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POWER, POLITICS, AND
THE REINVENTION OF
TRADITION

Tibet in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

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INTRODUCTION

Bryan J. Cuevas and Kurtis R. Schaeffer

The twelve essays included in the present volume underscore common interests that have been emerging within the study of Tibetan history over the last several years. Each essay focuses on a particular figure, institution, or literary corpus, and each makes a specialized contribution to our collective understanding of these respective topics. Yet all are concerned, more or less explicitly, with relationships between the past and the present evoked in Tibetan historiography, ritual literature, and Buddhist esoteric writings. For the most part, in matters of legitimation and power, whether political or religious, Tibetan historians, philosophers, and ritual specialists have always placed critical emphasis on the preservation of tradition and the succession of authentic lines of transmission. Any variation from the unbroken lineages of tradition meant in every case that legitimate authority could never be properly established. Still, there was much room for innovation, but only through creative strategy and the manipulation of the details of history and biography. With few exceptions, the Tibetans studied here in this volume lay claim to the venerable authority of established traditions in order to promote new or significantly re-fashioned practices, doctrines, and ideologies. Most of these Tibetan figures go to great lengths to validate their current practices and perspectives as part of an uninterrupted ancient tradition, very often reaching back to the life of Śākyamuni Buddha and the founding moments of Buddhism in India and Tibet. Yet in the very act of drawing out these connections between tradition and innovation they reveal how necessary it is to actively maintain such practices through deliberate and constant reference to the past.

In this tension between visions of unchanging order and the reality of local contingency we see a good example of what historian Eric Hobsbawm has termed 'invented tradition,' or "a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past."¹ While the contributors to this volume of essays may not have

¹ Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983: 1.

been influenced explicitly by the insights of Hobsbawm, they all focus on a particularly rich era of Tibetan history, the mid-seventeenth through early eighteenth centuries. Hobsbawm acknowledges that “there is probably no time and place with which historians are concerned which has not seen the ‘invention’ of tradition.”² Nevertheless, Hobsbawm suggests, “we should expect it to occur more frequently when rapid transformations of society weakens or destroys the social patterns for which ‘old’ traditions had been designed.”² The period of the seventeenth-eighteenth century in Tibet stands as an exemplary case for testing the relevance of the notion of invented tradition. The period is marked by the end of civil war in central Tibet and the rise in 1642 of the Fifth Dalai Lama (1617-1682) to unprecedented political prominence, resulting in the centralization of institutional authority in Lhasa and the increase of Tibetan involvement in the territorial power struggles between Mongols and Manchus throughout the early Qing empire.

A brief summary of the chapters provides some sense of the overarching themes that characterize this pivotal period in Tibetan history. Benjamin Bogin (Chapter 1) introduces the *Memoirs* of the third Yol mo sprul sku Bstan ‘dzin nor bu (1598-1644), paying particular attention to the issue of sectarian identity. Significantly, he shows that the common distinctions drawn by contemporary scholarship between Buddhist sectarian groups, such as the Dge lugs pa and the Bka’ brgyud pa, are less important for the Tibetans actually affiliated with these ‘schools.’ More significant, Bogin argues, are the relationships defined by family ties, geographical proximity, ordination lineage, and other similar social-religious group associations. Marina Illich (Chapter 2) discusses the biographical literature dedicated to Lcang skya Rol pa’i rdo rje (Chankya Rolpé Dorjé, 1717-1786). Of particular interest to Illich is the focus of Lcang skya’s biographers on the details of Qing ritual protocol when describing the formal meetings between Tibetan Buddhist leader and Manchu imperial leader. Illich suggests that this deliberate appropriation of the logic of imperial ritual was an attempt by the Tibetan authors to “deflect the hegemonizing strategies of the Qing by asserting a narrative of Dge lugs indispensability to the realization of Qing ambition.” Trent Pomplun (Chapter 3) analyses the writings of the Jesuit missionary Ippolito Desideri (1684-1733) on the prophecies of Padmasambhava. Pomplun shows that this eighth-century visionary from O rgyan loomed large in Desideri’s interpretations of Tibetan Buddhism

² Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983: 4.

and that for this Jesuit missionary the prophecies of Padmasambhava provided the most credible narrative framework for making sense of the Dzungar persecutions of the Rnying ma pa during the political chaos in central Tibet in the years 1717-1720. Nikolay Tsyrempilov (Chapter 4) explores the political role of Dge lugs pa figures in the expansion of the Qing dynasty. He argues that insufficient attention has been paid to the relations between the Qing emperors and the religious leaders of Tibet who, more often than previously described, were active in supporting and promoting Qing policies in Tibet and throughout Inner Asia. Gray Tuttle (Chapter 5) chronicles the Fifth Dalai Lama’s trip to Beijing during the years 1652-1653. On close reading of the accounts of this journey, Tuttle is able to highlight the missionary impulse in Tibetan society of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, leading to the broad expansion of Tibetan Buddhism into Inner and East Asia. Jake Dalton (Chapter 6) looks at how, at the turn of the eighteenth century, the two brothers of Smin grol gling, Gter bdag gling pa (1646-1714) and Lo chen Dharmasī (1654-1717), worked to recreate the Rnying ma school, and how the *Sūtra Empowerment (Mdo dbang)* literature and ritual practices played a key role in this recreation. Dalton points out that “the identity of the Rnying ma school is still defined in large part by the regular observance” of the full ritual program originally conceived and initiated by the Smin gling brothers. Georgios Halkias (Chapter 7) draws attention to the understudied Pure Land tradition in Tibet by focusing on the important Sukhāvātī *sādhana* of the young *gter ston* Gnam chos Mi ‘gyur rdo rje (1645-1667). Halkias demonstrates that Mi ‘gyur rdo rje’s *sādhana* is a remarkable example of Tibetan syncretic liturgy, drawing from diverse sectarian ritual sources and integrating multiple elements into a single and effective Pure Land ritual program. Derek Maher (Chapter 8) examines the successive incarnation lineage of ‘Jam dbyangs bzhad pa’i rdo rje (1648-1722) and the ‘biographical strategies’ used by Dge lugs pa writers in early eighteenth-century Amdo. Maher argues that “through the construction of such a lineage, the doctrinal legitimacy and personal charisma of some particular current figure can be created or fortified by appealing to the luster of previous personalities.” Guilaine Mala (Chapter 9) takes up the important eighteenth-century “History of Buddhism in China,” the *Rgya nag chos ‘byung*, completed in 1736 by the Mongol scholar Mgon po skyabs (Mong. Gombojab). Mala argues that this unique Tibetan historical work uses Indian Mahāyāna literature and tantric prophecies to recast the complex history of Buddhism in China

through the lense of Tibetan Buddhism from a decidedly Dge lugs pa perspective. Jann Ronis (Chapter 10) surveys the biography of Bdud 'dul rdo rje (1615-1672), an important Rnying ma pa figure active in Sde dge. Ronis emphasizes Bdud 'dul rdo rje's attempts to adapt to the changing political landscape of late seventeenth-century Tibet through the revelation of texts (*gter ma*) and the opening of hidden lands (*sbas yul*). His efforts, Ronis concludes, were somewhat less-than-successful. Kurtis R. Schaeffer (Chapter 11) discusses the extensive innovations in the annual ritual and festival cycle undertaken by Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho (Sangyé Gyatso, 1653-1705) during the 1690s, and uses two of his works, *Tales of the New Year (Lo gsar 'bel gtam)* and the *Lhasa Circumambulation Survey (Lha sa skor tshad)* as entry points to the larger project of assessing his role in and contribution to the development of Tibetan and Buddhist culture after the founding of the Dga' ldan Government in 1642. Finally, Simon Wikham-Smith (Chapter 12) analyses the songs of the Sixth Dalai Lama (1683-1706) in an effort to understand the relationship with his much older mentor and regent, Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho.

