instrumental in establishing the Dalai Lama's political rule over Tibet. Tibetan Buddhism thus became a cultural and political rallying point for the fractured Mongols as well as other Inner Asian groups and once again an important factor in empire building. Interestingly, as Elverskog observes, the last record of Chinese imperial patronage of Tibetan Buddhism at Wutai shan was made in 1522, which corresponded with the time of the second rise of the Mongols.[70] As part of this strategy envisioning a Buddhist reunification of Mongolia, the earliest Mongol source that clearly links Qubilai Khan with Mañjuśrī, the *White History* (*Chaghan Teüke*), was "rediscovered" and circulated by Altan Khan's right-hand man, Khutugtai Secen Khung-Taiji, and attributed to Qubilai Khan himself. However internal evidence suggests that this text dates to the late sixteenth century, when Altan Khan and his allies were embracing Tibetan Buddhism as part of their bid to reestablish the former glory of the Mongol empire.[71]

Manchu Qing (清) Dynasty

In 1644 the Manchus, another nomadic people from the northeastern steppe, seized power from the Chinese and founded the Qing dynasty (清, 1644-1911), and Tibetan Buddhism was once again made one of the official religions of the empire. Under the Manchus the visual language of Buddhist imperial rule was further refined and the concepts of sacral legitimacy given a finer point, with a special focus on the

in The Mongolia-Tibet Interface: Opening New Research Terrains in Inner Asia, eds. Hildegaard Diemberger and Uradyn Bulag (Leiden: Brill Publishers, 2007), 59-81.

[70] This observation was made by Johan Elverskog at the "Wutaishan and Qing Culture" symposium in reaction to David Robinson's work on the Inner Asian ruling complex and its continuation into Ming, which was then powerfully challenged once the Tibet connection was lost. See: David M. Robinson, "Politics, Force and Ethnicity in Ming China: Mongols and the Abortive Coup of 1461," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 59, no. 1 (June, 1999): 79-123.

[71] According to Atwood, "Validation by Holiness or Sovereignty," 82, despite Khutugtai Secen's claim, the text shows no connection in language or themes to real Yuan-era documents. Atwood concludes that the history is likely a late sixteenth-century utopia, retrojected to Qubilai's time, envisioning Buddhist reunification of Mongolia. Thanks to professors Tuttle and Elverskog for bringing this to my attention.

cult of Mañjuśrī. Therefore Wutai shan figured much more prominently in Qing imperial ideology than in previous regimes.[72]

Manchus as Inheritors of the Mongol Legacy

Manchu interest in Tibetan Buddhism can be traced directly to Mongol patronage in the thirteenth century. Specifically it was the patron-priest relationship between Qubilai Khan and his Tibetan Imperial Preceptor 'Phags pa that was seen as a powerful model worthy of emulation in the Manchu court of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[73] Lacking the proper bloodlines to claim themselves as the descendants of Qubilai Khan, the Manchu rulers used the Tibetan Buddhist succession mechanism of reincarnation to declare themselves Qubilai Khan's spiritual inheritors. By promoting themselves as emanations of Mañjuśrī, the Manchu emperors were essentially declaring themselves Qubilai Khan reborn. Wutai shan as Mañjuśrī's abode was thus at the heart of the Manchu court's bid for political legitimacy. This is especially significant as the incorporation of the Mongols into the Qing dynasty was critical to the survival of the Manchu Empire, and both the Chinggisid lineage (of Qubilai Khan) and Tibetan Buddhism were powerful symbols in the Mongol political vocabulary of the seventeenth century.[74] This was but one of several mutually reinforcing strategies aimed at various subject and neighboring peoples in establishing and solidifying the Manchu's multi-ethnic

[72] As Mark Elliot reflected in his comments at the "Wutaishan and Qing Culture" symposium this makes sense considering the way in which the Manchus came to power and exercised authority over a great deal of Buddhist Inner Asia, which the Ming did not.

[73] This is a bit of an oversimplification, as there was also a Chinese Ming-period link in this transmission, Shākya ye shes (d. 1435), a fifteenth century Tibetan cleric who served as a preceptor to the Chinese emperors Yongle, Xuande, and Zhengtong (正统, 1436-1449). Shākya ye shes's role as preceptor at the Chinese court was perceived as important enough that he was recognized by the eighteenth century to be a reincarnation of the thirteenth-century Sa skya Imperial Preceptor 'Phags pa, thus allowing the Dge lugs pa to usurp the Sa skya prerogative of serving the emperor. See Sperling, "1413 Ming Embassy ," 105-108; Elverskog, *Our Great Qing*.

[74] The Chinggisid lineage refers to the lineal descendants of Chinggis Khan (ca. 1162-1227), founder of the Mongol Empire. Descent from Chinggis Khan was for centuries a crucial factor in rulership throughout Inner and Central Asia, and even a prerequisite for claiming the title "khan" (See James Millward, Ruth Dunnell, Mark Elliot, and Philippe Foret, eds., *New Qing Imperial History: The Making of Inner Asian Empire at Qing Chengde* [London: Routledge, 2004], 96). Both the inheritance to the Chinggis legacy and patronage of Tibetan Buddhism on the Qubilai model were important to Mongolian nation building. Ligdan Khan (Legs ldan, b. 1588, r. 1604-1634), the last emperor of the Northern Yuan dynasty, aimed at centralizing Mongolian rule. As part of Ligdan's bid to rebuild the Mongol state he attempted to revive the old Mongol-Tibetan (Sa skya) alliance. In the colophon of the Mongolian translation of the Tibetan *tripitika* (*Bka' 'gyur*) he sponsored, he proclaimed himself Chinggis Khan. He also installed in his capital the Mahākāla image associated with 'Phags pa and the founding of Qubilai Khan's empire (see above). Ligdan's defeat in 1634/5 and the capture of the symbolically significant Mahākāla sculpture was a crucial step in the early development of Manchu power. See Atwood, "Validation by Holiness or Sovereignty," 334-35. For more on the Mongol threat to the Manchu Empire see: Samuel M. Grupper, *The Manchu Imperial Cult of the Early Ch'ing Dynasty: Texts and Studies on the Tantric Santuary of Mahakala at Mukden* (PhD diss., Indiana University, 1979). Later, one of the greatest Manchu rulers, the Qianlong Emperor (乾隆, 1711-1799), cited their close relationship with Tibetan Buddhism as an important factor in the submission of first the Khalkha Mongols in 1691, and then the return of the Torghut (Kalmuk) Mongols in 1771 (Grupper, *The Manchu Imperial Cult*, 94).

empire in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[75] The Manchu rulers, by adopting certain personas, turned themselves into the representatives of the respective cultures, whether Chinese or Mongol, Confucian or Buddhist, legitimizing their position and appropriation of those cultural traditions by denying their image as outsiders who gained possession of them through force.[76]

Divine Rite to Rule: Emperor as Mañjuśrī

In Mongol sources the Manchu connection to Mañjuśrī starts as early as the first Qing emperor Hongtaiji's (*bog to rgyal po*) reign (1626-1643), and shortly before the Manchus completed their conquest of China, Hongtaiji changed their ethnonym from Jurchen to "Manju" (manzu, 满族) in 1635. Thus, an etymology seems to have been engineered to claim its source in the very name "Mañjuśrī."[77] This language also plays into the much earlier Tang indigenous China-Mañjuśrī connection previously referred to. However, it is the Kangxi Emperor (康熙, 1662-1723) who first refers to himself as Mañjuśrī in his preface to the officially commissioned Mongolian translation of the Tibetan Buddhist canon (1718-1720):

> Then Mañjuśrī, the savior of all living forms, [with the] intellect of all the Buddhas, was transformed into human form, and ascended the Fearless Lion Throne of gold; and this was none other than the sublime Emperor Kangxi-Mañjuśrī who assisted and brought joy to the entire vast world...[78]

Figure 25. Kangxi Emperor slaying a tiger. 1846 Wutai shan map detail.

Such divine projections went much further than previous Mongol imperial Yuan dynasty claims in inscriptions on Buddhist monuments such as the aforementioned fourteenth-century Juyong Stūpa Gate. The Kangxi emperor

[75] On Manchu use of indigenous Mongolian political models see Elverskog, *Our Great Qing*.

[76] On the Manchu emperors taking on various cultural guises see: Wu Hung, "Emperor's Masquerade – 'Costume Portraits' of Yongzheng and Qianlong," *Orientations* 26, no. 7 (July/August 1995): 28; J. Rawson, Regina Krahl, Alfreda Murck, and Evelyn Rowski, *China: The Three Emperors 1622-1795* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2006), 248-51.

[77] Wang Junzhong, *Dong Ya Han Zang fojiao yanjiu* (Taibei: Dong Da tushu gongsi, 2003), 80-134. Before this the Manchus referred to themselves as the Jurchen and their empire as the Later Jin, after the Jin dynasty (金, 1115-1234) of Inner Asia which conquered North China. Elverskog ("Wutai Shan in the Mongol Literary *Imaginaire* ," paper given at the "Wutai Shan and Qing Culture" Conference at the Rubin Museum of Art, May 12-13, 2007) suggests that these models were originally taken from Mongol traditions by the Manchus, and not pushed onto the Mongols by the Manchus, which explains to some degree the Mongol receptivity and success of this program.

[78] Farquhar, "Emperor as Bodhisattva," 9.

personally visited Wutai shan five times, an extraordinary number for an emperor, underscoring the close relationship between the new Manchu sovereigns and China's state protector, Mañjuśrī, who resided there.[79] Within depictions of these trips the figures of the Kangxi emperor and Mañjuśrī are subtly conflated, whereby the act of the emperor slaying a tiger is equated with Mañjuśrī's subjugation of poisonous dragons in subduing the land (Fig. 25; Fig. 4, no. 64).[80]

Tibeto-Mongolian Control of Wutai shan

Figure 26. Pusa ding Monastery. 1846 Wutai shan map detail.

Under the Manchu Qing dynasty Wutai shan was given more autonomy in its affairs, functioning in a unique way within the empire, and its Tibetan and Mongolian clergy enjoyed a specially privileged position.[81] Shortly after the Qing dynasty was founded the first forty Mongol *bla ma*s were sent to Wutai shan in 1655, and the Kangxi emperor is said to have converted ten Chinese Buddhist monasteries into Tibetan and Mongolian institutions in 1683 or 1705, providing them with state financial support.[82] The position of head of all religious and temporal affairs for both Tibetan and Chinese Buddhist institutions on Wutai shan was given to a Mongolian practitioner of Tibetan Buddhism, the "Jasagh Lama" (Zasag/jasag, Zhasa, 扎萨克, *dza sag bla ma*) with his seat at Pusa ding

[79] For an in-depth analysis of these visits see Köhle, "Why Did the Kangxi Emperor Go to Wutai Shan?"

[80] Chou, "Ineffable Paths," 124; Chun Rong, "Cifu si," *Wutai shan yanjiu*, no. 1 (1999): 22. This is the most often reproduced scene from Kangxi's Western Tour (Chou, "Ineffable Paths," 124; and Köhle, "Why Did the Kangxi Emperor Go to Wutai Shan?" 93).

[81] Wutai shan was treated as a tributary territory within the *Lifanyuan zili*, wherein *bla ma*s from Beijing, Jehol (Inner Mongolia) and Wutai shan enjoyed a privileged position. Vladimir Uspensky, "Legislation Relating to the Tibetan Buddhist Establishments on Wutai Shan during the Qing Dynasty," paper given at the "Wutai Shan and Qing Culture" Conference at the Rubin Museum of Art, May 12-13, 2007. This special territorial status of Wutai shan within the Qing Empire can also be seen in the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's trip to Wutai shan in 1908, where he was able to interact with western diplomats in a way that he was not able to pursue previously as seen in Elliot Sperling, "The Thirteenth Dalai Lama at Wutai Shan: Exile and Diplomacy," *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies*, no. 6 (December 2011), http://www.thlib.org?tid=T5720.

[82] The Kangxi emperor is generally attributed with converting ten Chinese monasteries to Tibetan Buddhism either in 1683, after his first two tours, or alternately in 1705, shortly after his fourth tour of the mountain. For instance see: Xiao Yu, "Pusading de fojiao lishi," *Wutai shan yanjiu*, no. 1 (1996): 13. However as Köhle ("Why Did the Kangxi Emperor Go to Wutai Shan?" 77-78, fn. 14) points out, none of the secondary literature that makes this statement cites a primary source, and that this process of conversion was probably a more gradual process where the Chinese, Tibetan and Mongolian traditions co-existed within these institutions.

Monastery (Fig. 26; Fig. 4, no. 14).[83] As previously mentioned, Pusa ding Monastery had been a focus of imperial patronage since the eighth century and was the centerpiece of Qing imperial patronage on Wutai shan. As the administrative heart of this hierarchy, it is depicted at the center of the woodblock map much larger than the others, and its yellow-tiled rooftops, usually reserved for imperial palaces, stamps the monastery with an imperial identity.[84]

The first of these imperially appointed overseers of Wutai shan, Ngag dbang blo bzang (Awang Laozang, 阿王老藏, 1601-1687), commissioned one of the objects in this exhibition (Cat. 13).[85] In 1661 Ngag dbang blo bzang revised the local gazetteer of Wutai shan, printed in 1887, shortly after the woodblock map in this exhibition was made (Cat. 1). It is interesting to note in this context that the map in the Rubin Museum of Art resembles the map contained in this gazetteer (Fig. 9). Ngag dbang blo bzang also encouraged the writing of the first Mongolian-language guide to Wutai shan in 1667, and the blocks were carved at Ngag dbang blo bzang's seat Pusa ding Monastery (Fig. 4, no. 14), where the footprint woodblock (Cat. 13) was also carved and printed.[86]

The ethnic identity of Ngag dbang blo bzang is an interesting question, as he is recorded in his official biography as having been born in Beijing in 1601, more than forty years before the Chinese capital city fell to the Manchus. As Tuttle convincingly shows below Ngawang was one of the Mongols who stayed behind after the collapse of the Mongol Yuan dynasty (1368) to serve the Chinese Ming dynasty (1368-1644),[87] suggesting that Ngag dbang blo bzang was likely an ethnic

[83] On the Mongolian title see Atwood, "Validation by Holiness or Sovereignty," 617-18. For an outline of this title and its Manchu invention, see: Uspensky, "Legislation Relating to the Tibetan Buddhist Establishments." From 1659 until 1937 Pusa ding Monastery was the seat of a succession of twenty-three Jasagh Lamas: Laozang Danbei (老藏丹贝), Laozang Danba (老藏丹巴), Yuzeng Shucuo (预增竖错), Dansheng Jiacuo (丹生嘉错), Laozang Queta (老藏缺塔), Zhangmu Yangdanzeng (章木样丹增), Quepei Daji (缺培达计), Chenlai Da'Erlai (陈赖达尔来), Gailichen Pianer (改利陈片尔), Geshou Quebei (格兽缺培), Lama Nima (喇嘛尼嘛), Zhangmu Yang (章木样), Zhaya (扎亚), Longsang Danpian (罗桑旦片), Awang Qingba (阿旺庆巴), Zhangyang Mola (章样摩拉), Shaoba Chunzhu (少巴春柱), Xiaba Quebei (降巴缺培), Awang Sangbu (阿旺桑布), Jiachan Sangbu (加禅桑布), Luosang Basang (罗桑巴桑), Awang Yixi (阿旺益西). Zhao Peicheng, "Shitan Wutai shan zangchuan fojiao yu jingangshenwu," *Yizhou Shifan Xueyuan xuebao* 20, no. 4 (August 2004): 39. According to Zhao the first six were imperially appointed from Protection of the Nation Monastery (Huguo si, 護國寺), Chongguo Monastery (Chongguo si, 崇國寺) in Beijing, whereas subsequent appointments were made by the Dalai Lama (Zhao Peicheng, "Shi tan Wutai shan zangchuan fojiao"). Huguo si ("Protection of the Nation Monastery") was a center for Tibetan Buddhism in Beijing in the Ming and Qing periods.

[84] Interestingly, the other main imperially sponsored temple, Tailu Monastery (Tailu si, 臺麓寺), headed by the "Da Lama" (*da lama*, 大喇嘛), appears tiny in the bottom right corner of the map (Fig. 4, no. 70). The colorings on other printings of the map, such as the one in Helsinki, plot the ten imperial monasteries more carefully, giving them each yellow roves. See Chou, "Ineffable Paths," 109.

[85] On Ngag dbang blo bzang see: Toh, "Tibetan Buddhism in Ming China," 229-37; Jie Lüe, "Qingliang laoren Awang Laozang ta ming," *Wutai shan yanjiu*, no. 1 (1996): 35-36; Cui Zhengsen, "Qingliang laoren Awang Laozang," *Wutai shan yanjiu*, no. 3 (1999): 27-30.

[86] Farquhar, "Emperor as Bodhisattva," 30. There is a possible error in the date of the colophon of the Mongol edition, and may actually date to 1721.

[87] Tuttle, "Tibetan Buddhism at Wutai Shan." Ngag dbang blo bzang was originally from Höhhot, now the capital of Inner Mongolia. On the Mongol use of the surname Jia (賈), see Farquhar, "Emperor

Mongol whose family had lived among the Chinese for several centuries.[88] As both the text on this object and his biography in the Five-Peak Mountain gazetteer describe him as a *bla ma* (*lama*, 喇嘛), we know he was primarily identified as a practitioner of Tibetan Buddhism.[89] That the Manchu emperors would appoint a Tibetan Buddhist to manage Chinese as well as Tibetan Buddhist affairs at Wutai shan, when even at its height Tibetan and Mongolian monasteries (so-called "yellow temples" [*huangmiao*, 黃庙]) were outnumbered by Chinese temples (*Qingmiao*, 青庙) by approximately four to one,[90] suggests the prominent position of authority that Tibetan Buddhism held at Wutai shan in particular and the Qing empire in general.

Tuttle enumerates how this newly emphasized importance of Wutai shan in Qing dynasty ideology is clearly reflected in literary production. Although none of the Ming editions of the local gazetteer were state sponsored, all of the Qing editions were, the prefaces now written by Tibetan Buddhists like Ngag dbang blo bzang. The Manchus also heavily patronized Chinese Buddhist institutions at Wutai shan, and is shown below by Tuttle this language of imperial Mañjuśrī may not have been aimed solely at Tibetans and Mongols. Particularly telling is a passage identified by Köhle in the forward to the 1701 edition to the Chinese gazetteer to Wutai shan, the *Record of Clear and Cool Mountain* (*Qingliang shan zhi*) – a widely disseminated Chinese-language document paid for by the Qing state –

as Bodhisattva," 8, note 17, quoting David Robinson's work on Ming military records. Also see Henry Serruys, *Sino-J□u□rc□ed Relations during the Yung-Lo Period, 1403-1424* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1955); "Remnants of Mongol Customs during the Early Ming," *Monumenta Serica* 16 (1957): 137-90; "Mongols Ennobled During the Early Ming," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 22 (December 1959): 209-60; "A Manuscript Version of the Legend of the Mongol Ancestry of the Yongle Emperor," *Analetica Mongolica* 8 (1972); *Sino-Mongol Relations during the Ming* vol. 1-3 (Bruxelles: Institut belge des hautes etudes chinoises, 1967; rpt. 1980); *The Mongols in China during the Hung-wu period, 1368-1398* (Bruxelles: Institut belge des hautes études chinoises, 1980); and *The Mongols and Ming China: Custom and History*, ed. Francoise Aubin (London: Variorum Reprints, 1987).

[88] It has also been suggested that he was ethnically Chinese (Toh, "Tibetan Buddhism in Ming China," 231, fn. 3) or even a Manchu (Gao Lintao, "Huangjiao zai Wutai shan de chuanbo," *Cangsang* 1-2 [2004]: 96). However, further supporting evidence that Ngag dbang blo bzang was a sinocized Mongol is suggested by the fact that his own teacher was a Sinocized Mongol *bla ma*, Blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan (1632-1684), who had entered service under the Ming. See Köhle, "Why Did the Kangxi Emperor Go to Wutai Shan?" M.A. Thesis, 14, fn. 23, citing the Zhencheng (1546-1617), *Qingliang shan zhi*, *juan* 7, 24b.

[89] His biography in the local gazetteer of Wutai shan, the Record of Clear and Cool Mountain (*Qingliang shan zhi*), records that he became a monk at age ten, received ordination at age eighteen, and investigated thoroughly and understood yoga of esoteric Buddhism (Yujia mifa, 瑜伽密法; 10岁出家，18岁受具戒，究明瑜伽密法。). See Zhencheng, *Qingliang shan zhi*, 102-103.

[90] According to a Chinese census taken in 1956 there were 124 temples and monasteries, ninety-nine being Chinese Buddhist, and twenty-five Tibetan and Mongolian. It does not say how these affiliations were designated, or how institutions that incorporated both traditions were counted. See Wang Xiangyun, "*Wutai shan yu zangchuan fojiao*," Tsinghua University, http://www.tsinghua.edu.cn/docsn/lsx/learning/Meeting/Complete/wangxiangyun.pdf, 6 [no longer available].

which subtly refers to the Kangxi emperor as Mañjuśrī, and the language is couched in such a way that suggests that it was directed at a Chinese Buddhist readership.[91]

This is a radical departure from previous thinking, which has always assumed that the Manchu court's rhetoric of the emperor as Mañjuśrī was only directed at Inner Asian peoples such as Tibetans, Mongolians, and Manchus. However, when the emperor's former palace was set up as a Tibetan Buddhist temple in Beijing and renamed Yonghe Palace (Yonghe gong, 雍和宫) in 1745, the biography of the court chaplain Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje (Cat. 2) explained that this was to serve the Mongol and Chinese communities.[92] Based on this, together with records of regulations for ethnic Chinese practitioners of Tibetan Buddhism, Tuttle suggests that by the eighteenth century the practice of Tibetan Buddhism was encouraged among certain strata of the elite.[93]

Art and Politics: Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje

Embodying Manchu interests in Tibetan Buddhism and Wutai shan was the highest and most influential *bla ma* of Inner Asia and China in the eighteenth century, the Lcang skya hu thog thu Rol pa'i rdo rje (Zhangjia Hutuketu Ruobi Duoji, 章嘉呼图克图若必多吉, 1717-1786; Cat. 2), who served as the emperor's personal chaplain and played a leading role in recasting Wutai shan into a Tibetan Buddhist site. While the Dalai Lamas were at the top of the Dge lugs pa hierarchy, the Lcang skya Hutukhtus were closest to the imperial throne. They were placed in charge of all Dge lugs affairs east of Tibet, putting Rol pa'i rdo rje on a par with the other high Dge lugs pa incarnations: the Dalai Lama, Paṇ chen bla ma, and the Rje btsun

[91] Tuttle, "Tibetan Buddhism at Wutai Shan." This passage was first identified by Natalie Köhle in her M. A. Thesis, "Why Did the Kangxi Emperor Go to Wutai Shan?" 25-31; and Köhle, "Why Did the Kangxi Emperor Go to Wutai Shan?" 87.

[92] This was the Yongzheng emperor's (雍正, 1678-1735, r. 1722-1735) former palace. See Tu'u bkwan chos kyi nyima, *Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje'i rnam tar* (Gansu Province: People's Publishing House, 1989), 220.

[93] For more on Tibetan Buddhist temples in Beijing see: Susan Naquin and Chün-fang Yü, *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1992), 341-45, 584-91. Note that Naquin (Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China, 341, 584) treats Tibetan Buddhism as a foreign religion, comparing them to the Catholics, and like them were forbidden to proselytize among the Chinese, and its spread to the Chinese lay community discouraged. Rather it was to foreigners like Mongol Bannerman, Manchus, and (Manchu) court members that they ministered to. Nonetheless she counts fifty-three Tibetan Buddhist temples in the greater Beijing area in the late eighteenth century.

dam pa hu thog thus of Mongolia. He is best known for the enormous translation projects of the Mongolian and Manchu canons, but his influence in the areas of art and politics was more far reaching. He helped craft Manchu policies regarding Mongolia and Tibet, at times interceding directly with the emperor over political issues. In the realm of art Rol pa'i rdo rje had a guiding hand in the formation of the Sino-Tibetan imperial Buddhist style of the Qing dynasty that would come to symbolize Manchu rulership. These works of art were carefully crafted during Qianlong's reign (1736-1795) in the Chinese court, which put great emphasis on the power of symbols, to bolster Manchu legitimacy as successors to the Yuan Empire.

Figure 27. Portrait of the Qianlong emperor (r. 1736-1796) as the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī. Mid-18th century. Emperor's face painted by Giuseppe Castiglione (Lang Shining), (Italian, 1688-1766). China; Qing dynasty; Qianlong reign. Thang ka; ink and color on silk; H: 113.6 W: 64.3 cm. Freer Gallery, Purchase--Anonymous donor and Museum funds, F2000.4.

