

Tibetan Buddhism at Ri bo rtse lnga/Wutai shan in Modern Times

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Abstract: *This article examines the prominent role of Tibetan Buddhism at the major cult center of Mañjuśrī known as Ri bo rtse lnga or Wutai shan (sometimes spelled “Wutaishan”) in Shanxi Province, China. The late imperial presence of Tibetan Buddhism at Ri bo rtse lnga (fourteenth-twentieth centuries) has been studied, but the place of Tibetan Buddhism at Ri bo rtse lnga under the Republican government and the Communist regime has not previously been explored in detail. An examination of written sources and on-site investigations reveal that the twentieth century saw a major renewal of Tibetan Buddhist practice at Ri bo rtse lnga with a significant multi-ethnic following. The presence of ethnic Tibetan, Mongolian, and Chinese Tibetan Buddhists at this important Buddhist pilgrimage place has made Ri bo rtse lnga one of the pre-eminent sites of religious and cultural exchange in China. Many monasteries on the mountain now practice the Dge lugs pa tradition of Tibetan Buddhism. Two ethnic Chinese who were most influential in spreading the Dge lugs pa tradition of Tibetan Buddhism in China had particularly strong connections with the mountain: Dharma-master Fazun and Nenghai Lama. One of Nenghai’s closest disciples, Dharma-master Qinghai, played a major role in reviving the practice of Tibetan Buddhism at Wutai shan since the end of the Cultural Revolution. Yuanzhao Temple (Kun tu khyab pa’i lha khang), the central temple associated with Master Qinghai and the propagation of Tibetan Buddhism among the Chinese at Wutai shan, has been associated with Dge lugs pa and esoteric Buddhism for over five-hundred years. I pay special attention to the growth of visible signs of Tibetan Buddhist practice and presence on the mountain in the 1990s, based on four visits from 1991 to 1999.*

Introduction



Central Terrace viewed from new construction on West Terrace, 1997.

The prominent role of Tibetan Buddhism in China is most easily studied and illustrated by observing the place of Tibetan Buddhism at the major cult center of Mañjuśrī known as Ri bo rtse lnga or Wutai shan, located some two hundred miles west of Beijing.¹ Tibetan Buddhists have a long association with this mountain from the first centuries of historical contact with China under the Tang dynasty, which heavily patronized the Buddhist temples and rituals there.² Since at least the Yuan dynasty, this mountain complex has been an important site for Tibetan Buddhists, when 'Phags pa blo gros rgyal mtshan (1235-80) and Dam pa kun dga' grags (1230-1303) resided there. However, the late imperial Chinese and Tibetan language gazetteers concerned with the mountain only note the presence of Tibetans there from the Ming dynasty. The visit of the Fifth Karma pa, De bzhin bshegs pa (1384-1415), to the mountain is recorded in these works, as is that of Byams chen

¹ I will use the terms Ri bo rtse lnga, Wutai shan, or simply “the mountain” to refer to the area within the five peaks of the circle of mountainous terrain designated as the abode of Mañjuśrī. These “peaks” are closer to terraces which, as the Chinese *tai* indicates, are basically flat. This area covers somewhere in the vicinity of 250 square miles; whereas the name Wutai shan is also used to refer to a mountain range that stretches from this particular locality almost all the way to Beijing.

² On the early eighth century visit of a Tibetan to the mountain, see Christopher I. Beckwith, “The Tibetans in the Ordos and North China: Considerations on the Role of the Tibetan Empire in World History,” in *Silver on Lapis: Tibetan Literary Culture and History*, ed. Christopher I. Beckwith (Bloomington, IN: Tibet Society, 1987), 9n30, which also references the work of Jeffrey Broughton, “Early Chan Schools in Tibet,” in *Studies in Ch'an and Hua-yen*, ed. R. Gimello and P. Gregory (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1983), 1-68. For more on these early visits and the details of a ninth century Tibetan mission to the court of China seeking a map of the mountain, see Christopher I. Beckwith, “The Revolt of 755 in Tibet,” *Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde* Heft 10 (1983): 1-16, which also references earlier work by Stein and Demieville. For other notices of Tibetans who visited the mountain from the eleventh to possibly as late as the fourteenth century, see George N. Roerich, trans., *The Blue Annals* (1949; reprint, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1995), 220, 335-36, 669, 679.

chos rje shākya ye shes (1354-1435).³ In response to repeated invitations issued to Tsong kha pa by Ming Chengzu (reigned 1403-1424), the Yongle emperor, Tsong kha pa's disciple Shākya ye shes was sent in his stead. Shākya ye shes's summer residence at Ri bo rtse Inga, Yuanzhao Temple, is today one of the most active of the Tibetan Buddhist monasteries on the mountain.



West, Central, North, & East Terraces from South Terrace, 1991.



Tourist map of Wutai shan, looking from the south.

Only with the advent of the Manchu Qing empire did Tibetan Buddhism establish a continuous institutional presence on the mountain. During the Shunzhi reign period (1644-61) a Tibetan Buddhist was put in charge of the entire mountain.⁴ This trend continued in the Kangxi period (1662-1722), with the conversion of Chinese Buddhist temples to the Tibetan Buddhist tradition. By 1667 the first

³ For details on these visits, see Elliot Sperling, "Early Ming Policy Toward Tibet: An Examination of the Proposition that the Early Ming Emperors Adopted a 'Divide and Rule' Policy toward Tibet" (Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1983), 83, 152.

⁴ For more details see Gray Tuttle, *Tibetan Buddhists in the Making of Modern China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 21-23.

guidebook for Tibetan Buddhists had been printed.⁵ Both the Kangxi and Qianlong emperors went on pilgrimage to Ri bo rtse lnga numerous times. The Sixth Dalai Lama, Tshangs dbyangs rgya mtsho, is believed to have come to Wutai shan after he was forcibly removed from Tibet in 1706, despite the fact that his death was reported that same year. A temple, Avalokiteśvara's Cave (Guanyin dong), has grown up around the cave where he was said to have meditated. Eventually the Lcang skya incarnations – especially Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje (1717-86) – became established in a prominent position on the mountain, where his seat was the Zhenhai Temple.



Avalokiteśvara's Cave (Guanyin dong), cliffside cave, and associated temples.

monastic population at Wutai shan, one of the most active and vibrant centers of Buddhism in China.

The two ethnic Chinese who were most influential in spreading the Dge lugs pa tradition of Tibetan Buddhism in China had particularly strong connections with the mountain. Dharma-master Fazun (1902-80) translated many of the major Dge lugs pa theoretical texts and thereby has given Chinese language speakers an opportunity to consult these important works directly. Nenghai Lama (1886-1967) trained many Chinese monks and nuns in the Tibetan tradition, translating shorter ritual and prayer texts associated with Buddhist practice. These two men are now famous for their roles, as translator and practitioner respectively.⁶ The biographical

Though the late imperial presence of Tibetan Buddhism at Ri bo rtse lnga has received passing attention in the scholarship on this period, the place of Tibetan Buddhism at Ri bo rtse lnga under the Republican government and the Communist regime has yet to be studied in detail. An examination of the written sources and on-site investigations reveal that the twentieth century saw a major renewal of Tibetan Buddhist practice at Ri bo rtse lnga with a significant multi-ethnic following. Many monasteries on the mountain practice the Dge lugs pa tradition of Tibetan Buddhism. These include five monasteries in the township at the center of the mountain complex and several outside this central region. The combined population of these temples comprises at least one quarter of the total

⁵ See David Farquhar, "Emperor as Bodhisattva in the Governance of the Ch'ing Empire," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 38, no. 1 (1978): 30.

⁶ Since I first wrote this article in 1998 for the International Association of Tibetan Studies in Bloomington, Indiana, much research on these two figures has become available in Western languages, including Françoise Wang-Toutain, "Quand les maîtres chinois s'éveillent au bouddhisme tibétain:

material on these men overlap in places; unfortunately, they both end with the commemoration ceremonies held for the teachers in the early 1980s. Thus, my understanding of Tibetan Buddhism's place at Ri bo rtse Inga was also supplemented through conversations with Chinese and Mongol second- and third-generation disciples of Nenghai who continue to practice Tibetan Buddhism there.