The essays in this volume offer diverse perspectives on a critical period in Tibet's history when Tibetans found themselves caught up in the tides of political turmoil and forced into the center of a much larger Central Eurasian struggle for power and territorial control between the Manchu rulers of the Qing empire and the Mongols of the north. The Tibetans, speaking with multiple voices and with allegiances to varied local religious and social groups, were compelled to make sense of their changing world and their place within it while still maintaining their ties to the great traditions of Tibet's past. This collection focuses on the various ways Tibetan historians, biographers, and scholars of all sorts during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries succeeded in this task of reinventing and reinforcing their respective traditions.

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I. POWER, POLITICS, AND RELIGION

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CHAPTER FIVE

A TIBETAN BUDDHIST MISSION TO THE EAST:
THE FIFTH DALAI LAMA'S JOURNEY TO BEIJING, 1652-1653

Gray Tuttle

While John Elliot was trying to convert New England's natives and Harvard was founded in 1635, in part as a college to instruct these native converts, Jesuits were making inroads in Asia. But more successful than these Christian missionaries in the new and old worlds, at the same time Dge lugs pa Tibetan Buddhists spread across Inner Asia and into the capitals (Mukden and Beijing) of East Asia with surprising success and a significant display of imperial support. In this essay, I focus on the Fifth Dalai Lama's journey to Beijing in the mid-seventeenth century as a window into the missionary impulse in Tibetan society of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. To emphasize the missionary nature of the expansion of Tibetan Buddhism into Inner and East Asia, I periodically compare the nearly simultaneous European Catholic expansion into Asia with that of the Dge lugs pa Tibetans.

The initial Tibetan Buddhist missions to the east were in response to the expansion of Mongol and Manchu power into areas where Tibetan Buddhists resided. On the basis of this contact with militarily powerful neighbors, the Central Tibetan Dge lugs pa missions to the east grew out of a need to seek support for their tradition outside Central Tibet, where their monasteries and sponsors were beleaguered by the ruling elite who supported the rival Bka' rgyud pa tradition. In the mid-seventeenth century, Tibetan Buddhist lamas and the Qing imperial family both sought to bolster their positions of power by seeking the support of the other. The Dge lugs pa school of Tibetan Buddhism, under siege by the ruling family of Tibet until 1642, gained critical support from Mongols across Inner Asia, from the Tümed of the Ordos to the Oirad of Kökenor. But the support from these shifting Mongol alliances had not always proved steady, so when a new power arose to the east, the Dge lugs pa also sought to reach out to the Jurchen khan, who became the Qing

emperor in this period.¹ Despite the obvious political importance of these relations, I argue that the visit of the Fifth Dalai Lama to Beijing must also be seen in the context of missionary activity, rather than strictly as a matter of political expediency.

In this effort to extend their religious influence to far-flung courts, the Dge lugs pa tradition was engaged in mission efforts that developed, chronologically speaking, in a remarkably parallel fashion with the Catholic missions that were underway in Asia in the same period. Initially the Jesuits, by their own accounts, enjoyed great success in southern China in the first half of the seventeenth century, converting several tens of thousands in this period. However, Catholic success was seriously curtailed by the prohibitions placed on their missionaries in the early eighteenth century. I should also note that there were also remarkable differences between the Catholic and Tibetan Buddhist missions. As Joanna Waley-Cohen has so aptly summarized the leading Catholic mission in China, the Society of Jesus (the Jesuit order) founded in 1540, it was "a highly militant order with the specific goal of converting 'infidels' overseas."²

In contrast, the Dge lugs pa Tibetan Buddhists saw their eastern neighbors as communities that could take a more active and equal role in contributing to the development of their religious tradition. After consolidating his power in Central Tibet in the 1640s, the Fifth Dalai Lama (Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, 1617-1682) recounted the experiences of his two predecessors in biographical works while personally seeing to the renewal and significant expansion of the extent of Dge lugs pa influence to the east. In this effort, he was helped by many little known lamas, and a few well known ones, who had spread Tibetan Buddhism throughout Inner Asia and into northern Chinese imperial strongholds such as Wutaishan and Beijing. Through his journey to Beijing, the Dalai Lama was able to consolidate this foothold and reap the substantial material benefits that accompanied such successful missionary work.

For perspective on the success of this mission, a brief review of Tibetan Buddhist missionaries in East Asia and Catholic missionaries in

¹ Although I will limit myself to the Dge lugs pa missions in Inner Asia and north-eastern China, the Sa skyas were also very involved in this mission field at least until the 1634 defeat of Ligdan Khan by the Manchus brought an end to their powerful sponsor. For details on these early missions see Heissig 1953; Grupper 1980; Kam 1994.

² Waley-Cohen 1999: 62-64.

Asia will illustrate the striking contemporary development of these two traditions' efforts to spread their religion to the east. In contrast to the Jesuit motives, the Tibetans did not have a centrally organized plan to make converts, but were rather drawn into the world of the Mongol, Manchu and Chinese mission fields by these peoples' struggles for territory and power in Inner Asia.³ Nevertheless, once drawn into these struggles, the Dge lugs pa consistently sought their advantage by spreading their religion. To some degree, the Catholics too were merely riding the coattails of the extension of a struggle for territory and power in Asia as European states built colonial trade empires. Nevertheless, converting the "heathen" was an important aspect of European colonial discourse at this time. For instance, in 1556 the Dominican monk Gaspar da Cruz was in Canton writing of conversion opportunities in China. The next year the Jesuits set up a mission at the Moghul court in India. Within a decade of these developments, but far to the north in Inner Asia, half a dozen Tibetan Buddhist leaders were on their way to the camp of Khutughtai Sechen Khung taiji (grand-nephew of the ruling Mongol Khan) to acquiesce to the promise that if they would submit to him, the Mongol leader would accept their religion. Other lamas voluntarily followed this lead over the years and managed to "awaken" Altan Khan to Tibetan Buddhism by 1571.⁴ At the same time, while the Catholics had yet to tap the Chinese mission field, a Tibetan lama named Bsod nams rnam rgyal became an instructor at the imperial Foreign Scripture Printery at the Ming court in Beijing.⁵

Aside from these isolated examples, neither the Tibetan Buddhists nor the Catholics had yet made much headway towards the East Asian mission field, but this would soon change. In 1578, the most powerful ruler in Inner Asia, Altan Khan (1555-1581), came to meet Tibetan Buddhist lamas in the Köke nor (Tib. Mtsho kha/Mtsho sngon, Ch. Qinghai) region. His meeting with the leading Dge lugs pa hierarch Bsod nams rgya mtsho (1543-1588) resulted in the exchange of titles which launched the Dalai Lama incarnation series that was to play such a key role in the rest of Tibetan history. The next year, when Bsod nams rgya mtsho (hereafter referred to as the Third Dalai Lama) returned to Tibet, he sent a lama with Altan Khan named Stong 'khor chos rje Yon tan rgya

³ For an overview of the conversion of the Mongols, see Ahmad 1970: 85-99.

⁴ Ahmad 1970: 87.

