

**Patronage and Meaning of Tibetan Buddhist Temples
Decreed by the Qing Emperors in Central China in
the Early and Middle Qing Dynasty**

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Dissertation title: Patronage and Meaning of Tibetan Buddhist Temples Decreed by the Qing Emperors in Central China in the Early and Middle Qing Dynasty

Adviser: Ho Puay Peng

Abstract

The Qing monarchs from Nurhachi till Emperor Qianlong decreed many Tibetan Buddhist temples in central China. The construction of these temples can be regarded as one of the most significant architectural projects initiated by the emperors of the early and middle Qing Dynasty. These temples played a significant role in the Qing regime's effort to increase its power, stabilize the frontiers and enlarge the territory of the Qing Empire. In some cases, the temples also held a rich personal meaning for the Qing monarchs. This dissertation is a detailed investigation and multifaceted discussion of these temples, with focusing on their patronage, meaning and architectural characteristics, including temple layout and building form.

Based on the motives of the temples' construction and architectural characteristics that are delineated for every period during the early and middle Qing Dynasty, this dissertation explores the multiple natures of the temples which are revealed from the patronage pattern, such as the political concern, praying for blessing, the reproduction of cultural sign and landscape, etc. Furthermore, this dissertation tries to clarify the scope, contexts and expressive modes of the temples and how these are transformed over the first 150 years of the Qing regime. At the same time, this dissertation also discusses the multiple social factors which might have influenced the construction and architectural characteristics.

This study is the first extensive investigation and analysis of all of the early and middle Qing Tibetan Buddhist temples in central China decreed by the Qing monarchs. It may provide a basis for the future studies of the Qing Tibetan Buddhist temples in both the data collected and presented here and the analysis and discussion. With a presentation of the temples' characteristics and meanings, a discussion of their developments, and an exploration of the rules underlying such developments, this study's effort for an in-depth understanding of the temples might enrich the architectural research of the Qing Dynasty. Moreover, the exploration and discussion of the interaction between the evolving social factors and the development of the characteristics and meanings of the temples may contribute to the study of the architecture hermeneutics and societal influence on architectural form by providing a case study.

摘要

清代前中期清帝在中国中原地区敕建了相当数量的藏传佛教寺庙。这些藏传佛教寺庙的建设是清代前中期清王朝建设活动中的重要一项。这些寺庙不但与清政权政治势力的扩张、清王朝边疆的稳定和领土的拓展有潜在的关联，在某些时期还承载了清帝丰富的个人情感。本论文即是对这些藏传佛教寺庙的广泛调查和深入讨论。这一调查和讨论将以这些寺庙的建设状况和背景以及它们的建筑特点特别是建筑位置和布局的特点为关注重点。

在总结和呈现这些藏传佛教寺庙在各个时期的建设特点和建筑特点特别是寺庙位置和布局的特点的基础上，本论文着重探讨了由这些建设和建筑特点所昭示出了寺庙的多重属性——诸如政治、祝祷、文化符号和文化景观的再现等等，尝试细致看视这些属性的内涵和表达模式以及这些内涵和表达模式的演进轨迹，并研判这些属性在不同时期的比重变化。与此同时，本论文亦深入探讨了影响和促成这些寺庙建设和建筑特点和意义的复合的社会因素。

本研究是对清代前中期中原地区清帝敕建的藏传佛教寺庙的首次广泛的调查和深入分析。这一广泛调查和深入分析，将为未来的清代藏传佛教寺庙研究提供一个数据和讨论的基础。藉呈现寺庙建设和建筑的特点和意义，分析这些特点和意义的发展变化，探究这一发展变化的内在规律和影响因素，本研究力图较为综合深入地认识这些藏传佛教寺庙，进而通过提供对这些藏传佛教寺庙的综合性认识丰富既有的清代建筑研究。而本研究对在社会因素的发展变化中演进的寺庙建设和建筑特点和意义的分析讨论，亦或能够为建筑与社会的互动分析提供可资参考的案例。

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Chapter 1 Research Scope, Methodology and Significance

1.1 Research Scope

During the early and middle Qing Dynasty, the Manchu emperors decreed in central China for the construction of many Buddhist temples dedicated to the Tibetan school. The construction and reconstruction of these temples were a potentially important part of the Qing political program. They also form a large group of imperial sanctioned architecture apart from palaces, altars and imperial parks. However, so far, little research has been conducted on these temples, which has created an obvious void in the study of Qing architecture. This dissertation aims at an in-depth understanding of these temples through the exploring and discussing of their patronage, nature and meaning, construction characteristics, location and architectural layout, and the potential influencing factors for their construction. The study will be based on the records of these temples in the available Qing official documents.

The Qing regime rose from being an insignificant nomadic tribe roaming the hills and plains of the Liaodong (辽东) region early in the 17th century. After defeating the Ming Empire, it conquered the whole of central China and transformed itself from the local chieftain to an imperial government in 1644. From its establishment during the time of Nurhachi (努尔哈赤) to the most prosperous period during the Qianlong (乾隆) reign, more than one hundred Tibetan Buddhist temples were decreed in central China by the Qing monarchs. Some of the most significance