Zhenhai Temple, *Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje's* temple.



Zhenhai Temple, stupa courtyard, Tibetan style murals on walls.

Visiting the mountain four times in the 1990s also allowed me to chart the striking growth of the ethnic Tibetan presence from 1991 to 1999.⁷ The presence of ethnic Tibetan, Mongolian, and Chinese Tibetan Buddhists at this important Buddhist pilgrimage place has made Ri bo rtse Inga one of the pre-eminent sites of religious and cultural exchange in China. I hope this preliminary study sheds new light on the multi-ethnic nature of twentieth-century Tibetan Buddhism in East Asia. In fact, it only touches on a very limited portion of the rich history of the spread of Tibetan Buddhism among the Chinese in modern times.⁸

Fazun: le Xuanzang des temps modernes," *Bulletin de l'école française d'extrême-orient* 87 (2000): 707-27; Ester Bianchi, *The Iron Statue Monastery 'Tiexiangsi': A Buddhist Nunnery of Tibetan Tradition in Contemporary China* (Firenze: L. S. Olschki, 2001); Ester Bianchi, "The 'Chinese Lama' Nenghai (1886-1967): Doctrinal Tradition and Teaching Strategies of a Gelukpa Master in Republican China," in *Buddhism Between Tibet and China*, ed. Matthew Kapstein (forthcoming); and Ester Bianchi, "The Movement of 'Tantric rebirth' in Modern China: Rethinking and Re-vivifying Esoteric Buddhism according to the Japanese and Chinese Traditions," typescript. See these articles for references to some of the many translations these monks made from Tibetan. These two figures are also discussed at length in my book *Tibetan Buddhists*.

⁷ I visited Ri bo rtse Inga in 1991, 1994, 1997, and 1999.

⁸ For a more detailed examination see Tuttle, *Tibetan Buddhists*, and Tuttle, "Translating Buddhism from Tibetan to Chinese in early 20th Century China (1931-1951)," in *Buddhism Between Tibet and China*, ed. Matthew Kapstein (forthcoming).



Master Fazun from the Buddhist journal Haichao yin.



Nenghai Lama from photo still circulated by disciples.

Dharma-master Fazun

In the spring of 1920, while warlords fought over the spoils of north China, an eighteen-year old young man from Hebei Province (in northern China) went to Wutai shan to become a Buddhist monk. Coming from a poor family he had received little education, yet this man – now known as Dharma-master Fazun (his Tibetan name was Blo bzang chos 'phags) – was to become a figure of major importance in the field of translating Buddhist works from Tibetan into Chinese. After spending one winter on the mountain, Fazun had the good fortune to hear lectures by a traveling Dharma-master, Dayong, and studied with this monk into the spring of the next year.⁹ When his new teacher descended from the mountain to hear the famous Master Taixu lecture in Beijing, his young disciple followed him there. Though Fazun only spent a little over a year at Wutai shan, he apparently made connections there that would last a lifetime, as will be described shortly. However, he was not to return to the mountain for many years. Fazun traveled south to Taixu's Buddhist college in central China, but in 1924 when his teacher Dayong founded the Buddhist Institute for the Study of the Tibetan Language (Fojiao Zangwen xueyuan) in Beijing, he went to join the school. After a year of study with Dayong and visiting lecturers such as the Paṇ chen bla ma and Taixu,

⁹Fazun, Hong Jisong, and Huang Jilin, *Fazun wenji*, Dangdai Zhongguo Fojiao dashi wenji 9 (Taipei shi: Wenshu chubanshe, Menshi bu Wenshu Fojiao wenhua zhongxin, 1988), 243-44. Master Dayong taught at Guangji maopeng (Bishan Temple) where Nenghai would later teach.

the school was reorganized into a field expedition, and thus some of the students and teachers left Beijing for Tibet.

Almost a decade later, Fazun returned from years of study in Khams and Central Tibet to direct the Sino-Tibetan Buddhist Institute (Tib. *Rgya bod lung rigs bsalab grwa khang*, Chi. Han Zang jiaoli yuan)¹⁰ in Sichuan. Though he wanted to return to Tibet to earn a *dge bshes* degree, he had been advised by his Tibetan teachers that it would be better if he dedicated himself to translating Tibetan Buddhism into Chinese.¹¹ To accomplish this, Fazun returned to the northeast of China in the fall of 1935. He traveled to Wutai shan and the surrounding Buddhist community seeking funding from his old friends for the printing of his translation of Tsong kha pa's *The Great Treatise on the Graduated Path to Enlightenment* (*Byang chub lam gyi rim pa'i chen mo*, *Puti dao cidi guanglun*).¹² Although this is the last mention of Fazun visiting Wutai shan in his brief autobiographical writings, his work continues to this day to influence the practice of Tibetan Buddhism at Wutai shan.



Sino-Tibetan Buddhist Institute.

As already stated, Fazun translated many Dge lugs pa texts from Tibetan into Chinese, but he also wrote the first Chinese language textbook for studying the Tibetan language, helped produce the first modern Tibetan-Chinese dictionary, and authored numerous works on the history of and the contemporary situation in Tibet.¹³ As a pioneer in the translation of Tibetan Buddhist works into Chinese, his work formed the foundation for the growth of Tibetan Buddhist practice among the Chinese.

¹⁰ I have preserved here the translation used by Holmes Welch (*The Buddhist Revival in China*, Harvard East Asian Series 33 [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968], 116, 199) although neither the Chinese nor the Tibetan literally contains a word meaning Buddhist; instead, both the Chinese and the Tibetan refer to basic religious teachings, in this case, those of Buddhism.

¹¹ Fazun, et al., *Fazun wenji*, 276-77.

¹² Fazun, et al., *Fazun wenji*, 277-78.

¹³ Fazun, *Zangwen wenfa*, 2 vols., Xizangxue wenxian zongshu bieji (1940; reprint, Beijing: Zhongguo Zangxue chubanshe, 1995); Fazun, trans., *Puti dao cidi guanglun* (1935; reprint, Shanghai: Shanghai Foxue shuju, n.d.); Fazun, trans., *Zongkaba dashi zhuan*, 2 vols., Xizangxue wenxian zongshu bieji (1938; reprint, Beijing: Zhongguo Zangxue chubanshe, 1993); Fazun, trans., *Mizong zidi guanglun* (1939; reprint, Shanghai: Shanghai Foxue shuju, 1996); Fazun, *Zangwen duben chugao*, woodblock print ed., 8 vols. (Chongqing: Han Zang jiaoli yuan, 1940); Fazun, *Xizang minzu zhengjiao shi*, 4 vols., Xizangxue wenxian zongshu bieji (1940; reprint, Beijing: Quanguo tushuguan wenxian suowei fuzhi zhongxin, 1991); Fazun, *Xiandai Xizang* (1937; reprint, Chengdu: Dongfang shushe, 1943).

Though it is unclear what Fazun's later relationship with the Buddhist community of Wutai shan was, the mountain is now graced with his memorial *stūpa*. The *stūpa* was built shortly after his death in 1980 but was not placed in a visually prominent position. It is located in a side courtyard in the back of Guangzong Temple. This out-of-the-way location is not the site of frequent pilgrimage, which apparently reflects the fact that Fazun had few monastic disciples. Lay disciples have ensured that his works continued to be published, but he has had no students living on the mountain to make a special point of venerating this site. Nevertheless, the Chinese monks from Nenghai's lineage are particularly grateful for Fazun's work, and copies of his translation of Tsong kha pa's *Lam rim chen mo* and *Sngags rim chen mo* are their constant companions in their studies. Thus, Fazun's fund-raising efforts on Wutai shan in 1935 had come to fruition by the mid-1940s and are still bearing fruit there today.



Fazun stūpa in back courtyard of Guangzong Temple.



Inscription on Fazun stūpa.