From childhood the young Lcang skya incarnation was educated with the imperial princes, among them Kangxi's grandson, the future Qianlong emperor (Fig. 27). Together they studied Buddhist scripture as well as Chinese, Mongolian, Manchu, and Tibetan. This kind of close contact between monk and emperor from such an early age was unprecedented and allowed Rol pa'i rdo rje to take a leading role at court and speak his monastic order's interests directly into the ear of the emperor. Rol pa'i rdo rje's own incarnation lineage was carefully crafted to reflect that the patron-priest relationship between Qubilai and 'Phags pa was reborn, quite literally, in Qianlong and himself.[94] In 1745 Rol pa'i rdo rje initiated Qianlong into the Buddhist rites of the divinely anointed sovereign (*cakravartin*), as 'Phags pa did for Qubilai Khan centuries before. Later, when Rol pa'i rdo rje translated 'Phags pa's biography into Mongolian in 1753, he drew a direct parallel between the two acts, ruminating that he and the emperor had been connected through many lifetimes and states directly that Qubilai was the predecessor of Qianlong in the Mañjuśrī incarnation lineage.[95] The Qianlong

[94] This included adjusting the Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje's incarnation lineage to include both the thirteenth century Sa skya Imperial Preceptor to Qubilai Khan, 'Phags pa, and the fifteenth-century cleric to the Chinese Ming court, Shākya ye shes, thus allowing the Dge lugs pa to usurp the Sa skya prerogative of serving the emperor.

[95] E. Gene Smith, "Introduction," in *The Collected Works of Thu'u-bkwan blo-bzang-chos-kyi-nyi-ma* vol. 1, 1-12 and appendix I and II (Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1969), 6. Qubilai is also clearly

emperor more than any other Manchu ruler realized the potential of patronizing Tibetan Buddhism, as is evidenced by the volume of images produced by the imperial workshops in the Tibetan style under his reign.[96] The Qianlong emperor's own tomb, covered in Tibetan *mantra*s, letters, and symbols (Fig. 28) is a graphic expression of his deep seeded interest in the religion.[97]

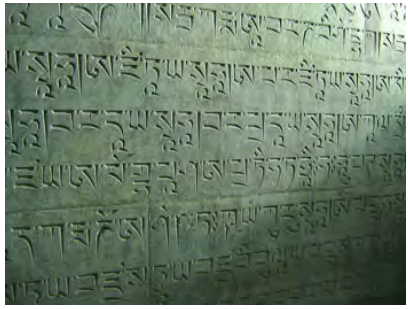

Figure 28. Tibetan mantras in Qianlong emperor's tomb. Photograph by Kristina Dy-Liacco, 2003.

Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje helped the emperor craft a policy toward Tibet and Mongolia that underscored Manchu inheritance of Qubilai's realm, both politically and symbolically, through the production of religious art, with a special focus on Mañjuśrī. As part of this larger campaign, Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje was an instrumental figure in giving Wutai shan a Tibetan and Mongolian Buddhist identity, which is reflected so clearly on the woodblock map (Cat. 1). Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje spent thirty-six consecutive summers from 1750 until his death in 1786 in meditative retreat on Wutai shan at his seat there, Taming the Ocean Monastery (Zhenhai si, 鎮海寺, *rgya mtsho 'dul ba'i gling*; Fig. 29; Fig. 4, no. 37).[98] He had oversight of six temples on Wutai shan and was particularly involved with the Pule yuan (普樂院, *kun bde tshal*; Fig. 4, no. 22), another important site for the practice of Tibetan Buddhism

placed within Qianlong's incarnation lineage written by the Sixth Paṇ chen bla ma. See Vladimir Uspensky, "The Previous Incarnations of the Qianlong Emperor According to the Panchen Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes," in *Tibet, Past and Present: Tibetan Studies I, Proceedings of the Ninth Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies Leiden 2000*, edited by Henk Blezer (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 221 and 225.

[96] Patricia Berger, "Preserving the Nation: The Political Use of Tantric Art in China," in *Latter Days of the Law: Images of Chinese Buddhism 850-1850*, edited by Marsha Weidner (Spencer: Spencer Museum of Art, 1994), 118.

[97] For a discussion of the Qianlong emperor's tomb, see: Francoise Wang-Toutain, "Qianlong's Funerary Rituals and Tibetan Buddhism: Preliminary Reports on the Investigation of Tibetan and Lantsa Inscriptions in Qianlong's Tomb," in *Studies in Sino-Tibetan Buddhist Art. Proceedings of the Second International Conference on Tibetan Archaeology & Art, Beijing, September 3-6, 2004*, edited by Xie Jisheng, Shen Weirong, and Liao Yang (Beijing: China Tibetology Publishing House, 2006), 130-69.

[98] Zhou Zhuying, "Zhenhai si de jian zhu yu cai su yi shu," *Wutai shan yanjiu*, no. 4 (2003): 15-22. First he resided at the Cave of Sudhana (Shancai dong, 善財洞, *nor bzang sgrub phug*; Fig. 4, no. 69), Vajra Cave (Fig. 4, no. 58), and Pusa ding (Fig. 4, no. 14), then later made Taming the Ocean Monastery (Fig. 4, no. 37) his regular residence. Zhao Peicheng, "Shi tan Wutai shan Zangchuan Fojiao," 39; Xiao Yu, "Zhangjia Hutu yu Wutai shan Fojiao," *Wutai shan yanjiu*, no. 4 (1990): 13. On Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje's tenure on Wutai shan see: Ma Lianlong, "Sanshe Jiangjia Guoshi zhu xi Wutai shan shi lue," *Wutai shan yanjiu*, no. 3 (1989): 35-38; Xiao Yu, "Zhangjia Hutu," 13-17; and Wang Jianmin, "Zhenhai si Zhangjia Ruobi Duoji lingta kaolüe," *Wutai shan yanjiu*, no. 1 (2002): 35-41.

on the mountain.[99] Most significant, he wrote a Tibetan guide to Wutai shan, the *Pilgrimage Guide to the Pure Realm of Clear and Cool Mountain* (*zhing mchog ri bo dwangs bsil gyi gnas bshad*), which was also translated into Mongolian and actively promoted pilgrimage to Wutai shan among the Mongols and Tibetans.[100] While the guide is largely drawn from the content of Chinese gazetteers, it importantly re-situates Wutai shan into a larger Buddhist cosmology as one of the five "especially excellent sites of empowerment."[101] After his death on Wutai shan in 1786 he was buried at his local seat, Taming the Ocean Monastery, in a white stone *stūpa*, which became its own focus of pilgrimage (Fig. 29).

Figure 29. Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje's burial stūpa. Taming the Ocean Monastery (Zhenhai si). Photograph by Gray Tuttle.

[99] Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje had jurisdiction over six monasteries on Wutai shan: Taming the Ocean Monastery (Fig. 4, no. 37), the Pule yuan (Fig. 4, no. 22), Jifu Monastery (Jifu si, 集福寺, *dge tshogs gling*), Cifu si (慈福寺, *byams dge gling*; Fig. 4, no. 21) – where the map (Cat.1) was made, Wenshu Monastery (Wenshu si, 文殊寺), and Guanghua Monastery (Guanghuahou si, 廣化睺寺, *yongs 'dul gling*). The Jasag *bla ma* managed the other twenty. Wang Lu, "Wutai shan yu Xizang," *Wutai shan yanjiu*, no. 4 (1995): 25; Wen Jinyu, "Wutai shan Zangchuan Fojiao," 26.

[100] Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje, *Zhing mchog ri bo dwangs bsil gyi gnas bshad*. On its Mongolian translation, see: Walther Heissig, *Die Pekinger lamaistischen Blockdrucke in mongolischer Sprache; Materialien zur mongolischen Literaturgeschichte* (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1954), 163-65. However, it is unclear if this Mongolian text is indeed a direct translation of Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje's text, or an adaptation connected with Tu'u bkwan chos kyi nyima. I would like to thank Gene Smith for this information. Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje's guide was more recently translated into Chinese: Wang Lu, "Shengdi Qingliang shan zhi," 7-48.

[101] Bodhimaṇḍa in the center, Wutai shan in east, Potala in south, Udyana in west, and Shambhala in north. Chou, "Ineffable Paths"; and Wen-shing Chou, "Fluid Landscape, Timeless Visions, and Truthful Representations: A Sino-Tibetan Remapping of Qing-Dynasty Wutai Shan," paper given at the "Wutai Shan and Qing Culture" Conference at the Rubin Museum of Art, May 12-13, 2007.

Figure 30. Qianlong emperor as Mañjuśrī, detail of Fig. 27.

Figure 31. Ding Guangpeng. The Shuxiang Temple's True image of Mañjuśrī. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper; 297.3 x 159.1 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei. (After Berger [2003], p. 163, fig 55).

Portraits of Emperor as Mañjuśrī

A graphic part of this politically charged Tibetan Buddhist imagery produced at court under Rol pa'i rdo rje was the overt depiction of the Qianlong emperor as an emanation of Mañjuśrī (Fig. 30) and, by extension, of Qubilai Khan. In these paintings the attributes of Mañjuśrī are clearly displayed: the *Book of Transcendental Wisdom* (*prajñāpāramitā sūtra*) and the sword that cleaves through the dark clouds of ignorance, resting on lotus blossoms at his shoulders. This is the traditional iconographic formula used to identify someone as the emanation of a deity or as the reincarnation of a predecessor in Tibetan Buddhist art. Further, in the *Mañjuśrīmulakalpa*, Mañjuśrī is described as "the great *cakravartin*-chief (the divinely anointed ruler)...he holds a great wheel which is turning..." reflected by the wheel (*cakra*) held in Qianlong's own hand. Reinforcing this message are inscriptions in Tibetan on the front of the paintings, which states directly that the Qianlong emperor depicted here is:

> Ṭīkṣṇa-Mañjuśrī, the great being (*mahātma*) who manifests as lord of men, king of Buddhist Law (*dharma*), may he be steadfast on the vajra throne, and [his] wishes be spontaneously fulfilled, and may he have great fortune.[102]

Seated prominently, in a large nimbus above the figure of the Qianlong emperor as Mañjuśrī incarnate, is Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje with an inscription "*rtsa ba'i bla ma*," or "root guru," reinforcing their spiritual relationship and validating Qianlong's role as Mañjuśrī, and Qubilai Khan. There is textual evidence that the conflation between Qianlong and Qubilai expressed in these paintings was known in Rol pa'i rdo rje and Qianlong's lifetime. Moreover, their *active* part in promoting this politico-religious rhetoric can be found in the Lcang skya's own writings, such as the aforementioned translation of 'Phags pa's biography (1753), where it is stated outright. Like his grandfather the Qianlong emperor visited Wutai shan many times, and as Berger suggests it was likely around the time of his first tour of Wutai shan in 1750 that these images of Qianlong as Mañjuśrī began to be painted.[103]

It has been long assumed that these images of Qianlong as Mañjuśrī produced at the imperial court were only directed at a very small audience who could decode such cryptic iconography. But as Berger reveals, a large replica of the famous miraculous "true image" of Mañjuśrī on his lion at Wutai shan's Shuxiang Monastery (Shuxiang si, 殊像寺; Fig. 4, no. 42) commissioned by the Qianlong emperor in 1761, which was placed in public view at Baoxiang Monastery (Baoxiang si, 寶相寺) outside Beijing (Fig. 31), was known in local Chinese folklore as an image of the Qianlong emperor as Mañjuśrī, suggesting that ordinary Chinese were well aware of this visual message as well.[104] That the British diplomat Lord McCartney was told by a Tartar (Mongol) official during his 1793 embassy that the Qianlong emperor was an incarnation of Qubilai Khan also suggests that this association was well known.[105]

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[102] *'jam dpal rnon po mi'i rje bor/ rol pa'i bdag chen chos kyi rgyal/ rdo rje'i khri la zhabs brtan cing/ bzhed don lhun grub skal ba bzang/.* See for instance: in the Freer-Sackler Gallery (F2000.4); and the National Palace Museum, *Cultural Relics of Tibetan Buddhism Collected in the Qing Palace* (Hong Kong: Forbidden City Press, 1992), pl. 32.

[103] Patricia Berger, "The Jiaqing Emperor's *Magnificent Record of the Western Tour* ," *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies*, no. 6 (December 2011), http://www.thlib.org?tid=T5711.

[104] Berger, "Preserving the Nation," 161-63, and figure 55. The (carving and) worship of this stone image was presided over by Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje (Wang Jianmin, "Zhenhai si Zhangjia Ruobi Duoji lingta kaolüe," 36; Ma Lianlong, "Sanshe Jiangjia Guoshi," 36). For more on potential Chinese audiences for imperial activity on Wutai shan, including Tibetan Buddhist, see Tuttle, "Tibetan Buddhism at Wutai Shan," 17-20.

[105] On Lord McCartney's 1793 embassy, see: James Hevia, *Cherishing Men From Afar: Qing Guest Ritual and the Macartney Embassy of 1793* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995); and Uspensky, "The Previous Incarnations."

Royal Inheritance through Reincarnation in Tibet: The Fifth Dalai Lama

Figure 32. Fifth Dalai Lama, Ngag dbang blo bzang (1617–1682) . Tibet; 18th century. Pigment on cloth; 70.625" h. x 40.5" w. Rubin Museum of Art. C2003.9.2 (HAR 65275).

Figure 33. Srong btsan sgam po (ruled 617-650). (From a set of the previous lives of the Dalai Lamas). Tibet, 19 century. Pigments of cloth; 29.875" h. x 19.25" w. Rubin Museum of Art C2004.38.1.

Figure 34. Potala Palace. Tibet.

Such use of royal Buddhist imagery was not an isolated incident during this period. At almost exactly the same time as the founding of the Qing Empire in the mid-seventeenth century in China, a very similar language of divine inheritance, the succession of past glorious empires through reincarnation, was being employed in Tibet. The Fifth Dalai Lama (1617-1682; Fig. 32), who came to power through Mongol military might in the 1640s, identified himself as an incarnation of the Bodhisattva of Compassion, Avalokiteśvara.[106] This was a politically loaded choice, because not only was

[106] The Fifth Dalai Lama's *History of Tibet* (1643) says that the Mongol leader who placed him in power, Güüshi Khan (1582-1655), ruled over a unified Tibet, not the Dalai Lama himself. Later Tibetan sources (for example, Dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas, *Mdo smad chos 'byung* [*History of Amdo*] [Gansu: Minzu chubanshe, 1987]) are very clear that the Dalai Lama was only given control of the thirteen myriarchies of central Tibet, the same as the Sa skya and Phag mo gru in the thirteenth-fourteenth

Avalokiteśvara the patron deity of Tibet but also because the founder of the Tibetan Empire, Srong btsan sgam po (ruled 617-650), was considered his emanation (Fig. 33).[107] By asserting himself as an emanation of Avalokiteśvara, the Dalai Lama was symbolically declaring that his was a divine kingship and more specifically that he was in the lineage of the Tibetan emperor who first united Tibet and thus positioned himself as the rightful inheritor of the old Tibetan Empire. To reinforce this association he built his own massive seat of power on the same hill (Red Hill [*dmar po ri*]) where once stood the palace of the Tibetan emperors of old and named it "Potala" (Fig. 34) after the earthly abode of Avalokiteśvara, Mount Potalaka. Some of the first instances of the Manchu emperors being referred to as the "Mañjughoṣa emperors" is found in a letter from the Fifth Dalai Lama to the Qing founder (Hongtaiji) in 1640s and 1650s,[108] and one cannot help but wonder at the timing of the Dalai Lama's use of such language in this communication to another ruler during his own rise to power, with the subtext reading "Tibet is ruled by Avalokiteśvara (me) in the west, and China is ruled by Mañjuśrī (you) in the east – separate but equal."[109]

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and fourteenth-early seventeenth centuries. Some later Tibetan historians (for example, Shakabpa) claimed that the Fifth Dalai Lama ruled a much greater territory analogous to the old Tibetan Empire. See: Derek Maher, "An Examination of a Critical Appraisal of Tsepön Shakabpa's One Hundred Thousand Moons," paper given at the *International Association of Tibetan Studies*, Bonn, Germany, August 27-September 2, 2006; Derek Maher, "The Dalai Lamas and State Power," *Religion Compass* 1, no. 2 (2007): 260-788. I would like to thank Gray Tuttle for this clarification. On the Dalai Lama's identification with Avalokiteśvara, see Ishihama Yumiko, "On the Dissemination of the Belief in the Dalai Lama as a Manifestation of the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara," *Acta Asiatica* 64 (Jan. 1993): 38-56; and Matthew Kapstein, "Remarks on the Maṇi bKa'-'bum and the Cult of Āvalokiteśvara in Tibet," in *Tibetan Buddhism: Reason and Revelation*, edited by Steven D. Goodman and Ronald M. Davidson (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), 79-94. On the Fifth Dalai Lama's participation/compliance in the Mongol violence that brought him to power, see: Elliot Sperling, "'Orientalism' and Aspects of Violence in the Tibetan Tradition," in *Imagining Tibet: Perceptions, Projections, and Fantasies*, edited by Thierry Dodin and Heinz Rather (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2001).

[107] This is indicated by the small Amitābha Buddha's head peaking out of the emperor's turban.

[108] There are two letters addressed to the founder of the Qing (Gong ma rgyal po hong di) in the collected letters of the Fifth Dalai Lama (published separately as correspondence of the Fifth Dalai Lama to persons in China, Tibet, Mongolia, and so forth: Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, *Rgya bod hor sog gi mchog bar pa rnams la 'phrin yig snyan ngag tu bkod pa rab snyan rgyud mang* [Xining: Minzu chubanshe, 1993]). The first letter (pp. 91-93) is undated (the 1640 letter?), and a second letter (pp. 168-71) is dated to 1655, both of which refer to the Manchu ruler (referred to within the text as the "lord" in a title combining Mongolian and Tibetan: Bog to rgyal po [Hongtaiji]) as the Mañjughoṣa emperor (*'jam dbyangs gong ma*). This reference to Mañjuśrī likely stems from the prophecy contained in the *Bka' thang zangs gling ma* (by the treasure revealer Mnga' bdag nyang ral nyi ma 'od zer – see footnote 28 above), which the Fifth Dalai Lama was quite fond of. There is also a 1640 entry in the Fifth Dalai Lama's autobiography (vol. 1, f. 94r) which refers to him sending one a letter to Hongtaiji (who he again refers to as the Bog to rgyal po), but it is not clear if this is in reference to the same letter. I would like to thank Gene Smith for this information. There is also documentary evidence that suggests Tibetan lamas were proselytizing in Manchu territories in the early seventeenth century. One can trace Manchu aspirations to rule in the Mongol model to Qing Taizi (r. 1616-1626) and his relationship to his lama, Olug Darhan Nangso, from whom he received initiation prior to 1621. See Grupper, *The Manchu Imperial Cult*, 51. On Manchu use of indigenous Mongolian models see Elverskog, *Our Great Qing*.

[109] This interpretation is strongly suggested by the fact that the Fifth Dalai Lama wrote into the biography of the Third Dalai Lama (the great proselytizer of Tibetan Buddhism among the Mongols),

Sixth Dalai Lama's Exile on Wutai shan

Figure 35. Sixth Dalai Lama Tshangs dbyangs rgya mtsho (1683–1706/1746). Mongolia, 18th century. Mineral pigments on cloth; 29.5" h. x 14" w. Rubin Museum of Art C2004.37.2 (HAR 65384).

While the promotion of the cult of Mañjuśrī at Wutai shan by the Manchus could also be interpreted as an attempt to counteract the influence of the Fifth Dalai Lama among the Mongols, his own lineage and monastic order soon became heavily invested in Wutai shan. Many Tibetans and Mongolians believe that his successor, the Sixth Dalai Lama, Tshangs dbyangs rgya mtsho (1683-1706/1746; Fig. 35), a popular and controversial historical figure who was supposed to have died in custody en route to the imperial capital, secretly lived out his days in meditation in a cave at Wutai shan (Fig. 4, no. 63).[110] The death of the Fifth Dalai Lama was kept hidden by his successor's regent for many years, and the boy identified as his reincarnation was by then not interested in living the life of a renunciate. Instead he preferred archery and the company of women to his religious duties, and is fondly remembered to this day among Tibetans for his love poetry. This outraged the Kangxi emperor, who considered him illegitimate and ordered his arrest. As he traveled under armed guard toward Beijing he fell ill and died near lake Kokonnor in A mdo (Eastern Tibet, modern-day Qinghai Province [青海]), some suggest by poison. However, a secret biography (written in 1757) edited by a Mongolian monk alleges that the Sixth Dalai Lama was spared by the Mañjughoṣa emperor, himself a bodhisattva, and allowed to live in exile on Wutai shan, meditating in a cave with his female attendant. This site, the Cave of Avalokiteśvara (Guanyin dong, 观音洞, *spyan ras gzigs kyi phug*; Fig. 4, no. 43), continues to be a very popular pilgrimage destination for both Tibetans and Mongolians.

which he was writing on route to the Qing court, a prediction of Manchu rule in China. Elverskog, "Wutai Shan in the Mongol Literary *Imaginaire* ."

[110] On this secret biography of the Sixth Dalai Lama see: Piotr Klafkowski, "Dharmatala's *History of Buddhism in Mongolia* as an Unknown Account of the Life of the Sixth Dalai Lama," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarm Hungaricae* 34, nos. 1-3 (1980): 69-74; and Michael Aris, *Hidden Treasures and Secret Lives: A Study of Pemalingpa, 1450-1521, and the Sixth Dalai Lama, 1683-1706* (London; New York: Kegan Paul, 1989), 198-99.

Tibetan and Mongolian Monasteries on Wutai shan

Despite the fact that Wutai shan is a mountain site, it is man-made structures, the monasteries, which were at the heart of religious activity on Wutai shan as well as the focus of pilgrimage in their own right. The Dge lugs monastic order has ten major Tibetan and Mongolian monasteries on Wutai shan: Pusa ding Monastery (Pusa ding, 菩薩頂, *byang chub sems dpa'i spor*; Fig. 4, no. 14), Rāhula Temple (Luohou si, 羅睺寺, *sgra gcan 'dzin gyi lha khang*; Fig. 4, no. 41), Temple of Longevity and Tranquility (Shouning si, 壽寧寺, *rtag brtan bde chen gling*; Fig. 4, no. 72), Sanquan Monastery (Sanquan si, 三泉寺, *chub mig gsum 'dres gling*; Fig. 4, no. 73), Qifo si (七佛寺, *sangs rgyas rabs bdun dgon*; Fig. 4, no. 25), Cave of Sudhana (Shancai dong, 善財洞, *nor bzang sgrub phug*; Fig. 4, no. 69), Tailu Monastery (Tailu si 臺麓寺; Fig. 4, no. 70), Vajra Cave (Jingang ku, 金剛窟, *rdo rje phug*; Fig. 4, no. 58), Yuhua Pond (Yuhua chi, 玉花池; Fig. 4, no. 71), and Yongquan Monastery (Yongquan si, 湧泉寺; Fig. 4, no. 33). All were said to have been converted from Chinese Buddhist to Dge lugs temples in 1683 or 1705.[111] There are a total of twenty-five Tibetan and Mongolian monasteries on Wutai shan (the vast majority being Dge lugs institutions), which also include: Shifang Hall (Shifang tang, 十方堂, *grub phyogs kun 'dus gling*; also called Guangren si, 廣仁寺; Fig. 4, no. 67), Yuanzhao si (圓照寺, Kun tu khyab pa'i lha khang; Fig. 4, no. 66), Cifu si (慈福寺, *byams dge gling*; Fig. 4, no. 21), Taming the Ocean Monastery (Zhenhai si, 鎮海寺, *rgya mtsho 'dul ba'i gling*; Fig. 4, no. 37), Cave of Avalokiteśvara (Guanyin dong, 观音洞, *spyan ras gzigs kyi phug*; Fig. 4, no. 43), Tiewa Temple (Tiewa si, 铁瓦寺, *lha khang lcags thog can bya ba*; Fig. 4, no. 74), Santa Monastery (Santa si, 三塔寺, *mchod rten gsum pa'i gling*; Fig. 4, no. 16) and the Pule yuan (普樂院, *kun bde tshal*; Fig. 4, no. 22). There are also twenty-five monasteries that do not seem to appear on the map, including: Guanghua Monastery (Guanghuahou si, 廣化睺寺, *yongs 'dul gling*), Jifu Monastery (Jifu si, 集福寺, *dge tshogs gling*), Pushou Monastery (Pushou si, 普壽寺, *kun dpag gling*), Wente Monastery (Wente si, 文特寺), Yunai Temple (Yunai An, 魚耐庵), Nange Temple (Nange miao, 南閣庙), and Pu'an Monastery (Pu'an si, 普安寺).[112]

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[111] Wang Xiangyun, "Wutai Shan," 8; Wen Jinyu, "Wutai shan Zangchuan Fojiao," 25. The monasteries in question are: Rāhula Temple (Luohou si, 羅睺寺, *sgra gcan 'dzin gyi lha khang*), Temple of Longevity and Tranquility (Shouning si, 壽寧寺, *rtag brtan bde chen gling*), Sanquan Monastery (Sanquan si, 三泉寺, *chub mig gsum 'dres gling*), Yuhua Monastery (Yuhua si, 玉花寺), Qifo si (七佛寺, *sangs rgyas rabs bdun dgon*), Vajra Cave (Jingang ku, 金剛窟, *rdo rje phug*), Cave of Sudhana (Shancai dong, 善財洞, *nor bzang sgrub phug*), Pu'an Monastery (Pu'an si, 普安寺), Tailu Monastery (Tailu si, 臺麓寺), Yongquan Monastery (Yongquan si, 湧泉寺). On Seven Buddha Monastery see Bai Fusheng, "Xiaoji Wutai shan Qifo si" [Seven Buddhas Monastery at Wutai shan], *Wutai shan yanjiu*, no. 3 (1999): 36-38. However, as Köhle, "Why Did the Kangxi Emperor Go to Wutai Shan?," 77-78, points out, while this conversion of ten monasteries is a commonly stated in secondary literature, none cite primary sources.

