

## Political and Clerical Promotion of Wutaishan in the Qing and Republican Periods

This chapter moves into the Qing and Republican periods and introduces the strategies implemented by the Qing empire and by the Wutaishan clergies to promote the pilgrimage among the Mongols. The first part focuses on how the Qing emperors developed Tibetan Buddhism on Wutaishan to such a point that Wutaishan became a ‘Tibet in China’ ruled by a representative of the Dalai Lama. In his seminal 1978 article “The Emperor as Bodhisattva in the Governance of the Ch’ing Empire,” David Farquhar asserts that the Qing emperors expended an enormous amount of time and resources to promote the Wutaishan pilgrimage among the Mongols, which was part of their attempts at incorporating them within their empire:

It may be, as has been asserted, that the emperors were interested in orienting the Mongols towards China and away from Tibet by this and other imperially supported Tibetan-style monastic establishments built on and near Chinese soil, but I suspect that the wish to spread the Mañjuśrī-emperor belief was the main reason for the new imperial concern with Mount Wu-t’ai.<sup>1</sup>

Yet it is quite possible that the role of the Qing imperial patronage of Wutaishan towards the Mongols has been overestimated. The second part of this chapter focuses on the local clergies’ strategies to attract pilgrims. When the last Qing emperors had lost interest in the holy mountain and reduced their patronage, the resident clergies had to find new sources of income and adopted strategies to attract pilgrims and their donations. In the end, the high-ranking lamas who visited or resided on Wutaishan, authoring poems and pilgrimage guidebooks, played a significant role in attracting pilgrims to the Shanxi mountain.

### How the Manchu Emperors Reshaped Wutaishan

The Manchu dynasty’s support of Buddhism on Wutaishan was in continuity with the previous dynasties’ sponsorship: Wutaishan remained a major site for

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1 Farquhar 1978: 29.

the protection of the state and the imperial family; in addition, the Qing emperors presented themselves as emanations of Mañjuśrī, with three emperors themselves journeying to the mountain. The emperors' promotion of Wutaishan also served as a means to strengthen their position in Inner Asia and to counterweight the power of the Dalai Lamas. Meanwhile, Gélukpa Buddhism acquired a prominent position on Wutaishan. The head lama presided over the whole clergy, including the Chinese monks (*heshang*), and Wutaishan became one of the headquarters of the Changkya Khutugtu's lineage. Discussing the continuities and innovations of the Manchu emperors' patronage will help us understand the position that Wutaishan acquired in the Tibeto-Mongol world, and their role in the development of the Mongols' pilgrimages.

### *The Qing-Dynasty Administration of the Mountain*

The Qing emperors reshaped Wutaishan into a predominantly Tibeto-Mongol Buddhist site, but the identity of the mountain also remained firmly rooted into its layered Chinese past. Their promotion and institutionalization of Wutaishan started in 1655, when forty Mongol lamas (*ge-long*, Tib. *gélong*, Mo. *gelöng*, Skt. *bhikṣu*, fully ordained monk) settled there on imperial order to conduct a forty-day ritual on behalf of the imperial family and the state. In 1657, fifty more lamas, including a doctor, were sent to Wutaishan, and in 1659 Emperor Shunzhi appointed a *jasag lama* (head lama, or chief administrative lama)<sup>2</sup> to preside over the mountain and take charge of Tibetan and Chinese affairs.<sup>3</sup> Since that time up to 1936, the Tibetan Buddhist clergy exercised spiritual and temporal authority over the monastic communities of Wutaishan.

This first *jasag lama*, A-wang-lao-zang 阿王老藏<sup>4</sup> (1601-1687), was a Gélukpa lama from the Western Hills (Xishan 西山), west of Beijing. He was certainly a sinicized Mongol,<sup>5</sup> since he bore the Chinese family name Jia 賈, a name that was used by Mongols living among the Chinese during the Ming.<sup>6</sup> In 1653, he

2 The full title is “Qinming guanli Wutaishan lama shiwu zhangyin zhasake da lama” 欽命管理五臺山喇嘛事務掌印扎薩克大喇嘛。

3 *Qingliangshan xinzhì* 1985 [1694]: *juan* 2, 10r, *juan* 3, 17r; Mongolian version *CLŚASB* 2: 169-170: “After the Great Qing had established its government at the city of Yan gīng [Yanjing, i.e., Beijing], in the White Mouse year of the reign of Shunzhi (1660), Awanglobzang Lama was sent by imperial decree to administer Wutaishan, and he arrived by postal relay horses.” On the Qing emperors' appointment of Tibetan and Mongolian monastic officials on Wutaishan: Tuttle 2011: 183-187.

4 Or A-wang-luo-bu-zang 阿旺羅布藏, Mo. Awanglobzang, < Tib. Ngakwang Lozang.

5 Besides, Mongolian sources identify him as a Mongol. The *UTAOSC* (71r) is the only source that says he came from Höhhot (“The famous wandering mendicant monk from Höhhot, Ng[a]gdwang blo bjang”). See Kara 2000: 15; Heissig 1953: 4; Heissig 1954: 12.

6 According to David Robinson, quoted by Tuttle 2011: 168, n. 18.