Nenghai Lama

Nenghai Lama was an elder contemporary of Fazun, though he did not become a monk until a few years after the latter. His early career in the Sichuan military had almost certainly brought him into contact with Tibetans in Kangding (Tib. *Dar rise mdo*), but at that time he was not a Buddhist. He took refuge only in 1914, studied Buddhism with a Beijing professor, and on a tour of Japan in 1915 admired the powerful influence Japanese Buddhism had on Japanese society. Having become disheartened by the political chaos of China under the various warlord factions,

he eventually became committed to lay Buddhist practice and teaching. For almost a decade Nenghai directed the Chengdu Buddhist Study Society (Shaocheng Foxueshe) and taught at the Mañjuśrī Monastery (Wenshu yuan) in Chengdu.¹⁴ Having seen the Tripitika catalogue in Beijing's Yonghe gong (also known as the Lama Temple) and been told that Tibetan translations were superior to the Chinese, Nenghai headed west from Chengdu in 1925. Held up by fighting in Khams, he lived at Paoma shan (Tib. *Lha mo rtse*) in Kangding, studied with Tibetans in the area and received a Tibetan religious name, Yon tan rgya mtsho, from a monk named Jiangpa gege (Tib. *Byams pa dge rgan*).



Chengdu temple with butter lamps, 1999.



Ten Direction Hall (*Shifang tang*), ethnic Tibetan temple, 1991.

Nenghai was still in Kangding when Dayong, Fazun and the rest of the Beijing school's field expedition arrived in the area. Nenghai lived with Dayong and the others and continued to study Tibetan. Together this group made a vow to make it to Tibet to study Buddhism there, no matter what the obstacles. In 1927 Nenghai studied with Jiangyang qingpi (Tib. *'Jam dbyang chos 'phel rin po che*), an old *dge bshes* who had lived for some time at Wutai shan's Tibetan hostel, Ten Direction Hall (*Shifang tang*). The next year he finally reached Lhasa where he stayed first in the Rgyal rong khang mtshan of 'Bras spungs Monastery's Blo gsal gling College. Later he moved to Sgo mang College where he became close with Khang gsar rin po che ngag dbang dbyang can chos kyi dbang phyug (known in Chinese as Kang sa, 1888/90-1941).¹⁵ For five years he served Khang gsar rin po che, satisfying his daily needs, and received in return his teacher's exoteric and

¹⁴ Dingzhi, *Nenghai shangshi zhuan*, vol. 6 of *Nenghai shangshi zhuanji* (Taipei: Fanguang wenhua shiye youxian gongci, 1995), 10-13. This monastery is said to be one of the most active Buddhist monasteries in China today; see Andrew Powell, *Living Buddhism* (1989; reprint, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 163; a fact to which I can testify by my observations of the monastery in the 1990s.

¹⁵ Dingzhi, *Nenghai shangshi zhuan*, 17. The basis for this biographic information is drawn from the memoirs of the Lhasa noblewoman, Dorje Yudon Yuthok, *House of the Turquoise Roof* (Ithaca: Snow Lion, 1990), 127-28, and a Chinese language biography included in Nenghai's disciple Qingding's *Qingding shangshi kaishi lu* (Chengdu: Chengdushi xinwen chubanchu, 1999), 47-57. To my eye, the two photographs in these accounts seem to depict the same figure, and the year of birth is only off by two years, while both agree that the lama died in 1941. For an introduction to the organizational structure of these monasteries, see Melvyn C. Goldstein, *The Demise of the Lamaist State: A History of Modern Tibet, 1913-1951* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 1989), 30-33.

esoteric teachings. Although Nenghai primarily studied Dge lugs pa teachings, he also received transmissions from each of the other traditions' lineages. Having fulfilled his aspirations, he requested and received his teacher's permission to return to China.¹⁶



Yellow-tiled Bodhisattva Summit (Pusading) in background, so named for the imperial roof-tiles granted by the Kangxi Emperor.

In 1934, Nenghai went to Wutai shan for what seems to have been the first time. He started teaching and translating in the very temple where Fazun had heard Dayong teach over a decade before, namely, Guangji maopeng, now more commonly known as Bishan Temple.¹⁷ Nenghai was quite active at this time, traveling back and forth between Shanghai, Khams, and Wutai shan. Throughout 1935-36 he continued to teach at Wutai shan where he became close to Bodhisattva Summit's (Pusading) Zasa (Mong. Jasagh)¹⁸ Lama with whom he both studied esoteric Buddhism and Tibetan language.¹⁹ Within these few years, Nenghai seems to have built up quite a following. The British Buddhist and Nenghai's disciple, John Blofeld, made note of his activities in his 1938 article entitled "Lamaism and its influence on Chinese Buddhism":

From Wu Tai Lamaism radiates influences into Chinese Buddhism in two directions. In the first place a huge number of Chinese Buddhists, even from far Shanghai and Fukien go there every summer and carry back what they learn from the Lamas to their own districts. Secondly, the largest non-Lamaist temple on Wu Tai is Kuangchi-maopang, the abbot of which spent many years in Thibet. The

¹⁶ Dingzhi, *Nenghai shangshi zhuan*, 20-23.

¹⁷ John Calthorpe Blofeld, "Lamaism and its Influence on Chinese Buddhism," *T'ien Hsia Monthly* September (1938): 158. Assuming that Nenghai had never been to this place before, it seems plausible that Fazun may have sent some letter of introduction with him. As mentioned above, Fazun clearly still maintained contacts on the mountain.

¹⁸ David Farquhar, "The Ch'ing Administration of Mongolia up to the Nineteenth Century" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard, 1960), 230. Farquhar states that this title was usually held by reincarnate lamas. See Robert James Miller, *Monasteries and Culture Change in Inner Mongolia*, Asiatische Forschungen 2 (Weisbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1959), 82-84, regarding this figure's leadership of Wutai monasteries.

¹⁹ Dingzhi, *Nenghai shangshi zhuan*, 27.

teaching which he gives daily to the assembly of several hundred monks and visiting pilgrims and holiday-makers is very strongly tinged with Lamaism. In fact, his system of meditation (the most important part of the practice of Buddhism) is indistinguishable from that of the Lamas.²⁰



Hill-side chapel linked to Sudhana's Cave (Shancai dong).



Jinci Temple, reconstructed in 1999.

By the end of 1936, the presence of Tibetan, and thereby esoteric, Buddhism at a Chinese Buddhist temple had apparently caused some problems. In the face of these conflicts, Nenghai maintained his interest in propagating Tsong kha pa's teachings and felt it was necessary to establish his own temple. Having discussed the matter with the Jasagh Lama of the mountain and found him agreeable, Nenghai and his more than one hundred followers moved to a temple called Sudhana's Cave (Shancai dong).²¹ While he was teaching in the nearby city of Taiyuan, the tension with the Japanese in northern China came to a head. The rapid success of the Japanese and the constant instability of the area prevented Nenghai and his followers from returning to the mountain for many years.²²

²⁰ Blofeld, "Lamaism," 158. See also his *The Wheel of Life: The Autobiography of a Western Buddhist* (Boston: Shambhala, 1988).

²¹ Sudhana's cave and the temple that surrounds it are now maintained by the Chinese disciples of the recently deceased 'Jigs med phun tshogs (personal communication at Wutai shan July, 1999). For information on 'Jigs phun's 1987 visit to Wutai shan see David Germano, "Re-membering the Dismembered Body of Tibet: Contemporary Tibetan Visionary Movements in the People's Republic of China," in *Buddhism in Contemporary Tibet: Religious Revival and Cultural Identity*, ed. M. Goldstein and M. Kapstein (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 84-85.

²² Dingzhi, *Nenghai shangshi zhuan*, 27-28.