⁵ Huang Hao 1993: 30.

mtsho, the first Chahan lama, "as his representative in the Mongols' country."⁶

The presence of wealthy and prestigious Mongol patrons in the northeastern was sufficient to draw the Third Dalai Lama to undertake a second mission from Central Tibet starting in 1583. That same year, Matteo Ricci (1552-1610) opened the first Jesuit mission in China, on the island of Macao, where the Portuguese already had a stronghold.⁷ Similarly, the Third Dalai Lama also started by consolidating his tradition's hold first in territory already under Tibetan sway. Of course, unlike the European missionary, he was returning to the origins of his tradition when he went to the birthplace of Tsong kha pa (1357-1419) in A mdo in 1583. There he "founded a school for the explanation of sacred texts" at Sku 'bum, an innovation that laid the foundations for Dge lugs pa training that would generate Dge lugs pa missionaries to northeast Asia for the next two centuries. In addition, by visiting "Bya k'nyung brag, Ri bo dang tig, mDso mo mkhar, where [Tsong kha pa's disciple, Shakya Ye shes] Byams c'en c'os rje had dwelt" he helped assure that these venerable Tibetan Buddhist monasteries would hereafter be bastions of Dge lugs pa teaching.⁸

Having built these firm foundations in Macao and A mdo respectively, these yet unknowing rival traditions proceeded to extend their influence toward the central seat of power in East Asia, Beijing. In 1585, Altan Khan's son requested that the Third Dalai Lama bring his missionary work into the Tümed Mongol territory. Eager to respond, the Dalai Lama arrived at Altan Khan's capital of Köke khota (Tib. Mkhar sngon, Ch. Guihaucheng) where he founded a translation school near the Chinese border. The next year, the Dalai Lama extended his visit into the domain of the Kharchin Mongols, where another school for translation was established. In 1588, he went even farther northeast to the Khorchin Mongols, north of the Liao River and east of the Khingan range, to consecrate a temple at the invitation of their khan.⁹ This activity seems to have gotten the attention of the Ming court, because in 1588 the Wanli emperor invited the Third Dalai Lama to court and conferred the title of the Great Imperial Preceptor who Confers Initiations (*Guanding tai*

⁶ Tucci: 48-49; Rockhill 1910: 5. This lama was recognized as an incarnation of Mañjushri and was known as the first Chahan Nomenhan or the Dongkor Mañjushri hutuketu among the Mongols.

⁷ Ricci 1953.

⁸ Tucci 1949: 49 (citing the Third Dalai Lama's biography).

⁹ Heissig 1953: 29-32; cf. Tucci 1949: 49; Rockhill 1910: 5-6.

guoshi) on him.¹⁰ The lama was planning to accept the invitation to the capital when illness struck him down, and he died in Mongol territory. Had the Third Dalai Lama made it to the capital in Beijing, it would have been the first time since Shakya Ye shes' 1434 visit to Beijing that such a prominent lama would have been welcomed in China.¹¹ While the Dalai Lama was building Tibetan Buddhist institutions in northeast Inner Asia, Matteo Ricci managed to start the first Jesuit mission in China proper in Nanjing.

At the start of the seventeenth century, both Tibetan Buddhist and Catholic missions continued to extend their influence closer to the Chinese capital in Beijing. The death of Altan Khan (d. 1581) and his son (d. 1587) and the minority of the Fourth Dalai Lama (reborn in 1589 as Altan Khan's nephew) temporarily halted the high level exchanges between Tibetans and southern Mongols. Meanwhile, Matteo Ricci made some progress in China. In 1601, he was given permission to live in Beijing, which he did until his death in 1610. In 1603, the young Mongol and Fourth Dalai Lama, Bsod nams rgya mtsho (1543-1588) came to Central Tibet. For the next decade, he and the Dge lugs pa supporters in Central Tibet tried to build connections between Tibetans and the Mongols. For instance, shortly after he arrived, the Third Dalai Lama sent the "re-incarnation of Chamba-gyats'o, who became known among the Mongols as Maitri Hutuketu" to be his representative in Köke khota.¹² At the same time, the lay patrons of the Dge lugs pa invited Mongol warriors into Tibet to aid in their struggle against the Karma family rulers of the western part of Central Tibet.¹³ Yet these eastern Mongols, whether too far away, too weak or simply not committed to the Dge lugs pa cause, failed to elevate or even very effectively protect the Dge lugs pa establishment from their rivals. In fact, with the demise of the Altan Khan and the internal family feuds that followed, political power shifted away from his family and its concerns became limited to the Ordos.¹⁴

¹⁰ This was the first time in almost a century that the Ming court had conferred such a title on a Tibetan lama. For details on the 1492 conferral of a similar title on Sangs rgyas rdo rje, see Huang Hao 1993: 13-14, 115.

¹¹ Sperling 1983: 146-8; H. Karmay 1975: 73, 79.

¹² Rockhill 1910: 6.

¹³ Ahmad 1970: 100-20, for a Sa skya source on this conflict see Tucci 1949: 54-57.

¹⁴ Elverskog 2003: 36-37. This pattern would be repeated in the Tibetan relations with the Oirat Mongols of Köke nor, whose internal rivalries after the death of Güüsi

This period marked the nadir for the Dge lugs pa, as both at home and among the southern Mongols their position was weakened. The year 1616 was particularly challenging for the Dge lugs pa, as the Fourth Dalai Lama died, and their rivals extended their influence from Gtsang into Dbus.¹⁵ In 1625, the Gtsang pa khan did nothing to prevent Catholic missionaries from moving into far western Tibet.¹⁶ Meanwhile, among the Mongols, the rightful heir of the Genghisid lineage through Dayan Khan, Ligdan the Chakhar Khan, had asserted his dominion over the southern Mongols.¹⁷ Like Altan Khan before him, Ligdan Khan also sought the support and legitimacy of Tibetan Buddhists, but he turned to Sa skya monks to support him and to translate the Tibetan Buddhist canon into Mongolian.¹⁸ Ligdan Khan's dislike of the Dge lugs pa ultimately turned into an outright attack on these Tibetan Buddhists.¹⁹ But this persecution may ultimately have been a boon to the beleaguered tradition, as it seems that Mongol Tibetan Buddhists converted by the Third Dalai Lama to the Dge lugs pa tradition were driven farther afield, into the domain of the rising power of the Jurchen in northeast Asia.

So while Catholics had reached Tibet and the Jesuit Johann Adam Schall von Bell would soon reach Beijing, Tibetan lamas showed up at the Jurchen court of the Jin dynasty (1616 to 1635, when the dynastic title was changed to Qing). In the spring of 1621 Uluk Darqhan Nangsu lama established the "first direct contact between Manchus and Tibetans."²⁰ Tak-sim Kam has described Nurghaci's reception of this lama as "fulfilling the conventional patron-priest (Tb. *mchod-yon*) relationship, [because] Nurghaci, as a devotee to the religion, not only showed deference to him but also offered him a generous largess including an estate with workers." Further, Kam argued that, contrary to the usual claims, "Nurghaci's patronage of the Lama was not politically

khan "prevented them from taking an immediate or continuous interest in Tibet" (Richardson 1998: 450).

¹⁵ Tucci 1949: 55-56.

¹⁶ On this early Jesuit mission to Tibet, see Wessels 1924.

¹⁷ Elverskog 2003: 16.

¹⁸ Grupper 1980: 109-110. His source is the anonymous seventeenth century *Sira tuquji*. For another source, see also 81-83: the *Altan kürdün mingkhan gegesütü bichig* written by Siregetü Guoshi Dharma in 1739. It must be remembered in this context that the author of the text is a Dge lugs pa writing in the time of his tradition's triumph in Mongolia. Nevertheless, this initial contact is mentioned without emphasis and is followed by a clear reference to a Sa skya monk who was prominent at Ligdan's court.