[112] See Wang Xiangyun, "Wutai Shan," 6; Zhao Peicheng, "Shi tan Wutai shan Zangchuan Fojiao," 39. Is Pu'an si (普庵寺) the same as Pu'an si (普安寺; Fig. 4, no. 55)? The vast majority (twenty-one) were Dge lugs institutions: Pusa ding Monastery (Pusa ding, 菩薩頂, *byang chub sems dpa'i spor*),

Some of these later temples were built after the blocks for the map were carved in 1846 and therefore not represented.

Because many of the Tibetan and Mongolian monasteries on Wutai shan were converted from Chinese institutions, their architecture is typically Chinese, modeled on palace architecture, with tiled hip-gabled roofs. Other distinctive features distinguish these Chinese temple formats from typical Tibetan monastic layouts, such as bell and drum towers. Contrasting with the Chinese architecture of the buildings, the *stūpa*s are constructed in a Tibetan style (Fig. 18).[113] Inside the buildings is often found a mixture of Tibetan and Chinese images (Fig. 2?). In some cases this confluence of cultures can be seen within single objects, such as a large appliqué of a Tibetan master made with Chinese artistic techniques (Cat. 28), which was meant to hang in just such a monastery: Cave of Sudhana (Shancai dong, 善財洞, *nor bzang sgrub phug*; Fig. 4, no. 69).[114]

Rāhula Temple (Luohou si, 羅睺寺, *sgra gcan 'dzin gyi lha khang*), Guanghua Monastery (Guangren si, 廣仁寺), Guanghua Monastery (Guanghuahou si, 廣化睺寺, *yongs 'dul gling*), Tailu Monastery (Tailu si, 臺麓寺), Pushou Monastery (Pushou si, 普壽寺, *kun dpag gling*), Temple of Longevity and Tranquility (Shouning si, 壽寧寺, *rtag brtan bde chen gling*), Qifo si (七佛寺, *sangs rgyas rabs bdun dgon*), Sanquan Monastery (Sanquan si, 三泉寺, *chub mig gsum 'dres gling*), Santa Monastery (Santa si, 三塔寺, *mchod rten gsum pa'i gling*), Cave of Avalokiteśvara (Guanyin dong, 观音洞, *spyan ras gzigs kyi phug*), Yuhua Pond (Yuhua chi, 玉花池), Tiewa Temple (Tiewa si, 铁瓦寺, *lha khang lcags thog can bya ba*), Yongquan Monastery (Yongquan si, 湧泉寺), Yunai Temple (Yunai an, 魚耐庵), Nange Temple (Nange miao, 南閣庙), Pu'an Monastery (Pu'an si, 普安寺), Jinhua si (金华寺), Yuanzhao si (圓照寺), Jifu Monastery (Jifu si, 集福寺, *dge tshogs gling*), Cifu si (慈福寺, *byams dge gling*). On Cifu si, see Chun Rong, "Cifu si." All eighteen Tibetan and Mongolian monasteries on the woodblock map are singled out for gazetteer-style entries on the digitally decoded map: Rubin Museum of Art, "Wutaishan Map Blockprint," http://wutaishan.rma2.org/rma_viewer.php?image_id=1&mode=info.

[113] On Tibetan shaped *stūpa*s on Wutai shan, see: Wang Hongli, "Zangchuan fo ta de xingzhi ji qi tedian," *Wutai shan yanjiu*, no. 3 (2001): 18-20; and Xiao Yu, "Wutai shan zhi ta," *Wutai shan yanjiu*, no. 1 (2002): 45-48.

[114] The full name of the cave is the "Cave of the Bodhisattva Sudhana" (*byang chub sems dpa' gzhun nu nor bzang gi sgrub phug*). See: Se kri ngag dbang bstan dar, *Dwangs bsil ri bo rtse lnga'i gnas bshad* (Beijing: Krong ko'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2007), 66.

This meeting and mixing of Chinese and Tibetan culture at the monasteries of Wutai shan extends well beyond the external aesthetics to the clergy and congregation as well. As Tuttle reveals below, Wutai shan had a vibrant community of ethnic Chinese practitioners of Tibetan Buddhism, who appear participating in the central ritual activity of the map (Cat. 1; Fig. 36) alongside their Tibetan and Mongolian colleagues.[115] In some cases rituals and liturgies are printed and performed in both Tibetan and Chinese at the same monastery at Wutai shan. This Sino-Tibetan cultural confluence is a fairly unique quality to Wutai shan.

Figure 36. Maitreya Festival. 1846 Wutai shan map detail.

Many of these monasteries on Wutai shan have close institutional relationships with major monasteries throughout the Tibetan and Mongolian Buddhist world, especially with the northeastern Tibetan area of A mdo (modern-day Qinghai and Gansu provinces). For instance, Shifang Hall (Shifang tang, 十方堂, *grub phyogs kun 'dus gling*; Fig. 4, no. 67), was founded in 1831 by a monk from Lhun grub bde chen gling Monastery (Dachongjiao si, 大崇教寺) and Co ne Monastery (Zhuonichanding si, 卓尼禅定寺), both in Gansu Province.[116] Shifang Hall became

[115] Yellow robes with orange trim are the color coding used as an ethnic marker of Chinese practitioners of Tibetan Buddhism on Wutai shan (see Cat. 10-12 and Fig. 36). Tuttle, *Tibetan Buddhists in the Making*, 212-14; Tuttle, "Tibetan Buddhism at Ri bo rtse lnga"; and Tuttle, "Gazetteers and Golden Roof-tiles: Publicizing Qing Support of Tibetan Buddhism at Wutai Shan," paper given at the "Wutai Shan and Qing Culture" Conference at the Rubin Museum of Art, May 12-13, 2007.

[116] The name of the founder of Shifang Hall on Wutai shan is the high-ranking monk Blo bzang sman lam (Amo Luosang Manlong, 阿摩洛桑曼隆). See Luosang Danzhu and Popa Ciren, *Anduo gucha chanding si* (Lanzhou: Gansu minzu chubanshe, 1995), 249; Suonan Cao, "Wutai shan yu zangchuan fojiao," *Xizang min su* 3 [1999]: 5. On Shifang Hall, see: Li Shiming, "Luohou si yu Shifang tang" [Luohou Monastery and Shifang Hall"], *Wutai shan yanjiu*, no. 1 (1998): 29; Cai Hong, "Shifang Tang" [Shifang Hall], *Wutai shan yanjiu*, no. 1 (1999): 23-25. Lhun grub bde chen gling Monastery was founded in 1417 in in Minzhou (Minzhou, 岷州), Gansu Province, by Dpal ldan bkra shis, abbot of Gro tshang rdo rje 'chang (Qutan si, 瞿曇寺). Its construction and ornamentation are closely detailed in Dpal ldan bkra shis's biography (*Mdo smad chos 'byung* [*History of Amdo*], 682-84), where it is clearly described as being Chinese in architecture (with bell and drum towers) but ornamented by the Ming court with both Chinese and Tibetan objects and images. See Karl Debreczeny, "Sino-Tibetan Synthesis in Ming Dynasty Wall Painting at the Core and Periphery," *The Tibet Journal* 28, nos. 1 and 2 (Spring and Summer 2003[b]): 49-108. Co ne bkra shis chos 'khor gling Monastery was founded by Chos rgyal 'phags pa and his patron Qubilai Khan in 1269, and later converted to a Dge lugs institution in 1459. Co ne expanded significantly in the eighteenth century under Manchu patronage, when the blocks for the Tibetan canon (*Bka' 'gyur* and *Bstan 'gyur*) was carved, for which the monastery became famous. Monks from Co ne would travel to Shifang Hall on Wutai shan to teach, and monks from Shifang Hall would also go to Co ne for advanced studies.

one of the most famous among the Tibetan monasteries on Wutai shan, hosting a constant stream of visiting monks and pilgrims from Amdo. Wutai shan also had a close relationship with Bla brang Monastery, one of the most important Dge lugs institutions and printing centers in eastern Tibet, as detailed by Nietupski.[117] A mdo is a border area where Tibetan, Mongolian, and Chinese populations meet, and local ethnic Chinese became strongly involved with Tibetan Buddhist monasteries, both as patrons-laity and clergy, which links this region culturally to Wutai shan. Nietupski also reveals that this network of prominent *bla ma*s from Bla brang traveling to Wutai shan were also connected to imperial cites in Beijing such as Yonghe Palace. Monasteries of other Tibetan Buddhist traditions from other regions are also represented on Wutai shan. For instance, one of the Rnying ma order's main monasteries, Kaḥthog Monastery in Sde dge (Dege, 德格; Khams/Western Sichuan), had a branch-monastery on Wutai shan's western peak (Fig. 4, no. 9), where the great eighteenth-century Bka' brgyud scholar and artist Si tu paṇ chen chos kyi 'byung gnas was said to have stayed when he visited China.[118]

Mongol Interests in Wutai shan

Based on literary evidence explored in detail by Charleux and Elverskog, Mongol interests in Wutai shan peaked in the nineteenth century, when the woodblock map in this exhibition was made (Cat. 1). Mongol pilgrimage to Wutai shan was also promoted by Mongol nobility stopping there en route to Beijing during their obligatory annual trips to the Qing court. Many major Mongol *bla ma*s studied for years at Wutai shan as part of their monastic tenure as well.[119] They

Figure 37. Making prostrations. 1846 Wutai shan map detail.

[117] Paul K. Nietupski, "Bla brang Monastery and Wutai Shan," *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies*, no. 6 (December 2011), http://www.thlib.org?tid=T5718.

[118] "*ri bo rtse lnga'i nub ḫphu li thi*" ('Jam dbyangs rgyal mtshan, *Rgyal ba kaḥ thog pa'i lo rgyus mdor bsdus* [Chengdu: Sichuan minzu chubanshe, 1996], 168). "*ḫphu li thi*" may be a Tibetan transliteration for the Chinese name of Wutai shan's western peak, Puli tai (菩利台). However the western peak's name is Guayue Peak (Guayue feng, 挂月峰). Kaḥthog rdo rje gdan Monastery, founded in 1159 by Ka dam pa bde gshegs (1122-1192) in Sde dge, is one of the six major monasteries of the Rnying ma order with one-hundred and twelve branch monasteries spread across Tibet, Sikkim, Yunnan, Inner Mongolia, and Wutai shan in Shanxi Province. Si tu paṇ chen's visit to the Wutai shan branch is mentioned by Alexander Berzin, "Nyingma Monasteries," in *Chö-Yang, Year of Tibet Edition* (Dharamsala, India, 1991), 32, without citing his source. On Kaḥthog Monastery, see: 'Jam dbyangs rgyal mtshan, *Rgyal ba kaḥ thog pa'i lo rgyus mdor bsdus* (branch monasteries, 166-68); 'Jigs med bsam grub, "Sde mgon khang gyi lo rgyus [History of Sde mgon khang]," in *Khams phyogs dkar mdzes khul gyi dgon sde so so'i lo rgyus gsal bar bshad pa nang bstan gsal pa'i me long*, vol. 1. (neibu) [Kangding and Beijing: Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang, 1995), 97-135.

[119] Elverskog, "Wutai Shan in the Mongol Literary *Imaginaire* ."

visited from the fourth to the tenth lunar months (roughly May to November), especially during the festivals of the sixth lunar month (which typically falls in July), such as the Maitreya Festival, which is depicted as the ritual center of the woodblock map (Fig. 36).[120] The culmination of this festival was a dramatic and colorful masked dance (Cat. 10-12) that were performed at a series of stations in Tibetan and Mongolian monasteries down the central peak from Pusa ding.[121] Charleux describes Mongol pilgrimage practice on the mountain, where a circuit would take about ten days, and the more fervent pilgrims spent as many as five years completing the journey, making prostrations along the way (Fig. 37). Sites on Wutai shan such as Taming the Ocean Monastery (Zhenhai si, 鎮海寺, *rgya mtsho 'dul ba'i gling*; Fig. 4, no. 37), Rāhula Temple (Luohou si, 羅睺寺, *sgra gcan 'dzin gyi lha khang*; Fig. 4, no. 41), the Cave of Avalokiteśvara (Guanyin dong, 观音洞, *spyan ras gzigs kyi phug*; Fig. 4, no. 43), and the Mother of the Buddha Cave (Fomu dong, 佛母洞, *rgyal yum sgrub phug*; Fig. 4, no. 34) were important pilgrimage destinations with special significance for the Mongols.[122] Charleux importantly notes that while such imperial Tibetan Buddhist sites were comparable to the imperial temples of Beijing, those of Wutai shan were open to the public. She further asserts that pilgrimage to Wutai shan was even more important to the Mongolian laypeople than to the monks, and in Inner Mongolia, the Mongols even constructed a "Little Wutai shan," which included versions of many of these sites, such as the Mother's Womb Cave.[123] Wutai shan was so important as a sacral land among Mongols that it became especially desirable for the burial of one's loved ones' remains, so much so that the Qing government felt the need to try to regulate or even curtail this practice. Elverskog provocatively suggests that pilgrimage to Wutai shan even had a profound effect on the very self-identity of Mongols and their sense of community.

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[120] First identified by Chou, "Ineffable Paths," 119. However, Charleux ("Mongol Pilgrimages to Wutai Shan in the Late Qing Dynasty"), identifies this as Mañjuśrī's birthday and an image of Mañjuśrī in the palanquin. For a Tibetan account of festivals on Wutai shan written in 1799, less then fifty years before the panoramic woodblock map (Cat. 1) was printed, see: Dbyangs can dga' ba'i blo gros (1740-1827), *Ri bo rtse lngar mjal skabs kyi gnas bstod mgur* [A Praise of Riwo Tsenga: Songs Made on the Occasion of Visiting There; Origins of Great Buddhist Festivals Observed There], in the *Collected Works of A kyA yongs 'dzin dbyangs can dga' ba'i blo gros*, volume 2 (kha) (Gansu Province: Sku 'bum par khang, 1799), 51-58.

[121] See Zhao Peicheng, "Shi tan Wutai shan Zangchuan Fojiao," 39-40; and Wang Bin, and Guo Chengwen, "Wutai shan jingang wu ji lamam miao daochang," *Wutai shan yanjiu*, no. 2 (1989): 33.

[122] Isabelle Charleux, "Trade, Art and Architecture on the Mongols' Sacred Mountain," paper given at the "Wutai Shan and Qing Culture" Conference at the Rubin Museum of Art, May 12-13, 2007; Shi Beiyue, "Fomu Dong" [Buddha Mother Cave], *Wutai Shan* (2007): 44-48.

[123] At Gilubar Juu (Houzhao si, 后召寺; Shanfu si, 善福寺). 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), 96, 156, fig. 54, and CD no. 136; Charleux, "Trade, Art and Architecture on the Mongols' Sacred Mountain"; Se kri ngag dbang bstan dar, *Dwangs bsil ri bo rtse lnga*, 114-15.

Conclusion

Wutai shan was a unique site of cultural confluence of the Tibetan, Mongolian, and Chinese religious and artistic traditions (Cat. 28), a localized breeding ground for what Elverskog calls a "Qing cosmopolitan culture." Early (pre-Yuan) Tibetan associations with Wutai shan may not always accurately reflect actual circumstances, as they were often the result of contemporary interests projected back to an earlier time. Nonetheless they serve as important "memories" that made Tibetan and Mongolian connections to the site so tangible during later periods. Indeed these stories had a power that came to dominate later imagination subsuming historical fact, as expressed on the 1846 map. To the faithful, Wutai shan is first and foremost the earthly abode of the Bodhisattva of Wisdom Mañjuśrī, which continues to be a focus of devotion, attested to by new pilgrimage guides written in both Chinese and Tibetan languages down to this very day.[124]

While Wutai shan was a focus of religious pilgrimage for many groups, the establishment and empowering of a Tibetan and Mongolian presence on the mountain had a strong political dimension. By cutting through these many accrued layers of perception, as well as challenging cultural assumptions that have often colored Qing studies, the following papers provide a more nuanced prospective on the social, ethnic, and political dynamics of the Qing dynasty. More specifically they document that while the Manchus were following a well established imperial practice of patronage at Wutai shan as part of establishing their own legitimacy, this new privileging of Tibetan Buddhism, which involved a much broader constituency than previously assumed, was a unique feature of the Qing dynasty. The Mongolian production of the panoramic map of Wutai shan (Cat. 1), which served as the lynchpin of the RMA exhibition, can be seen as a mark of just how successful this Manchu propaganda campaign was by the nineteenth century. Wutai shan's political significance has not been lost on modern China's leaders either, as Mao himself stopped at Wutai shan on his way to Beijing in 1949, it would seem in acknowledgement of the mountain's historic role in the coronation of rulers and the founding of empires.

[124] For instance a new Tibetan-language guide to Wutai shan: *Dwangs bsil ri bo rtse lnga'i gnas bshad*, or *A Pilgrimage Guide to Clear and Cool Five-Peak Mountain*, was just published in 2007.

"Wutai shan: Pilgrimage to Five-Peak Mountain" Catalog

The Mountain

Cat. 1: Panoramic Map of Wutai shan

ri bo dwangs bsil kyi gnas bkod
Serigün tungγalaγ aγula-yin oron-u jokiyal
五臺山聖境全圖

Cifu si (慈福寺) Wutai shan, China, dated 1846. Painted and colored woodblock print; 53.25" h. x 73.25" w. x 2.375" d. Rubin Museum of Art. C2004.29.1 (HAR 65371).

This panoramic view of the sacred mountain Wutai shan ("Five-Terrace Mountain") is a six- foot-wide woodblock print on cloth that has been hand colored. There are eleven surviving prints of this map that have been identified around the world.[125] The map was made on Wutai shan in 1846 by a Mongolian monk at a local Mongolian monastery, Cifu si (Fig. 4, no. 21). Construction of Cifu si was completed in 1829; therefore, this map was made shortly after the monastery was founded, and, as Cifu si is placed near the center of the image, it literally puts this new temple on the map, establishing it in a position of authority.[126] Cifu si became the main lodging for Mongolian monks visiting the mountain.

This map contains more than 130 sites of interest to the pilgrims who ventured to Mount Wutai (see Fig. 4). These sites are labeled with Chinese and Tibetan inscriptions, including Buddhist monasteries, Taoist temples, villages, sacred objects, and locations of events, both historic and miraculous. Winding paths with tiny travelers link one temple to another, suggesting possible itineraries of pilgrimage. Pilgrims traveled this sacred mountain to see divine visions, which took the form of miraculous light and cloud formations, a ubiquitous presence on this map. The most prominent monastery, which appears much larger than the others (Fig. 4, no. 14) is Bodhisattva Peak Monastery (Pusa ding).

[125] Seven are enumerated in Chou, "Ineffable Paths," 126, fn. 11. Several printings have been published and studied in Europe, China, and America: F. A. Bischoff, "Die Wu T'ai shan darstellung von 1846," in *Arbeitskreis fur Tibetische und Buddhistische studien* (Wein: Universitat Wein, 1983); Halén, *Mirrors of the Void*; Chun Rong, "Cifu si"; Chou, "Ineffable Paths"; and Chou, "Maps of Wutai Shan."

[126] Chou, "Ineffable Paths," 119.

A masked dance procession, the focus of ritual activity on the mountain, leads from the monastery down the center of the map. This temple was converted into a Manchu imperial establishment shortly after the Qing dynasty was founded in the mid-seventeenth century, denoted by its bright yellow roof.

Tāranātha emanating out of a stūpa. Detail of 1846 Wutai shan map (Fig. 4, no. 62 detail).

The content of these sites and events marked on the map are a complex historical layering of Chinese, Tibetan, Mongol and Manchu involvement on the mountain. This layering of identities includes some of the earliest Chinese monasteries associated with the cult of Mañjuśrī on the mountain, such as Foguang si (Fig. 4, no. 1 – curiously painted over in the RMA printing) founded in the sixth century; the twelfth-century tantric adept Pha dam pa (Fig. 4, no. 13) who Tibetans regard as one of the earliest direct links between their tradition and the mountain; Tāranātha (Fig. 4, no. 62), root of the first Mongol incarnation lineage, the Rje btsun dam pa, seen emanating out of his *stūpa* wearing the black-lobed hat of that preeminent office, underscoring his adopted Mongolian identity in his role as Bogda Gegen; and the Kangxi emperor (ruled 1662-1722) – the first Manchu emperor to be overtly declared Mañjuśrī incarnate – is depicted pacifying the region by shooting a tiger (Fig. 4, no. 64).[127]

The Mongols were militant followers of the Dge lugs pa, the monastic order of the Dalai Lama, and this map asserts not only a Tibetan Buddhist religious identity to Wutai shan, but more specifically a Dge lugs pa identity. The founder of the Dge lugs pa, Tsong kha pa, who was considered a Tibetan emanation of Mañjuśrī, can be found everywhere on the map – such as visions of him emanating on clouds from Wutai shan's five peaks. Thus this map declares both an ethnic and sectarian identity.

[127] A number of these sites are identified and discussed by Chou, "Ineffable Paths." The black-lobed hat depicted on the figure emanating out of the Tāranātha Stūpa can be most clearly seen in the Helsinki printing (see Chou, "Maps of Wutai Shan," Image 6) and can be compared to nineteenth-century depictions of hats worn by the First Mongol Rje btsun dam pa, Zanabazar (1635-1723), such as seen in Berger, "Preserving the Nation," 129, fig. 2. In essence then, it is the Mongol Rje btsun dam pa who is depicted emanating out of the Tāranātha Stūpa, branding Wutai shan with a Mongol identity.

The differences between various printings of this map around the world have been well studied by Chou,[128] revealing various interpretive strategies employed by the colorists who altered the content of several stories. Some other important clues can also be found in the coloring of the print in the top left corner of the map (Fig. 38) which suggests alternate interpretations as to the identity of the artist. For instance, the palette of the coloring of this print in the Rubin Museum of Art, with its heavy layers of green and blue, is consistent with Tibetan painting in the sman bris style as it traveled to Mongolia.[129] This, coupled with the covering over of the dated Chinese colophon, and the miss-spelling of such a simple word as "mountain" in the Tibetan title of the work, both at top left, all point to a Mongolian artist as the colorist.[130]

Figure 38. 1846 Wutai shan map, top left detail. Rubin Museum of Art Collection.

In conjunction with this exhibition a digital scan of this woodblock map of Wutai shan allows the viewer to explore the rich detail contained within this historic document.[131] A group of approximately forty sites of particular historic importance have been selected out for special attention, providing the viewer with descriptions drawn primarily from Chinese gazetteers and Tibetan pilgrimage guides of Wutai shan, photographs of the actual sites being represented, and related artwork in the exhibition:

http://wutaishan.rma2.org/rma_viewer.php?image_id=1&mode=info

The content of the trilingual dedicatory inscriptions at the bottom of the map, translated below, vary depending on their audiences. For instance the second part of the Chinese inscription is of particular interest, as Chou has observed, it instructs the viewer on the image's efficacy and uses, which does not appear in the Tibetan or Mongolian texts. This marks the Chinese as somewhat outside the tradition by the maker of the 1846 map, even though the visual strategy of depicting Wutai shan and its miraculous geography is a Chinese convention that goes back at least a millennium.

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[128] Chou, "Ineffable Paths"; and Chou, "Maps of Wutai Shan."

[129] As Chou ("Ineffable Paths" and "Maps of Wutai Shan") points out, this is unlike the coloring of other published versions of this woodblock print, such as the one in Helsinki, which is hand colored reminiscent of popular Chinese New Year Woodblock print (*nianhua*, 年畫) of Shanxi Province. The coloring of the copy in the Library of Congress conforms more to Chinese conventions of landscape depiction (Chou, "Ineffable Paths").

[130] The Tibetan spells "*ro bi*" instead of "*ri bo*." Such a basic mistake in such a prominent place on this work suggests that the colorist who re-copied the titles that were covered over with heavy pigment was not Tibetan literate. In the Chinese epigraphic tradition the dated colophon is extremely important, and it is unlikely that a Chinese artist would have forgotten to recopy this section. This differs from Chou's reading in "Maps of Wutai Shan," who sees a Tibetan hand at work.