temples include the followings: the first Manchu Tibetan Buddhist temple to the east of his home town, Hetu Ala City (赫图阿拉城), in honor of the Three Buddhas in 1615 decreed by Nurhachi. His successor, Hong Taiji (皇太极), ordered the building of more temples. The most famous was the temple constructed to house an image of Mahākāla (嘛哈嚩喇佛, the god of war in Tibetan Buddhism) when he moved from Mongolia to the new capital Shengjing (盛京, Shenyang [沈阳] now). Hong Taiji also ordered the building of Yongguang Temple (永光寺), Yanshou Temple (延寿寺), Falun Temple (法轮寺) and Guangci Temple (广慈寺) at the four points of Shengjing City. After him, Emperor Shunzhi (顺治) decreed the building of Xihuang Temple (西黄寺) to welcome the 5th Dalai Lama, the temple became a very important temple during the Qing due to its position at the centre of the city. Emperor Kangxi (康熙) decreed the building of Hongren Temple (弘仁寺) to the north of the Prospect Hill (景山) of Beijing and turned ten temples of Chinese Buddhism on Mount Wutai into Tibetan Buddhist temples. Emperor Yongzheng (雍正) decreed the rebuilding of Xihuang Temple (西黄寺) and Longfu Temple (隆福寺), the building of Fayuan Temple (法渊寺), etc. More Tibetan Buddhist temples were constructed in the period of Emperor Qianlong's reign, such as Yonghegong (雍和宫) in Beijing, Puning Temple (普宁寺), Putuozongsheng Temple (普陀宗乘寺), and Xumifushou Temple (须弥福寿寺) in Chengde.

One of the main reasons for decreeing these temples to be built, particularly in early 17th century, is political and military consideration. The reason for patronage of these temples was always related to soliciting the help of the Mongols while the

Manchu fought the war with Ming China. When Qing dynasty was established, similar purpose for temple patronage can be seen, that is to aid the stability of its northern and western frontiers. Was the political concern towards Mongols the only reason for the building or rebuilding of the temples? What factors had influenced the architectural characteristics of the temples, their location and layout? What meanings could be revealed from such characteristics and their development? Based on the discussion of patronage patterns, architectural analysis and uncovering the meaning of the act of the construction of Tibetan Buddhist temples during the early and middle Qing Dynasty, I would also suggest a way of reading architectural form within the complex context of political, religious and social situations of the time.

1.2 Literature review

In past studies, very few have focused on Qing Tibetan Buddhist monastic architecture in central China. Anne Chayet is the one of two scholars who look into this architecture and suggest its significance. In Chayet's study, the architectural forms of Qing Tibetan Buddhist temples at Chengde are examined and the underlying causes are explored. Firstly, to describe the architectural forms of Chengde Tibetan Buddhist temples, Anne Chayet points out that the architectural style shown in the monasteries was a mixture of various styles, principally Chinese and Tibetan. And that such an eclectic style was a result of influences from many factors such as the Qing emperors' belief in Tibetan Buddhism, the idea of filial piety, the "temple politics", the Qing

emperors' fondness of exoticism, etc. Anne Chayet further claims that the mixture of styles was the main character of the early and middle Qing architecture and it was mainly produced by the Qing emperors' penchant for exoticism. Most Tibetan Buddhist temples in Chengde, for Anne Chayet, were obviously modeled on well-known Tibetan monasteries in Tibet. For the great divergences between these Chengde Tibetan Buddhist temples and their Tibetan original prototypes in architectural form, Anne Chayet claims that the causes might be the presence of people from different backgrounds—Mongol nobles and monastic dignitaries in Beijing and Chengde, foreign architectural specialists in the Qing court like Nepalese Anige (阿尼哥) in the Khubilai (忽必烈) time, local architects and workers called to Chengde of which many worked before in Yuanmingyuan (圆明园) imperial garden in Beijing's countryside, especially in the Xiyanglou Building (西洋楼), the European style palace in Yuanmingyuan built for Emperor Qianlong by the Jesuits, etc. Besides, the temples might be built following the Thangkas (唐卡) of those original monasteries in Tibet, and the way of building "three-dimension" buildings modeled on "two-dimension" Thangkas would definitely lead to huge divergences between the copies and their original models.¹

As a geographer, Philippe Forêt examines the imperial symbolism of Qing architectural complex at Chengde and employs the discourse of metaphors in interpreting the landscape. For Philippe Forêt, the selection of the site on the edge of Mongolia, adjacent to Manchuria (but still a convenient distance to Beijing),

¹ See Chayet, "Architectural wonderland".

symbolized the Manchu conquest of Mongolia. Besides, the Chinese garden that Emperor Kangxi ordered its building in 1704 was closely patterned on the typical garden of the Yangzi valley and was larger than the Yuanmingyuan imperial garden in Beijing, which symbolized Manchu control over China. The Tibetan Buddhist temples extended the metaphor to include the religious sect chosen by the Qing emperors and to incorporate Tibet into the Manchu empire. Just as maps have the power to establish scientific and political legitimacy as well as “ownership,” Philippe Forêt argues that the composite landscape at Chengde expressed the ultimate goal of Qing imperialism, knitting together the sedentary Chinese and the nomadic Inner Asians. Philippe Forêt retraces the emperors’ reasoning about landscape from the political angle to the religious angle near the end of his book. Philippe Forêt points out an unusual diagonal alignment between the Qingchui Peak and the Jinshan Pagoda on an island in the middle of the garden’s lake, which forms an axis for the landscape’s religious symbolism. Pule Temple was built in the outer periphery by the emperor Qianlong in 1766 exactly on that alignment for greater emphasis. The Qingchui Peak can be read as an embodiment of the sacred Mount Kunlun or, alternatively, as Mount Sumeru, the mythic Buddhist sacred peak, and “Qianlong conceived of the passage from Mount Jinshan to Pule Temple to the Qingchui peak as an axis for joy, one of the three ways of accessing Buddhahood”². For Forêt the Bishushanzhuang complex can be read as a fusion of the profane and the religious, of court garden and natural landscape, of the frontier and China, and as a Buddhist Mandala (曼陀罗). The

² Philippe Forêt, *Mapping Chengde*, 77.