¹⁹ Yang 1970: 32-33.

²⁰ Kam 2000: 161-62.

motivated since most of the Mongol groups such as the Uriyangqai, Ongnighud, Dörbed and Jalayid that came to submit to him were followers of shamanism, not Tibetan Buddhism."²¹ Although the lama died within a few months of his arrival, his stupa (built in 1630 when his disciple urged Hongtaiji to fulfill his father's promise) revealed that the missionary impulse of the Dge lugs pa had been fulfilled by the tantric initiation of the first of the Jurchen khans. The stupa's inscription recorded that the lama "gave the *abisheka* or empowerment (*mo-ting shou-chi*) to the Manchu khan [Nurhaci]."²² Sometime in the 1630s, the second Chahan lama, Lha mo Blo gros rgya mtsho (1610-1659) was also in contact with the Jurchens—who changed their ethnonym to the Manchus in 1636—as he served as their envoy to Tibet before the end of the decade.²³

Thus, in 1639, after the Qing dynasty had been declared from Mukden but before the Manchus moved south into Beijing, Hongtaiji sent lama envoys to invite the Fifth Dalai Lama to come teach Buddhism in his realm. His chief envoy was none other than the second Chahan Lama Mañjushrī of Kōke-Khota. Hongtaiji's letter invited the Dalai Lama to come "in order to propagate the growth of Buddhist Faith and benefit all living beings." Hongtaiji sent further unrecorded oral instructions with the lamas, but his concern that the Dharma (*fa*) not be suppressed, but rather be transmitted to posterity, must have been a welcome sentiment to the Dalai Lama.²⁴ After a long period of threats from various Mongol and Tibetan rulers, the tide was turning for the Dge lugs pa. From 1635, the Oirad under the leadership of Gūüsi Khan started a campaign to defeat the Dge lugs pa's rivals, first in Amdo and Khams, which was not to end until 1642 when the Karma family in Gtsang was defeated.²⁵ Thus, the support of another rising power in Inner Asia must have been encouraging. The details of the embassies exchanged between Tibet and the Manchu courts (in Mukden and later in Beijing) have been exhaustively detailed by Z. Ahmad and more recently summarized by E.

²¹ Kam 2000: 167-68. For a scholar who made the claim that Kam refutes, as well as fairly compelling evidence for the claim, see Farquhar 1978: 20-21.

²² Kam 2000: 167. It is interesting to note the inscription was only in Manchu and Chinese, not Tibetan or Mongol, as one would suspect if this stupa had been erected to attract the support of Tibetan Buddhists.

²³ Awang luosang jiacou 1992: 322, n. 21. Like the Fourth Dalai Lama, the reincarnation of the Third Dalai Lama's envoy to the southern Mongols was reborn among his hosts, in this case as the son of the Tümed leader, Huoluoji.

²⁴ Ahmad 1970: 157.

²⁵ For details, see Ahmad 1970: 110-22.

Sperling.²⁶ What I wish to emphasize is the motivation articulated in the letters exchanged.

While Catholic missionaries were welcomed at the early Qing court for their talents in making canons to pierce the walled Chinese cities, by this time the Tibetan Buddhists were no doubt of interest more for their influence over the Manchu's critical allies, the Mongols. Thus, in 1642 the Manchu emperor heartily welcomed the Dalai and Panchen Lamas' envoy, the Ilaghughsan Khutughtu, sent in response to the Qing invitation of 1639. The letter this envoy bore spoke of glorifying the protector of religion and making donations for the maintenance of the religious community. The two most powerful Dge lugs pa leaders' autobiographical works articulate the centrality of the missionary impulse for this sending this envoy, though their focus is slightly different. According to the 1661 autobiography of the first Panchen Lama, Chos kyi rgyal mtshan (1569-1662), the main focus was on converting the Qing emperor, who, unlike his father, "had not entered through the door of the Buddha's teaching." According to the 1681 biography of Fifth Dalai Lama, the purpose of the mission was to ask the king to be a donor (*sbyin dag*) to Tibetan Buddhists in his territory.²⁷ In response, at least according to Tibetan sources, the Qing emperor made the Dge lugs pa envoy his supreme lama and showered him with gifts.²⁸ In the Panchen Lama's assessment, the mission was accomplished, as the "king and his retinue were established in the Teaching, with great faith."²⁹ On the departure of the envoy in the summer of 1643, Hongtaiji's brothers, Ajige and Dorgon (who would soon be the Manchu leader in Beijing, as the regent of the young Shunzhi emperor) escorted the Ilaghughsan Khutughtu out of the capital and part of his way back to Lhasa. Furthermore, Hongtaiji exceeded the Dalai Lama's expectations of becoming a sponsor of Tibetan Buddhism in his own realm by sending substantial gifts to all the religious leaders of Tibet, with special presents of silver to the two leading Dge lugs pa lamas and offerings of tea and silver to the monastic communities. By the time the envoy returned to

²⁶ Ahmad 1970: 157-62. Sperling 2003: 127-28.

²⁷ Ahmad 1970: 160-61. Hongtaiji was referred to simply as the "Jurchen (Tib. *Jur-chi/ Sbyor jid*) King" and not by reference to the new ethnonym Manchu, the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī or even the title "emperor" in these accounts.

²⁸ Schmidt *et al.* [1829] 1961: 289. This is Schmidt's German translation of the 1662 *Erdeni-yin tobci* by Saghang Secen.

²⁹ Ahmad 1970: 161, citing the Panchen Lama's autobiography.

Tibet, Dorgon had taken Beijing and Hongtaiji's young son had been proclaimed the Shunzhi emperor there.³⁰

Hongtaiji's last letter reached Tibet after his death, but its positive message was repeated several times over the coming decade: "We wish to show Our great respect for the eminent Sages (*gaoxian*) among the Tiebtans, so We are sending envoys with the Ilakuksan Hutuketu to all alike, regardless of the colour of their robes, whether they be red or yellow, *seeking everywhere for the religion of the Buddha for the protection of the Empire.*" The Chahan lama also came along "to explain orally to you all that We have to say."³¹ Many embassies were exchanged over the coming years, with the emperor continuing to offer invitations to the Dalai Lama and urging other lamas to encourage him to come to Beijing. In these intervening years, the Fifth Dalai Lama was writing the biography of the Third Dalai Lama, which he completed in 1646. Revisiting the events of his predecessor may have further inspired him to retrace his steps and recreate old bonds that may have weakened, especially with the Ordos and Tümed Mongols. The Dalai Lama finally accepted the Qing imperial invitation in 1649 and set out in 1652.

What were the Dalai Lama's goals on this excursion through Inner Asia to the capital of China? The political importance of having the backing of Asia's rising, though still not hegemonic, power must have played a major role in motivating the Dalai Lama to undertake this mission at a time when his own rule of Tibet had only recently been established. Yet, the missionary aspects of this voyage have often been overlooked, and it is to these that I now turn. For the Fifth Dalai Lama was not single-mindedly focused on the end goal of the journey, but instead took time along the way to preach and minister to nobility and commoner, lay and monastic A mdo Tibetans, Mongours, Mongols, and Chinese, as well as the occasional Manchu envoy from the court. Furthermore, he chose to record all of these exchanges in minute detail for posterity in his autobiography.