[131] Special thanks to David Newman for all of his work on the design of this valuable digital resource and to Professor Gray Tuttle for sharing his photographs of Wutai shan.

Trilingual Dedicatory Inscriptions

Tibetan

ri bo dwangs bsil kyi gnas bkod//

/dus gsum rgyal kun kun nas bsngags pa'i khams/ /khams gsum bar snang snang byed 'od 'phros sku/ /sku gsum gzugs ston ston pa 'jam dpal mchog /mchog gsum rang nyid nyid du gyur bar 'dud/ /phal po che'i mdo las/ /'di nas byang shar mtshams gyi gnas shig na/ /ri bo dwangs bsil zhes bya'i gnas yod de/ /sngon chad rgyal sras mang po de na bzhugs/ /da lta rgyal sras 'phags pa 'jam dpal gyis/ /'khor gyi byang chub sems pa khri phrag bcas/ /de du bzhugs nas dam pa'i chos kyang gsungs/ /zhes pa dang / yang rin po che snying bo'i gzungs las/ /rgyal bo kyin kang me kyi la/ /bcom ldan 'das kyis bka' stsal pa/ /nga mya ngan las 'das pa'i 'og tu 'dzam bu gling gi byang shar gyi mtshams su ri bo rtse lnga zhes pa'i gnas chen yod de/ /'jam dpal gzhon nus der 'gro 'chag dang 'dug gnas byed cing 'gro ba thams cad gyi don du chos gsungs so/ /grangs med pa'i lha klu sde brgyad 'khor dang bcas pa rnams bsnyen bkur byed zhes pa la sogs pa'i mdo rgyud du ma nas bsngags pa'i gnas mchog 'di nyid kyi bkod pa mdor bsdus tsam bris pa/ /'di la mthong thos dran reg gi 'brel ba 'thob tshad tshe rabs kun tu rje btsun 'jam pa'i dbyangs kyis rjes su 'dzin pa'i rgyur dmigs te/ /ri bo rtse lnga'i byams dge gling gi bla brang du/ /dad ldan sbyin bdag tā khu re'i rje btsun dam pa'i zhabs gras sangga'i 'as mag gi brkos pa dge slong lhun grub zhes bya bas rgyu yon sbyar ste/ ta'i ching to'u kwang rgyal bo khri bzhugs lo nyer drug pa'i sa ga zla ba'i tshes bco lnga'i nyin par spar du brkos pa'o// //skyabs mchog 'jam dbyangs gnas bkod 'di/

/gang dang gang la mchod byas pa/ /de dang de ru mi mthun phyogs/ /zhi nas bde skyid dar bar shog/

//bkra shis par gyur cig/ // mangga laṃ//

Panoramic [Map] of Clear and Cool Mountain[132]

Homage to this realm (Wutai shan), which all the Buddhas of the Three Times thoroughly praise; to the body radiating light that illuminates the three worlds;[133] to the excellent Teacher Mañjuśrī who displays the three Buddha bodies,[134] who

[132] The poetic Tibetan title for this map comes from the old Chinese name for Wutai shan, "Clear and Cool Mountain" (Qingliang shan, 清凉山, *ri bo dwangs bsil*), which is the name of Wutai shan's gazetteer, *Record of Clear and Cool Mountain* (*Qingliang shan zhi*; composed in 1596 and revised in 1661). Ri bo dwangs bsil is also the name used for Wutai shan in the title of Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje's Tibetan guide to Wutai shan, *Zhing mchog ri bo dwangs bsil gyi gnas bshad dad pa'i padmo rgyas byed ngo mtshar nyi ma'i snang ba*, from whence this map title probably comes. Interestingly the Chinese title for the map simply calls the site "Wutai shan," its more common appellation. The Mongolian title follows the Tibetan, not the Chinese: *Composition of the Land of Cool-Clear Mountain* (*Serigün tungγalaγ aγula-yin oron-u jokiyal*; see below).

[133] The three realms of being or world realms are: the *desire realm* (*'dod pa'i khams*, *kāmadhātu*), the *form realm* (*gzugs khams*, *rūpadhātu*), and the *formless realm* (*gzugs med kyi khams*, *ārūpyadhātu*).

[134] The three buddha bodies are: *dharmakaya*, *sambhogakaya*, and *nirmanakaya*.

is himself the three jewels (the Buddha, his teachings, and the monastic community).[135]

Herein is a condensed illustrated arrangement of this supreme place of pilgrimage that many *sūtra* and *tantra* praise, such as: The *Flower Garland Sūtra* says:[136] "In a land on the northeastern boarder from here, there is a holy site called 'Clear and Cool Mountain.' In former times many bodhisattvas resided there. Nowadays the bodhisattva, the noble Mañjuśrī, resides there, together with a retinue of ten thousand bodhisattvas, and preaches the holy *dharma*." Also, the *Ratnagarbha-dhāraṇī Sūtra* says: "The Bhagavat proclaimed to Rgyal bo kyin kang me kyi (Vajrapāṇi),[137] 'After I pass away, on the northeastern edge of the Rose Apple Continent, there is a great holy place called 'Five-Peak Mountain'[138] where the youthful Mañjuśrī roams and dwells and preaches the *dharma* for the sake of all beings. Innumerable [deities of the] eight classes of gods and serpent spirits (*nāga*), together with their retinues, pay obeisance to him."

Intending that this [map] be a cause for all who come into contact with it via sight, hearing, and memory in all generations will be cared for by the venerable Mañjuśrī, I, the *bhikṣu* Lhun grub, a carver from the Sangga monastic community (*ayimag*) [of Amurbayas Qulangtu Monastery, Mongolia],[139] the senior attendant to the faithful donor, the Rje btsun dam pa of Da Khüriye (*tā khu re*) [Mongolia],[140]

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[135] Here Mañjuśrī takes the role of the guru, or teacher, who embodies the three jewels. While one's teacher might be described this way, it is unusual for a deity.

[136] *Rin po che snying po'i gzungs = Mañjuśrī-dharma-ratnagarbha-dhāraṇī Sūtra* ([*Wenshu shili fa*] *Baozang tuoluoni jing*, [文殊師利法]寶藏陀羅尼經)? Interestingly the Tibetan version of the text being quoted here (*rin chen snying po gzungs*) does not mention Mañjuśrī or Wutai shan (the Sanskrit version of the *Mañjuśrī-dharma-ratnagarbha-dhāraṇī Sūtra* is no longer extant). Etienne Lamotte has argued that the Chinese translation of the *Flower Garland Sūtra* was "falsified" to assign Mañjuśrī a dwelling place on Mount Wutai, just as accounts of Chinese history were refashioned long after the actual events to legitimize the bodhisattva's long tenure on the mountain. See: Mary Anne Cartelli, "On a Five-colored Cloud: The Songs of Mount Wutai," *The Journal of the American Oriental Society* (Oct 2004).

[137] Rgyal bo kyin kang me kyi is transliterated from the Chinese, Jingang Miji Wang (金剛密跡王; Soothill, *Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, 281; a form of Vajrapāṇi). That the Tibetan text on the map does not use the common Tibetan name for this deity is likely because this passage of the text is a Chinese interpolation that does not exist in the Tibetan (see footnote 10 above). It also suggests that the text on the map was first written in Chinese and then translated into Tibetan.

[138] The Chinese texts says "there is a country called 'Great China'" which is omitted here.

[139] Around large Mongolian monasteries were special lama communities called *ayimag*. Around Amurbayasqulangtu Monastery in northern Khalkha (Mongolia), a monastery built in honor of the Jebtsundamba Khutukhtu, were six or so such lama communities, one of which was Sangga or Sanggai. Five to six hundred lamas lived here. This, most likely is the Sangga-yin monastic community that is referred to. I would like to thank Brian Baumann, who translated the Mongolian text on this map, for explaining this Mongolian term to me.

[140] *tā khu re* is the Mongolian name Da Khüriye, or "The Great Monastery" of the Jebtsundamba incarnations, founded in 1654, which became the core of the capital of Mongolia, modern day Ulaanbaatar (see Atwood, "Validation by Holiness or Sovereignty," 566.) Interestingly Chun Rong, "Cifu si"; and Chou, "Ineffable Paths," take the text to say: "the disciple of Jebtsundamba from the Great Kingdom of China (*dazhenna*, 大震那)…" However I believe this to be in error, the Chinese text rather reading Dakuwei (大窟圍), reflecting the Tibetan reading "Tā khu re" (Da Khüriye). This previous reading of the Chinese text by Chun Rong, and followed by Chou, "Ineffable Paths," inserts

applied resources to this holy map at the teacher's residence (*bla brang*) of Byams dge gling Monastery[141] of Five-Peak Mountain, on the fifteenth day of the fourth month of the twenty-sixth year of the reign of Emperor Daoguang of the Great Qing dynasty (1846).

To whom and where ever, the offering of this map of the holy land of the savior Mañjuśrī is made, there and then, may unfavorable conditions be pacified and may happiness flourish. May it be auspicious! Mangalam![142]

Chinese

五臺山聖境全圖

詩曰：三世諸佛稱清涼，法照三界及萬方， 文殊變化通凡聖，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，具常在其中而演說法。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洲東北方，有國名大震那，其中有山，名曰五頂，文殊童子旅行居住，為諸眾生於中說法，及有無量天龍八部圍繞供養，斯言可審矣。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，亨福亨壽，福祿綿長，命終之後，生於有福之地，皆賴菩薩慈化而得也。古大窟圍智宗丹巴佛之徒桑噶阿麻格，名格隆龍住，大發愿心，親手刻造比板，以施四方善士。如有大發頭心，印此山圖者，則功德無量矣。

"Panoramic Map of the Holy Realm Wutai shan"

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]. Mañjuśrī's true countenance has long dwelled in the realm of the Clear and Cool Mountain, where people have paid respect to it without seeing it. The *Flower Garland Sūtra* (*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, dwells 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 nirvana, in the northeastern part of the Jambudvīpa, 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

a loaded modern political meaning into this nineteenth-century text, calling Mongolia part of China. Chou has since revised her translation provided here.

[141] This would be Cifu si (慈福寺, *byams dge gling*; Fig. 4, no. 21).

[142] You can view this passage in Tibetan script at:

http://www.thlib.org/collections/texts/jiats/#!jiats=/06/debreczeny/b9/

.

all sentient beings. At that time innumerable gods and the Eight Classes of Beings, together with their retinue, gather around to make offerings.'" You [the viewer] 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 the Clear and Cool Mountain, who see this map of the mountain, and who 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 blessed land. All these [benefits] can be acquired through the bodhisattva's merciful transformations. Therefore, the disciple of Rje btsun dam pa of Da Khüriye [Mongolia], the engraver Monk Lhun grub (Longzhu) from the Sengge Aimag, makes a great vow, to carve this woodblock with his own hands in order to extend [the merit] to the benefactors of the four directions. Should a person make the vow to print this image, they will accumulate immeasurable merit.[143]

Mongolian

"Composition of the Land of Cool-Clear Mountain"

Om suvasti! I prostrate myself before the land that has been praised by all those [Buddhas] who have vanquished the three times [past, present, and future], the supreme teacher (*bla ma*), Mañjuśrī, who, with the body of one that works to illuminate the brilliant interstices of the Triple World, reveals the form of the Threefold Body, and before the one who assembles [in himself] the essence of the Three Jewels. In the *Flower Garland Sūtra* (*daihuayan jing*) it is said that to the northeast of here there is a certain land called Clear-Cool Mountain. Formerly many bodhisattvas resided there. Now the holy Mañjuśrī, together with myriad companion bodhisattvas, abides there preaching the *dharma*. Also in that *dhāraṇī*, the Bagavant made the following edict to Jingang Miji Wang (金剛密跡王, *rgyal bo kyin kang me kyi*; Vajrapāṇi): "After attaining Parinirvāṇa, in the northeast interstice of the rose-apple continent there is a place known as the Five Peaks and Passes. There resides the youthful Mañjuśrī. When he preaches the *dharma* for the benefit of all living beings, innumerable gods and serpent spirits (*nāga*) of the

[143] Wutai shan Shengjing Quantu. Shiyue: sanshi zhufo cheng qingliang, fazhao sanjie ji wanfang, wenshu bianhua tong fansheng, sanbao zhuxian ji cishen, zhenrong jiuzai qingliangjing. Renren jingli wu suoguan. Da Huayanjing yun, dongbei fang you chu min Qingliangshan, cong xi yi lai zhu pusa zhongyu zhongzhi zhu, xianyou pusa ming wenshu shili, qi juanshu zhu pusa zhong yi wanren, ju chang zai qizhong er yan shuofa. You baozang tuoluoni jing yun, fo gao jingang miji wang yan, wo miedu hou yu ci nan zhan buzhou dongbei fang, you guoming da zhen na, qi zhong you shan, ming yue wuding, wenshu tongzi lvxing juzhu, wei zhu zhongsheng yu zhong shuofa, ji you wuliang tianlong ba bu wei rao gong yang, si yan ke shen' ai. Ci wutai yi xian shan tu, wei neng jinq xiangxi, si fang shang shi fan chao qingliang shengjing, ji jian ci shan tu, wen jiang pusa ling yan miaofa zhe, jin sheng neng xiao yiqie zainan jibing, hen fu hen shou, fu lu mian chang, ming zhong zhi hou, sheng yu youfu zhidi, jie lai pusa cihua 'er' de ye. Gu da ku wei zhizong danbafo zhi tu sanga a mage, ming ge long long zhu, da fa yuan xin, qinshou kezao ciban, yi shi sifang shangshi. Ru you dafa touxin, yin ci shantu zhe, ze gongde wuliang yi. Translated by Wen-shing Chou. This is a corrected translation from her 2007 "Ineffible Paths" article.

eight classes, together with their retinue, perform rites of offering and respect. [In this way] this place has been eulogized in numerous *sūtra*s and *tantra*s.

The sketching of this map is intended to bring salvation by arresting one's attachment to every sort of thing that is found as a consequence of seeing, hearing, thinking, and touching. It was engraved and offered by the monk (*gelung*, *dge slong*), Lhunrub, a carver of Sangga monastic community [of Amurbayasqulangtu Monastery] and a disciple of the faithful alms-giver, the holy Jebsun Damba of Yeke Kuriye (present day Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia). Happiness!

On the supremely good day, the 15th day of the 4th month of the 26th year [in the reign] of Daoguang [1846] of the Great Qing dynasty.[144]

Published:

Chou, Wen-shing. "Ineffable Paths: Mapping Wutaishan in Qing-Dynasty China." *Art Bulletin* 89, no. 1 (March 2007): 108-129.

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(1) Om suvasti. (2) γurban čaγ-un (3) ilaγuγsan bükün ber (4) sayišiyaγsan oron (5) γurban oron-u gegen (6) ǰabsar-i geyigülün (7) üiledügči bey-e-(8)tü, γurban bey-e-yin (9) düri-yi üjegülüg(10)či, degedü blam-a (11) Manǰuširi, γurban (12) erdeni-yin mön činar (13) čiγuluγsan-a mörgümüi (14) Quvayangki nom-dur (15) ögülügsen anu: Ende-(16)eče umar doron-a (17) oron nigen-dür, (18) Tungγalaγ serigün (19) ayula kemegdekü oron (20) bui büged, uruγsida (21) olan bodisadu-a tegün-(22)dür orošiγsan bui (23) edüge qutuγtu (24) Manǰuširi nökör (25) bodisung, tümen (26) toγatan-luγ-a selte (27) orošiǰu nom nomlaγaǰu (28) bölöge. basa Erdeni ǰirüken (29) toγtaγal-ača, Kin Kang-(30)mi-gi qaγan-dur ilaǰu (31) tegüs nögüčigsen ber ǰarliγ (32) bolur-un: barinirvan (33) boluγsan-u qoyin-a Jambudib-(34)un umar doron-a yin ǰab (35) sar-dur, Tabun üǰügür (36) dabaγaγula kemegsen bui (37) oron tegündür ǰalaγu (38) Manǰuširi orošiǰu (39) qamaγ amitan-u tusadur (40) nom nomlaqui-dur toγo(41)laši ügei tngri (42) luus naiman ayimaγ-a (43) nökör selte-ber, ergün (44) kündelel-i üiledkü terigü(45)ten-i olan sudur dandar-(46)ača sayišiyaγsan oron (47) egünü ǰokiyal-i tobčilan (48) ǰiruγsan egüni üǰükü (49) sonosqu duradqu kötül(50)čiküγ-yin barilduγ-a-yi (51) oluγsan, törül tutum (52) bükün-e getülgegči metü (53) .....-daγan (54) bariqu-yin šiltaγan-dur (55) ǰoriǰu, süsüg tegüldür (56) öglige-yin eǰeni-i Yeke (57) Küriyen-ü, boγda (58) Rjebcun-damba-yin (59) šabi, Sengge-yin ayimaγ (60) seyilbürči gelüng Lhunrub (61) -yin (62) asaraltu buyantu -un -tü (63) seyileǰü ergübe. manggalam.

Dayičing ulus-un törü gereltü-yin qorin ǰurγuduγar on-u dörben sarayin arban tabun-u erkim sayin edür-e.

Translated by Brian Baumann. Unfortunately a Mongolian Unicode font is not available at this time to record the actual inscription here as done in Tibetan and Chinese above, so transliteration will have to suffice.

Cat. 2: Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje (1717-1786)

lcang skya hu thog thu rol pa'i rdo rje
章嘉呼图克图若必多吉

China; 18th century. Gilt metal alloy; 17 cm x 12.5 cm x 8.5 cm. Jacques Marchais Museum of Tibetan Art (85.04.0162).

The Lcang skya Hutukhtu Rol pa'i rdo rje was the most influential teacher (*bla ma*) of Inner Asia and China in the eighteenth century. From childhood Rol pa'i rdo rje was educated with the Manchu imperial princes, and together they studied Buddhist scripture as well as Chinese, Mongolian, Manchu, and Tibetan languages. This close contact between monk and emperor from such an early age was unprecedented, and it allowed Rol pa'i rdo rje to take a leading role at court. He became the emperor's religious teacher and trusted political confidant, helping craft a policy toward Tibet and Mongolia that underscored the Manchu inheritance of Qubilai Khan's realm, both politically and symbolically, through the production of religious art focusing on the image of Mañjuśrī (Fig. 27).

Even Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje's own incarnation lineage was carefully crafted to reflect that the patron-priest relationship between Qubilai and his Tibetan preceptor 'Phags pa (Fig. 5) was reborn, quite literally, in Qianlong and himself (see introductory essay above). Rol pa'i rdo rje's role in the production of Tibetan Buddhist images is particularly interesting in light of their politically symbolic role in the Qing court, and his own function within that same context as an incarnation – a living object of legitimization.

Wutai shan was at the heart of the Mañjuśrī cult in China, and Rol pa'i rdo rje was important in giving the site a Tibetan and Mongolian Buddhist identity. He wrote a Tibetan guide to Wutai shan, which actively promoted pilgrimage to Wutai shan among the Mongols and Tibetans. Rol pa'i rdo rje spent thirty-six consecutive summers in meditative retreat at Taming the Ocean Monastery (Zhenhai si) on Wutai shan, until his death there in 1786. He was buried on the mountain (Fig. 4, no. 37; Fig. 29).

It is interesting to note that a characteristic feature, a small lymphoma-like lump on the right side of his jaw, is not included in his official iconography or extent paintings (see Cat. 3, top left corner). It is unusual for the physical defect of a *bla ma* to appear in a portrait at all. It does, however, appear on a number of statues

like this one, and there is some evidence to suggest that the owner of such an image, likely a member of the imperial court, had a personal relationship with him.

Published:

Lipton, Barbara, and Nima Dorjee Ragnubs. *Treasures of Tibetan Art: Collections of the Jacques Marchais Museum of Tibetan Art*, 84-86. Staten Island, NY: The Museum; New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Cat. 3: Vajrabhairava (Daweide Jingang, 大威德金刚**) *Maṇḍala***

rdo rje 'jigs byed dkyil 'khor
威羅瓦金剛（大威德金剛）壇城圖

China; 18th century. Pigments on cloth; 27.875" h. x 19.25" w. Rubin Museum of Art. C2006.52.4 (HAR 65710).

Here the meditational deity Vajrabhairava, a wrathful emanation of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, is depicted in his celestial palace (*maṇḍala*).

In the realm of art the Qianlong emperor's court chaplain, Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje, who appears in the top-left corner of this painting, had a guiding hand in the formation of this imperial Buddhist artistic style of the Qing dynasty that would come to symbolize Manchu rulership (Fig. 27). Rol pa'i rdo rje produced the definitive iconographic guides for artists, established a workshop of *thang ka* painting in Beijing, and was given oversight in the production of Buddhist images in the imperial workshops.[145] This style is recognizable by characteristics such as the pale pastel pink, blue, and green clouds seen here in

[145] One of Rol pa'i rdo rje's most significant contributions to the production of religious images was the composition and engraving of several Tibeto-Mongolian iconographic guides with his teacher Erdeni Nomyn Khan, which were the most authoritative of the eighteenth century: the *Collection of Images of Tibetan Buddhist Deities* (*Lamajiao Shengxiangji*, 喇嘛教聖像集) and *Guide to the Sacred Images of All the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas* (*Zhufo Pusa Shengxiangzan*, 諸佛菩薩聖像贊), also called simply the *Guide to the Sacred Images of All the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas* (*sku brnyan sum brgya*) which established the Sino-Tibetan iconic forms for the next two hundred years. His own image is interestingly enough included in this collection of images for veneration, depicting himself with the same attributes as 'Phags pa. Not a case of self aggrandizement, this was rather in recognition of himself as a symbol of Manchu legitimization, sublimating himself to his role as 'Phags pa incarnate, and by extension re-affirming Qianlong in his role as Qubilai. See: Blanche Christine Olschak and Thupten Wangyal, *Mystic Art of Ancient Tibet* (Boston, MA: Shambhala, 1973), no. 53; and Sushama Lohia, *Lalitavajra's Manual of Buddhist Iconography* (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1994), 98, no. 53. In his role in the production of images at court Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje again bears

a somewhat muted palette. The landscapes were derived from Tibetan forms that picked up elements of Chinese painting such as the blue-green style in the early Ming, and were by the eighteenth century recycled through a Tibetan filter back to the Chinese court painters. Qing court *thang ka* remained faithful to the Tibetan iconographic strictures while cleverly working in Chinese auspicious motifs such as clouds in "as you wish" (*ruyi*, 如意) shapes.

These images were carefully used during the Qianlong emperor's reign in the Chinese court, which put great emphasis on the power of symbols, to bolster Manchu legitimacy as successors to the Yuan Empire. For instance, below the deity's palace are arrayed the seven treasures of the universal monarch (Buddhist ruler): the wish-granting jewel, the beautiful queen, the strong elephant, the wheel of the law, the swift horse, the wise minister, and the brave general – all symbols of the sacral king who rules the earth. Encircled offerings floating on clouds, such as the seven treasures and the eight auspicious symbols seen here, are characteristic of these eighteenth and nineteenth century Chinese productions.[146]

Stūpas

Cat. 4: White *Stūpa*

mchod rten

Tibet; ca. 18th century. Pigments on cloth; 37" h. x 23.25" w. Rubin Museum of Art. C2006.66.25 (HAR 795).

Arising historically from the funerary mounds (*caitya*) of early Buddhism in India, the *stūpa* is viewed as a physical representation of the enlightened mind of a Buddha. Thus, the *stūpa* is also an architectural symbol of wisdom. Above the dome are thirteen gold discs representing the stages of the enlightened mind: from the ten bodhisattva levels to the three stages of a Buddha, all crowned by an ornate parasol, white crescent moon, and golden disc of the sun. A large, stark-white *stūpa* at the foot of Pusa ding Monastery, called Stupa Grove Monastery (Tayuan si, 塔院寺), dominates the center of the landscape of Wutai shan (Fig. 4, no. 40) and has become an icon of the mountain itself.

some resemblance to 'Phags pa, who was entrusted by Qubilai Khan to establish an Imperial Buddhist image for the Yuan dynasty, and groomed his protégé Anige for the task of its formation and the oversight of its execution in the imperial workshops.

[146] For similar paintings in the Freer-Sackler Gallery, DC see a *maṇḍala* of Cakrasamvara F1905.66 (HAR 69615), http://www.asia.si.edu/collections/singleObject.cfm?ObjectNumber=F1905.66 and http://www.himalayanart.org/image.cfm?icode=69615.

Cat. 5: Large *Stūpa*

mchod rten

Tibet; 13th century. Copper alloy with inlays of semiprecious stones; 70" h. Rubin Museum of Art. C2004.17.1 (HAR 65335).

Cat. 6: *Stūpa*

mchod rten

Tibet; 14th century. Metalwork; 27" h. x 10.5" w. x 10.25" d.
Rubin Museum of Art. C2003.12.2 (HAR 65213).