In 1937, Nenghai returned to Mañjuśrī Monastery (Wenshu yuan) in Chengdu while he set up his own temple at the nearby Jinci Temple. According to his biography, this temple became the pre-eminent site for the propagation of Dge lugs pa esoteric teachings in China.²³ When Rdo sbis dge bshes shes rab rgya mtsho (1884-1968) visited in 1940, he was so impressed with Nenghai's efforts to approximate Tibetan conditions that he exclaimed, "Coming here makes me feel like I am actually in a Tibetan monastery!"²⁴ Nenghai maintained his connection with other prominent Tibetan Buddhists in China such as Wutai shan's Jasagh Lama,²⁵ the Lcang skya incarnation Blo bzang dpal ldan bstan pa'i gron me (Chi. Luosang bandian danbi rongmei, 1890-1957),²⁶ and someone named Yushan Lama.²⁷ In the meantime,



Lcang skya Blo bzang dpal ldan bstan pa'i gron me.

he also returned to Tibet with disciples in an effort to invite Khang gsar rin po che to come teach in China. At this point, Khang gsar must have been too old or ill to leave Tibet; he died shortly after Nenghai returned to China in 1939. Nenghai took this opportunity to bring back the *Yab sras gsum gyi gsung 'bum* (the collected writings of Tsong kha pa and his two main disciples) as well as Bu ston's collected writings (*gsung 'bum*) to China. These books, as well as *dharma* implements, clothes, and foodstuffs from Tibet, were divided in two parts; some were kept for the temple in Sichuan and some were sent to Wutai shan.²⁸

Nenghai himself only returned to Wutai shan in 1952, and in his fifteen-year absence the old conflicts seem to have settled down; he again lived and taught in Guangji maopeng as before. At this point, he was invited by another monk to the

²³ Dingzhi, *Nenghai shangshi zhuan*, 30.

²⁴ Shi Shiliang, "Jindai hongyang Gelupai de liang wei Hanzu dade ji qi yi, zhujian jie," *Xizang yanjiu* 2, no. 47 (1993): 51, 31, 49, 56. In recent years, the monastery has reopened under the direction of a Khams pa lama and his students.

²⁵ Shi Shiliang, "Jindai hongyang," 53-55.

²⁶ Shi Shiliang, "Jindai hongyang," 53.

²⁷ Shi Shiliang, "Jindai hongyang," 52-53.

²⁸ Shi Shiliang, "Jindai hongyang," 45. The Tibetan texts which remained in Jinci Temple were undoubtedly destroyed in the Cultural Revolution, which nearly obliterated this monastery, according to a Somerville, Massachusetts, resident who took part in the destruction (personal communication: April, 1998). Apparently some Tibetan texts brought to Wutai shan by Nenghai are still preserved at Guangji maopeng, but it is unclear whether these texts came directly from Tibet or were reprints acquired from Beijing in 1953 (see below). For the current status of these books, see Wang Lu, *Zuochu xueyu: Zangchuan Fojiao shengji lu* (Xining: Qinghai renmin chunbanshe, 1998), 89.

temple called Qingliang qiao on the southwestern side of the central peak.²⁹ Nenghai investigated the possibility of making this temple into an active place for practice and found the peaceful surroundings to his liking. In 1953, he decided to return to Wutai shan and start a temple there. The practice at this temple was to be modeled on that at Jinci Temple: a preliminary course in basic learning; five years for studying vinaya; a period of additional practice into which monastics who came from elsewhere could directly enter; and finally, *jingang* (*vajra*) training in esoteric Buddhism.³⁰



Nenghai teaching at Qingliang qiao.



Older Nenghai Memorial Stūpa, Qingliang qiao, 1991.

While fetching Tibetan scriptures from Beijing for the new temple in 1953, Nenghai also attended the founding meeting of the Chinese Buddhist Association and was appointed vice-chairman. He returned to the mountain and lived at Sudhana's Cave until the tenth month, when he went to Qingliang qiao to teach for the winter.³¹ For the last thirteen years of his life (1953-1966), Nenghai spent most of his life on the mountain. Except for one year when he was recovering from an illness, he was always on the mountain throughout the winter. The long Wutai shan winters were ideal for teaching and practice, with cold temperatures and up to thirty inches of snow to keep the monks indoors and visitors off the mountain. When Nenghai did descend to attend local, national, or international conferences, he would leave in the spring and was always back by the tenth month when traveling on the mountain became difficult. Toward the end of his life, he spent more time in the low-altitude, more accessible temples with which he had been associated in the past – Guangji maopeng and Sudhana's Cave. Finally, in the summer of 1966 the Cultural Revolution reached Wutai shan and put an end to the flourishing

²⁹ Dingzhi, *Nenghai shangshi zhuan*, 56-57. The temple is also (now more commonly) known as Jixiang Temple, though at that time it was sometimes called Jixiang lūyuan.

³⁰ Dingzhi, *Nenghai shangshi zhuan*, 32-33.

³¹ Dingzhi, *Nenghai shangshi zhuan*, 57.

Buddhist activity there.³² When the Red Guards told Nenghai and his disciples that they had to leave, Nenghai pleaded illness and passed away in the night.

Not until 1979 would a proper memorial gathering be possible on the mountain.³³ This gathering, held at Xiantong Temple, now the administrative headquarters of the mountain, was a sign of the renewed freedom to practice religion that came with the end of the Cultural Revolution, in the wake of the 1978 Third Plenum of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.³⁴ The speed with which the event took place (in the third month of the following year) is a testament to the fact that Nenghai's disciples were waiting for the opportunity to publicly remember their teacher. Some kind of memorial *stūpa* was also built at this time near Sudhana's Cave, but it seems to have been a small affair.³⁵ Other *stūpas* were built later, which I will discuss below.

Dharma-master Qinghai

One of Nenghai's closest disciples, Dharma-master Qinghai (1922-90), has played a major role in reviving the practice of Tibetan Buddhism at Wutai shan since the end of the Cultural Revolution. In 1940, Qinghai started studying with Nenghai in Sichuan, at Jinci Temple. Then in 1953, Qinghai followed Nenghai to Wutai shan and continued his studies there until Nenghai's death in 1966.³⁶ As Qinghai never went to Tibet to study, he relied primarily on Nenghai's transmission of Tibetan Buddhism. In addition, when Rdo sbis dge bshes shes rab rgya mtsho visited the mountain and gave teachings on the *Heart Sūtra* in the 1950s, Qinghai was in attendance. Shes rab rgya mtsho had held high positions in the intellectual elite in Central Tibet and was one of the most important Tibetan monks to teach in China proper from the late 1930s. He was also a critical figure in the political relations between the Chinese Communists and Tibetans, and as such served in high offices of the Chinese Buddhist Association.³⁷ Although this visit to the mountain was not a major event in Shes rab rgya mtsho's life, his transmission of Tibetan Buddhism there was significant to the Chinese Tibetan Buddhists who rarely had the opportunity to study with such a scholar. For this reason, Qinghai's transmission of these teachings has been preserved in over ten hours of audio tapes based on the oral transmission he received from Shes rab rgya mtsho.³⁸

³² Dingzhi, *Nenghai shangshi zhuan*, 58-61.

³³ Dingzhi, *Nenghai shangshi zhuan*, 65-66.

³⁴ Xing Butang and Zheng Jihuai, "Wutai shan shang de mizong chuanren – Nenghai fashi," *Wutai shan yanjiu* 47, no. 2 (1996): 27.

³⁵ Personal communication: July, 1997.

³⁶ Bei Fu, "Hongyang Zangmi de Qinghai fashi," *Wutai shan yanjiu* 50, no. 1 (1997): 35.

³⁷ For more details on his life, see Heather Stoddard, "The Long Life of rDo-sbis dGe-bshes Shes-rab rGya-mcho," in *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 4th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies*, ed. Helga Uebach and Jampa L. Panglung (Munich: Kommission für Zentralasiatische Studien, 1988), 465-473.

³⁸ For a brief mention of this visit, see Shes rab rgya mtsho's biography in Grags pa, ed., *Rje btsun shes rab rgya mtsho 'jam dpal dgyes pa 'i blo gros kyi gsung rtsom* [*The Collected Works of the Venerable*



Master Qinghai.



Rdo sbis dge bshes shes rab rgya mtsho.

During the Cultural Revolution, Qinghai returned to his native Henan province, waiting for the chance to return to the mountain. His opportunity came with the restoration of religious freedom, and in the fall of 1978, he went to live at Guangzong Temple. He was determined to repair the temple and revitalize it as a place of practice dedicated to Mañjuśrī. His repairs were already underway in 1980, which may explain why Fazun's *stūpa* was built there. Qinghai had transformed this temple, formerly in the Chinese Buddhist tradition, to a site for the practice of Tibetan Buddhism.³⁹ Although he left this temple in 1984, the Chinese monks who live there continue to study and practice Tibetan Buddhism in the tradition of Nenghai.