On the shores of Köke nor, the Dalai Lama met with local Tibetan leaders, Manchu and Chinese representatives of the Qing court as well as the western Ordos Mongol leader, the Jinong, and his relatives who now resided in the vicinity of the lake. In a microcosm, this meeting contained elements of the groups that the Dalai Lama would encounter for the rest of his journey. Wherever he went, the local Tibetan leadership—whether

³⁰ Ahmad 1970: 159-61.

³¹ Rockhill 1910: 12-13. Emphasis added.

lay headmen or monastic lamas—turned out to welcome him. The Mongols too were present in large numbers wherever he went. Also of interest, several eminent Chinese monks working for the Qing emperor (*Gong gi las kas mngon par mtho ba'i Rgya ban*) were among the welcoming party on the shores of Köke nor. From Xining, Qing officials sent rice and fruit as gifts. At least one of leaders who came from Xining bearing gifts was not a Tibetan Buddhist; the Dalai Lama asked him, "What is your god? (*Lha gang yin*)" and was answered, "Heaven (*gnam*)."³² The Manchus, typically not present in great numbers at these meetings, were represented by the Court for Managing the Frontiers (*Lifanyuan*) official Shajidhara.³³ This official also seems to have been or become an adherent of Tibetan Buddhism, as he received the Long-life Buddha initiation within a week of meeting the Dalai Lama.³⁴

The Mongol faithful represented, by far, the most numerous and most economically significant of the groups that the Dalai Lama would meet on his mission to Beijing. In this first instance, some three thousand Mongols, along with the Jinong's mother, were initiated in a tantric ritual led by the Dalai Lama. These rituals required the exchange of gifts for the teachings and led to a tremendous transfer of wealth from the Mongols to the Dalai Lama. Along with the political and religious motivations, the ability to attract massive donations were a significant economic benefit of this journey. In the Köke nor region, a total of 5396 horses, 140 yak, 520 ounces (*srang*) of gold, 500 ounces of silver, 60 rolls of silk, and other minor gifts were showered on the Dalai Lama, mostly from the Mongols.³⁵ Mostly from Tibetans within the Great Wall that separated Köke nor from Xining, the lama received 890 horses, 1500 ounces of gold, and 103 rolls of silk, as well as porcelain, tin and silver

³² Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho 1989: 367; Awang luosang jiacou 1992: 303.

³³ Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho 1989: 366; Awang luosang jiacou 1992: 302, 321 n. 18. I rely on Chen's translation here to identify this official as being associated with the Lifanyuan, as I do not recognize a term in the Tibetan that would clearly reflect this Qing office. Chen's annotation translates the *Veritable Records of the Qing (Qingshilu)* entry that described this Lifanyuan official being sent on this mission.

³⁴ Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho 1989: 369; Awang luosang jiacou 1992: 304.

³⁵ Yang Ho-chin 1994 contains lists of the gifts the Dalai Lama received en route to Beijing, although he does not divide the gifts according to regions. I have treated the Dalai Lama's first meeting with the Lifanyuan official to his crossing the Great Wall as the Köke nor region, see Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho 1989: 366-74; Awang luosang jiacou 1992: 302-307.

ware.³⁶ The Dalai Lama was then able to locally redistribute this wealth to support the building or renovation of Dge lugs pa institutions. After selling off some of the livestock, he also sent some of the more portable wealth back to Tibet, probably the gold and silver or light fabrics or even wealth on the hoof.³⁷

What of the donations in other regions? How did they compare to these first donations? Although the donation of horses was most substantial in the Köke nor region, as the Dalai Lama moved across Mongol inhabited regions, he continued to be given precious metals, horses, and other livestock in sometimes staggering numbers. As a point of contrast, after crossing into Ningxia he was only given a total of forty horses and forty camels.³⁸ Then, when he reached the Ordos region the Mongols there gave him 1,750 horses, 100 camels, and 10,000 sheep. These Ordos Mongols were also more wealthy, or at least more generous, in terms of precious metals, giving the Dalai Lama a total of 3,000 ounces of silver.³⁹ The Tümed Mongols gifts were more sparing in terms of livestock or precious metals, but included an abundance of other gifts: 200 horses, 200 ounces of silver, 10 rolls of silk, and 10,100 unspecified, but possibly manufactured, gifts.⁴⁰ Although it is difficult to compare horses and sheep to precious metals without pricing information we currently do not have, the single greatest transfer of wealth seems to have taken place within the context of the Qing court's reception of the Dalai Lama. From his arrival at the imperially constructed temple at Lake Taika through his visit to the capital in Beijing and eventual return

³⁶ Yang Ho-chin 1994: 74-76. This region includes Sku 'bum and Pa' ras monasteries and encompasses some donations from Mongours and Chinese as well. Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho 1989: 366-78; Awang luosang jiacou 1992: 307-310.

³⁷ Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho 1989: 366-74; Awang luosang jiacou 1992: 307. For instance, the fourth Stong 'khor sprul sku Mdo rgyud rgya mtsho (1621-1683) was directed by the Fifth Dalai Lama to renovate Stong 'khor monastery (now in Huangyuan county). Two new monasteries, Dga' ldan chos 'khor gling and Dam chos gling, built by the Bla ma btsan po (1613-1665) are mentioned, although this lama was making, and not receiving donations, see Awang luosang jiacou 1992: 321-22, n. 19-20.

³⁸ Yang Ho-chin 1994: 76. I am calling Ningxia the region that the Dalai Lama described as Manchu territory (*Man chu'i sa'i cha gtogs pa*) from just past Pa' ras to the Yellow River (Tib. *Rma chu*) crossing into the Ordos. Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho 1989: 378-81; Awang luosang jiacou 1992: 310-12.

³⁹ Yang Ho-chin 1994: 76-79. The Ordos encompasses the area between the two crossings of the Yellow River. Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho 1989: 381-85; Awang luosang jiacou 1992: 312-15.

⁴⁰ Yang Ho-chin 1994: 79-80. This region is marked again by crossing the Yellow River and by the imperially constructed temple at Taika, north of Datong. Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho 1989: 385-88; Awang luosang jiacou 1992: 315-17.

to Taika, the Dalai Lama was given 1,200 ounces of gold, 13,200 ounces of silver, 1,455 rolls of silk, 410 horses and manufactured goods too numerous to detail.⁴¹ Yet this last bestowal of gifts was largely redistributed among the adherents of Buddhism, both Tibetan and otherwise, in and around the capital and in Köke khota as will be described shortly.

What of the donors who gave to the Dalai Lama? How did their numbers break down along these regional and ethnic lines? The Mongols are the easiest to parse, as their presence within more or less ethnically homogenous communities helps distinguish them from instances of ethnic mixing, such as occurred in certain monasteries or in Beijing. In Köke nor, at least four thousand Mongols came to greet the Dalai Lama, of which three-fourths were initiated and therefore made donations.⁴² In the Ordos some twenty thousand Mongols made offerings (four thousand, five hundred monks and nuns and the rest laity), with about one-third taking initiations from the Dalai Lama.⁴³ Among the Tümed, some forty-one hundred Mongols came to see the Dalai Lama and again some three-quarters were blessed. Only some six hundred officials made offerings and received initiations.⁴⁴ The vast majority of the people he met in and around the capital, some twelve thousand in all, also seemed to have been Mongols, though it is clear that Tibetans, Manchus and Chinese were also counted among these.⁴⁵ If we are to trust the Dalai Lama's figures, some forty thousand Mongols attended the Dalai Lama's tour of Inner Asia and the Qing capital. No doubt some rounding off of numbers occurred; nevertheless, the level of detail included in the diaries that were used to compose the Dalai Lama's autobiography suggests that these numbers were fairly accurate.⁴⁶ These are impressive figures and indicate the extent of the popularity of Tibetan Buddhism among the Mongols. In short, the Mongol interest in Tibetan Buddhism may have been the single most important factor in both the Dalai Lama's decision

⁴¹ Yang Ho-chin 1994: 80-85. Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho 1989: 388-415; Awang luosang jiacou 1992: 317-43.