Cat. 7: *Stūpa*

mchod rten

Tibet, c. 15th century. Metalwork; 23 cm. Collection of Nyingjei Lam (HAR 68461).

Cat. 8: *Stūpa*
mchod rten

Tibet, 18th century. Metalwork; 8.75" h. x 4.375" w. x 4.375" d. Rubin Museum of Art. C2006.66.635 (HAR 700057).

Cat. 9: *Stūpa*
mchod rten

Tibet; ca. 13th/14th century. Copper alloy; 13.875" h. x 6.25" w. x 6.25" d. Rubin Museum of Art. C2003.21.1 (HAR 65233).

Dance Masks

At the heart of the procession leading down the steps from the central monastery on Wutai shan, Pusa ding (Fig. 4, no. 14), is a troupe of dancers wearing masks (Fig. 36). These three masks – Mahākāla, Yama, and Deer – were prominent characters in this dramatic performance and all can been seen in this colorful and lively procession, which is the center of ritual activity on the map.

The Tibetan dance (*cham*) dance was introduced to Wutai shan in the seventeenth century, when the mountain took on an increasingly Tibetan and Mongolian Buddhist identity. Typically this dance was performed on Wutai shan on the fourteenth and fifteenth days of the sixth month of the lunar calendar (which typically falls in July) as part of a festival which marks the culmination of a

month-long assembly for worship and Buddhist teachings.[147] Mongolian monks from monasteries on Wutai shan such as Yongquan Monastery (Fig. 4, no. 33) would assemble at Pusa ding Monastery (Fig. 4, no. 14) for the dance ritual, which was followed by a grand procession, such as the one depicted here, leading from the gate of Pusa ding Monastery passing through Guangzong si (Fig. 4, no. 17), Yuanzhao si (Fig. 4, no. 66), Rāhula Temple (Fig. 4, no. 41), Shifang Hall (Fig. 4, no. 67), and ending at the Cave of Sudhana (Fig. 4, no. 69).[148] Each time they reached a monastery they recited *sūtra*s, chant *mantra*s, and performed. The procession was lead by an image and the high *bla ma* of Wutai shan.

The small icon being paraded in a palanquin in the procession depicted in the map appears to be Maitreya, another of the great bodhisattvas, suggesting that this is indeed the Future Buddha (*maitreya*) Festival.[149] First established in Tibet in 1409 by the founder of the *dge lugs* monastic order, Tsong kha pa (1357-1419), the Maitreya Festival was then brought to Mongolia in 1657 by the first Mongolian incarnation, the Rje btsun dam pa Zanabazar where it became extremely popular. Zanabazar himself visited Wutai shan in 1695 in the company of the Kangxi emperor (and may have something to do with its establishment on Wutai as well).[150] The choice of depicting this particular festival as the ritual center of the map reinforces an attempt by its maker to assert a Mongolian Dge lugs ethnic sectarian identity to the site. The figures carrying the Maitreya sculpture on the map wear yellow robes with orange trim, which Tuttle identifies as the color coding used as an ethnic marker of Chinese practitioners of Tibetan Buddhism, suggesting a strong Chinese participation in these rituals as well.

[147] See Zhao Peicheng, "Shitan Wutai shan zangchuan fojiao yu jingangshenwu," 40; and Wang Bin and Guo Chengwen, "Wutai shan jingang wu ji lamam miao daochang" [Buddhist Monastery Rites and Vajra Dance at Mt. Wutai], *Wutai shan yanjiu*, 33. Also see Charleux, "Mongol Pilgrimages to Wutai Shan in the Late Qing Dynasty."

[148] Zhao Peicheng, "Shitan Wutai shan zangchuan fojiao yu jingangshenwu," 40; Wang Bin and Guo Chengwen, "Wutai shan jingang wu ji lamam miao daochang," 33.

[149] Chou, "Ineffable Paths," 119. This festival is also called Mañjuśrī's birthday; see for instance Charleux ("Mongol Pilgrimages to Wutai Shan in the Late Qing Dynasty"), who identified the image in the palanquin as Mañjuśrī.

[150] Dharmatāla, *Rosary of White Lotuses*, in Phur lcog ngag dbang byams ba, *Grwa sa chen po bzhi dang rgyud pa stod smad chags tshul pad dkar 'phreng bo bzhugs* (Lhasa: Tibetan Peoples Publishing House, 1989), 339.

Cat. 10: Deer Mask
sha ba
Shava

Mongolia; 19th-20th century. Papier-mâché; 19.25" h. x 15.5" w. x 14" d. C2006.54.2 (HAR 65723).

Cat. 11: Bull-Head Yama Lord of Death Mask
gshin rje chos rgyal
Choijil Erlig qagan

Mongolia; 20th century. Papier-mâché; 21" h. x 14.75" w. x 10.5" d. C2006.52.10 (HAR 65716).

Cat. 12: Mahākāla Mask

mgon po nag po
Maqagala

Mongolia; 19th-20th century. Papier-mâché; 9" h. x 14" w. x 17.5" d. C2006.55.1 (HAR 65721).

Ritual Life

Cat. 13: Buddha Footprints

zhabs rjes
釋迦如來雙跡靈相圖

Pusa ding Monastery, Wutai shan, China; 17th century (ca. 1659-1668). Woodblock with pigments on cloth; 22.5″ h. x 17.5″ w. Rubin Museum of Art. C2006.66.438 (HAR 894).

This woodblock print would have been a relatively affordable image that a Mongol might have brought back as a souvenir from his pilgrimage to Wutai shan. From the Tibetan text we know that the original woodblock for this image was carved at Pusa ding Monastery (map no. 14). From the Chinese text we learn that the imperially appointed overseer of Wutai shan, the great teacher Ngag dbang blo bzang (Awang Laozang, 阿王老藏, 1601-1687), donated the money to paint and publish this image. This famous and important Mongolian monk from one of Beijing's most prominent Tibetan Buddhist monasteries was both Pusa ding's abbot and manager of Tibetan and Chinese Buddhist affairs at Wutai shan. He held this office from 1659 to 1668, allowing us to closely date the carving of the original woodblock to the early second half of the seventeenth century.

The Tibetan colophon which runs along the bottom of this piece reads:

> These footprints are the footprints of the Bhagavān (the Buddha) at the time of his *nirvāṇa*. Having been brought from India to Five-Peak Mountain, [this image] was carved on an auspicious day at Pusa ding. May it be auspicious![151]

These two woodblock prints were likely based on the "Buddha Footprint Stele" (Fozu bei, 佛足碑) dated to 1582 (Ming Wanli renwu qiu, si seng you'an tu ke shi [明萬歷壬午秋，寺僧又按图刻石]) that once sat to the left of the Great White Stūpa at Wutai shan (Fig. 4, no. 40), which contains a longer explanatory inscription recorded in the local gazetteer, the *Record of Clear and Cool Mountain*.[152] The

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[151] *zhabs rje 'di bcom ldan 'das myang ngan la bda' dus kyis zhabs rje yin rgya kar nas rib o rtse lngar gdan drangs nas tshes grangs bzang po la phu sa 'eng na spar du bskos ba yin/ dge'o// mangalam//.*

[152] See Zhencheng (1546-1617), *Qingliang shan zhi*, 29-30, which mentions autumn of 1582 (the *ren wu* year [tenth year] of the Wanli era [*Ming Wanli renwu qiu*, 明万历壬午秋]). The Gazetteer entry, which follows the entry for the Great White Stūpa reads (discrepancies between the RMA image text and the gazetteer/stele are highlighted in yellow): 佛足碑 在大塔左侧。 按《西域記》云，摩

Chinese text between the footprints on this object appears to be a condensed version of that same text, which reads:

> According to the *Record of Travels to Western Lands* (*Xiyu ji*, 西域記):[153] "In a temple of the city of Pāṭaliputra, in the [ancient Indian] Kingdom of Magadha there is a great stone, where the Tathāgata Śākyamuni tread, a pair footprints appear to remain, one foot (*chi*) eight inches (*cun*) long and six inches wide, both [adorned] with thousand-spoke wheel sign,[154] on all ten toes appear to flower swastika,[155] and the shape of the treasure vase, fish, and sword.[156] The Tathāgata of the past traveled to Kuśinagara City,[157] prepared to show/demonstrate *nirvāṇa* (death), looked back [to Magadha and stamped his foot on] this stone, and told Ānanda saying: "I, now at the very end [of my life], leave behind this footprint, [in order to] teach sentient beings of the latter days of this Buddha-kalpa (the age of the decline of the *dharma*). For those who are able to see [it will generate great] faith. To those who supply worship and make offerings: it will end the suffering

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竭陀國波吒釐精舍中有大石，釋迦佛所遺雙足迹，其長一尺六寸，廣六寸，千輻輪相，十指皆現，華文卍字，寶瓶魚劍之狀，光明炳煥。昔佛北趣拘尸那城，將示寂滅，回顧摩竭陀國，蹈此石上，告阿難言：“吾今最後，留此足跡，以示眾生。有能見者，生大信心，瞻禮供養，滅無量罪，常生佛前。云云。后外道輩嫉心除之愈显。如是八番，文彩如故。”唐贞观中，玄奘法师自西域图写持歸，太宗敕令刻石祖庙，以福邦家。至明万历壬午秋。少林嗣祖沙门威县明成、德州如意，一夕一梦莲花，一梦月轮现于塔际。既觉，各言所梦，异之。及晓，少室僧正道持佛足图贻之。及展，见是双轮印相，喜曰：“此梦真也。”遂倾囊，兼募众立石，时孟秋既望也。是夕，众闻空中珠佩杂乐之声。出户视之，神灯点点，此圣神嘉赞也。镇澄赞：“巍巍大雄，浩劫忘功。神超化外，迹云寰中。剎尘混入，念劫融通。开兹觉道，扇以真风，竭诸有海，烁彼空濛。岩中留影，石上遗踪。碎身作宝，永益群首。稽首佛陀，悲愿何穷。 Fo zu bei zai data zuoce. An <Xiyueji> yun, mojietuo guo bozha'ao jingshe zhong you dashi, shijiafo suo yi shuangzu ji, qi chang yichi liu cun, guang liucun, qian fu lun xiang, shi zhi jiexian, huawen □ zi, baoping yujian zhi zhuang, guangming bing huan. Xi fo bei qu ju shi na cheng, jiang shi jimie, huigu mojietuo guo, dao ci shi shang, gao A'nan yan: "wu jin zuihou, liu ci zuji, yi shi zhongsheng. You neng jian zhe, sheng da xingxin, zhanli gongyang, mie wuliang zui, chang sheng fo qian. Yun yun. Hou wai dao bei ji xin chu zhi yu xian. Ru shi ba fan, wen cai ru gu. " Tang Zhenguan zhong, Xuanzang fashi zi xiyu tu xie chi gui, Taizong ji ling ke shi zumiao, yi fu bang jia. Zhi min Wanli renwu qiu. Shaolin sizu shamenwei xian Mincheng, Dezhou Ruyi, yi xi yi meng lianhua, yi meng yue lun xian yu ta ji. Ji jue, ge yan suo meng, yi zhi. Ji xiao, shao zhi seng zhengdao chi fozutu yizhi. Jizhan, jian shi shuanglun yinxiang, xi yue: "ci meng zhen ye." Sui qin nang, jian mo zhong li shi, shi meng qiu ji wang ye. Shi xi, zong wen kong zhong zhu pei za yue zhi sheng. Chu hu shi zhi, shen deng dian dian, ci shengshen jia zhan ye. Zhencheng zan: "wei wei da xiong, hao jie wang gong. Shen chao hua wai, ji yun huan zhong. Sha chun hun ru, nian jie rong tong. Kai zi jue dao, shan yi zhen feng, jie zhu you hai, shuo bi kong meng. Yan zhong liu ying, shi shang ji zong. Sui shen zuo bao, yong yi qun shou. Ji shou fotuo, bei yuan he qiong. Also see: Siegbert Hummel, "Die Fusspur des Gautama-Buddha auf dem Wu-T'ai-Shan," *Asiatische Studien /Etudes Asiatiques* 25 (1971): 389-406.

[153] Xuanzang (玄奘), *Datang xiyu ji* (大唐西域記). Xuanzang's (c. 596-664) record of his seventeen-year long trip to India, where he went to study and gather Buddhist scriptures. Written in 646 at the behest of the emperor, Xuanzang's journey through over one hundred and thirty-eight states in Central Asia and India, remains one of our most valuable records of those regions in the seventh century.

[154] *Sahasrāra*, *cakra-caraṇatā*: the second of the thirty-two marks (*lakṣaṇa*) of a great personage or perfected being.

[155] The fourth of the auspicious signs in the footprint of Buddha.

[156] The four kinds of minor marks found on the feet among the eighty minor marks of a Tathāgata.

[157] An ancient kingdom and city, near Kasiah, one hundred eighty miles north of Patna; the place where Śākyamuni died.

> of inconceivable cycles of life and death (*saṃsāra*), they will be constantly [re-] born as men and gods in the favorable stages (of rebirth), they will have happiness and prolonged life, they will be far from all evil deeds, and they will always obtain good fortune." [From] *Dharma* Master Xuan Zang's *Travels to Western Lands* [this image and writing] were requested to be engraved in stone and offerings were made. The imperially appointed Overseer of Wutai shan, the great *bla ma*, Ngag dbang blo bzang (1601-1687) donated money to paint and publish it.[158]

Published:

Selig-Brown, Kathryn. *Eternal Presence: Handprints and Footprints in Buddhist Art*. Katonah Museum of Art, 2004, 64.

Cat. 14: Buddha Footprints

zhabs rjes
釋迦如來雙跡靈相圖

Tibet or Mongolia; 19th century. Pigments on cloth; 40.75" h. x 30.375" w. x 2.25" d. Rubin Museum of Art. C2003.37.1 (HAR 65259).

The Buddha's footprints were akin to a touch relic, a portable form of transmitted blessing, which could stand in for the presence of the absent Buddha. According to the Chinese inscription on the nearly identical footprint image (see Cat no. 13), these were modeled on stone Buddha footprints brought back to China from the ancient Indian Kingdom of Magadha by the renowned Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang in the seventh century. The Buddha's footprints were often carved on stone tablets in front of Chinese temples and appear at several places on the map of Wutai shan along pilgrimage pathways.

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[158] 按《西域記》云，摩竭陀國波吒釐精舍中有大石，釋迦如來所履，雙跡猶存，其長一尺八寸，廣六寸，俱有千輻輪相，十指皆現，華文卍字，寶瓶魚劍之狀。昔者如來趣拘尸那城，將示寂滅，回顧此石，告阿難曰：“吾今最後，留此足跡，示末世眾生。若得親見，信心。瞻禮供養者，滅無量生死重罪，常生人天勝處，福壽延年，遠諸惡事，常獲吉祥。” 玄裝法師西域請來刻石供養。欽命總理五臺山大喇嘛阿王老藏捐貲畫利。 An <Xiyueji> yun, mojietuo guo bozha'ao jingshe zhong you dashi, Shijia Rulai suolv, shuangji you cun, qi chang yichi bacun, guang liucun, ju you qian fu lun xiang, shizhi jiexian, huawen □ zi, baoping yujian zhi zhuang. Xi zhe Rulai qu ju shi na cheng, jiang shi jimie, huigu cishi, gao Anan yue: "wu jin zuihou, liu ci zuji, shi mo shi zhongsheng. Ruo de qinjian, xingxin. Zhan li gongyang zhe, mie wuliang shengsi zhongzui, changsheng ren tian sheng chu, fu shou yan nian, yuan zhu e shi, chang huo ji xiang." Xuanzang fashi zi xiyu qing lai keshi gongyang. Qin ming zongli Wutai shan dalama Awang Laozang juan ci hua li. Thanks to Wang Yudong for his help in correcting my transcription and translation of this abraded text.

Figure 39. "The Spirit-Likeness of the Tathagata Sakyamuni's Feet" Stele. (Shijia rulai shuang ji ling xiang tu 釋迦如來雙跡靈相圖*). Ciyun si* 慈雲寺*, Qinglong Mountain, Henan Province.*

Other surviving examples of such footprint stele can be found in temples and monasteries throughout China such as at Ciyun si (慈雲寺) on Qinglong Mountain (Qinglong shan, 青龍山) in Henan Province (河南; see Fig. 39); a stele at Shaolin Temple (Shaolin si, 少林寺) dated to the Mongol Yuan period (1318); and a stele at Crouching Dragon Temple (Wolong si, 卧龍寺) in Xi'an dated to the Chinese Ming period (fifteenth year of the Hongwu reign; 1382).

This image may be painted over a woodblock print, similar to the footprints (Cat. 13), by a Mongolian artist.

Published:

Selig-Brown, Kathryn. *Eternal Presence: Handprints and Footprints in Buddhist Art*. Katonah Museum of Art, 2004, 65.

Cat. 15: Mkhas grub's Vision of His Teacher Tsong kha pa

mkhas grub rje dge legs dpal bzang po

Central Tibet; 18th century. Pigments on cloth; 16 x 27 in. Lent by the Collection of Shelley and Donald Rubin (HAR 56).

Looking upward at a vision, Mkhas grub (1385-1438) holds a symbolic offering of the universe (*maṇḍala*), constructed of precious substances, to his teacher, the Lord Tsong kha pa (1357-1419), who floats above on a cloud bank mounted atop an elephant. This painting depicts one of the five visions that the student Mkhas grub had of his teacher after his death.[159] This same scene appears at the top right of the map of Wutai shan (Fig. 40), where the elephant that Tsong kha pa rides has become part of the clouds that support him.

The inscription below reads:

> The venerable King of *Dharma*, Tsong kha pa, who bestowed the empowerment and instructions of Vajrabhairava on Mkhas grub dge legs dpal, who cleared away the faults/interpolations in the ritual texts for service and worship of Six-armed Mahākāla.[160]

Corresponding to this inscription (visually documenting this transmission and reinforcing the teacher-student relationship), Vajrabhairava, whose teachings Tsong kha pa bestowed on his student Mkhas grub, floats above him at top right. One of the main Dge lugs protectors, Six-armed Mahākāla, whose worship Mkhas grub especially promoted and is therefore also mentioned in the inscription, appears at bottom left.

[159] This painting is part of a larger set depicting the previous incarnations of the Paṇ chen bla ma, one of the main hierarchs of the Dge lugs monastic order. On this composition also see Giuseppe Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, I and II (rpt. Kyoto: Rinsen Book Co., 1980), 414.

[160] *rje btsun chos kyi rgyal po tsong kha pas/ rdo rje 'jigs byed dbang dang gdams pa gnang/ phyag drug mgon po bsnyen bsgrub be bum la/ lhad zhugs bsal mdzad mkhas grub dge legs dpal//.*

The founder of the Dge lugs monastic order, Tsong kha pa, who was himself considered a Tibetan emanation of Mañjuśrī, can be found everywhere on the map of Wutai shan, including the five visions of him emanating on clouds from each of the mountain's five peaks (Fig. 4, nos. 2, 9, 11, 18, 28). In his secret biography Tsong kha pa tells Mkhas grub that he has emanations on Wutai, and may be related to this tradition of depicting Mañjuśrī as Tsong kha pa on the mountain.[161] The Mongols were militant followers of the Dge lugs, the monastic order of the Dalai Lama, and this map asserts not only a Tibetan and Mongolian Buddhist religious identity on Wutai shan but, more specifically in this case, a Dge lugs identity. Through this imagery, the map declares a sectarian religious vision of the mountain.

Figure 40. Mkhas grub's vision of Tsong kha pa. 1846 Wutai shan map, top right detail.

Published:

Rhie, Marylin, and Robert Thurman. *Worlds of Transformation: Tibetan Art of Wisdom and Compassion*. New York: Tibet House, 1999, Cat 127, 355-57.

Nepalese Roots

For Tibetans the idea that Wutai shan is the earthly abode of Mañjuśrī has its source in Nepal. A famous legend tells that Vipashwi Buddha planted seeds in a lake that grew into a great jeweled lotus that emitted light. From far away in China, on the highest peak of Wutai shan, Mañjuśrī saw this beacon. Observing that beings were unable to reach this relic of Vipashwi Buddha in the middle of a lake, Mañjuśrī cut a gorge with his sword, Candrahas, to drain the water, forming the Kathmandu Valley. A *stūpa* was built over this relic, which was originally called Mañjuśrī Stūpa (*mañju-caitya*), and later renamed Svāyambhū, one of the greatest Buddhist sacred sites in Nepal. Mañjuśrī was inspired by this relic to cut his hair and become an ascetic, and it is said that the lice that lived in his hair became monkeys, an animal for which this site is famous.

[161] It is possible that the five forms of Mañjuśrī may be related to Tsong kha pa's five visions of Mañjuśrī.

Cat. 16: Svāyambhū Stūpa

Nepal; 18th century. Répoussé copper; 17.5" h. x 11.5" w. x 3.75" d.
Rubin Museum of Art. C2006.66.63 (HAR 700095).

The presence of Mañjuśrī at middle left and the monkey at the bottom left likely identifies this as the famous Svāyambhū Stūpa of the Kathmandu Valley. Mañjuśrī permeates Nepalese society and rituals, in this case the depiction of the Chariot Ritual (*bhīmarata*), the birthday celebration for a Nepalese elder of Kathmandu.

Published:

Mullin, Glenn H., and Jeff Watt. *Female Buddhas: Women of Enlightenment in Tibetan Mysticism*. Rubin Museum of Art, Clear Light: Santa Fe, 2003, 110.

Cat. 17: Mañjuśrī

Nepal; 10th century. Gilt copper alloy; 13" h. x 9" w. x 7" d.
Rubin Museum of Art. C2006.71.5 (HAR 65758).

This unusual Nepalese form of Mañjuśrī can be identified by his five tufts of hair, the distinctive "tiger claw" shape of his necklace, and the small seed or jewel that he holds in his left hand. The similar small silver Nepalese sculpture with nearly identical attributes nearby confirms the identity of this figure.

Cat. 18: Mañjuśrī

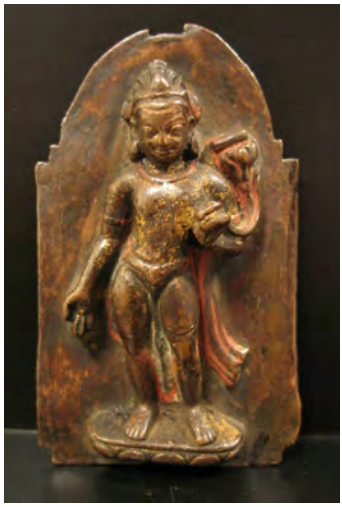
Nepal; 12th century. Silver with gilding; 3.75" h. x 1.875" w. x 1.25" d.
Long-term loan from the Collection of Nyingjei Lam (HAR 68439).

This small, elegant Nepalese sculpture of Mañjuśrī is identified by his characteristic five tufts of hair and distinctive "tiger claw"-shaped necklace.

Published:

Weldon, David, and Jane Casey Singer. *The Sculptural Heritage of Tibet: Buddhist Art in the Nyingjei Lam Collection*. London: Laurence King Publishing, 1999, 70.

Cat. 19: Mañjuśrī



Early Nepalese Style, c. 12th Century. Metalwork. Height: 8.5 cm. Collection of Nyingjei Lam (HAR 68441).

Published: Weldon, David, and Jane Casey Singer. *The Sculptural Heritage of Tibet: Buddhist Art in the Nyingjei Lam Collection*. London: Laurence King Publishing, 1999, 72.

Cat. 20: Seated Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī

'jam dpal dbyangs

Nepal; circa 10th century. Metalwork; 45 cm. Long-term loan from the Collection of Nyingjei Lam (HAR 68446).

This unusual and stately form of Mañjuśrī, the bodhisattva who is believed to dwell at Wutai shan, is identifiable by his Nepalese iconography, including the small seed or jewel that he holds in his right hand, and the distinctive "tiger claw"-shaped necklace he wears.

Published:

Weldon, David, and Jane Casey Singer. *The Sculptural Heritage of Tibet: Buddhist Art in the Nyingjei Lam Collection*. London: Laurence King Publishing, 1999, 88-89.

Cat. 21: The Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī-Ghoṣa)

'jam dpal dbyangs

Tibet; 13th-14th century. Pigments on cloth; 19.75" h. x 15.75" w. Rubin Museum of Art. C2006.66.163 (HAR 154).

While this painting of The Glorious One with a Melodious Voice is Tibetan, aesthetically it closely follows Nepalese conventions, such as a rich red palette and symmetrical schematic composition, which were for many centuries the guiding artistic force in Tibet. The beautiful shimmer in this painting's red is due to the build up of arsenic in the ground mineral pigments.

At the bottom-right corner is a Tibetan monastic figure, either the commissioner of the work or the intended recipient of the merit generated by its production.

Published:

Rhie, Marylin M., and Robert A. F. Thurman. *Worlds of Transformation: Tibetan Art of Wisdom and Compassion*. New York: Tibet House, 1999, 30 and 31, no. 30.