[Sherap Gyatso], (Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1984), 3:639. Shes rab rgya mtsho also wrote a short poem of praise in memory of his visit to Wutai shan, found in the above volume of his collected writings (596).

³⁹ Grags pa, ed., *Gsung rtsom*, 3:37-38.



Master Qinghai with the main Wutai shan stūpa (Da Baita) in the background.



Yuanzhao Temple reliquary stūpa, Ming Dynasty.

In 1984, Qinghai moved to the neighboring, and much larger, Yuanzhao Temple. This is now the central temple associated with Qinghai and the propagation of Tibetan Buddhism among the Chinese. The fact that Yuanzhao Temple's association with Dge lugs pa and esoteric Buddhism dates back over five hundred years may have influenced Qinghai's decision to move to this temple. The temple, originally named Puning Temple, was built in 1309 by order of the Yuan imperial family.⁴⁰ However, it was only in the beginning of the Ming dynasty that it is clear that the temple was a site for the practice of Tibetan Buddhism. Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje's guide to Wutai shan gives a brief description of this temple, including its Tibetan name: Kun tu khyab pa'i lha khang. Rol pa'i rdo rje's guide says that this temple was the home of an "Indian" by the name of "Shri ā shraka" during the Yongle reign period (1403-1425) of the Ming dynasty. Hoong Teik Toh has argued that often those called Indians in Ming China were actually Tibetans.⁴¹ In any case, this *siddha* was apparently invited by the Chengzu emperor, and he is said to have given the emperor and his retinue many esoteric teachings. His reliquary *stūpa* still exists within the courtyard of the prayer hall of this temple. At present, the hall behind the *stūpa* contains statues of the "Three: Father and Sons" (*Yab sras gsum*), referring to Tsong kha pa and his two principle disciples. Although these

⁴⁰ Zheng Lin, "Yuanzhao si Fojiao jianshi," *Wutai shan yanjiu* 50, no. 1 (1997): 17.

⁴¹ Hoong Teik Toh, "Tibetan Buddhism in Ming China," (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 2004).

images are almost certainly of fairly recent provenance, they clearly indicate the Buddhist tradition with which this temple has been aligned for many centuries.



Hoar frost on stūpas built by Qinghai on Central Terrace.

During the early years of the Ming dynasty, Tsong kha pa's disciple and the founder of Se ra Monastery, Chos rje shākya ye shes, is also said to have lived here for many summers.⁴² As he was the first of Tsong kha pa's disciples to come to Wutai shan, or to China for that matter, the association of Shākya ye shes with this temple seems to have elevated the temple's importance in the eyes of the Ming emperors. In the first year of the Xuanzong reign period (1426), Xuande officially designated the temple's abbot the leader of Chinese and Tibetan (Chi. Fan) monks and laity practicing on the mountain, effectively making this temple the first Dge lugs pa temple in China.⁴³ This temple's abbot apparently continued in this role until the Qing period, when the Shunzhi emperor, Shizu, transferred this responsibility to the leader of Bodhisattva Summit in 1659.⁴⁴ Yuanzhao Temple was not included in the temples that were gradually acquired by the Lcang skya

⁴² 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), 39:

*kun tu khyab pa'i lha khang tā ywon jo'u zi ni/ ming gur gyi yung lo'i dus rgya
gar gyi shri ā shraka zhes pa'i grub thob zhig gdan drangs te bzhugs pa'i gnas
yin zhing des rgyal po 'khor bcas la gsang sngags kyi chos kyang mang du gngang/
sku gdung mchod rten kyang lha khang 'di nyid na bzhugs so/ rje btsun bla ma
tsong kha pa chen po'i dngos slob byams chen chos kyi rje shākya ye shes pa
yang dbyar ring du mar lha khang 'di nyid la bzhugs par rnam thar las gsal bar
bshad do/*

In Dznyā na srī man's account, the Indian *siddha*'s name is spelled Shri ā shwa ka (Dznyā na srī man, *Ri bo rtse lnga'i dkar chag rab gsal me long* [Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1994], 49); otherwise the passage on the temple is identical in content. It is interesting to note that neither of the biographies of Shākya ye shes in these two works (see 126-128 and 120-122 respectively) mention this temple at all.

⁴³ Zheng, "Yuanzhao si Fojiao jianshi," 21.

⁴⁴ Shizu put Ngag dbang blo bzang (Awang Laosang, 1601-87) in charge of Mount Wutai. See Zhang Xixin, *Qing zhengfu yu lama jiao* (Lha sa: Xizang renmin chubanshe, 1988), 246.

incarnations, but it seems that during the Qing and Republican periods, it continued to be a site for Tibetan Buddhist practice.⁴⁵



Tsong kha pa and disciples, Yanjiao Temple, 1991.



Tsong kha pa and disciples, Yanjiao Temple, 1999.

In 1985, a year after Qinghai came to Yuanzhao Temple, he also began to make repairs to the temples on two of the five mountain tops that give Wutai shan its name, the central and southern terraces. By 1991, simple living quarters had been reconstructed and Tibetan-style *stūpas* had been added to both sites. Yanjiao Temple, the monastery situated on top of the central terrace continues to maintain a close relationship with the Yuanzhao Temple. From at least as early as 1991, the Yanjiao Temple worship hall contained statues of Tsong kha pa and his principle disciples, and in recent years the primitive conditions there have been transformed by the addition of many comfortable living quarters. Tibetan-style *thang kas* and decorative banners were also added. Thus, in just over a decade, from the reforms in 1978 until he passed away in 1990, Qinghai built up a strong following and brought several temples on the mountain under his leadership.



Qifo Temple, a former Mongolian-run Tibetan Buddhist temple, 1991 (restored by 1997).

⁴⁵ Zhang, *Qing zhengfu yu lama jiao*, 22.

The Growth of Tibetan Buddhism at Ri bo rtse Inga in the 1990s⁴⁶

Growth and renewal is evident everywhere on the mountain. Many monasteries which were abandoned shells seven years ago have been restored. For example, one (Mongolian) Tibetan Buddhist temple has been recently rebuilt in an outlying valley. When I passed through this valley in 1991 and 1993, there was no discernable sign that a temple had once occupied the valley floor, but in 1997 I had the good fortune to walk past a reconstructed monastery at the same time that the visiting abbot of the monastery arrived. This seventy year old Mongolian monk is the seventeenth incarnation of a teacher who was given an official position by the Kangxi emperor. The present incarnation has an avid following of Chinese women who say that their teacher is the most important incarnation at Yonghe gong, Beijing's so-called "Lama Temple." With their help he has rebuilt the Wutai temple and *stūpa* associated with his previous incarnations. Western Terrace, where an almost cave-like temple had only recently been rebuilt in 1991 to house roughly hewn styrofoam images of the Buddha, was home to a newly built monastery (below the peak to avoid the worst winter weather), which was being decorated by a Mongour Tibetan Buddhist painter and sculptor in 1997.



Mongolian lama from Yonghe gong in Beijing.



Western Terrace temple, 1991.

⁴⁶ Unless otherwise noted, the following information is based on observation and conversations with residents on the mountain. My main informants were two Tibetan Buddhist monks – one Chinese, one half Chinese/half Mongolian – who arrived at Wutai shan in 1988 and 1989 respectively. The older of the two (b. 1940) had studied exoteric Buddhism before he came to the mountain. The other (b. 1971) grew up in Inner Mongolia and graduated from college before coming to the mountain. Both studied with Master Qinghai until his death in 1990. At times I have also talked with other Chinese monks from as far away as China's northeast or from A mdo, Qinghai, and Gan lho, who also live and study in this monastery and its affiliates.