⁴² Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho 1989: 367-69; Awang luosang jiacou 1992: 303-304.

⁴³ Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho 1989: 381-85; Awang luosang jiacou 1992: 312-15.

⁴⁴ Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho 1989: 385-88; Awang luosang jiacou 1992: 315-17.

⁴⁵ Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho 1989: 388-415; Awang luosang jiacou 1992: 317-43.

⁴⁶ Ahmad 1970: 31.

to undertake this voyage and the Qing emperor's interest in making the invitation. In addition to their potential military power, the Mongols were the economic and political lynch-pin of the whole story.

Yet they are decidedly not the whole story. The Dalai Lama was also attentive to the populations of other communities along his route, most surprisingly the Chinese. For instance, when the Dalai Lama reached Xining (Tib. Ziling), his autobiography recorded that he freed a Chinese man incarcerated for theft from the government treasury. His stated justification for this act was, as Yang Ho-chin summarized it, that he "felt that the Chinese people cherished silver over their concern for others."⁴⁷ His ransom of this man apparently surprised the local people, but the Dalai Lama may have been remembering the traditions associated with 'Phags pa bla ma liberating Chinese prisoners from Mongol punishment. Although the dynamic is not entirely the same, I cannot help but remark on the continuing role of the release of prisoners as part of international diplomacy, as Tibetan political prisoners are often released at the urging of United States presidents, usually upon the visit of top Chinese leaders to the United States. Yet, aside from this initial interaction, the Dalai Lama did not become involved in the empire's domestic matters, as had 'Phags pa bla ma before him.

Instead, the Dalai Lama mostly administered to Chinese Buddhists' needs just as he did to the Mongols and Tibetans in the communities through which he passed. The picture that emerges from the Dalai Lama's autobiography is one of an unprecedented level of integration of Chinese, Mongols and Tibetans at certain Tibetan Buddhist monastic locales. For instance, when the Dalai Lama visited (or re-visited, from his perspective as the reincarnation of the Third Dalai Lama) Sku 'bum monastery, he taught five thousand Chinese, Tibetans, Mongours, and Mongols (Tib. *Rgya, Bod, Hor, Sog*) from the classic *Dge lugs pa* text, Tsong kha pa's *Great treatise on the stages of the path to enlightenment* (*Byang chub lam rim chen mo*). Although he did not specifically designate those who attended this event as a monastic audience, it seems likely that the choice of this text was influenced by the large number of educated monks of all these various ethnicities, who were assembled at this institution of higher learning. Though the Fifth Dalai Lama does not specifically mention the school started here by the Third Dalai Lama, he does record that he was invited to again occupy the throne built for his

⁴⁷ Yang Ho-chin 1994: 108. Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho 1989: 375; Awang luosang jiacou 1992: 308.

predecessor by Altan Khan, and he received offerings on this throne before preceding with his teaching.⁴⁸ In this way, the Fifth Dalai Lama both linked himself to this earlier mission and articulated an extension of the mission to the Chinese and Mongour populations as well. This may well be one of the earliest clear references to Chinese who were not part of the imperial court attending Tibetan Buddhist events and studying Tibetan texts with famous lamas.⁴⁹

As the Dalai Lama proceeded past Xining, into areas of more mixed Chinese, Tibetan and Mongour presence he continued to interact with the local population, which seemed to recognize his prominence and stature. The Fifth Dalai Lama first visited the reliquary of Bla chen Dgongs pa rab gsel, the figure associated with the revival of monastic Tibetan Buddhism after the fall of the empire in the ninth century. This A mdo monk ordained a group of Tibetans who returned to Central Tibet to maintain the monastic lineage there, unbroken by the chaos of the fall of the empire, thanks to the presence of this monk on the Tibetan borderlands.⁵⁰ In the next town, the Chinese people (*Rgya mi*) turned out with banners, parasols, royal ensigns, and musical instruments, and officials welcomed him with fruit, meat, wine, and so forth. The leader here, probably a Mongour, had his own monks (*dge 'dun rnam, grwa rigs*) who made offerings at the same time as monks from Dgon lung temple—so important in the next century as the home to the Lcang skya incarnation—made a modest donation. As a reward for the faith displayed by this multi-ethnic reception, the Dalai Lama blessed this community and transmitted permission for these people to recite the six syllable mantra associated, of course, with himself as the embodiment of Avalokiteśvara.⁵¹

⁴⁸ Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho 1989: 374; Awang luosang jiacou 1992: 308.

⁴⁹ This would distinguish this event from any associated with the Sa skya pa or Karma pa lamas who visited the Mongol Yuan or Chinese Ming dynastic courts. I should also mention a possibly earlier instance that I have not researched in detail, also involving a Dge lugs pa lama invited to Beijing: in 1415, at Wutaishan, "Shakya Yeshe granted audiences to large numbers of people, monks and laymen alike and gave teachings, initiations, and ordinations to many of them It is also worth mentioning that Mongols sought him out as well as Chinese." See Sperling 1983: 152.

⁵⁰ This temple was located in Tsong kha mkar, also know as Ping'an xian, very near the home of the present Dalai Lama. See Awang luosang jiacou 1992: 323, n. 34-35; Dorje 1996: 582.

⁵¹ This was Sgro tshang, now Ledu, which was presided over by the Sgro tshang nang so, apparently a Mongour leader: Awang luosang jiacou 1992: 308-09, 324, n. 36; Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho 1989: 376. For a description of the rank of *nang so*, see Schram 1957: 18.

From this point until the Dalai Lama and his entourage crossed into Ningxia, they were feted by a similar mix of locals and officials. The exact ethnicity of local officials is difficult to ascertain, as some had Chinese sounding names (Lu'u tshan tsang, Yu'u skyi yi) or titles (Bing ye, Thung ye), which might even have been Mongol or Manchu. In any case, these officials welcomed him in what he called "Chinese fashion (*Rgya lugs*)," and Chinese people played musical instruments on his approach. In one locale, the Dalai Lama ordained just over one hundred monastics of various ranks from area monasteries. Again it is unclear whether these were Chinese or Tibetans, Mongols or Mongours, but the officials there offered the Dalai Lama Chinese Buddhist-style fake meats made from wheat gluten and spared the lives of the chickens and pigs that would otherwise have been used at the feast.⁵² This suggests that a vegetarian Chinese Buddhist sensibility informed this community, yet the monks sought ordination at the hands of this Tibetan lama.⁵³ Moreover, the Dalai Lama conferred initiatory permission for the Hayagrīva (Tib. *Rta mgrin*, Ch. *Matou mingwang*) practice upon these officials.⁵⁴ Shortly thereafter, he again taught the six syllable mantra to a mixed crowd of Tibetans and Chinese and was given substantial donations by the last Tibetan community he would pass through on his way to Beijing. This region, known as Pa' ras (Ch. Tianzhu) also marked the last mass ordination, again of almost one hundred monastics, until the Dalai Lama reached Beijing.⁵⁵

Beyond this region, the Dalai Lama encountered respectful treatment from Chinese monks and Buddhists in Ningxia, but he was not given substantial donations, nor did he give initiations until he reached the Ordos region, discussed above. Few of the Mongour and Tibetan

⁵² Yang Ho-chin 1994: 110.