Cat. 22: White Mañjuśrī

Nepal; 14th century. Copper alloy; 2.75" h. x 1.75" w. x 1" d.
C2006.23.1 (HAR 65655).

Cat. 23: *Mañjuśrī Nāmasaṃgīti*

Nepal; 18th century Gilt alloy; répoussé; 7" high.
Rubin Museum of Art. C2006.66.60 (HAR 700069).

Cat. 24: Mañjuśrī

Nepal, 13th-14th century Metalwork. Height: 6.5 cm. Collection of Nyingjei Lam (HAR 68442).

Published: Weldon, David, and Jane Casey Singer. *The Sculptural Heritage of Tibet: Buddhist Art in the Nyingjei Lam Collection*. London: Laurence King Publishing, 1999, 72.

The Three Mañjuśrī of Tibet

Three great Buddhist scholars from different monastic orders in Tibet – Sa skya paṇḍita (1182-1251) of the Sa skya school, Klong chen pa (1308-1363) of the Rnying ma school, and Tsong kha pa (1357-1419) of the Dge lugs school – are known as the "Three Mañjuśrī of Tibet," believed to be emanations of the Bodhisattva of Wisdom on Earth. All three of these teachers have Mañjuśrī's characteristic attributes, the sword and the book, which sit on *utpala* blossoms at their shoulders and identify these people with the Bodhisattva of Wisdom, Mañjuśrī. The sword metaphorically cleaves through the dark clouds of ignorance and the text is the *Book of Transcendental Wisdom* (*prajñāpāramitā sūtra*).

Cat. 25: Sa skya paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (1182-1251) and Chos rgyal 'phags pa

sa skya paṇḍi ta kun dga' rgyal mtshan

Central Tibet; 18th century. Pigments on cloth; 31.25" h. x 22.25" w. Rubin Museum of Art. C2006.66.23 (HAR 695).

One of Tibet's greatest scholars, Sa skya paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (1182-1251), was considered an emanation of Mañjuśrī, the Bodhisattva of Wisdom, on Earth. Sa skya paṇḍita was one of the most influential thirteenth-century Tibetan figures said to have visited Wutai shan during his trip to the Mongol court in the thirteenth century.[162] At Wutai shan he is supposed to have written many famous letters giving philosophical and spiritual advice, which he sent back to Tibet. He also composed many prayers that extolled the virtues of Mañjuśrī and the mountain and helped promote Tibetan interest in the pilgrimage site.

In this painting Sa skya paṇḍita is accompanied by his nephew Chos rgyal 'phags pa blo gros rgyal mtshan (1235-1280), who visited Wutai shan repeatedly. The historical record is clearer regarding Chos rgyal 'phags pa's visits to Wutai shan, where he spent several years composing texts that eulogized Mañjuśrī and the mountain. 'Phags pa's poetry of Wutai shan was some of the most influential, such as his one-hundred verse poem: "The Garland of Jewels: Praise to Mañjuśrī at Five-Peak Mountain," written in 1257.

[162] For a brief discussion of the historicity of Sa skya paṇḍita visiting Wutai shan, see above essay and footnote 40.

Cat. 26: Sa skya paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (1182-1251)

sa skya paṇḍi ta kun dga' rgyal mtshan

Tibet; 16th century. Gilt copper alloy with pigment; 7" h. x 4" w. x 4.25" d. Rubin Museum of Art. C2005.16.37 (HAR 65460).

This figure is identified by inscription on the front of the sculpture as the great Sa skya scholar Sa skya paṇḍita. His hat is a shoulder-length cloth cap modeled on the hats worn by Indian Learned men (*paṇḍita*).

Cat. 27: Klong chen pa dri med 'od zer (1308-1363)

klong chen pa dri med 'od zer

Tibet; 19th century. Pigments on cloth; 15" h. x 10.25" w. Rubin Museum of Art. F1998.9.2 (HAR 631).

Klong chen pa dri med 'od zer, the second major Tibetan emanation of Mañjuśrī, was a prolific author and systematizer of early Rnying ma contemplative literature. He is most famous for his wide-ranging commentaries, known as the "Seven Treasuries." He was pivotal in the history of the Rnying ma tradition, emphasizing a blend of rigorous academic scholarship and meditation. The figure seated directly below Klong chen pa is the famous teacher 'Jam dbyangs mkhyen rtse dbang po (b. 1819), one of the founders of the non-sectarian (*rigs med*) movement, allowing us to date this painting to the nineteenth century.

Published:

Rhie, Marylin M., and Robert A. F. Thurman. *Worlds of Transformation: Tibetan Art of Wisdom and Compassion*. New York: Tibet House, 1999, Cat 69, 258-59.

Cat. 28: Tsong kha pa (1357-1419)

rje tsong kha pa blo bzang grags pa

Wutai shan, China; after 1805. Appliquéd silks; h. 77½ in, w. 44 in (ca 6.46 x 3.6 feet). Newark Museum, Gift of Henry H. Wehrhene, 1942 (42.198).

Tsong kha pa was the founder of the Dge lugs school of Tibetan Buddhism, which would come to wield great religious and political influence throughout Inner Asia in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries among the Tibetans, Mongols, and Manchus alike. He was considered an emanation of the Bodhisattva of Wisdom, Mañjuśrī, indicated by the sword and book prominently displayed on *utpala* flowers at his shoulders. The influence of his school of Buddhism was profound, and he can, therefore, be found everywhere on the map of Wutai shan in this exhibition.

A Tibetan inscription sewn on the back of this textile states that this cloth image of Mañjuśrī (manifested as Tsong kha pa) was given to the Geshé Sudhi by "the lady of noble lineage, the jewel-holding protectoress." The patron who commissioned this object was the elder sister of a monk named Jams dpal rdo rje studying at one of the great Dge lugs monasteries outside of Lha sa, 'Bras spungs. The inscription stipulates that this image was to be placed in the Nor bzang Cave (*nor bzang sgrub phug*), known in Chinese as the Cave of Sudhana (Shancai dong, 善財洞; Fig. 4, no. 69) at Wutai shan, together with the *stūpa* of the remains of the master Jñāna.

Published:

Reynolds, Valrae. "A Sino-Mongolian-Tibetan Buddhist Appliqué in the Newark Museum." *Orientations* (April 1990): 32-38.

Reynolds, Valrae. *From the Sacred Realm: Treasures of Tibetan Art from the Newark Museum*. Munich; New York: Prestel, 1999, 194-98.

Cat. 29: Tsong kha pa (1357-1419)

rje tsong kha pa blo bzang grags pa

Tibet; 16th century. Metalwork; 7 cm. Long-term loan from the Collection of Nyingjei Lam (HAR 68479).

Tsong kha pa is presented in this sculpture with his common attributes – monastic robes, hands forming a teaching gesture, and a sword and book above the shoulders. His pointed yellow hat (see Cat. 28) is often realized in sculptures by a textile hat placed on the head.

While Tsong kha pa was never known to have visited Wutai shan himself, because he was considered an emanation of the Bodhisattva of Wisdom, Mañjuśrī, and the founder of the Dge lugs monastic order to which the Mongols and Manchu rulers were particularly devoted, visions of him as Mañjuśrī can be found all over the mountain, such as in Cat. nos. 1, 15, and 28.

Published:

Weldon, David, and Jane Casey Singer. *The Sculptural Heritage of Tibet: Buddhist Art in the Nyingjei Lam Collection*. London: Laurence King Publishing, 1999, 144-47.

The Book of Transcendental Wisdom

The *Book of Transcendental Wisdom* is one of the earliest recorded discourses in Indian Buddhism, dating to the first to second century CE. The teaching is conveyed mainly through dialogue between the Buddha and his major followers, and a special emphasis is given to the role of the bodhisattva, someone who aspires to attain enlightenment for the benefit of all beings. These teachings of the Buddha were believed to be too profound at the time to be understood properly, and so this text was handed over for safe keeping to the king of serpent spirits (*nāga*) to await a more propitious time. These teachings on the nature of wisdom were kept in the king's underwater realm for many years until he bestowed this book on the worthy scholar, the great Indian philosopher Nāgārjuna, as foretold by prophecy.

The *Book of Transcendental Wisdom* is seen as the source of wisdom that Mañjuśrī later came to embody, and thus, this bodhisattva became closely associated with the text.

Cat. 30: Illustrated Eight Thousand-Verse *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra*

'phags pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa brgyad stong pa

Tibet; 20th century. Woodblock print on paper. Rubin Museum of Art. LHM2006.35.1. (HAR 79625).

The *Book of Transcendental Wisdom* (*prajñāpāramitā sūtra*) is the text almost always depicted with Mañjuśrī, typically at his left shoulder. It is not simply an idealized symbol of wisdom but an actual book containing philosophical discourse and narrative content.

Several figures depicted in this text are considered emanations of Mañjuśrī, such as Khri srong lde btsan (740-798) – on the right side of the page holding book and sword – the Tibetan emperor who established Buddhism as the official religion of the Tibetan state and built Tibet's first monastery, Bsam yas.

The earliest Tibetan contact with Wutai shan was said to have been through the Indian siddha Pha dam pa sangs rgyas – on the left side of the page with his knees held up by a meditation strap – who lived for many years in Tibet, gathering many Tibetan disciples, and also spent twelve years on Wutai shan in the late eleventh century.

Many Tibetans believe that the Sixth Dalai Lama Tshangs dbyangs rgya mtsho (1683-1706/1746; Fig. 35) – on the right side of the page holding up a flower – a popular and controversial historical figure who was supposed to have been executed, secretly lived out his days in meditation in a cave at Wutai shan (Fig. 4, no. 63). His cave became an important focus of pilgrimage in its own rite.

Published:

Linrothe, Rob. *Holy Madness: Portraits of Tantric Siddhas*. New York: Rubin Museum of Art and Serindia Publications, 2006, Cat. No. 77.

Cat. 31: Book Cover

Tibet; 13th century Pigment of wood; 11.625" h. x 29" w. x 1.5" d. Rubin Museum of Art. C2006.27.1 (HAR 65641).

Cat. 32: Book Cover

Tibet; 14th century. Pigment on wood. Rubin Museum of Art. F1998.13.3 (HAR 700049).

Cat. 33: Book Cover

Tibet; 14th century. Wood; 10.375" h. x 28.75" w. x 1" d. Rubin Museum of Art (HAR 700096).

Cat. 34: Book Cover

Tibet; 15th century. Wood; 3.199" h. x 11.614" w. x 0.443" d. Rubin Museum of Art (HAR 700102).

Cat. 35: Book Cover

Tibet; 15th century. Wood; 8.875" h. x 28.875" w. x 1.125" d. Rubin Museum of Art (HAR 700103).

Cat. 36: Nāga King

Nepal; 18th century. Metal; 24" h. x 13.5" w. x 4" d. Rubin Museum of Art C2004.37.1 (HAR 65392).

Forms of Mañjuśrī

Mañjuśrī is one of the most important bodhisattvas in the Buddhist pantheon, the patron deity of wisdom, education, composition, and memory. He represents the wisdom of all the Buddhas of the ten directions and the three times, and can manifest in different forms depending on the circumstances. Typically, Mañjuśrī is depicted as a beautiful youth wielding a flaming sword that cuts through the ignorance that obscures the true nature of reality and binds beings to a cycle of suffering. In his

left hand he holds a book, the *Book of Transcendental Wisdom*, both the source and embodiment of his awakened understanding.

Wutai shan is defined as Mañjuśrī's abode on Earth by the five unique forms of Mañjuśrī that are said to dwell, one each, on its five peaks. This arrangement of Wutai shan comes out of the Mañjuśrī astrological system that explains the origins of the world and arranges the mountain's five peaks into a cosmic diagram (*maṇḍala*), with each peak placed in a cardinal direction and assigned a corresponding primary color associated with one of the five Buddha realms.

	North Peak: Stainless Mañjuśrī (*vimala*)	
West Peak: Mañjuśrī seated on a lion (*vādisiṁha*)	Central Peak: Mañjuśrī wielding a sword (*mañjuśrī nātha*)	East Peak Four-armed Mañjuśrī (*mañjughoṣa tikṣṇa*)
	South Peak: White Mañjuśrī (*jñānasattva*)	

Cat. 37: Indian Teachers Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva

'phags pa klu sgrub

Eastern Tibet; 19th century. Pigments on cloth; 23 x 15 in. Rubin Museum of Art. C2006.66.167 (HAR 174).

This painting depicts a serpent spirit offering the great philosopher Nāgārjuna the *Book of Transcendental Wisdom* from his watery realm, while his student Āryadeva looks on. This same scene appears in the lower left-hand corner of the adjacent painting.

Above, a luminous White Mañjuśrī hangs in the center of the sky like an autumn moon, while floating down on a diagonal trail of clouds is another form of Mañjuśrī, riding a shaggy Chinese lion, which is associated with the Mañjuśrī emanations at Wutai shan (Fig. 2).

This simple and open composition, with sparing use of pigment and with other Chinese visual conventions such as the stand of bamboo framing the figures to the left, is a worthy transmitter of Si tu paṇ chen's painting style.

Published:

Rhie, Marylin M., and Robert A. F. Thurman. *Worlds of Transformation: Tibetan Art of Wisdom and Compassion*. New York: Tibet House, 1999, No. 40, p. 212.

Cat. 38: Mañjuśrī

'jam dpal dbyangs

From Situ's set of Eight Great Bodhisattvas. Eastern Tibet; 18th century. Pigments on cloth; 33 x 20 in. (83.82 x 50.8 cm). Rubin Museum of Art. F1997.40.6 (HAR 587).

This is a non-iconic form of Mañjuśrī commissioned by the innovative scholar-painter Si tu paṇ chen (1700-1774) as part of his "Eight Great Bodhisattva" set.[163] One of Si tu paṇ chen's greatest artistic legacies was his role in designing simple open painting compositions such as this one.

Normally with an orange color one would expect Mañjuśrī to be energetically wielding his sword, as in Cat. 39. Instead, Situ chose the simple grace of a relaxed pose over the rippling water of a lotus pond, which imbues this image with a quiet contemplative feeling.

Published:

Jackson, David. "Some Karma Kagyupa Paintings in the Rubin Collection." In *Worlds of Transformation: Tibetan Art of Wisdom and Compassion*, ed. Rhie and Thurman. New York: Tibet House, and Harry Abrams, 1999, 103, Plate 10.

Jackson, David. *Patron & Painter: Situ Panchen and the Revival of the Encampment Style*. NY: Rubin Museum of Art, 2009, p, 11.

[163] In 1732 Si tu set up a workshop for painters and had the artist Phrin las rab 'phel of Kar shod trace and sketch older painting(s) of the Eight Great Bodhisattvas originally painted by the great artist Dkon mchog phan bde of E. Dkon mchog phan bde was a painter of the Sman ris school who had been active over one century earlier as court artist of the Ninth Karma pa and teacher of Nam mkha' bkra shis, founder of the Encampment painting tradition. The tracings of his paintings were then painted by artists from Kar shod at Si tu's request. Not only does this set point to the existence of strong Chinese figural and compositional elements in pre-Encampment style painting in the court of the Ninth Karma pa in the sixteenth century but also indicates what kind of models Si tu selected in the revival of this artistic style. See David Jackson, *Patron & Painter: Situ Panchen and the Revival of the Encampment Style* (New York, NY: Rubin Museum of Art, 2009), 10-11, 121-23, and 223.

Cat. 39: Mañjuśrī - *Arapachana*

a ra pa tsa na 'jam dpal dbyangs

Tibet; 17th century. Gilt copper alloy; 22" high. Lent by the Lobsang & Jane Werner-Aye Collection.

This sculpture corresponds to the form of Mañjuśrī who dwells on Wutai shan's central peak, where he is called Mañjuśrī Nātha. A characteristic feature of Mañjuśrī is that he wears his hair in five tresses or braids, corresponding to the five peaks of Wutai shan, which is vividly depicted in this sculpture.

Cat. 40: Mañjuśrī - *Arapachana*

a ra pa tsa na 'jam dpal dbyangs

Tibet; 18th century. Pigments on cloth; 30.875" h. x 20.75" w. Rubin Museum of Art. C2004.1 (HAR 521).

This painting represents the most common form of Mañjuśrī found in all traditions of northern Buddhism. His name, Arapachana, derives from the mystical alphabet based on the *Book of Transcendental Wisdom* itself. This form corresponds to the Mañjuśrī who dwells on Wutai shan's central peak, called Mañjuśrī Nātha. His peak is made of gold and is associated with the realm of the Buddha Vairocana. His right hand holds aloft the blue flaming sword of wisdom which severs ignorance. The left holds the stem of an *utpala* flower supporting on the blossom the *Book of Transcendental Wisdom*.

Above in the clouds appear teachers of the Sa skya school of Tibetan Buddhism. Mañjuśrī is considered very important to the Sa skya school, so much so that all of the important

lineage holders of the Sa skya school were regarded as emanations of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī.

Published:

Rhie, Marylin M., and Robert A. F. Thurman. *Worlds of Transformation: Tibetan Art of Wisdom and Compassion*. New York: Tibet House New York, Publishers, 1999, Cat. No. 31.

Cat. 41: Mañjuśrī - *Arapachana*

a ra pa tsa na 'jam dpal dbyangs

Tibet; 19th century. Pigments on cloth; 16¼ x 12¼ in. C2006.66.464 (HAR 925).

This orange form of Mañjuśrī, wielding his sword and holding the *Book of Transcendental Wisdom* aloft, is associated with Wutai shan's central peak. At the bottom center Sarasvatī, Goddess of Literature, Learning, and Music, plays her lute.

This painting is a pastiche of several compositions by the great eighteenth-century scholar-painter Si tu paṇ chen (1700-1774). It includes Asaṅga and Vasubandhu at bottom right and Āryadeva and Nāgārjuna receiving the *Book of Transcendental Wisdom* from the serpent spirits (*nāga*) at bottom left, both from a larger set of Indian scholars called the "Six Ornaments and Two Superiors." (See Cat. 37 for one of the compositions this painting was based on.) However, something of Si tu paṇ chen's brilliance as a composer of paintings is lost in the repeated copying, most noticeably where his billowing-cloud and swirling-water forms of Chinese inspiration have become hardened into flat linear patterns.

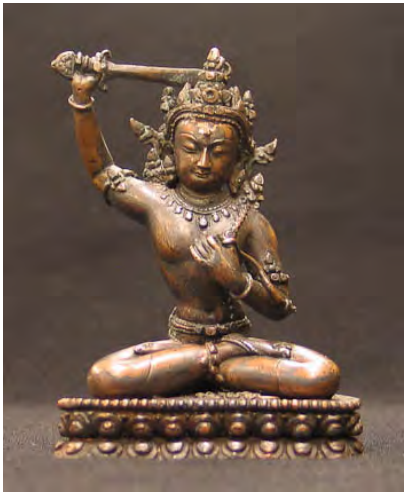
Cat. 42: Mañjuśrī

'jam dpal dbyangs

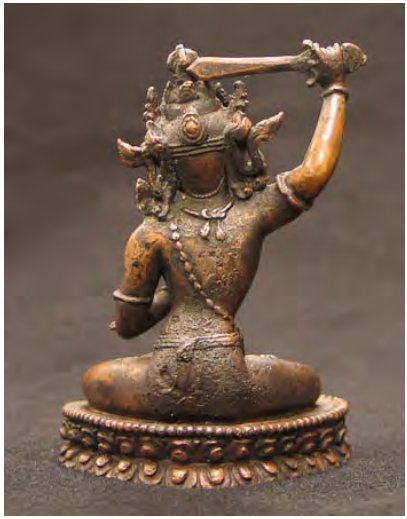
Tibet, 12th-13th century. Bronze; height 14.3 cm. Collection of Nyingjei Lam (HAR 68323).

Cat. 43: Mañjuśrī

'jam dpal dbyangs



Tibet; 15th century. Copper alloy; 3⅝ x 3½ x ¾ in. Rubin Museum of Art.C2006.23.2 (HAR 65656).



Cat. 44: Mañjuśrī

'jam dpal dbyangs

Tibet, 14th century. Metalwork; height: 14 cm. Collection of Nyingjei Lam (HAR 68322).

Published: Weldon, David, and Jane Casey Singer. *The Sculptural Heritage of Tibet: Buddhist Art in the Nyingjei Lam Collection*. London: Laurence King Publishing, 1999, 72.

Cat. 45: White Mañjuśrī

'jam dpal dkar po

Tibet; 19th century. Pigments on cloth; 21 x 14 in. Rubin Museum of Art. C2006.66.30 (HAR 846).

White Mañjuśrī corresponds to the form of Mañjuśrī that inhabits Wutai shan's southern terrace, where he is called Jñānasattva. His peak is made of semiprecious stones and is associated with the realm of the Buddha Ratnasaṁbhava. Here he is depicted as an eight-year-old youth, white, like the autumn moon, with his hair tied into five tufts. The *Book of Transcendental Wisdom* is supported by an *utpala* blossom at his left shoulder. As described in early liturgical texts, below the deity's lotus throne a pair of elephants plays in the water.

The Tibetan painter's choices of color create a remarkable effect in this painting. The deep blue of the sky combined with the soft warm orange of the nimbus overlaid with fine lines of gold contrasts with the cool luminous white of the

bodhisattva's body, causing it to shine forth like moonlight, just as he is described in his liturgy.

Cat. 46: *Mañjuśrī Nāmasaṃgīti*

'jam dpal mtshan brjod

Tibet; 19th century. Pigment on cotton; 14¾ x 14¼ in. Rubin Museum of Art. C2004.1 (HAR 236).

This four-armed form of Mañjuśrī is similar to the one who resides on the eastern terrace of Wutai shan, where he is called Mañjughoṣa Tikṣṇa. His peak is made of crystal and is associated with the realm of the Buddha Akṣobhya.

Iconometric measuring lines have been drawn with red and blue ink, indicating the correct physical proportions for the drawing of this form of Mañjuśrī. The Tibetan Buddhist painting traditions follow strict guidelines for body proportions, which vary according to the kind of figure being depicted.

Cat. 47: *Mañjuśrī Nāmasaṃgīti*

'jam dpal mtshan brjod/

Tibet; 15th century. Pigments on cloth; 35 x 24¼ in. Rubin Museum of Art. C2006.66.119 (HAR 62).

This form of Mañjuśrī is similar to the one that resides on the eastern terrace of Wutai shan, where he is called Mañjughoṣa Tikṣṇa. Filling the surrounding space of this painting are one hundred figures displaying the three most common forms of Mañjuśrī. At the bottom left is a teacher (*bla ma*) seated on a throne, wearing red monastic robes and hat, and accepting white scarves from a *bla ma* and a lay woman wearing an apron. Opposite, just above the bottom right corner, are two small figures seated upon lotus blossoms and facing toward the main figure of Mañjuśrī. These two, possibly deceased children, may be the reason for the commissioning of the work. The merit gained from the sponsoring and viewing of the painting is dedicated toward a beneficial rebirth of the two individuals.

At the top of the deities' throne back, a scrolling vegetal pattern of curling leaves is painted in cool blues and greens against a contrasting warm red ground causing them to spring forth, creating an abstract pattern that gives this provincial painting its charm. This painting is likely from the remote area of Dol po on the Tibet-Nepal border.

Cat. 48: Mañjuśrī

Nepal; 16th century. Gilt copper alloy with inlays of semiprecious stones; 8.5" h. x 4.25" w. x 4" d. Rubin Museum of Art. C2003.33.2 (HAR 65255).

This sculpture of Mañjuśrī, with his leg hanging down, could have once been seated on a lion (now lost), which would make him Mañjuśrī Dharmadhātu or

Siṁhanāda, corresponding to the form of Mañjuśrī who lives on Wutai shan's western peak.

There are several features that identify this sculpture as Nepalese, specifically the distinctive helmet crowned with a vajra that he wares and the inlaying of translucent semiprecious stones such as crystal, which is more common in Nepal than Tibet.

Cat. 49: Mañjuśrī

'jam dpal dbyangs

Tibet; tenth century. Gilt copper alloy; 9.5" h. x 3.5" w. x 1.5" d. Rubin Museum of Art. C2002.29.3 (HAR 65147).

This sculpture from western Tibet follows Pala patterns of non-iconic forms, in which the deity holds the attributes of the bodhisattva, such as the sword, here held in a martial pose at his chest, but does not follow Tantric textual descriptions. In such non-iconic images, the composition of the figure is arranged by the sculptor based on personal artistic considerations and are, therefore, often some of the more visually interesting.

Cat. 50: Protective Astrological Chart

srid pa ho

Tibet; 19th century. Ground mineral pigment on cotton. Rubin Museum of Art. C2006.71.11 (HAR 65764).