The recent proliferation of Tibetan-style memorial *stūpas* on Wutai shan – especially those built by and for Chinese practitioners of Tibetan Buddhism – illustrates the continuing presence and growth of Tibetan Buddhism there and its (re-)adoption by Chinese-speaking Mongols and Chinese. The most prominent new *stūpa* is home to a portion of the relics collected upon the cremation of Nenghai's body.⁴⁷ This seems to have replaced the reliquary *stūpa* – specifically built in the Tibetan esoteric style (*Zang mi xingshi*) – dedicated to Nenghai in 1991.⁴⁸ The monks who are responsible for maintaining this small monastery are students of the first generation of Nenghai's disciples and are associated with Yuanzhao Temple. Since its construction in 1995 and 1996, they have helped develop and maintain the site. In 1997, Nenghai Stūpa Monastery (Nenghai tayuan) consisted of a raised terrace topped by a Tibetan-style *stūpa* and a three-room side building where a handful of young monks lived.⁴⁹ By 1999, an additional set of rooms had been constructed to house the growing number of monks, and a wall had been erected around the compound. Visible from most of the township at the center of the mountain complex, this *stūpa* is becoming another point on the pilgrimage circuit, albeit a minor one in an area so rich in Buddhist historical sites.



Nenghai Memorial Stūpa.



Inserting Nenghai into the Dge lugs pa lineage?

⁴⁷ According to the Tibetan monk who now presides over Jinci Temple, Nenghai's old monastery in Chengdu, the relics from his head are preserved in a small gold *stūpa* kept there, while the Wutai shan *stūpa* contains the relics from the remainder of his body. No one at Wutai shan ever mentioned this division of relics.

⁴⁸ Dingzhi, *Nenghai shangshi zhuan*, 66.

⁴⁹ The *stūpa* is located at the foot of the hill just north of the hill on which Sudhana's Cave is located.

Even more impressive as a monument to the continuing process of the adoption of Tibetan Buddhism by the Chinese population is a memorial *stūpa* that was built in 1991 and 1992. Dedicated to Dharma-master Qinghai, this *stūpa* is of immense proportions and was deliberately modeled after the *stūpa* of the Indian *siddha* located in the courtyard of Yuanzhao Temple. It is located just uphill from Qingliang qiao and is now surrounded by a walled compound which houses the monks who maintain the site. In addition, several smaller *stūpas* have been added in recent years to precincts of Qingliang qiao. This rapid development of *stūpas*, mostly associated with Nenghai and his disciples, reflects the growth of the Chinese population who follow Nenghai's transmission of Tibetan Buddhism at Wutai shan.



Nenghai Memorial Stūpa view.



Qinghai Memorial Stūpa near Qingliang qiao.

Meanwhile, the Tibetan ethnic presence on the mountain also increased enormously during the 1990s. Nearly all the Tibetans I have seen at Wutai shan were from A mdo. I have met only one group of young Tibetans from Lhasa and one Khams pa family, and both parties were merely passing through on pilgrimage. On the other hand the A mdo Tibetans come for longer stays, especially during the summer. They generally stay in Ten Direction Hall which is associated with and run by Tibetans. In 1991, there were only three Tibetan monks at this monastery, one middle-aged monk and his younger disciples, though this was in September when the bulk of the tourists had left and snow was closing the peaks to pilgrims.



Amdo Tibetans on pilgrimage across Northern Terrace, 1994.



Ten Direction Hall (Shifang tang), Gannan Medical Clinic, 1997.

In 1994, a Tibetan Medical Institute had been added to the monastery, and there were many more monks. One young man trained in Tibetan medicine had come up from Gannan (Tib. *Gan lho*), the Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture in southern Gansu, to diagnose pilgrims on the mountain. The one morning I attended the prayer service in 1994, about seven monks gathered for prayers, and there were twice as many Chinese lay people who joined them in silence. One of these was a Chinese – a Rnying ma layman – from Ganzi Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Tib. *Dkar rtse, Khams*) in Sichuan.⁵⁰ The following day, I met the abbot of Ten Direction Hall on the central terrace. He was from Bla brang Monastery and was on pilgrimage to the five terraces with three visiting monks and several lay Tibetans. In 1997, the number of monks had again more than doubled – there were nearly thirty monks. In addition, a young Tibetan assistant had come as a translator and apprentice to an older Tibetan from the Gannan Tibetan Medical Institute. Many

⁵⁰ My thanks to Lauran Hartley, with whom I visited Ri bo rtse Inga in 1994. Her suggestion that we tape-record notes of our daily activity preserved many more rich details than did my notes (or memory).

Chinese and Mongol pilgrims come to Wutai shan especially to seek their skills and remedies.



Ritual at Xiantong Temple, 1999.

Furthermore, many A mdo monks who come to Ri bo rtse lnga live outside this special enclave. One A mdo monk – having finished his studies at Se ra Monastery – had come from Central Tibet in order to go into retreat on the mountainside. He and his young disciple (who had originally come to the mountain to learn Chinese on the instructions of his monastery’s abbot) lived in a simple shed halfway up the mountain with a Rnying ma practitioner from A mdo. A talented young Monguor monk also came from A mdo to make Buddhist statues and paintings. His skills were much appreciated on the mountain, and I met him on both the western terrace and in the central township where various temples had engaged his services. At several other temples I have met very young monks from A mdo who were living among their Chinese brethren in practice. By 1999, a monk from the Reb gong area had built a retreat house just uphill from Nenghai Stūpa Monastery. It is interesting to note that, with the exception of one young Tibetan monk who I heard was studying at Xiantong Temple, most ethnic Tibetans and Chinese tend to live in separate locations as far as I could tell. Yet overall, the number of resident Tibetan Buddhists at Ri bo rtse lnga had increased dramatically. During a ritual to pray for the protection of the largest monastery and administrative center of Wutai shan, Xiantong Temple, almost two hundred monks and nuns wearing traditional Tibetan monastic garb participated. Moreover, the 151 Tibetan Buddhist monks and thirty Tibetan Buddhist nuns⁵¹ I counted as they circumambulated the main hall only represented the long-term resident population on the mountain. This figure included neither the Chinese practitioners of Tibetan Buddhism at Wutai shan (who wear brown or yellow Chinese monastic garb) nor the numerous Tibetan Buddhist pilgrims who were only visiting the site for a short time. The combined population of Tibetan Buddhists as evidenced in this ceremony indicates that at least ten and maybe fifteen percent of the monastic residents at Ri bo rtse lnga are

⁵¹ The presence of the nuns is particularly interesting, as there is no Tibetan Buddhist nunnery on the mountain. Possibly these nuns have joined the large Buddhist academy for nuns which opened in 1998.

ethnic Mongol and Tibetan Buddhists, while Chinese Tibetan Buddhists comprise at least another ten percent of the monastic population on the mountain.

What is most impressive about the flourishing of Tibetan Buddhism at Wutai shan is the ability of people of various ethnic backgrounds mutually to co-exist in a Buddhist community. The Chinese monks in Dge lugs pa temples do not eschew Chinese Buddhism; they appreciate and learn from both traditions. Only once have I heard any negative comment from a Chinese monk regarding one of these Tibetan Buddhist monasteries, but his criticism seemed directed primarily at the particular (ethnically Chinese, in any case) teacher who headed the small monastery in question. He permitted his disciple to enter the temple and prostrate to the images and *stūpas*, but he did not want to encounter the abbot of the monastery himself. Aside from this one instance, the general tendency on the mountain is to treat others with respect, possibly because Mañjuśrī is said to appear in many forms on the mountain. More probably, the long and prestigious association of Tibetan Buddhism with the monks and monasteries on this mountain has led to a true appreciation of Tibetan Buddhism's unique contributions to Buddhist practice and culture. In this atmosphere, ethnicity is less important than Buddhist learning and practice.

When Chinese, Mongols, and Tibetans are living together in various temples, though their common language is Chinese, their shared practice and affiliation is Tibetan Buddhism. These contacts are likely to continue to increase as the mountain seems to be of growing interest to ethnic Tibetan Buddhists, especially those from A mdo, where long historical connections have made this site famous. The fact that major texts of the Dge lugs pa Tibetan Buddhist tradition are now so accessible in Chinese language – and therefore to both Han Chinese as well as Mongols who no longer read their native language – is largely thanks to Fazun's pioneering translations. That Tibetan Buddhist practice is accessible to these populations is largely due to Nenghai's translation of ritual texts and his diligent propagation of Tibetan Buddhist traditions in Chinese areas. That both these teachers lived and are buried on Wutai shan is a testament to this mountain's importance in the adoption of Tibetan Buddhism by the Chinese.