Manchu monarchs were emperors of the Chinese people, khans of the Manchu and Mongol people, and bodhisattvas of Tibetan and Mongol Buddhism. In short, Philippe Forêt finds in this landscape symbolic meanings that were an integral part of Qing imaginings of a great Asian empire in both size and scope. Landscape was a medium that “Manchu imperialism employed to let the emperor imagine the existence of a global community that would be his to rule”³.

These studies offer reasonable references to this dissertation for understanding Chengde temples: Anne Chayet suggesting the causes of the mixed architectural style shown in Chengde Tibetan Buddhist temples and the great divergences between the temples and their original Tibetan prototypes, and Philippe Forêt interpreting the landscape of the Chengde complex in terms of geographic, political, and religious symbolism. However, based on the investigation and analysis on all the Qianlong’s Tibetan Buddhist temples, this dissertation will question some of the conclusions of Anne Chayet and Philippe Forêt. For instance, Anne Chayet concludes that the eclectic architectural style, which was a mixture of styles principally Chinese and Tibetan, shown in Chengde Tibetan Buddhist temples was the most popular architectural style in the Qianlong period. However, the discussion of the usage of such mixed style in the royal palace and imperial gardens of Emperor Qianlong in this study shows the mixed style was only employed in limited circumstances as opposed to the most popular architectural style—Han Chinese style. Furthermore, this dissertation will also propose that the reproduction of cultural sign and landscape and

³ Ibid., 123. For Philippe Forêt’s point of view about the Chengde temples, see Philippe Forêt, *Mapping Chengde*.

the casual attitude in replicating architectural elements in such reproduction would be the fundamental reason for the great architectural differences between Qianlong's Tibetan Buddhist temples in central China and their prototypes in Tibet rather than those proposed by Anne Chayet, such as the presence of people from different backgrounds and building temples by following Tangkas. The research method of Philippe Forêt as a geographer, understanding an architectural complex within an extensive landscape, gives inspiration to this study, as well as a detailed landscape interpretation of the Chengde complex in terms of geographic, political and religious symbolism. The author of this dissertation is also quite interested in the point of view that Philippe Forêt proposes in his work that the Chengde architectural complex was a carefully designed map of the great Qing Empire as well as a Mandala pattern and the temples with architectural features of Tibetan monastic style took the role of Tibet. Since no trace of such a strong idea for the garden construction to represent the landscape of the whole great Qing Empire could be found in the other gardens constructed in the same period, and no records found till now supporting the idea that the Chengde complex was designed and constructed in that way, coupled with the fact that Philippe Forêt cannot support his point of view strongly since he proposes this point of view simply based on his observation of the pattern of the Chengde complex and the idea that Emperor Qianlong was revered by Mongols as a reincarnation of the bodhisattva Manjusri, this study would rather regard the proposal of Philippe Forêt as a potential possibility and at this working stage attribute the concentration of the temples with architectural features of Tibetan monastic style at Chengde mainly to the

role of Chengde as the place where the Qing emperors had contacts with the Mongolians and Tibetans.

Some other scholars have also carry out study on Qing Tibetan Buddhist temples. Many of them make a contribution towards giving an all-around introduction of certain temples (e.g. Chengde temples⁴; Yonghegong of Beijing⁵; etc.), including their historical background, deities rituals and existing architectural forms. Monastic architecture was described as a part of the works. For Tibetan Buddhist temples at Mount Wutai, there are a few all-around introductions. Xiao Yu gives a general outline of the background and architectural characteristics of monasteries on Mount Wutai since the Jin (晋) Dynasty⁶; Guo Zhicheng briefly introduces the history and characteristics of Pusading (菩萨顶)⁷; Ma Jun elaborates on the landscape design of monasteries on Mount Wutai, and takes Pusading as a special case⁸. Comparing these to Anne Chayet's and Philippe Forêt's studies on the significance of architectural form or landscape, these works are mainly description of certain monasteries and they may provide this study with basic information in monastic history. Besides these, Architecture Department of Tianjin University supplements their introduction with a series of architectural measured drawings of some Chengde temples which would be truly useful for learning the existing architectural forms of Chengde temples in detail

⁴ See Chen Baosen, *Chengde Bishushanzhuang Waibamiao*; Chen Jinyun, *Chengde Bishushanzhuang yu Waibamiao*; Yuan Senpo, *Bishushanzhuang he Waibamiao*; Architecture Department of Tianjin University, *Chengde gu jianzhu*.

⁵ See Wei Kaizhao, *Yonghegong manlu*; Wang Dian, *Yonghegong de aumi*; Du Jianye, *Yonghegong*; Niu Song, *Yonghegong*.

⁶ See Xiao Yu, "Wutai Shan lidai xiujian de simiao jiqi jianzhu tedian".

⁷ See Guo Zhicheng, "Wutai Shan".

⁸ See Ma Jun, *Wutai Shan simiao huanjing jingguan xingtai*.

and comparing them with other temples at Beijing and Mount Wutai⁹.

In contrast to the few works on the Qing Tibetan Buddhist monastic architecture, studies about their history are in great number.