⁵³ Ethnic distinctions were clearly not as rigid as one might think from earlier Ming prohibitions on Chinese becoming Tibetan Buddhist monks (*Da Ming lu*, Rites, 2 cited in Naquin 2000: 209). For instance, one lama, the fourth generation Stong 'khor sprul sku Mdo rgyud rgya mtsho (1621-1683) seems to have reincarnated by entering the body of a recently deceased nineteen year old Chinese boy, probably through a process known as transference of consciousness. He was ordained by the first Chu bzang incarnation Rnam rgyal 'dpal 'byor (Awang luosang jiacou 1992: 321-22 n. 19). Like the recognition of Mongol children in the previous generation, or the recognition of western children in the present generation, this occurrence would seem to indicate that, at least in this community, Chinese adherence to Tibetan Buddhism was strong.

⁵⁴ This was Chuanglang city (Tib. Grong lang mkhar). Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho 1989: 376; Awang luosang jiacou 1992: 309; Yang Ho-chin 1994: 110.

⁵⁵ Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho 1989: 378; Awang luosang jiacou 1992: 310; Yang Ho-chin 1994: 111.

lamas from this region that became so important at the Qing court in the coming generations, such as the Lcang skya or Tu'u bkwan incarnation series, can trace their lineage back to this visit from the Fifth Dalai Lama; nevertheless, his presence signaled the beginning of the real rise of the Dge lugs pa to wealth and power in the region. Sponsorship of Tibetan Buddhist monasteries from the local ruling Mongols and the imperial court in Beijing no doubt contributed to this growth, but the Dalai Lama's journey seems to have been the catalyst for this sponsorship.

While the Dalai Lama spared no effort to make an impression on even the politically marginal regions of A mdo, the ultimate goal of his mission was the Qing imperial court. Yet, remarkably, the multi-ethnic community in A mdo was mirrored at the court, and the Dalai Lama's mission reached out to all these ethnic communities. Well after the Fifth Dalai Lama's death, his regent Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho (1653-1705) summarized his time in Beijing as an unmitigated success marked by a declaration of faith in the Dge lugs pa tradition: "from the Chinese, Mongolian, and Tibetan priests, both those within the Palace and those without, and from all those within the encampment, both lay and spiritual, by all of whom he [the Dalai Lama] caused the dMigs-brTsema (the Creed of the dGe-lugs-pa) to be recited, from each according to his means, he received about 10,000 ounces of silver (in all). To the many Chinese, both Buddhist priests and non-Buddhists, he distributed over 5,000 ounces of silver."⁵⁶ This creed of the Dge lugs pa, the Dmigs brtse ma, concludes with a verse in which the recitor submissively makes a request at the feet of Blo bzang grags pa, better known as Tsong kha pa. The regent drew this passage almost verbatim from the Dalai Lama's own autobiography, where it is qualified by being the result of previous aspirational prayers, indicating the centrality of this event in the motivation and perception of the Dge lugs pa mission to the Qing court. The verbal and economic adherence of and exchange with the court's Chinese, Tibetan and Mongol monks (*bande*) and the lay and religious courtiers as well, marked the success of this Tibetan Buddhist mission to the court.⁵⁷

Written evidence for this mission's motivation was not limited to the Central Tibetan sources, as an imperial temple stele erected the year the Dalai Lama left for court (1652) recorded much the same motivation

⁵⁶ This is from the 1698 text the *Vaidurya serpo*, cited in Ahmad 1970: 182.

⁵⁷ Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho 1989: 400; Awang luosang jiacou 1992: 333.

from the Qing perspective. A Tibetan Buddhist temple built in the Yuan dynasty and maintained through the Ming dynasty was repaired in conjunction with the Dalai Lama's visit. The temple, known in Chinese as the Protect the Dynasty Temple (Huguosi) was called in Tibetan the Great Eastern School, Heaps of Good Fortune, the Monastery Conquering Completely in All Directions (Shar ba'i chos grwa chen po bkra shis lhun po phyogs thams cad las nam par rgyal ba'i gling). This Tibetan name could hardly be more blatant in announcing the missionary venture, but the stele also directly links this mission with the Dge lugs pa tradition. The temple was repaired "for the dynasty and for the people, to expand and make flourish Buddhist affairs, [and] to spread Tsong kha pa's Buddhist teachings."⁵⁸ Thus, the imperial and Tibetan sources share the rhetoric that the impulse to spread Dge lugs pa teachings motivated the events of 1652-1653, which culminated in the Dalai Lama's visit to Beijing.

The success of the mission at court could also be described in terms of the number of adherents to the Tibetan Buddhist tradition with whom the Dalai Lama made contact once he reached imperial territory at Lake Taika and on into Beijing. He met with and taught some 12,000 people, mostly Mongols, and initiated some 1,150 monks of various ethnicities.⁵⁹ For instance, about three hundred Chinese monk-retreatants (*Rgya ban ri khrod pa*) from Wutai shan (Tib. Ri bo rtse lnga) came to see him and were given a Mañjushri blessing.⁶⁰ Two Nepalese monks (*Bal po bande*), Mongol nobility, (presumably Manchu) *ambans*, palace literati (*Pho brang gi yig mkhan*), fifty bannermen of the Plain Blue Banner under the leadership of a *dge bshes*, and monks from the Yellow Temple (*Lha khang ser po drwa pa*, built by imperial order as the Dalai Lama's residence in Beijing) were all given Avalokiteśvara initiations by the Dalai Lama.⁶¹

Aside from this diverse group of students, the imperial family was also actively engaged with making offerings and receiving teachings from the Dalai Lama. Many high ranking Manchu imperial family

⁵⁸ Huang Hao: 12.

⁵⁹ Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho 1989: 407-15; Awang luosang jiacou 1992: 338-43.

⁶⁰ Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho 1989: 403; Awang luosang jiacou 1992: 334.

⁶¹ Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho 1989: 394-98; Awang luosang jiacou 1992: 329-31. According to the Dalai Lama 90,000 ounces of silver was spent building the temple, and gold leaf was used for the walls, Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho 1989: 394; Awang luosang jiacou 1992: 329.

members attended to the Dalai Lama's needs, made offerings, and in some cases took initiations. The fifth son of Hongtaiji and the emperor's elder brother Shisai was the most active of the Manchu imperial family member who interacted with the Dalai Lama.⁶² For instance, he was sent in his brother's stead to greet the Dalai Lama outside the Great Wall, with some 2,000 horsemen and elaborate fanfare.⁶³ Later, Shisai requested and received from the Dalai Lama hand-written texts needed in China (*Rgya yul*), as well as the Hayagriva, Black Mañjuhosa and long life initiations, and the eight lay vows, which caused the Dalai Lama to comment on his faithfulness.⁶⁴

Probably the most powerful figure in the Qing court at the time of the Dalai Lama's visit to Beijing was the emperor's uncle and former regent, Jirgalang (1599-1655), though his power waned as the Shunzhi emperor declared his rule in the spring of 1652 and exercised more power throughout 1653.⁶⁵ With three thousand horsemen, he rode out after Shisai to welcome the Dalai Lama to the imperial domains, and at the end of the Dalai Lama's stay he escorted him back to the border.⁶⁶ Of course, the Dalai Lama also met with the young emperor three times and was given rich gifts at these audiences.⁶⁷ The empress dowager and one of the Qinwang's older sisters also made offerings to the Dalai Lama.⁶⁸ Finally, the Dalai Lama performed the funeral rituals for a member of the

⁶² Shisai was also known as the Heshou Chengze Qinwang ("Kind prince of the first class") in Qing sources and Khe shing ge chin dbang (after the Manchu, *gosingga* and the Chinese *qinwang*) in the Dalai Lama's biography, see Ahmad 1970: 172-73.