Glossary

Note: Glossary entries are organized in Tibetan alphabetical order. All entries list the following information in this order: THDL Extended Wylie transliteration of the term, THDL Phonetic rendering of the term, English translation, Sanskrit and/or Chinese equivalent, dates when applicable, and type.

Ka					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Sanskrit/Chinese	Dates	Type
<i>karma pa</i>	Karmapa				Lineage
<i>kun tu khyab pa 'i lha khang</i>	Küntu Khyappé Lhakhang		Chi. <i>Yuanzhao si</i>		Place
<i>dkar rtse</i>	Kartsé				Place
Kha					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Sanskrit/Chinese	Dates	Type
<i>khang gsar</i>	Khangsar		Chi. <i>Kang sa</i>		Person
<i>khang gsar rin po che</i>	Khangsar Rinpoché				Person
<i>khang gsar rin po che ngag dbang dbyang can chos kyi dbang phyug</i>	Khangsar Rinpoché Ngawang Yangchen Chökyi Wangchuk			1888/90-1941	Person
<i>khams</i>	Kham				Place
<i>khams pa</i>	Khampa				Ethnicity
Ga					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Sanskrit/Chinese	Dates	Type
<i>gan lho</i>	Genlho		Chi. <i>Gannan</i>		Place
<i>dge lugs pa</i>	Gelukpa				Organization
<i>dge bshes</i>	Geshé				Term
<i>rgya bod lung rigs bslab grwa khang</i>	Gya Bö Lungrik Lapdrakhang	Sino-Tibetan Buddhist Institute	Chi. <i>Han Zang jiaoli yuan</i>		Organization
<i>rgyal rong khang mtshan</i>	Gyelrong Khangtsen				Place
<i>sgo mang</i>	Gomang				Place
Nga					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Sanskrit/Chinese	Dates	Type
<i>ngag dbang blo bzang</i>	Ngawang Lozang		Chi. <i>Awang Laosang</i>	1601-87	Person
<i>snags rim chen mo</i>	Ngakrim Chenmo		Chi. <i>Mizong zidi guanglun</i>		Text
Ca					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Sanskrit/Chinese	Dates	Type
<i>lcang skya</i>	Changkya				Lineage
<i>lcang skya rol pa 'i rdo rje</i>	Changkya Rölpe Dorjé			1717-86	Person; Author

Cha					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Sanskrit/Chinese	Dates	Type
<i>chos rje shākya ye shes</i>	Chōjé Shakya Yeshé				Person
Ja					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Sanskrit/Chinese	Dates	Type
<i>'jam dbyang chos 'phel rin po che</i>	Jamyang Chōmpel Rinpoché		Chi. <i>Jiangyang qingpi</i>		Person
<i>'jigs phun</i>	Jikpūn				Person
<i>'jigs med phun tshogs</i>	Jikmé Pūntsok				Person
<i>rje btsun shes rab rgya mtsho 'jam dpal dgyes pa 'i blo gros kyi gsung rtsom</i>	Jetsūn Sherap Gyatso Jampel Gyepé Lodrōkyi Sungtsom	<i>The Collected Works of the Venerable Sherap Gyatso</i>			Text
Nya					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Sanskrit/Chinese	Dates	Type
<i>rnying ma</i>	Nyingma				Organization
Tha					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Sanskrit/Chinese	Dates	Type
<i>thang ka</i>	tangka				Term
Da					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Sanskrit/Chinese	Dates	Type
<i>da lai bla ma</i>	Dalai Lama				Lineage
<i>dam pa kun dga' grags</i>	Dampa Kūnga Drak grags			1230-1303	Person
<i>dar rtse mdo</i>	Dartsedo		Chi. <i>Kangding</i>		Place
<i>de bzhin bshegs pa</i>	Dezhin Shekpa			1384-1415	Person
<i>dznya na shrī man</i>	Dzanyana Shrimen				Author
<i>rdo sbis dge bshes shes rab rgya mtsho</i>	Dobi Geshé Sherap Gyatso			1884-1968	Person
Pa					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Sanskrit/Chinese	Dates	Type
<i>pañ chen bla ma</i>	Penchen Lama				Person
Pha					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Sanskrit/Chinese	Dates	Type
<i>'phags pa blo gros rgyal mtshan</i>	Pakpa Lodrō Gyeltsen			1235-80	Person
Ba					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Sanskrit/Chinese	Dates	Type
<i>bu ston</i>	Butōn				Person
<i>byang chub lam gyi rim pa 'i chen mo</i>	Jangchup Lamgyi Rimpé Chenmo		Chi. <i>Puti dao cidi guanglun</i>		Text
<i>byams chen chos rje shākya ye shes</i>	Jamchen Chōjé Shakya Yeshé			1354-1435	Person
<i>byams pa dge rgan</i>	Jampa Gegen		Chi. <i>Jiangpa gege</i>		Person
<i>bla brang</i>	Labrang				Place

<i>bla ma</i>	lama		Chi. <i>shangshi</i>		Term
<i>blo bzang chos 'phags</i>	Lozang Chömpak				Person
<i>blo bzang dpal ldan bstan pa 'i gron me</i>	Lozang Penden Tenpé Drönmé		Chi. <i>Luosang bandian danbi rongmei</i>	1890-1957	Person
<i>blo gsal gling</i>	Losel Ling				Place
<i>'bras spungs</i>	Drepung				Place
Tsa					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Sanskrit/Chinese	Dates	Type
<i>tsong kha pa</i>	Tsongkhapa				Person
Tsha					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Sanskrit/Chinese	Dates	Type
<i>tshangs dbyangs rgya mtsho</i>	Tsangyang Gyatso				Person
Zha					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Sanskrit/Chinese	Dates	Type
<i>zhing mchog ri bo dwangs bsil gyi gnas bshad dad pa 'i padmo rgyas byed ngo mtshar nyi ma 'i snang ba</i>	Zhingchok Riwo Dangsilgyi Neshé Depé Pemo Gyejé Ngotsar Nyimé Nangwa				Text
Ya					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Sanskrit/Chinese	Dates	Type
<i>yab sras gsum</i>	Yapsé Sum	Three: Father and Sons			Name
<i>yab sras gsum gyi gsung 'bum</i>	Yapsé Sumgyi Sungbum				Text
<i>yon tan rgya mtsho</i>	Yönten Gyatso				Person
Ra					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Sanskrit/Chinese	Dates	Type
<i>ri bo rtse lnga</i>	Riwo Tsenga		Chi. <i>Wutai shan</i>		Place
<i>ri bo rtse lnga 'i dkar chag rab gsal me long</i>	Riwo Tsengé Karchak Rapsel Melong				Text
<i>reb gong</i>	Repgong				Place
<i>rol pa 'i rdo rje</i>	Rölpé Dorjé				Person
La					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Sanskrit/Chinese	Dates	Type
<i>lam rim chen mo</i>	Lamrim Chenmo				Text
Sha					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Sanskrit/Chinese	Dates	Type
<i>shākyā ye shes</i>	Shakya Yeshé				Person
<i>shes rab rgya mtsho</i>	Sherap Gyatso				Person
<i>shri ā shwa ka</i>	Shri Ashaka				Person
<i>shri ā shraka</i>	Shri Ashraka				Person