Sven Hedin from Sweden and Tadashi Sekino from Japan are among the first scholars to study Chengde temples. Both of them traveled to Chengde for research purposes, and described their trips afterwards. Through their descriptions, we can not only learn the status of the temples in the 1930s, but also their personal perceptions of the temples. Of the two, Hedin's works are more worthy of consideration. In order to erect a Tibetan Buddhist temple in Chicago, an exploring team led by Hedin traveled to Chengde (Jehol in Sven Hedin's works) to investigate those Tibetan Buddhist temples in Chengde and collected related data in Beijing (Peking in Hedin's works) in 1930s. After returning to Chicago, his team held a successful exhibition. Some of the team members published their own study afterwards. Hedin published two books himself. One is *The Chinese Lama Temple: Potala of Jehol* and the other is *Jehol: City of Emperor*. In the former, Hedin introduces the source of Tibetan Buddhism, the Buddha images, monastic characteristics, paintings, lama training courses and rituals from the city of Jehol. The latter is about his study on Chengde temples. In the latter book, he portrays the temples as big stages and gives a panoramic view of several significant events that had taken place in them, such as the return of Torgot (图尔扈特部), the visit of the 6th Panchan Lama and the arrival of the Lord Macartney's Embassy. Plenty of historical documents are included in Hedin's work and they were

⁹ Architecture Department of Tianjin University, *Chengde gu jianzhu*.

from different sources—English accounts, Chinese official records and commentaries of Jesuits who used to live in China. After comparing the records from different sources which were often in great discrepancy, Hedin provides his own remarks on such grand events. For instance, for the 6th Panchan Lama's visit to Chengde, the Panchan Lama was compelled to travel to central China by the Qing emperor in Porungheer's account¹⁰, but he did want to go to central China to show respect to the Qing emperor himself in a Chinese record¹¹; Emperor Qianlong put the Panchan Lama on his right hand in their first meeting in Porungheer's account, but the Panchan Lama knelt and paid his respect to the emperor in the Chinese records; etc. Comparing these different records, Hedin claims that the Chinese version is more reliable, and based on them, he proposes that "there is reason to believe that, for political reasons, the emperor received the Tashi (Panchan) Lama with almost incredible pomp, but that, in order to maintain his full majesty in the eyes of his successors, he gave orders to the historians and record-writers of the dynasty as to how near the truth they might go. Therefore the visit of the Grand Lama is included with the audience granted to all the other vassals, princes, and envoys on the birthday of the All-highest, and his death is passed over in silence"¹². Discussions and remarks based on a comparison of records from different sources like this are abundant in Hedin's work. Though Hedin, as a historian, mainly focuses on interpreting the grand events taking place in the Chengde temples and pays less attention to the architectural forms of the temples, the plentiful

¹⁰ Porungheer was a gosein or Brahmin priest, whom Warren Hastings, the English governor in India, had often made use of as a go-between, interpreter, and spy, in Tibet and Bhutan. Porungheer left a very valuable account of the journey of the Panchan Lama. See Captain Samuel, *Account of an Embassy to the Court of the Teshoo Lama in Tibet*. London, 1800.

¹¹ *Shengwu ji* 圣武记 [Notes on Wise Monarchs].

¹² Hedin, *Jehol: City of Emperors*, 116-117.

historical records from different sources and the remarks Hedin makes himself should be very beneficial to this study for further understanding of the social situation in the early and middle Qing when the Chengde temples were being built. Besides, this study would also be inspired by the method of seeing things observantly and in multi-angles which is widely used in Hedin's work.

The book *New Qing Imperial History: The Making of Inner Asian Empire at Qing Chengde* published in 2004 and edited by Millward et al is a summary of nearly all recent Western studies on Chengde. It aims to contribute to the new Qing history¹³ by focusing on a single site: the palace, temple, and garden complex at Chengde. Beyond special study on the architecture or site itself, this book uses Chengde as a vantage point to explore the importance of Tibetan Buddhism, the Mongolian peoples, the geo-strategic struggles culminating in the conquest of Xinjiang, etc. to Qing history. Also in the book are the role of ritual in Qing's relations with Inner Asia and the nature of the emperorship itself, particularly under Emperor Qianlong. This volume contains a wide range of topics about Chengde, e.g. Emperor Qianlong's grand processions to and from Chengde, diplomatic summits and lavish state banquets offered to Mongol and Turkic nobles and Tibetan lamas, purposes of hunting in terms of ritual, diplomatic, politico-military, political skills of the Qianlong emperor, etc.

Both as a site and as a conception, Chengde is also included in the scope of "Chinese Frontier Study"¹⁴, since it straddled a point where the territories of China, Manchuria and Mongolia met and the purpose of the construction of its complex—

¹³ For a detailed discussion of this issue, see James Millward, *New Qing Imperial History*.

¹⁴ For the scope and detailed discussions of "Chinese Frontier Study", see James Millward, "New Perspectives on the Qing Frontier".

palace, temple and garden complex—was to deal with the frontier affairs of Mongolia and Tibet in the 18th century. Though hardly any of them refer to the Tibetan Buddhist temples, the works in “Chinese Frontier Study”¹⁵ truly provide this study with a wider view of the whole northern area of Qing China including Chengde in politics and economics.

“Mount Wutai study” has formed as an individual study subject due to Mount Wutai’s significance in religion and politics. *Wutai Shan Yanjiu* (五台山研究, Mt Wutai Researches) publishes articles about the subject, which includes almost all aspects about Mount Wutai—history, geography, religion, poetry, music, etc. Among them are a great number of historical studies on the background of Mount Wutai monasteries and their relationship to Mongolia and Tibet. These works have been done from different angles—a certain period; a single temple; one or several well-known historical figures; relations between areas and peoples; etc.

Historical studies on Beijing Tibetan Buddhist temples are fewer than those on Chengde and Mount Wutai. Ferdinand Lessing, one of the members in the exploration team led by Sven Hedin, gives an exquisite description on Yonghegong’s Buddha images, rituals and ritual implements, and explores its religious symbolism¹⁶. Huang Chongwen collects much information about the Panchan Lama’s visits to Yonghegong¹⁷.