This Tibetan astrological chart is an auspicious talisman and an instructional tool that brings good fortune to all those who see, display, or possess it. Such charts can often be found hanging on the walls of Tibetan houses or even engraved on amulets carried on one's person. This Tibetan system of astrology derives from China and was believed to have been taught by Mañjuśrī at Wutai shan. It is unclear when this association with Mañjuśrī on Wutai shan as the source of Tibetan divination started, but it is already present in the fourteenth-century *Padma bka' thang* (1352), a biography of Padmasambhava (*pad ma 'byung gnas*) by the treasure revealer O rgyan gling pa (b. 1323).[164] By the seventeenth century this perception that Mañjuśrī taught this system of divination represented in this chart on Wutai shan is firmly established, as can be seen in *The White Beryl* (*baiḍūrya dkar po*), an (encyclopedic) treatise on Tibetan astrology and divination commissioned by the Fifth Dalai Lama's regent, the Sde srid sangs rgyas rgya mtsho (1653-1705).[165]

The primary figure at bottom center is a yellow tortoise, an emanation of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, lying on its back. The tortoise is a metaphor for creation, and origin myths of the world were based on this system of astrology, with the image of the tortoise at its center. On the tortoise's belly is a small circle of nine colored squares containing the nine magic numbers (*sme ba dgu*), the eight trigrams (*spar kha brgyad*), and the twelve animals of the zodiac, which, combined with the five elements, form the sixty-year cycle of the Tibetan calendar. Along the sides are rows of sigils, each representing a negative spirit, which binds them in a contract agreeing not to harm the displayer of the image. Along the top Indian deities, planetary deities, and important stars guard against maladies like epilepsy.

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[164] Yeshe Tsogyal, *The Life and Liberation of Padmasambhava* (Berkeley: Dharma Publishing, 1978); Gustave-Charles Toussaint, *Le Dict de Padma: Padma Thang yig Ms. de Lithang*, Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises 3 (Paris: Librairie Ernest Leroux, 1933), 152-54; cited by Köhle, "Why Did the Kangxi Emperor Go to Wutai Shan?" M. A. Thesis, 10, fn. 14.

[165] Sde srid sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, *Tibetan Elemental Divination Paintings: Illuminated Manuscripts from the White Beryl of Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho: With the Moonbeams Treatise of Lo chen Dharmaśrī*, commentary and translation by Gyurme Dorje (London: John Eskenasi, 2001), 19-59.

Seated at top center of this painting is Mañjuśrī in his more familiar form, wielding a flaming sword.

Cat. 51: Mañjuśrī

'jam dpal dbyangs

Tibet or China; 18th century. Pigments on cloth; 56½ x 31¾ in. Rubin Museum of Art. C2006.40.1 (HAR 65685).

At the top and bottom of this Chinese-inspired painting of Mañjuśrī are small narrative scenes, possibly depicting Mañjuśrī's previous lives. This is an unusual theme to find illustrated, and based on comparisons to other known sets, this work would likely have been the fifth painting from a set of seven.[166]

[166] A set of seven paintings of this unusual theme, otherwise unknown to me in Tibetan Buddhism, can be found in the Palace Museum in Beijing. Thanks to Jeff Watt for this identification and bringing this set in Beijing to my attention. Another painting in the RMA collection of Mañjuśrī Arapachana C2006.31.5 (HAR 65662) with narrative scenes in the corners, each labeled; may belong to a related thematic set.

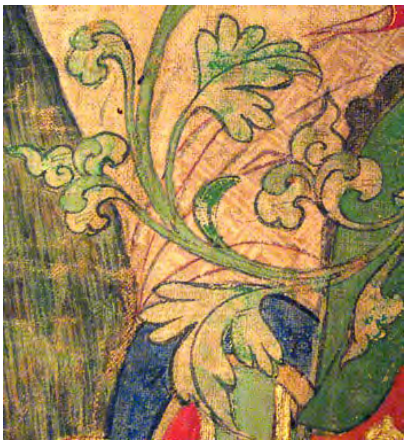

Figure 41. Artist notations, detail of Cat. 50 Mañjuśrī. Rubin Museum of Art C2006.40.1 (HAR 65685).

Figure 42. Attendant figures, detail of Cat. 50 Mañjuśrī. Rubin Museum of Art C2006.40.1 (HAR 65685).

Although painted with a strong Chinese sensibility, the Tibetan identity of the painters is revealed in Tibetan language artists' color notations where the paint has flaked away (Fig. 41). Also, while the clothing of the secondary figures are quite Chinese in general appearance, details like the crown and hat of the two attendant figures to the left (Fig. 42) do not appear in either Tibetan or Chinese painting, suggesting that Tibetan painters referenced models from another culture with strong connections to Chinese art, such as the Tanguts, Kitans, or Jurchin of Central Asia. In overall palette and style this painting would appear to be an eighteenth-century work.[167]

[167] There is also a painting of Maitreya in the Rubin Museum of Art (C2006.66.34 HAR 1111) of similar size and general appearance in the RMA which has been identified by some as belonging to the same set (see for instance: http://www.himalayanart.org/image.cfm?icode=1111), and it has even been suggested that both these works date to the Tangut period (eleventh to early thirteenth century). However in comparing these two paintings closely one notices that the painters who produced the Maitreya composition had a good grasp of how a Chinese landscape is built up with layers of ink, using specific specialized brush techniques, such as the "axe" texture stroke, while the painters of the Mañjuśrī painting here employ no recognizable Chinese brushwork in this simple blue-green landscape of only distant Chinese inspiration, such as can be seen in the rocks framing the foreground. Also, as already noted in Rhie and Thurman (Marylin Rhie and Robert Thurman, eds., *Worlds of Transformation: Tibetan Art of Wisdom and Compassion* [New York, NY: Tibet House, 1999], 198-200, no. 33), the composition of the landscape in the Maitreya painting is more consistent with paintings of Chinese forms of Avalokiteśvara, such as Water Moon Guanyin (Shuiyue Guanyin, 水月观音), opening even this identification of the central deity to question. It is almost as if within the same workshop there are two sets of painters at work, one Chinese-trained who provided the ink landscape and the three large attendant

Glossary

Note: *The glossary is organized into sections according to the main language of each entry. The first section contains Tibetan words organized in Tibetan alphabetical order. Columns of information for all entries are listed in this order: THL Extended Wylie transliteration of the term, THL Phonetic rendering of the term, the English translation, the Sanskrit equivalent, the Chinese equivalent, other equivalents such as Mongolian or Latin, associated dates, and the type of term.*

Ka					
Wylie	**Phonetics**	**English**	**Other**	**Dates**	**Type**
kaḥthog	Katok				Monastery
ka dam pa bde gshegs	Kadampa Deshek			1122-1192	Person
karma pa	Karmapa				Person
kar shod	Karshö				Place
kun dga' rgyal mtshan	Künga Gyentsen			1182-1251	Person
kun tu khyab pa'i lha khang	Küntu Khyappé Lhakhang	Complete Illumination Monastery	Chi. *Yuanzhao si*		Monastery
kun bde tshal	Kündé Tsel	Cloister of Universal Joy	Chi. *Pule yuan*		Building
kun dpag gling	Künpak Ling	Pushou monastery	Chi. *Pushou si*		Monastery
krong ko'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang	Trongkö Bö Rikpa Petrünkhang				Publisher
klong chen pa	Longchenpa				Person
klong chen pa dri med 'od zer	Longchenpa Drimé Özer			1308-1363	Person
dkon mchog phan bde	Könchok Pendé				Person
dkyil 'khor	kyinkhor		San. *maṇḍala*		Term
bka' 'gyur	*Kangyur*				Text
bka' brgyud	Kangyü				Organization
bka' thang zangs gling ma	*Katang Zanglingma*	*Chronicles of Zanglingma (Life story of Padmasambhava)*			Text
bka' shog	kashok	edict			Term

figures at the bottom (such as the boy sudhana), and another Tibetan-trained who painted the main figure of this red Maitreya, bearing his distinctive identifying attributes *stūpa* and ewer, as well as the surrounding narrative scenes. Evidence of this hypothesis is visible on the main figure, where green pigment has abraded away to reveal the same Tibetan painting notations visible in the Mañjuśrī painting presented here. The early dating of these paintings to the eleventh-early thirteenth century also seems unlikely, for while certain archaic forms such as the hats of the attendant figures in the Mañjuśrī painting do appear, the landscape conventions employed are consistent with much later Chinese painting, such as those of the eighteenth century.

sku brnyan sum brgya	*Kunyen Sumgya*	*The Three Hundred Icons*			Text
sku 'bum par khang	Kumbum Parkhang				Publisher
Kha					
Wylie	**Phonetics**	**English**	**Other**	**Dates**	**Type**
khams	Kham				Place
khri srong lde btsan	Tri Songdetsen			742-796	Person
mkhas grub	Khedrup			1385-1438	Person
mkhas pa'i dga' ston	*Khepé Gatön*	*A Feast for Scholars*			Text
Ga					
Wylie	**Phonetics**	**English**	**Other**	**Dates**	**Type**
gang pa	Gangpa				Author
gangs can rig mdzod	Gangchen Rikdzö				Series
grub chen o rgyan pa'i rnam par thar pa byin brlabs kyi chu rgyun	*Drupchen Orgyenpé Nampar Tarpa Jinlapkyi Chugyün*	*A Stream of Blessings, A Biography/Hagiography of the Mahāsiddha Orgyenpa*			Text
grub phyogs kun 'dus gling	Drupchok Kündü Ling	Shifang Hall	Chi. *Shifang Tang*		Building
gro tshang rdo rje 'chang	Drotsang Dorjé Chang		Chi. *Qutan si*		Monastery
grwa sa chen po bzhi dang rgyud pa stod smad chags tshul pad dkar 'phreng bo	*Drasa Chenpo Zhi dang Gyüpa Tömé Chaktsül Pekar Trengwo*	*A Garland of White Lotuses, the Formation of the Four Monastic Colleges and Upper and Lower Tantric Colleges*			Text
dge tshogs gling	Getsok Ling	Jifu Monastery	Chi. *Jifu si*		Monastery
dge lugs	Geluk				Organization
dge bshes	geshé	doctor of divinity			Term
dge slong	gelong	monk	Mon. *gelung*		Term
mgon po ri	Gönpo Ri	Mahākāla Hill			Mountain
rgya gar phug	Gyagar Puk	India Cave	Chi. *Xitian Dong*		Cave
rgya bod yig tshang chen mo	*Gyabö Yiktsang Chenmo*	*The Great Tibetan-Chinese Dictionary*			Text
rgya bod hor sog gi mchog bar pa rnams la 'phrin yig snyan ngag tu bkod pa rab snyan rgyud mang	*Gyaböhorsokgi Chok Barpa Namla Trinyik Nyenngaktu Köpa Rapnyen Gyümang*	*The Collected Correspondence of the Fifth Dalai Lama to Persons in China, Tibet, and Mongolia*			Text
rgya mtsho 'dul ba'i gling	Gyatso Dülwé Ling	Taming the Ocean Monastery	Chi. *Zhenhai si*		Monastery
rgyal bo kyin kang me kyi	Gyelbo Kyinkang Mekyi		Chi. *Jingang Miji Wang*		Buddhist deity

rgyal yum sgrub phug	Gyelyum Druppuk	Mother of the Buddha Cave	Chi. *Fomu Dong*		Building
sga a gnyan dam pa kun dga' grags	Ga Aknyen Dampa Künga Drak		Chi. *Danba*	1230-1303	Person
sgra gcan 'dzin gyi lha khang	Drachendzingyi Lhakhang	Rāhula Temple	Chi. *Luohou si*		Monastery
Nga					
Wylie	**Phonetics**	**English**	**Other**	**Dates**	**Type**
ngag dbang blo bzang	Ngawang Lozang		Chi. *Awang Laozang*	1601-1687	Person
ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho	Ngawang Lozang Gyatso				Author
ngor mkhan chen sangs rgyas phun tshogs	Ngor Khenchen Sanggyé Püntsok			1649-1705	Author
mnga' bdag nyang ral nyi ma 'od zer	Ngadak Nyangrel Nyima Özer				Person
mngon par gsal ba'i lha khang	Ngönpar Selwé Lhakhang	Clear Understanding Monastery	Chi. *Xiantong si*		Monastery
Ca					
Wylie	**Phonetics**	**English**	**Other**	**Dates**	**Type**
co ne	Choné		Chi. *Zhuonichanding si*		Monastery
lcags zam pa thang stong rgyal po	Chakzampa Tangtong Gyelpo	Iron Bridge Man		1361?-1485	Person
lcang skya hu thog thu	Changja Hutukhtu		Chi. *Zhangjia Hutuketu*		Person
lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje	Changja Rölpé Dorjé				Person
lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje'i rnam thar	*Changja Rölpé Dorjé Namtar*	*A Biography/Hagiography of Changja Rölpé Dorjé*			Text
Cha					
Wylie	**Phonetics**	**English**	**Other**	**Dates**	**Type**
cham	cham	dance			Term
chu shing	chushing	rattan wood			Term
chub mig gsum 'dres gling	Chupmik Sumdré Ling	Sanquan Monastery	Chi. *Sanquan si*		Monastery
chos kyi dbang phyug	Chökyi Wangchuk			1212-1270	Person
chos kyi seng ge	Chökyi Senggé				Author
chos grags rgya mtsho	Chödrak Gyatso	The Seventh Karmapa		1454-1506	Person
chos rgyal 'phags pa	Chögyel Pakpa				Person

chos rgyal 'phags pa blo gros rgyal mtshan	Chögyel Pakpa Lodrö Gyentsen			1235-1280	Person
mchod rten	chörten	reliquary	San. *stūpa*		Term
mchod rten gsum pa'i gling	Chörten Sumpé Ling	Santa Monastery	Chi. *Santa si*		Monastery
Ja					
Wylie	**Phonetics**	**English**	**Other**	**Dates**	**Type**
jo khang	Jokhang		Chi. *Dazhao si*		Building
'jam dpal dbyangs	Jampel Yang		San. *Mañjughoṣa*		Buddhist deity
'jam dpal dbyangs	Jampel Yang	Bodhisattva of Wisdom	San. *Mañjuśrī*		Buddhist deity
'jam dbyangs mkhyen rtse dbang po	Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo			b. 1819	Person
'jam dbyangs la ri bo rtse lngar bstod pa nor bu'i phreng ba	*Jamyangla Riwo Tsengar Töpa Norbü Trengwa*	*The Garland of Jewels: Praise to Mañjuśrī at Wutaishan*			Text
rje btsun dam pa	Jetsün Dampa				Person
Nya					
Wylie	**Phonetics**	**English**	**Other**	**Dates**	**Type**
nyang ral nyi ma 'od zer	Nyangrel Nyima Özer			1136-1204	Person
nyang ral nyi ma'od zer	Nyangrel Nyima Özer			1136-1204	Person
rnying ma	Nyingma				Organization
Ta					
Wylie	**Phonetics**	**English**	**Other**	**Dates**	**Type**
tā khu re	Takhuré		Chi. *Dakuwei* Mon. *Da Khüriye*		Place
ta la'i bla ma	Talé Lama	Oceanic Guru			Person
tu'u bkwan chos kyi nyima	Tukwan Chökyi Nyima				Author
gter ston	tertön	treasure revealer			Term
rta mgrin tshe dbang	Tamdrin Tsewang				Author
rtag brtan bde chen gling	Takten Dechen Ling	Temple of Longevity and Tranquility	Chi. *Shouning si*		Monastery
ltog gi spag ri	Tokgi Pakri	Huanhua Monastery	Chi. *Huanhua si*		Monastery
bstan 'gyur	*Tengyur*	*"Translated Treatises" (the complete collection of the Buddhist commentarial tradition explaining the Kangyur, the Translated Words of the Buddha)*			Text

Tha					
Wylie	**Phonetics**	**English**	**Other**	**Dates**	**Type**
thang ka	tangka				Term
thim phu	Timpu				Publication Place
Da					
Wylie	**Phonetics**	**English**	**Other**	**Dates**	**Type**
dam pa	Dampa				Person
ding ri glang 'khor	Dingri Langkhor			1097	Monastery
deb ther sngon po	*Depter Ngönpo*	*Blue Annals*		ca. 1476-1478	Text
dol po	Dölpo				Place
dwangs bsil ri bo rtse lnga'i gnas bshad	*Dangsil Riwo Tsengé Neshé*	*A Pilgrimage Guide to Clear and Cool Five-Peaked Mountain*			Text
gdong drug snyems pa'i blo gros	Dongdruk Nyempé Lodrö				Author
bde gshegs bstan pa'i gsal byed chos kyi 'byung gnas	*Deshek Tenpé Seljé Chökyi Jungné*	*History of Buddhism in India and Tibet*		1322	Text
mdo smad chos 'byung	*Domé Chöjung*	*History of Amdo*			Text
rdo sgo glegs	dogo lek	stone door panel			Term
rdo rje phug	Dorjé Puk	Vajra Cave	Chi. *Jingang ku*		Monastery
sde dge	Degé		Chi. *Dege*		Place
sde srid sangs rgyas rgya mtsho	Desi Sanggyé Gyatso			1653-1705	Person
Na					
Wylie	**Phonetics**	**English**	**Other**	**Dates**	**Type**
nam mkha' bkra shis	Namkha Trashi				Person
nam mkha' seng ge	Namkha Senggé			fourteenth c.	Person
nas lung pa ngag dbang rdo rje	Nelungpa Ngawang Dorjé			b. seventeenth century	Person
nor bzang	Norzang		San. *Maṇibhadra*		Buddhist deity
nor bzang sgrub phug	Norzang Druppuk	Cave of Sudhana	Chi. *Shancai Dong*		Building
rnam par rgyal ma	Nampar Gyelma	A type of ritual speech	San. *dhāraṇī*		Term
Pa					
Wylie	**Phonetics**	**English**	**Other**	**Dates**	**Type**
pad ma 'byung gnas	Pema Jungné		San. *Padmasambhava*		Person
padma bka' thang	*Pema Katang*	*Chronicles of the Lotus [Born], a biography of Padmasambhava*			Text

paṇ chen bla ma	Penchen Lama				Person
dpal ldan bkra shis	Pelden Trashi				Person
dpal 'byor bzang po	Peljor Zangpo				Author
spar kha brgyad	parkha gyé	eight trigrams			Term
spyan ras gzigs kyi phug	Chenrezikkyi Puk	Cave of Avalokiteśvara	Chi. *Guanyin Dong*		Building
Pha					
Wylie	**Phonetics**	**English**	**Other**	**Dates**	**Type**
pha dam pa	Padampa				Person
pha dam pa dang ma cig lab sgron gyi rnam thar	*Padampa dang Machik Lapdröngyi Namtar*	*Biographies of Dampa Sanggyé and Machik Lapdrön*			Text
pha dam pa sangs rgyas	Padampa Sanggyé		Chi. *Padangba Sangjie*	d. 1117	Person
phag mo gru	Pakmodru				Name government
phur lcog ngag dbang byams pa	Purchok Ngawang Jampa				Person
phrin las rab 'phel	Trinlé Rappel				Person
'phags pa	Pakpa				Person
'phags pa shing kun gyi dkar chag	*Pakpa Shingküngyi Karchak*	*Descriptive Catalog of Svayambhu*			Text
Ba					
Wylie	**Phonetics**	**English**	**Other**	**Dates**	**Type**
bal yul rang byung mchod rten chen po'i lo rgyus	*Belyül Rangjung Chörten Chenpö Logyü*	*History of the Svāyambhū Stupa*	San. *Svāyambhūpurāṇa*		Text
bi ji	Biji				Person
bu ston chos 'byung	*Butön Chöjung*	*A History of Buddhism according to Butön*			Text
bu ston chos 'byung gsung rab rin po che'i mdzod	*Butön Chöjung Sungrap Rinpoché Dzö*	*A Treasury of Precious Teachings, a History of Buddhism according to Butön*			Text
bu ston rin chen grub	Butön Rinchendrup			1290-1364	Person
bug pa	bukpa	hole			Term
baiḍūrya dkar po	*Baidurya Karpo*	*The White Beryl*			Text
bog to rgyal po	Bokto Gyelpo		Chi. *Hongtaiji*		Person
byang chub sems dpa'i spor	Jangchup Sempé Por	Cloister of the True Contenance	Chi. *Pusa Ding*		Monastery
byams dge gling	Jamgé Ling	Kindness and Happiness Monastery	Chi. *Cifu si*		Monastery

brag khung	Drakkhung	rock cave			Place
bla brang	Labrang				Monastery
bla ma	lama		San. *guru* Chi. *lama*		Term
blo bzang sman lam	Lozang Menlam		Chi. *Amo Luosang Manlong*		Person
dbyangs can dga' ba'i blo gros	Yangchen Gawé Lodrö				Author
'bri gung	Drigung				Organization
sba bzhed	*Bazhé*	*Testament of Ba*			Text
sba' bzhed zhabs btags ma	*Bazhé Zhaptakma*	*The Testament of Ba*			Text
Ma					
Wylie	**Phonetics**	**English**	**Other**	**Dates**	**Type**
mi bskyod rdo rje	Mikyö Dorjé	The Eighth Karmapa		1507-1554	Person
dmar po ri	Marpo Ri	Red Hill			Mountain
sman ris	Menri				Name generic
sme ba dgu	mewa gu	nine magic numbers			Term
smon lam rdo rje	Mönlam Dorjé			1284-1346/7	Person
Tsa					
Wylie	**Phonetics**	**English**	**Other**	**Dates**	**Type**
tsi tsu sa ra gtsug lag khang	Tsitsu Sara Tsuklak Khang	Tsitsu Sara Chapel			Building
tsong kha pa	Tsongkhapa		Chi. *Zongkapa*		Person
gtsug lag khang	tsuklak khang	chapel	San. *vihāra*		Term
btsan po	tsenpo				Term
rtsa ba'i bla ma	tsawé lama	root guru			Term
Tsha					
Wylie	**Phonetics**	**English**	**Other**	**Dates**	**Type**
tshangs dbyangs rgya mtsho	Tsangyang Gyatso	The Sixth Dalai Lama		1683-1706/ 1746	Person
tshal pa	Tselpa				Person
mtshur phu	Tsurpu				Monastery
mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang	Tsongön Mirik Petrünkhang				Publisher
Dza					
Wylie	**Phonetics**	**English**	**Other**	**Dates**	**Type**
dza sag bla ma	Dzasak Lama	Jasagh Lama	Chi. *Zhasa* Mon. *Zasag/Jasag*		Person
dznyā na srī man	Dznyana Srimen				Author
rdzogs chen	Dzokchen				Doxographical Category
Zha					
Wylie	**Phonetics**	**English**	**Other**	**Dates**	**Type**
zhi byed	Zhijé	Pacification of Suffering			Doxographical Category

zhing mchog ri bo dwangs bsil gyi gnas bshad dad pa'i padmo rgyas byed ngo mtshar nyi ma'i snang ba	*Zhingchok Riwo Dangsilgyi Neshé Depé Pemo Gyejé Ngotsar Nyimé Nangwa*	*A Pilgrimage Guide to the Pure Land of Clear and Cool Mountain (Wutaishan)*			Text
zhing mchog ri bo dwangs bsil gyi gnas bshad	*Zhingchok Riwo dang Silgyi Neshé*	*Pilgrimage Guide to the Pure Realm of Clear and Cool Mountain*			Text
Ya					
Wylie	**Phonetics**	**English**	**Other**	**Dates**	**Type**
yul bsrung gling	Yülsung Ling	Youguo Moanstery	Chi. *Youguo si*		Monastery
ye shes tsogyal	Yeshé Tsogyel				Person
yongs 'dul gling	Yongdül Ling	Guanghua Monastery	Chi. *Guanghuahou si*		Monastery
Ra					
Wylie	**Phonetics**	**English**	**Other**	**Dates**	**Type**
rang byung rdo rje	Rangjung Dorjé			1284-1339	Person
ri bo dwangs bsil	Riwo Dangsil	Clear and Cool Mountain	Chi. *Qingliang shan*		Mountain
ri bo rtse lnga	Riwo Tsenga	Five-Peak Mountain	Chi. *Wutai shan*		Mountain
ri bo rtse lnga'i dkar chag rab gsal me long	*Riwo Tsengé Karchak Rapsel Melong*	*A Clear Mirror, a Catalog of Five-Peak Mountain*			Text
ri bo rtse lngar mjal skabs kyi gnas bstod mgur	Riwo Tsenga Jelkapkyi Netö Gur	A Praise of Riwo Tsenga: Songs made on the Occasion of Visiting There; Origins of Great Buddhist Festivals Observed There			Article
rigs med	rikmé	non-sectarian			Term
rin chen snying po gzungs	*Rinchen Nyingpo Zung*		San. *Ratnagarbha-dhāraṇī Sūtra*		Text
rin chen dpal ldan	Rinchen Penden		Chi. *Wuzong*	r. 1506-1521	Person
rin po che snying po'i gzungs	*Rinpoché Nyingpö Zung*		San. *Mañjuśrī-dharma-ratnagarbha-dhāraṇī Sūtra* Chi. *Baozang tuoluoni jing*		Text
rol pa'i rdo rje	Rölpé Dorjé		Chi. *Ruobi Duoji*		Person
La					
Wylie	**Phonetics**	**English**	**Other**	**Dates**	**Type**
lan jus sde bzhi sogs kyi dkar chag	*Lenjü Depzhi Sokkyi Karchak*	*A Catalog of the Four Monastic Communities of Liangzhou, Gansu*			Text

las stod	Letö		Chi. *Liangzhou*		Place
Sha					
Wylie	**Phonetics**	**English**	**Other**	**Dates**	**Type**
shākya ye shes	Shakya Yeshé		Chi. *Shijia Yeshi*	d. 1435	Person
Sa					
Wylie	**Phonetics**	**English**	**Other**	**Dates**	**Type**
sa skya paṇḍita	Sakya Pendita				Person
sa skya'i gdung rabs	*Sakyé Dungrap*	*Sakya Lineage*			Text
sa paṇ rtogs brjod bskal bzang legs lam	*Sapen Tokjö Kelzang Lekla*	*Avadana (Biography) of Sakya Pendita*		1519	Text
sangs rgyas rabs bdun dgon	Sanggyé Rapdün Gön	Seven Buddha Monastery	Chi. *Qifo si*		Monastery
si tu paṇ chen	Situ Penchen				Person
si tu paṇ chen chos kyi 'byung gnas	Situ Penchen Chökyi Jungné			1700-1774	Person
se kri ngag dbang bstan dar	Setri Ngawang Tendar				Author
se ra	Sera		Chi. *Sela*		Monastery
srong btsan sgam po	Songtsen Gampo			ca. 569-649; rl. 617-650	Person
bsam yas	Samyé				Monastery
bsod nams rgya mtsho	Sönam Gyatso			1543-1588	Person
bsod nams 'od zer	Sönam Özer			b. 13th c.	Person
Ha					
Wylie	**Phonetics**	**English**	**Other**	**Dates**	**Type**
lha khang lcags thog can bya ba	Lhakhang Chaktokchen Jawa	Tiewa Temple	Chi. *Tiewa si*		Monastery
lha sa	Lhasa		Chi. *Lasa*		Place
lhun grub	lhündrup	ordained monk			Term
lhun grub bde chen gling	Lhündrup Dechen Ling	Dachongjiao Monastery	Chi. *Dachongjiao si*		Monastery
A					
Wylie	**Phonetics**	**English**	**Other**	**Dates**	**Type**
a kyā yongs 'dzin dbyangs can dga' ba'i blo gros	Aja Yongdzin Yangchen Gawé Lodrö				Author
a mdo	Amdo				Place
u rgyan pa	Urgyenpa				Person
u rgyan pa rin chen dpal	Urgyanpa Rinchen Pel			1229/ 1230-1309	Person
o rgyan gling pa	Orgyen Lingpa			b. 1323	Person