Sa					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Sanskrit/Chinese	Dates	Type
<i>se ra</i>	Sera				Place
<i>gsung 'bum</i>	sunbum	collected writings			Term
Ha					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Sanskrit/Chinese	Dates	Type
<i>lha mo rtse</i>	Lhamo Tse		Chi. <i>Paoma shan</i>		Place
<i>lha sa</i>	Lhasa				Place
A					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Sanskrit/Chinese	Dates	Type
<i>a mdo</i>	Amdo				Place
Non-Tibetan					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Sanskrit/Chinese	Dates	Type
			San. <i>siddha</i>		Term
			Chi. <i>Bei Fu</i>		Author
			Chi. <i>Beijing</i>		Place
			Chi. <i>Chengdu</i>		Place
			Chi. <i>Chengzu</i>		Person
			Chi. <i>Chongqing</i>		Place
			Chi. <i>Dangdai Zhongguo Fojiao dashi wenji</i>		Series
			Chi. <i>Dayong</i>		Person
			Chi. <i>Dingzhi</i>		Author
		Tibetan	Chi. <i>Fan</i>		Ethnicity
			Chi. <i>Fazun</i>	1902-80	Person
			Chi. <i>Fazun wenji</i>		Text
		Buddhist Institute for the Study of the Tibetan Language	Chi. <i>Fojiao Zangwen xueyuan</i>		Organization
			Chi. <i>Gansu</i>		Place
			Chi. <i>Guangji maopeng</i>		Place
		Avalokīśvara's Cave	Chi. <i>Guanyin dong</i>		Place
			Chi. <i>Hai chao yin</i>		Title
			Chi. <i>Hong Jisong</i>		Author
			Chi. <i>Hongyang Zangmi de Qinghai fashi</i>		Title
			Chi. <i>Huang Jilin</i>		Author
			Chi. <i>Jinci si</i>		Place

		A Brief Account of the Great Virtue of Two Chinese Men who Propagated the Dge lugs sect and their Translations	Chi. <i>Jindai hongyang Gelupai de liang wei Hanzu dade ji qi yi, zhujian jie</i>		Title
			San. <i>vajra</i> Chi. <i>jingang</i>		Term
			Chi. <i>Jixiang liuyuan</i>		Place
			Chi. <i>Kangxi</i>		Lineage
			Chi. <i>Lu Wang</i>		Author
			Chi. <i>Ming</i>		Organization
			Chi. <i>Ming Chengzu</i>	r. 1403-24	Person
			Chi. <i>Nenghai</i>	1886-1967	Person
			Chi. <i>Nenghai shangshi zhuan</i>		Text
		Nenghai Stupa Monastery	Chi. <i>Nenghai tayuan</i>		Place
		Bodhisattva Summit	Chi. <i>Pusading</i>		Place
		<i>The Great Treatise on the Graduated Path to Enlightenment</i>	Chi. <i>Puti dao zidi guanglun</i>		Text
			Chi. <i>Qianlong</i>		Lineage
			Chi. <i>Qing</i>		Organization
			Chi. <i>Qingding</i>		Author
		<i>Record of Guru Qingding's Teaching</i>	Chi. <i>Qingding shangshi kaishi lu</i>		Text
			Chi. <i>Qinghai</i>	1922-90	Person
			Chi. <i>Qingliang qiao</i>		Place
			Chi. <i>Qing zhengfu yu lama jiao</i>		Text
		National Library Center for Reduction and Duplication of Documents	Chi. <i>Quanguo tushuguan wenxian suowei fuzhi zhongxin</i>		Publisher
		Sudhana's Cave	Chi. <i>Shancai dong</i>		Place
			Chi. <i>Shanghai</i>		Place
		Chengdu Buddhist Study Society	Chi. <i>Shaocheng Foxueshe</i>		Organization
		Ten Direction Hall	Chi. <i>Shifang tang</i>		Person
			Chi. <i>Shi Shiliang</i>		Author
			Chi. <i>Shizu</i>		Person
			Chi. <i>Shunzhi</i>		Lineage
			Chi. <i>Sichuan</i>		Place
			Chi. <i>tai</i>		Term
			Chi. <i>Taipei shi</i>		Place

			Chi. <i>Taipei</i>		Place
			Chi. <i>Taixu</i>		Person
			Chi. <i>Taiyuan</i>		Place
			Chi. <i>Tang</i>		Organization
		Mañjuśrī Monastery	Chi. <i>Wenshu yuan</i>		Place
			Chi. <i>Wutai</i>		Place
			Chi. <i>Wutai shan shang de mizong chuanren—Nenghai fashi</i>		Title
			Chi. <i>Wutai shan yanjiu</i>		Title
		<i>Contemporary Tibet</i>	Chi. <i>Xiandai Xizang</i>		Text
			Chi. <i>Xing Butang</i>		Author
			Chi. <i>Xining</i>		Place
		<i>The political and Religious History of the Tibetan People</i>	Chi. <i>Xizang minzu zhengjiao shi</i>		Text
			Chi. <i>Xizangxue wenxian zongshu bieji</i>		Series
			Chi. <i>Xizang yanjiu</i>		Title
			Chi. <i>Xuande</i>		Person
			Chi. <i>Xuanzong</i>		Lineage
			Chi. <i>Yonghe gong</i>		Place
			Chi. <i>Yongle</i>		Lineage
			Chi. <i>Yuan</i>		Organization
			Chi. <i>Yuanzhao si Fojiao jianshi</i>		Title
		Tibetan esoteric style	Chi. <i>Zang mi xingshi</i>		Term
		<i>First Draft of Tibetan Language Reader</i>	Chi. <i>Zangwen duben chugao</i>		Text
		<i>Tibetan Grammar</i>	Chi. <i>Zangwen wenfa</i>		Text
			Chi. <i>Zasa</i>		Person
			Chi. <i>Zhang Xixin</i>		Author
			Chi. <i>Zheng Jihuai</i>		Author
			Chi. <i>Zheng Lin</i>		Author
			Chi. <i>Zhenhai si</i>		Place
		<i>Biography of Tsongkhapa</i>	Chi. <i>Zongkaba dashi zhuan</i>		Text
			Chi. <i>Zuochu xueyu. Zangchuan Fojiao shengji lu</i>		Text

Chinese Characters

Beijing	北京
Bishan Temple	碧山寺
Chengdu	成都
Chengzu	成祖
Dharma-master Dayong	大勇法師
Dharma-master Fazun	法尊法師
Dharma-master Qinghai	清海法師
Fan (Tibetan)	番
Fojiao zangwen xueyuan	佛教藏文學院
Fujian (Fukien)	福建
Gannan (Tib. <i>Gan lho</i>)	甘南
Gansu	甘肅
Ganzi	甘孜
Guangji maopeng	廣濟茅蓬
Guangzong Temple	廣宗寺
Han Zang jiaoli yuan	漢藏教理院
Hebei	河北
Henan	河南
Jiangpa gege (Tib. <i>Byams pa dge rgan</i>)	降巴格格
Jiangyang qingpi (Tib. <i>'Jam dbyang chos 'phel rin po che</i>)	降陽清丕
Jinci Temple	近慈寺
jingang (vajra)	金剛
Jixiang lüyuan	吉祥律院
Jixiang Temple	吉祥寺
Kangding	康定
Kangxi	康熙
Master Taixu	太虛大師
Ming	明
Nenghai shangshi	能海上師
Nenghai tayuan (Nenghai <i>stūpa</i> Monastery)	能海塔院
Paoma shan (Tib. <i>Lha mo rtse</i>)	跑馬山
Puning Temple	普寧寺
Pusading (Bodhisattva Summit)	菩薩頂
<i>Puti dao cidì guānglun</i> (Tib. <i>Byang chub lam gyi rim pa'i chen mo</i>)	菩提道次第廣論
Qianlong	乾隆
Qing	清
Qingliang qiao	清涼橋
Shancai dong (Sudhana's Cave)	善財洞
Shanghai	上海
Shaocheng Foxueshe (Chengdu Buddhist Study Society)	少城佛學社
Shifang tang (Ten Direction Hall)	十方堂
Shizu	世祖

Shunzhi	順治
Sichuan	四川
Taiyuan	太原
Wenshu yuan (Mañjuśrī Monastery)	文殊院
Wutai shan (Tib. <i>Ri bo rtse lnga</i>)	五台山
Xiantong Temple	顯通寺
Xuande	宣得
Xuanzong	宣宗
Yanjiao Temple	演教寺
Yonghe gong	雍和宮
Yongle	永樂
Yuan	元
Yuanzhao Temple (Tib. <i>Kun tu khyab pa'i lha khang</i>)	圓照寺
Yushan Lama	與善喇嘛
Zang mi xingshi (Tibetan esoteric style)	藏密形式
Zasa Lama	紮薩喇嘛

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