All the historical studies referring to Qing Tibetan Buddhist temples mentioned

¹⁵ Lattimore, *Manchuria: Cradle of Conflict*; Lattimore, *Mongol Journeys*; Lattimore, *The Mongols of Manchuria*; Lee, *Manchurian Frontier in Ch’ing History*; Edmonds *Northern Frontiers of Qing China and Tokugawa Japan*; Millward, “New Perspectives on the Qing Frontier”; Yang Xuandi, “Menggu diqu shixing fazhi”; Fang Jianchang, “Zhongguo bianjiang shidi”; Hua Li, “Ribei xuejie yanjiu Zhongguo beilu bianjiang”; etc.

¹⁶ Lessing, *Yung-ho-kung*.

¹⁷ Huang Chongwen, *Lidai Banchan yu Yonghegong*.

above provide this study with plenty of historical information which is the important support that many discussions of the study rely on.

1.3 Methodology and Significance

The Tibetan Buddhist temples decreed by the Qing monarchs were built in central China in considerable numbers. Their constructions and reconstructions were one of the most important aspects of Qing imperial constructions. However, so far, few studies have been done on these temples. As one of the very rare studies on Qing Tibetan Buddhist monastic architecture, Anne Chayet's study describes and discusses the mixture of Han-Chinese style and Tibetan style in Chengde Tibetan Buddhist temples¹⁸. Since it simply focuses on a single site of Chengde, it does not provide enough convincing evidence to suggest that the mixed style shown in Chengde temples was the most popular style in the middle of the Qing Dynasty and the preference of this preferred style was the main reason for such an architectural form seen in Chengde temples. Indeed, we do not find the mixed style being strongly shown in other Tibetan Buddhist temples at other sites such as Beijing and Mount Wutai. Therefore, an extensive investigation and analysis of Qing Tibetan Buddhist temples in central China, especially from the early and middle Qing period when almost all of Tibetan Buddhist temples of Qing Dynasty were built, would be beneficial to our in-depth understanding of the Qing Tibetan Buddhist monastic

¹⁸ See Chayet, "Architectural wonderland".

architecture and how to interpret any single site such as the apparent Tibetan style shown in Chengde temples.

Based on the information and research that this author could find about Qing Tibetan Buddhist temples in various kinds of fields, mainly historical, and some other temple inscriptions, poems of the Qing monarchs and historical records, this study firstly draws a complete image of the construction of Tibetan Buddhist temples during early and middle Qing Dynasty in central China decreed by Qing monarchs. This study will explore the patronage of these temples, their architectural characteristics, sitting, layout and construction. Furthermore, through such detailed examination, this study will explore the construction meanings of the temples and the development and changes of these meanings. Finally, an understanding of the overall development of the early and middle Qing Tibetan Buddhist temples and a discussion of the rules underlying the development is given in the end of this thesis.

This study is the first extensive investigation and analysis of all early and middle Qing Tibetan Buddhist temples in central China decreed by the Qing monarchs, which will partly fill the gap in research on Qing architecture history and grounds future studies in this subject by providing the data and the point of view of understanding the temples as read in source materials. With the extensive investigation and analysis offered in this dissertation, some past understandings of Qing Tibetan monastic architecture will be questioned and re-examined. Furthermore, the presentation of the whole development of the early and middle Qing Tibetan Buddhist temples will together provide a case of the relationship between architecture and society. Finally,

apart from making a contribution to the Qing architectural study, some discussions in this study might also provide new references from the architectural angle to some topics in Qing social and historical study, such as political concern or personal faith and patronage of temple constructions.

1.4 Explanation and Limitation

Before the introduction and discussion of the temples, the author would like to illustrate several points.

Firstly, it is the time span of “the early and middle periods of the Qing Dynasty” in this dissertation. In the reign of Wanli (万历) of the Ming Dynasty, the Nuzhen (女真) leader Nurhachi conquered all the neighboring tribes. During the battles with the neighboring tribes, he called his state “Manzhou (Manju, Manchu, 满洲)”. In the 44th year of the reign of Wanli (1616), Nurhachi officially named his state “Hou Jin (Later Jin, 后金)” or “Jin (金)” (both titles were seen in the state documents at that time). In 1636, Nurhachi’s successor, his fourth son Hong Taiji, changed the state title to “Da Qing (Great Qing, 大清)” or “Qing (清)” (both titles were seen in the state documents at that time). Thereafter, all his successors used the state title till the end of the Manchu regime.¹⁹ In Qing history study, the periods of Manchu and Later Jin have been regarded as the earliest Qing, and the study on them has been a part of the study on the Qing Dynasty. This dissertation follows the same tradition. “The early

¹⁹ See Liu Shizhe, “Manzhou (Manju) guohao kao”; Song Cunrun, “Da Qing guohao kao”; Xue Hong and Liu Housheng, “Da Qing jianhao qian de guohao”; etc.

and middle periods of the Qing Dynasty” in this dissertation means the time span starting from Nurhachi till Emperor Qianlong. Besides this, the forms of address of these Manchu monarchs are also in accordance with the tradition in Qing historical study.

Secondly, the author would like to define the scope of “central China” used in this dissertation. “Central China” here means the area mainly inhabited by Han-Chinese, covering mainly the provinces of Shanxi and Hebei today, and the Manchu area where Nurhachi and Hong Taiji started their empire in present-day Liaoning province.