Chinese					
Wylie	**Phonetics**	**English**	**Chinese**	**Dates**	**Type**
			Aixin Jueluo Xuanye		Author
		Ancient Choné Monastery, Amdo	*Anduo gucha chanding si*		Article
		Anhui Province	*Anhui Sheng*		Place
			Anige	1244-1278/ 1306	Person
			Awang Qingba		Person
			Awang Sangbu		Person
			Awang Yixi		Person
			Bai Lina		Author
			Bai Fusheng		Author
		Great White Stūpa	*Baita si*		Building
		seven jewels of the monarch	*baoqi*		Term
		Baoxiang Monastery	*Baoxiang si*		Monastery
		Sutra of Precious Rain	*Baoyu jing*		Text
			Baozang tuoluoni jing (San. *Ratnagarbha-dhāraṇī sūtra*)		Text
		Pakpa and Mt. Wutai	*Basiba yu Wutai shan*		Article
		Beihai Park	*Beihai Gongyuan*		Building
		Capital of Yuan Dynasty	*Beijing*		Place
			Cai Hong		Author
			Cangsang		Journal
			Cao		Person
			Chen Qingying		Author
			Chengdu		Publication Place
			Chenlai Da'erlai		Person
		Chongguo Monastery	*Chongguo si*		Monastery
			Chongshi shu yuan		Publisher
			Chun Rong		Author
		Cifu Monastery	*Cifu si*		Article
		Kindness Cloud Temple	*Ciyun si*		Monastery
			Cui Wenkui		Author
			Cui Yuqin		Author
			Cui Zhengsen		Author

		inch	*cun*		Term
		Da Lama	*Da Lama*		Term
		The Stupa of the Imperial Preceptor of the Yuan Dynasty, Pakpa	*Da Yuan dai dishi basiba yiguan ta*		Article
			Dadu		Place
			Dakuwei		Term
			Dansheng Jiacuo		Person
		field of activity	*daochang* (San. *maṇḍa*)		Term
		Travels to Western Lands	*Datang xiyu ji*		Text
		Dayuanzhao Temple	*Dayuanzhao si*		Monastery
		Great Kingdom of China	*dazhenna*		Term
		Imperial Preceptor	*dishi*		Person
			Dong Da tushu gongsi		Publisher
		East Asian Sino-Tibetan Buddhist History Research	*Dong Ya Han Zang fojiao yanjiu*		Text
			Du Doucheng		Author
			Dunhuang		Place
		Textual Evidence on Mt. Wutai from Dunhuang	*Dunhuang Wutai shan wenxian*		Text
		Emei Mountain	*Emei shan*		Mountain
		Buddha Light Monastery	*Foguang si*		Monastery
			Fojiao wen shi		Journal
		Buddha Mother Cave	*Fomu Dong*		Article
			Fotuo Poli (San. *Buddhapālita*)		Person
		Buddha Footprint Stele	*Fozu Bei*		Building
		A Comprehensive Registry of the Successive Ages of the Buddhist Patriarchs	*Fozu lidai tongzai*	before 1340	Text
			Gailichen Pianer		Person
		Gansu Province	*Gansu*		Place
			Gansu minzu chubanshe		Publisher
			Gao Chengwen		Author
			Gao Lintao		Author

			Geshou Quebei		Person
		Guayue Peak	*Guayue feng*		Mountain
			Gugong bowuyuan yuankan		Journal
			Guo Chengwen		Author
			Hebei		Publication Place
			Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe		Publisher
		Helan Mountains	*Helan shan*		Mountain
		Henan Province	*Henan*		Place
			Hexi		Place
			Hongwu		Person
			Hou Huiming		Author
			Houzhao si		Monastery
		yellow temple	*huangmiao*		Term
		The Gelukpa at Mt. Wutai	*Huangjiao zai Wutai shan de chuanbo*		Article
		Protection of the Nation Monastery	*Huguo si*		Monastery
			Jia		Person
			Jiachan Sangbu		Person
		A Brief Discussion of the Status of Tibetan Buddhism at Wutai Shan	*Jianlun Wutai shan zangchuan fojiao de diwei*		Article
			Jie Lüe		Author
		one thousand	*jin*		Term
		Jin Dynasty	*Jin*		Dynasty
		Gold Lamp Temple	*Jindeng si*		Monastery
		The Vajra Cave	*Jingang ku*		Text
			Jingsu Guangling guji keyin she		Publisher
		Golden Wheel Cakravartin August Divine Emperor	*Jinlun shengshen huangdi*		Person
		Old Tang Dynasty History	*Jiu Tangshu*		Text
		Jiuhua Mountain	*Jiuhua shan*		Mountain
		Juyong Stūpa Gate	*Juyong Guan*		Building
			Kangxi	1662-1723	Person
		silk appliqué	*kesi*		Term
			Lama Nima		Person
		Collection of Images of Tibetan Buddhist Deities	*Lamajiao Shengxiangji*		Text

			Lanzhou		Publication Place
			Laozang Danba		Person
			Laozang Danbei		Person
			Laozang Queta		Person
			Li Jicheng		Author
			Li Shiming		Author
		Liao Dynasty	*Liao Chao*	907-1125	Dynasty
		The Code for Tributary Territories	*Lifanyuan zili*		Text
			Liu Yao		Editor
			Luosang Danpian		Person
		A Brief Study of the Spread of Tibetan Buddhism on Wutai shan during the Yuan Dynasty	*Lüe lun yuandai zangchuan fojiao zai Wutai shan de chuanbo*		Article
			Lüe lun zangchuan fojiao shi shang de nü Mizongshi Maji Lazhen yi qi Neng Duanpai		Article
		A Discussion of Rol pa'i rdo rje's Contribution to the Exchange of Tibetan and Chinese Culture	*Lun Zhangjia Ruobiduo Ji dui Zang Han wenhua jiaoliu de gongxian*		Article
		A Brief History of Louhou Monastery	*Luohou si fojiao shilüe*		Article
		Luohou Monastery and Shifang Hall	*Luohou si yu Shifang Tang*		Article
			Luosang Basang		Person
			Luosang Danzhu		Author
			Ma Lianlong		Author
		Manju	*Manzu*		Ethinicity
		Mongolian Chaotai and Sino-Mongolian Communication	*Mengguren 'chaotai' yu menghan goutong*		Article
		The Mongolian People's Passion for Wutai Shan	*Mengzu renmin de Wutai shan qing*		Article
		Ming dynasty	*Ming chao*	1368-1644	Dynasty
		the ren wu year [tenth year] of the Wanli era	*Ming Wanli ren wu qiu*		Term
		Minzhou	*Minzhou*		Place

			Minzu chubanshe		Publisher
		Southern Song	*Nan Song*	1127-1279	Dynasty
		Nange Temple	*Nange Miao*		Building
		Southern Mountain Temple	*Nanshan si*		Monastery
			Neimenggu shehui kexue (hanwen ban)		Journal
		Chinese New Year Woodblock print	*nianhua*		Term
			Popa Ciren		Author
		Pu'an Monastery	*Pu'an si*		Monastery
		Pu'en Temple	*Pu'en si*		Monastery
		Puli Platform	*Puli Tai*		Mountain
		Pusading's Buddhist History	*Pusading de fojiao lishi*		Article
		Putuo Mountain	*Putuo shan*		Mountain
		A Superficial Analysis of the Characteristics of Tibetan Buddhism at Wutai Shan	*Qianxi Wutai shan zangchuan fojiao zhi tezheng*		Article
			Qianlong	1711-1799	Person
	Kitans		*Qidan*		Ethnicity
		Qing dynasty	*Qing chao*	1644-1911	Dynasty
		Chinese temple	*Qingmiao*		Term
			Qing Taizi	r. 1616-1626	Person
		Qinghai Province	*Qinghai*		Place
		The Old Man of Qinglian [Mountain,] Awang Laozang	*Qingliang laoren Awang Laozang ta ming*		Article
		Record of Clear and Cool Mountain	*Qingliang shan zhi*		Text
		Clear and Cool Monastery	*Qingliang si*		Monastery
		Qinglong Mountain	*Qinglong shan*		Mountain
			Quepei Daji		Person
			Renmin chubanshe		Publisher
		as you wish	*ruyi*		Term
		A Summary of the Third Changja State Preceptor's Residency on Wutai Shan	*Sanshe Jiangjia guoshi zhu xi Wutai shan shilüe*		Article
			Shanfu si		Monastery
		Shanxi Province	*Shanxi Sheng*		Place

			Shaoba Chunzhu		Person
		Shaolin Temple	*Shaolin si*		Monastery
		A Chinese Translation of Rolpé Dorjé's Guide to Wutai Shan	*Shengdi Qingliang shan zhi*		Article
			Shi Beiyue		Author
		On Wutai Shan Tibetan Buddhism and Sorcerer's Dancer	*Shitan Wutai shan zangchuan fojiao yu jingangshenwu*		Article
			Shibeiyue		Person
		Shifang Hall	*Shifang Tang*		Article
		Stone Stupa Temple	*Shita si*		Monastery
		Water Moon Guanyin	*Shuiyue Guanyin*		Buddhist deity
		Shuxiang Monastery	*Shuxiang si*		Monastery
		Brief Introduction to Buddhism at Shuxiang Monastery	*Shuxiang si fojiao jianshi*		Article
		four great Buddhist mountains of China	*si da ming shan*		Place
			Sichuan minzu chubanshe		Publisher
		Sichuan Province	*Sichuan Sheng*		Place
		Song Dynasty	*Song Chao*	960-1279	Dynasty
			Song Wenhui		Author
			Suo Nancao		Author
			Taibei		Publication Place
		Tailu Monastery	*Tailu si*		Monastery
			Taiyuan		Publication Place
		Tang Dynasty	*Tang Chao*	618-906	Dynasty
		Stupa Grove Monastery	*Tayuan si*		Monastery
			Tian Pi		Editor
			Tianshun	1457-1464	Person
		An Overview of Tibetan Buddhist Temples of Tianzhu (Gansu)	*Tianzhu zangchuan fojiao si yuan gai kung*		Text
			Tianzhu Zangzu Zizhixian wei yuan hui		Organization
			Tuanjie chubanshe		Publisher
			Wa Ma		Author

			Wang Bin		Author
			Wang Bin		Author
			Wang Hongli		Author
			Wang Jianmin		Author
			Wang Jiapeng		Author
			Wang Junzhong		Author
			Wang Lu		Author
			Wang Xiangyun		Author
			Wang Xuefeng		Author
		Wanghai Temple	*Wanghai si*		Monastery
			Wanli		Person
		Wanshengyouguo Temple	*Wansheng youguo si*		Monastery
			Wei Guozuo		Author
			Wen Junyu		Author
		Spring Water Temple	*Wenquan si*		Monastery
		Wenshu Monastery	*Wenshu si*		Monastery
		Wente Monastery	*Wente si*		Monastery
		Crouching Dragon Temple	*Wolong si*		Monastery
		empress of China	*Wu zetian*	624-705	Person
		History of Buddhism at Mt. Wutai	*Wutai shan fojiao shi*		Text
		Buddhist Monastery Rites and Vajra Dance at Mt. Wutai	*Wutai shan jingang wu ji lamam miao daochang*		Article
		Wutai Shan Travel Dictionary	*Wutai shan lüyou cidian*		Text
			Wutai shan yanjiu		Journal
		The Cultural Exchange between Wutai Shan and Nepalese Buddhism	*Wutai shan yu Niboer fojiao wenhua jiaoliu*		Article
		Mt. Wutai and Its Map	*Wutai shan yu Wutai shan tu*		Article
		Wutai Shan and the Journey to the West	*Wutai shan yu 'xiyouji'*		Article
		Mt. Wutai and Tibet	*Wutai shan yu Xizang*		Article
		Wutai shan and Tibetan Buddhism	*Wutai shan yu zangchuan fojiao*		Text
		Wutai shan's Tibetan Buddhism and Ethnicities Join Forces	*Wutai shan zangchuan fojiao yu min zu tuan jie*		Article
		The Stupas of Wutai shan	*Wutai shan zhi ta*		Article

		New Wutai Gazetteer	*Wutai xinzhi*		Text
			Xiaba Quebei		Person
		Xi'an Province	*Xi'an*		Place
		Xiantong Monastery's Copper Stupas	*Xiantong si tongta*		Article
			Xiao Yu		Author
			Xiao Yu		Author
		Seven Buddhas Monastery at Wutai Shan	*Xiaoji Wutai shan Qifo si*		Article
			Xibei Daxue		Publisher
			Xie Jisheng		Editor
		Xining	*Xining*		Publication Place
			Xiong Wenbin		Author
		West Shouning Temple	*Xishouning si*		Monastery
		Western Xia	*Xixia*		Dynasty
		Record of Travels to Western Lands	*Xiyu ji*		Text
			Xizang minsu		Journal
			Xizang yanjiu		Journal
			Xuande	r. 1426-1435	Person
			Xuanzang	ca. 600-664	Person
			Yan Tianling		Author
			Yangzhou		Publication Place
			Yingzong	1427-1464	Person
			Yizhou shifan xueyuan xuebao		Journal
			Yizhou Shifan Xueyuan xuebao		Journal
		Yonghe Palace	*Yonghe Gong*		Monastery
			Yongle	r.1403-1424	Person
		Yongquan Monastery	*Yongquan si*		Monastery
			Yongzheng	1678-1735, r.1722-1735	Person
		Yuan Dynasty	*Yuan Chao*	1279-1368	Dynasty
		Yuan Dynasty Tibetan-Chinese Artistic Exchange	*Yuandai Zang Han yishu jiaoliu*		Text

		A Study of the Famous Yuan Dynasty Tibetan Monk the State Preceptor Dampa	*Yuandai Zangzu ming seng Danba Guoshi kao*		Article
		History of Yuan	*Yuanshi*		Text
		Yuanzhao Monastery Buddhist History	*Yuanzhao si fojiao jianshi*		Article
		Yuhua Pond	*Yuhua Chi*		Lake
		esoteric Buddhism	*Yujia mifa*		Doxographical Category
		Yunai Temple	*Yunai An*		Building
			Yuzeng Shucuo		Person
		The Shape of Tibetan Buddhist Stupas and their Characteristics	*Zangchuan fo ta de xingzhi ji qi tedian*		Article
		Tibetan Buddhism and Mt. Wutai	*Zangchuan fojiao yu Wutai shan*		Article
		The Development and Influence of Tibetan Buddhism at Wutai Shan	*Zangchuan fojiao zai Wutai shan de fazhan ji yingxiang*		Text
		Changja Hutukhtu and the Buddhism of Wutai Shan	*Zhangjia Hutu yu Wutai shan fojiao*		Article
		A Brief Study of an Image of Changja Hutukhtu	*Zhangjia Hutuketu xiang xiao kao*		Article
			Zhangmu Yang		Person
			Zhangmu Yangdanzeng		Person
			Zhangyang Mola		Person
			Zhao Gaiopin		Author
			Zhao Gaipin		Author
			Zhao Gaiping		Author
			Zhao Hong		Author
			Zhao Peicheng		Author
			Zhaya		Person
		Zhejiang Province	*Zhejiang*		Place
			Zhencheng	1546-1617	Author
			Zheng Lin		Author
			Zhengde		Person
			Zhengtong	1436-1449	Person
		Zhenhai Monastery Stele Text	*Zhenhai si beiwen*		Article

		The Architecture and Clay Sculptures in Zhenhai Monastery	*Zhenhai si de jianzhu yu caisu yishu*		Article
		A Brief Study of Zhenhai Monastery's Changja Rolpé Dorjé Reliquary Stupa	*Zhenhai si Zhangjia Ruobi Duoji lingta kaolüe*		Article
			Zhenrong Yuan		Monastery
			Zhongguo ren min zheng zhi xie shang hui yi		Organization
			Zhongguo zangxue		Journal
			Zhongguo Zangxue Zhongxin		Publisher
			Zhonghua Foxue xuebao		Journal
			Zhongyang minzu daxue		Publisher
			Zhou Shengwen		Author
			Zhou Zhuying		Author
			Zhu Ying		Author
		Guide to the Sacred Images of All the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas	*Zhufo Pusa Shengxiangzan*		Text
			zi zai		Term
			zi zu		Term
		Forbidden City	*Zijing Cheng*		Building
Sanskrit					
Wylie	**Phonetics**	**English**	**Sanskrit**	**Dates**	**Type**
			Akāśagarbha		Buddhist deity
		Eastern Buddha	*Akśobhya*		Buddhist deity
		Western Buddha	*Amitābha*		Buddhist deity
			Amitābha Buddha		Buddhist deity
		Northern Buddha	*Amoghasiddhi*		Buddhist deity
			Amoghavajra (Chi. *Bukong Jingang*)	705-774	Person
			Ānanda		Person
			arapachana		Term
			Āryadeva		Person
			Asaṅga		Person
			Aśoka		Person
		Bodhisattva of Compassion	*Avalokiteśvara*		Buddhist deity
		Flower Garland Sutra	*Avataṃsaka Sūtra* (Chi. *Huayan jing*)		Text

			Bhagavat		Buddhist deity
			Bhelakīrti		Person
		Chariot Ritual	*Bhīmarata*		Ritual
			Bodhidarma		Person
			Bodhimanda		Place
			Buddha Akśobhya		Buddhist deity
			Buddhajñānapāda	active eighth century	Person
		funerary mound	*caitya*		Term
		wheel	*cakra*		Term
		the thousand-spoke wheel sign, the second of the thirty-two marks (lakṣaṇa) of a great personage or perfected being	*cakra-caraṇatā*		Term
		Buddhist ruler	*cakravartin*		Term
		sword	*candrahas*		Term
		Buddhist Law	*dharma*		Term
			Jānasattva		Person
			Jñāna		Person
			Jñāna-dakini		Buddhist deity
		White Manjusri	*Jñānasattva*		Buddhist deity
			Kasiah		Place
			Kuśinagara		Place
			Magadha		Place
			Mahākāla (Chi. *Da Heitian*)		Buddhist deity
		great being	*mahātma*		Term
		Future Buddha	*Maitreya*		Buddhist deity
		Mañjuśrī Stūpa	*Mañju-caitya*		Building
		Four-armed Mañjuśrī	*Mañjughoṣa Tikṣṇa*		Buddhist deity
			Mañjuśrī Dharmadhātu		Term
		Litany of the Names of Mañjuśrī	*Mañjuśrī Nāmasaṃgīti*		Text
		Manjusri wielding a sword	*Mañjuśrī Nātha*		Buddhist deity
		Manjusri Precious Treasury of the Law Dhāraṇī Sūtra	*Mañjuśrī-dharma-ratnagarbha-dhāraṇī Sūtra* (Chi. *Wenshu shili fa Baozang tuoluoni jing*)		Text
		The Glorious One with a Melodious Voice	*Mañjuśrī-gosha*		Buddhist deity

		The great cakravartin-chief (the divinely anointed ruler)	*Mañjuśrīmulakalpa*		Term
		serpent spirit	*Nāga*		Buddhist deity
			Nāgārjuna		Person
			Pala		Dynasty
			Pāṭaliputra		Place
			Patna		Place
		Book of Transcendental Wisdom	*Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra*		Text
			Ratnagarbha Dhāraṇī Sutra		Text
		Southern Buddha	*Ratnasaṁbhava*		Buddhist deity
			Samantabhadra		Buddhist deity
			saṃsāra		Term
			sarasvatī		Term
		Spiritual Attainment	*siddhi*		Term
			Śrī siṃha		Person
		Amitabha's Western Paradise	*Sukhāvatī*		Place
			sūtra		Term
			Svāyambhū		Building
			tantra		Term
			Tathāgata		Buddhist deity
			Tathāgata Śākyamuni		Buddhist deity
			Ṭīkṣṇa- Mañjuśrī		Buddhist deity
		Manjusri seated on a lion	*Vādisiṁha*		Buddhist deity
		Central Buddha	*Vairocana*		Buddhist deity
			Vajrabhairava (Chi. *Daweide Jingang*)		Buddhist deity
		Bearer of the Vajra	*Vajrapaṇī*		Buddhist deity
		Bodhgaya, India	*Vajrāsana*		Place
			Vasubandhu		Person
		Manjusri	*Vimala*		Buddhist deity
			Vimalamitra		Person
			Vipashwi Buddha		Buddhist deity
			Udyana		Place
		"blue lily" (sometimes called "blue lotus")	*utpala*		Term
			Yama		Buddhist deity

Other					
Wylie	**Phonetics**	**English**	**Other**	**Dates**	**Type**
			Mon. *Altan Khan*	1507-1582	Person
			Mon. *Amurbayas Qulangtu*		Monastery
		monastic community	Mon. *ayimag*		Term
			Mon. *Bogda Gegen*		Person
			Mon. *Burqan Khan*		Term
		White History	Mon. *Chaghan Teüke*		Text
			Mon. *Chinggis Khan*	1162-1227	Person
			Mon. *Chinggisid*		Clan
	Gushri Khan		Mon. *Güüshi Khan*	1582-1655	Person
			Mon. *Höhhot*		Place
			Mon. *Jehol*		Place
			Mon. *Khalkha*		Term
			Mon. *Khan*		Term
			Mon. *Kokonnor*		Place
			Mon. *Ligdan Khan*	b.1588, r.1604-1634	Person
			Mnc. *Mukden*		Place
			Mon. *Öljeitü Khan*		Person
			Mon. *Olug Darhan Nangso*		Person
			Mon. *Ordos*		Place
			Chi. *Hubilie* Mon. *Qubilai Khan*	1215-1294	Person
			Mon. *Sengge Aimag*		Place
		Tartar			Term
			Mon. *Temür*	r.1294-1307	Person
		Great-grandson of Qubilai Khan	Chi. *Wenzong* Mon. *Toghon Temür*	rl. 13289-1332	Person
			Mon. *Torghut (Kalmuk)*		Ethnicity
			Mon. *Zanabazar*	1635-1723	Person
		Nima Dorje Ragnubs			Author

		Tibetan Elemental Divination Paintings: Illuminated Manuscripts from the White Beryl of Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho: with the Moonbeams treatise of Lo chen Dharmaśrī			Text
		Tibetan Peoples Publishing House			Publisher
		The Fifth Karmarpa		1384-1415	Person

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