⁶³ Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho 1989: 387; Awang luosang jiacou 1992: 317.

⁶⁴ Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho 1989: 387, 403, 407; Awang luosang jiacou 1992: 334-35, 338.

⁶⁵ Jirgalang was also known as both the Shu [uncle] Zheng Qingwang (Ahmad 174) and the Fuzheng Qingwang (Awang luosang jiacou 1992: 344, n. 6) in Qing sources, and the U'i jing chin dbang in the Dalai Lama's biography. He was the nephew and adopted son of Nurhaci and one of the Shunzhi emperor's regents. For details on these men, see Liu 1989: 41, 46. In early 1651, the thirteen year old Shunzhi emperor abolished the regency after Dorgon's death, which launched a period of transition of government as Jirgalang tried to return to high position by supporting the emperor. Eventually the emperor felt threatened by Jirgalang's growing strength and tried to assert his own rule (Hummel 1970: 216). Sometime in 1653 Jirgalang's power was drastically curtailed, as he was "virtually excluded from the final policy-making decisions, which became the exclusive domain of the emperor (Liu 1989: 47).

⁶⁶ Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho 1989: 392, 405; Awang luosang jiacou 1992: 328, 336.

⁶⁷ Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho 1989: 393-94, 397, 404; Awang luosang jiacou 1992: 318-19, 330, 335.

⁶⁸ Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho 1989: 404, 396; Awang luosang jiacou 1992: 335, 330.

imperial family, which was accompanied by miraculous occurrences in the sky (reminiscent of the earlier Karma pa's visit to Nanjing).⁶⁹

As before, the Dalai Lama redistributed many of these gifts among the local population, for the benefit of the Dge lugs pa tradition. As noted above, he gave away five thousand ounces of silver, as well as other gifts, to Chinese monks (*hwa shang*) and many Chinese people of various sects (*chos lugs na tshogs*).⁷⁰ Shortly thereafter, he gave an Amdo Tibetan from Sung chu (Ch. Songpan) named Rab byams pa 'Thrin las material assistance and a text to overcome hindrances to establishing a temple on Wutaishan (Tib. Ri bo rste lnga).⁷¹ Finally, on his way back home, in the Mongol city of Köke khota (Tib. Mkharsngon) the Dalai Lama gave 500 ounces of gold and 200 horses to repair monasteries built in the time of the Third Dalai Lama and Altan Khan, which were damaged during the reign of Ligdan Khan.⁷² At around the same time, the Dalai Lama also discussed setting up a fund for hiring workers for the renovations of the Lhasa monasteries Se ra and 'Bras spungs, so at least part of these funds were used to benefit Central Tibet, though the workers may have been hired closer to Beijing.⁷³ Likewise, the monks and monasteries in Central Tibet were richly rewarded for "performing religious services to bless the people in China and to strengthen their belief in Buddhism."⁷⁴

On a final note, in the mid-seventeenth century both Tibetan Buddhists and European Catholics had secured a presence in the Manchu Qing court and at last actually learned of one another's missionaries at the capital. Jesuit Father Johann Adam Schall von Bell (Ch. Tang Rouwang, 1591-1666) was the most important of the Jesuits to have remained in Beijing as the Ming court fled south and the Qing dynasty moved into northern China. As noted by Jonathan Spence, "Because he had a high level of scientific skill, Dorgon appointed him to direct the Imperial Bureaucracy of Astronomy."⁷⁵ According to the Dalai Lama's account, the Manchus were also impressed with what they can only have understood as his prognosticatory powers over the weather (what we

⁶⁹ Yang Ho-chin 1994: 131. See Berger 2001: 145-69.

⁷⁰ Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho 1989: 405; Awang luosang jiacou 1992: 335.

⁷¹ Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho 1989: 405; Awang luosang jiacou 1992: 335-36.

⁷² Yang Ho-chin 1994: 150-51.

⁷³ Yang Ho-chin 1994: 144.

⁷⁴ Yang Ho-chin 1994: 152.

⁷⁵ Spence 1990: 43.

would now call meteorology). The Dalai Lama mentioned an instance of this in connection with a banquet held in his honor by the emperor's brother Shisai, on a winter day for which the Jesuit had made the prediction (Tib. lung bstan pa) that it would snow heavily, which it did. The Dalai Lama's text described the prognosticator as "the heterodox astrologer of India, Thang zhi dbang (Tib. Rgya dkar gyi mu stegs pa'i rtsis pa Thang zhi dbang)."⁷⁶ Whether the Dalai Lama and the Jesuit priest actually met is not clear, but this account from the outskirts of Beijing marks a fitting point to end my comparison of the Dge lugs pa Tibetan Buddhist and Jesuit Catholic missions to reach the capital and court of the greatest empire in Asia.

The Dge lugs pa mission would see great success among the A mdo and Khams Tibetans, Mongols, Manchus, and possibly among the Chinese as well (though this is less well documented) over the coming century and a half, especially under the Kangxi and Qianlong emperors. Qing imperial support for (and attempts to control) Dge lugs pa Tibetan Buddhism, in Central Tibet, A mdo, Khams, Mongolia, and localities such as Wutaishan (Tib. Ri bo rtse lnga) and Jehol led to an unprecedented expansion of Tibetan Buddhism outside the confines of the Tibetan cultural region. As the Qing dynasty declined in the nineteenth century and abdicated in the twentieth, Manchu support for the Dge lugs pa mission waned and vanished, but this legacy was eventually picked up by some modern Chinese.⁷⁷ Meanwhile, by the early eighteenth century, the Catholic mission, already weakened in China by the Jesuits' association with the conquering Manchus, lost even the imperial support on which they counted in the seventeenth century.⁷⁸ In the end, the comparison of the Tibetan and Jesuit missions in Asia is best made by noting their shared failure to make much impact on the

⁷⁶ Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho 1989: 393; Awang luosang jiacou 1992: 328. Yang Ho-chin 1994: 127, 172, n. 38. Awang luosang jiacou 1992: 344 n. 7 noted that the Dalai Lama described him as "of India" because he did not understand about Europe, but it should be noted that most of the Jesuits who came to China did come through the Portuguese colony in Goa, India, which may account for the description of his origin. Possibly the Dalai Lama even recognized something about this man and his teachings as being similar to the other Catholics who were moving into Tibet from India in the decades before this encounter. For more on Schall von Bell, see Spence 1969.

⁷⁷ See Tuttle 2005.

⁷⁸ In fact, Schall von Bell was thrown into prison upon the death of his patron, the Shunzhi emperor, in 1661, and the Jesuits did not regain imperial support until the Kangxi emperor abolished the regency that dominated the court after his father's death. See Spence, 44, 71. For the later period, see Waley-Cohen, 67-69.

largest population in East Asia, the Chinese. Yet for the intervening centuries of Manchu rule of China, the Dge lugs pa Tibetan Buddhist mission enjoyed singular success at home and abroad, due in no small part to the enormous prestige as well as military and financial support derived from association with the Manchu Qing empire. Much credit for this support must go to the Fifth Dalai Lama's visit to Beijing, as he helped establish these relations as a central feature of seventeenth and eighteenth century Tibetan society.

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