In this dissertation, instead of “monastery”, the author uses “temple” for the names of these Qing Tibetan Buddhist building complexes. A “monastery” usually means a Buddhist building complex containing Buddha statue, Buddhist scripture and resident monks. Firstly, whether a religious artifact contained all these three elements is not the main concern of this dissertation. Secondly, indeed, there were some Qing Buddhist building complexes (e.g. many Buddhist building complexes built by Emperor Qianlong) without monks living inside. Therefore, despite the same Chinese word, *si* (寺), is used in all documents, the author uses “temple” for the name of the Qing Tibetan Buddhist building complexes. The Pinyin name of a temple will be given first and its Chinese name will follow in the parenthesis. If it is necessary, the meaning of the name will also be explained. “Tibetan Buddhist temples” in this dissertation means Buddhist building complexes having obvious characteristics of Tibetan Buddhism in furnishing, Buddha statue, monks, etc.

There are several limitations in this study. Firstly, this study mainly provides the data and the point of view of understanding the early and middle Qing Tibetan Buddhist temples from the angle based on the reading and analysis of the available Qing official records. The examination and discussion of the Qing official documents about the temples is necessary for the study of the temples, especially because nearly all of the Qing Tibetan Buddhist temples in central China were officially built by the Qing government and the official documents were thus the very important references as well as the base for the exploration of the construction and meaning of these temples. However, while this study mainly provides the discussions about the temples from this perspective, studies from other perspectives, which will benefit and complete the full understanding of the temples discussed in this study, will be expected. Secondly, this author is limited by data available, there might be some temples left out in the list of Qing imperial Tibetan Buddhist temples summarized by this dissertation, and the author will keep updating the list in future work based on new information. Thirdly, apart from various papers and works that could provide the author the information about Qing Tibetan Buddhist temples, the author also uses historical records. They are mainly from *Qingchu Wushi Dalai Lama dang'an shiliao xuanbian* (清初五世达赖喇嘛档案史料选编, The collection of historical documents about the 5th Dalai Lama in the Early Qing Dynasty), *Liushi Banchan chaojin dang'an xuanbian* (六世班禅朝觐档案选编, The collection of records about the coming of the 6th Panchan Lama), *Qingdai lamajiao beike lu* (清代喇嘛教碑刻录, The list of Tibetan Buddhist inscriptions in the Qing Dynasty), etc. The *Huoji dang* (活计档,

Documents of craftworks) of the whole Qing Dynasty may also contain some useful information about Qing Tibetan Buddhist temples. But because of its enormous quantity, limited by time the author has not made a complete reading of it. The author will continue to seek more useful documents for development of the study in the future. Besides, since it is always hard to be objective and the selective reading of historical documents, this study must have some limitations in the comprehensive and objective interpretation of the background and significance of the Tibetan Buddhist temples.

1.5 Dissertation Content

This dissertation is divided into eight chapters. In the first chapter, the scope and purpose of this study are outlined, then, the study significances and limitations are also illustrated based on the review of past studies. In the second chapter, the close interaction between the Qing regime and the Mongol tribes during the early and middle Qing Dynasty, which was the important background of the construction of these Tibetan Buddhist temples in central China decreed by Qing monarchs, will be summarized and introduced. From the third to the seventh chapter, the author discusses in detail the characteristics and meanings of the temples from several aspects—the meanings in the temple construction such as politics and prayer for the protection of the state and their developments, the major character of Qianlong's temples as the reproduction of cultural sign and landscape and its characteristics, the

characteristics of the temples in their architectural layout and their development and changes, etc. The multiple social factors which might influence the characteristics and meanings of the temples are also explored and discussed in the chapters. Finally, a short summary of this study is given in the last chapter.

Chapter 2 Early Qing's Relationship with the Mongols

Nearly all Qing Tibetan Buddhist temples were built during the early and middle Qing Dynasty from Nurhachi till the Qianlong reign. During the time, the Qing court closely interacted with the Mongol tribes, for military and political alliance. This must be the primary reason why many of these temples were connected with the Mongol nobles or the events held in them were related to Mongols as recorded in historical documents. This chapter will outline the jagged history of the relationship between the Manchu and the Mongols in order to provide a comprehensive background for the study into the patronage of these Tibetan Buddhist temples in this dissertation.

2.1 History of the Relationship between the Early Qing and the Mongols

Late in the reign of Wanli of the Ming Dynasty, Nurhachi, the great leader of Nuzhen, unified all Nuzhen tribes and made Nuzhen to be a force threatening to the Ming Empire. He titled his new regime Later Jin and soon declared war on the Ming Empire. At that time, there was another important force near to the Later Jin and the Ming, namely Mongolia. Mongolia consisted of many tribes. These Mongol tribes could be divided into three big groups according to their territories in relation to the Gobi Desert (戈壁沙漠): Monan Mongolia (漠南蒙古), Mobei Mongolia (漠北蒙古) and Moxi Mongolia (漠西蒙古). The Mongols consisted of many tribes, and their movement around the north of China was depended on their relationship with the

surrounding powers. In the 14th century, the Mongol Yuan regime was beaten by the Ming regime, and driven from central China to north of the Gobi Desert. In the middle of the 15th century, with the waning of the Ming power due to internal strifes and corruption, many Mongol tribes north of the desert moved back to south of the desert. These Mongol tribes moving back to south of the desert were called Monan Mongolia or Inner Mongolia. Those that stayed north of the desert were called Mobei Mongolia or Kerk Mongolia (喀尔喀蒙古) or Outer Mongolia. There was another big group of Mongol tribes which lived west of the desert in the area north and south of Mount Tian (天山) and were called Moxi Mongolia or Eleut Mongolia (厄鲁特蒙古). Among the three big groups, Monan Mongolia was adjacent to the Later Jin and the Ming. Its support or opposition would greatly influence the result of the war between the Later Jin and the Ming. Thus, both the Ming and the Later Jin tried to win its support. The Ming Empire sent 40,000 taels of silver to Chahar (察哈尔部), the most powerful tribe of Monan Mongolia, trading for its alliance. The Later Jin mainly played on the discontent of the other mid-sized and small-sized Monan Mongol tribes for the Chahar, and used friendship in conjunction with force to persuade these tribes to confederate with or even submit to it. Compared to the Ming Empire, the alliance with the Monan Mongols had greater significance to the Later Jin. On one hand, fighting with the great Ming Empire of several million with its only several hundreds of thousands people, the Later Jin was disadvantaged in military force and national strength compared to the Ming Empire. This disadvantage could be partly compensated for by the support of the Mongols. On the other hand, the Monan

Mongols surrounded the Later Jin in the west, north and south. If the Monan Mongols took a position of hostility to the Later Jin, the Later Jin would be attacked front and rear when it went out for a battle with the Ming. Thus, both Nurhachi and his successor Hong Taiji tried hard to form an alliance with the Monan Mongols. Further, with the growth of its power, the effort for an alliance with the Monan Mongols turned out to be the request for a submission of the Monan Mongols to the Later Jin. For a while the fighting with the Monan Mongols for their submission even had priority over the fighting with the Ming in the Hong Taiji period. During the period of Nurhachi, several Monan Mongol tribes such as Korqin (Qorcin, 科尔沁) and Inner Kerk (内喀尔喀) had submitted to the Later Jin (Figure 2.1). More submissions occurred during the period of Hong Taiji. In the 2nd year of the Tiancong (天聪) reign (1628), Hong Taiji led all the Monan Mongol tribes who had submitted to the Later Jin to attack the Chahar and completely annihilated the force of its leader, Lingdan Qayan (林丹汗). After that, all Monan Mongol tribes submitted to the Later Jin.

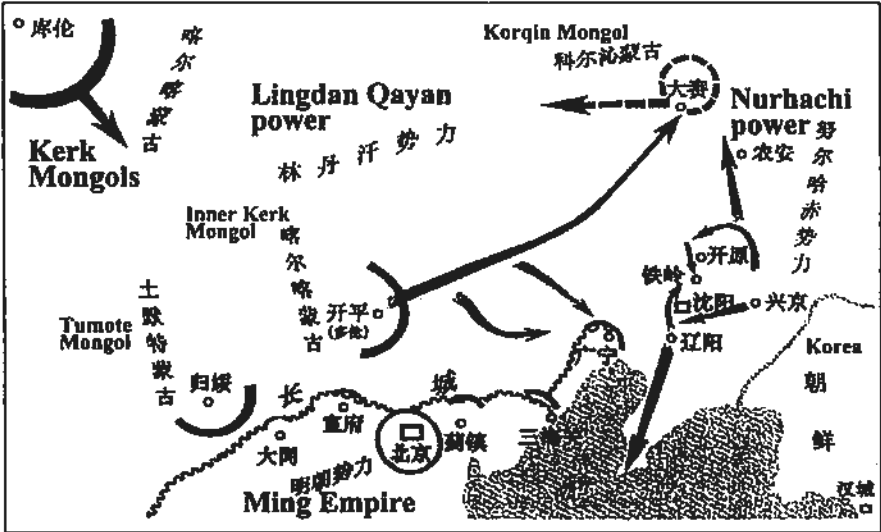


Figure 2.1: Locations of the Powers of Later Jin, Ming and Mongols during the Nurhachi Period, drawn based on Ba Tuyin and Zhang Yacheng, *Mengguzu jindai zhanzheng shi*, 33, Figure 2

The submission of the Monan Mongols got rid of the fear of trouble in the rear for the Later Jin when it fought with the Ming Empire. At the same time, it provided a large number of soldiers for the Later Jin. Before the submission of the first Monan Mongol tribe, Korqin, there were small sporadic groups of Monan Mongolians who joined the Later Jin on their own initiative or were captured in battles. Later, during the fighting with the Monan Mongols and their successive submissions, more and more groups of Monan Mongolians came to the Later Jin often in large numbers. Nurhachi first put the defected Mongol soldiers into the “Manchu Eight Banners” (Later Jin’s military organization). In each of the eight Manchu banners, he added five Mongol Niulus (牛录, unit of military force, with 300 soldiers for each). Later, he organized two new Mongol banners. With the continuous increase of Mongol soldiers, in the 9th year of the Tiancong reign (1635), Hong Taiji established the “Mongol Eight Banners” following the “Manchu Eight Banners”. There were two Jialas (甲喇, unit of military force) for each banner. According to the usual standard of that five Niulus for a Jiala, there must be total eighty Niulus in the eight Mongol banners. Some Mongol nobles and their subordinates remained in the Manchu eight banners, by which Hong Taiji dignified those Mongol nobles who were the first to join. Apart from the Mongol Eight Banners and the Mongol soldiers in the Manchu Eight Banners, those submitted Monan Mongol tribes also sent soldiers to join the Later Jin’s troops when they battled the Ming. For example, in 1618 (the 46th year of the reign of Wanli of the Ming Dynasty, the 2nd year of the Tianming [天命] reign of the Qing Dynasty), Engeder (恩格德尔) and Sahalian (萨哈连), two of Nurhachi’s

son-in-laws in the Monan Mongols, followed Nurhachi out for a battle with the Ming. In 1629 (the 2nd year of the reign of Chongzheng of the Ming Dynasty, the 3rd year of the Tiancong reign of the Qing Dynasty), after Hong Taiji established his leadership to the Monan Mongols, he issued an order to all Monan Mongol tribes that: “When going out for a battle with the Ming, (Monan Mongols) each tribe sends one Beile (贝勒, a rank of the Manchu and Mongol nobility), two Taijis (台吉, a rank of the Mongol nobility) and one hundred soldiers to join. Penalty for the transgressor is one thousand horses and one hundred camels. Penalty for those arriving at the named place of congregation later than three days is one thousand horses and one hundred camels.”¹

In the 1st year of the Chongde (崇德) reign (1636), Hong Taiji changed the state title to “Qing”. After Hong Taiji died in the 8th year of the Chongde reign (1643), his 9th son, Fulin (福临), continued the war with the Ming. The following year, Fulin entered Beijing, the capital of the Ming Dynasty, with his victorious army and held his enthronement there. The war between the Qing and the Ming was finally ended at the Maolu Hill Battle (茅麓山战斗) in the 3rd year of the reign of Kangxi (1664). During the early reign of Kangxi, the main concern of the Qing rulers was to stabilize the Qing’s control of central China. For the Mongols, they mainly focused on the tight control of the Monan Mongols and at the same time maintained the existing relationship with the other Mongol groups. After stabilizing the Qing’s control of central China by suppressing the Sanfan Rebellion (三藩之乱, the rebellion of the

¹ *Qing Taizong Wen Huangdi shilu* 清太宗文皇帝实录 [Records of Qing Taizong Emperor], Vol. 5, cited from Zhao Yuntian, “Taizong Taizu shiqi dui Monan Menggu de guanxi”, 57-62; 60.

three feudatories) and occupying Taiwan (台湾), and sending troops to Nerchinsk (尼布楚) to stop the invasion by Russia to the northeast of the Qing, the western and northern frontiers of the empire became the strategic focus for Emperor Kangxi in the middle of his reign. Thus, in the 30 years from the 27th year till the end of his reign (1688-1721), Moxi and Mobei Mongols had been the subjects Kangxi turned most of his attentions to.

Among all the Moxi and Mibeï Mongol tribes, the Junggar tribe (准噶尔部) of the Moxi Mongolia was at the center of Kangxi's concern. The Junggar rose to become the most powerful one among all the Moxi Mongol tribes in the Ming Dynasty. After Gardan (噶尔丹) came to power over the Junggar in the 10th year of the reign of Kangxi (1671), the Junggar accelerated its military expansion. In the 16th year of the reign of Kangxi (1677), it attacked the Heshuote tribe (和硕特部) in Qinghai. The next year it attacked the Uighur tribes in the south of Xinjiang. After defeating the tribes of Durbete (杜尔伯特) and Heshuote and occupying the large area south of Mount Tian, in the 27th year of the reign of Kangxi (1688), it started to attack the Kerk Mongols. The Kerk Mongols lost in the fighting. Under the chase by the Junggar, the Kerk Mongols, with its whole three tribes and a hundred thousand people, came to the Qing for submission. The war between the Junggar Mongols and the Kerk Mongols soon became a competition between the Junggar and the Qing. In the 29th year of the reign of Kangxi (1690), Gardan led his troops into the Ujimqin (乌珠穆秦) area of Inner Mongolia and even arrived at Wulan Butong (乌兰布通), the place only 350 kilometers away from Beijing, claiming to be chasing Tuxietu Khan (土谢图汗)

and Jibzündamba Qutuytu (哲布尊丹巴胡图克图) (leaders of the Kerk Mongols). Emperor Kangxi himself led the army to battle Gardan and routed him at Wula Butong. Though Gardan retreated from Inner Mongolia, he did not stop annoying Kerk Mongols. Then, in the 35th year (1696) and in the 36th year (1697) of his reign, Kangxi again twice led his troops personally to battle Gardan until the main force of Gardan's army was vanquished and Gardan killed himself with poison. After the death of Gardan, the Qing government recognized the leadership of Cewang Alabutan (策妄阿拉布坦), a Junggar noble, to the Junggar and his control over the area west of Mount Altai (阿尔泰山) as he helped the Qing government in its fighting with Gardan.

During the Qing's fighting with Gardan, Xitao Mongols (西套蒙古) submitted to the Qing and that helped the Qing immensely with its fighting. In the Ming Dynasty, with the growing of the Junggar's power, Heshuote, another tribe of Eleut Mongolia, had to move. Its majority led by their leader, Gushi Khan (顾实汗), moved from north of Mount Tian to Qinghai. Another part of it moved to the Xitao area (west of the great bend of Yellow River), where the place of juncture was of the Gan (甘), Liang (凉) and Su (肃) prefectures. Later, some Junggars, who lost in the fighting for power, also came to this area. These Eleut Mongols in the Xitao area were called Xitao Eleut Mongols (西套厄鲁特蒙古) or Xitao Mongols (西套蒙古). Under the oppression of the Junggar, the Xitao Eleut Mongols had been meaning to submit to the Qing. However, while Emperor Kangxi paid most of his attention to the stability of central China and did not want to break the existing situation between the Qing and the

Junggar, the submission of the Xitao Mongols had to be delayed. After the suppression of the Sanfan Rebellion, the Qing government started to rethink its relationship with the Xitao Mongols. Soon, a symbiosis was developed between them based on the leadership of the Qing. The submission of the Xitao Mongols meant a lot to the Qing. The area, where the Xitao Mongols inhabited, was west of the great bend of Yellow River, which neighbored Ningxia (宁夏) in the east, Kerk Mongolia in the north and the Junggar in the west. These Xitao Mongols could tie down the Junggar and cut off their retreat when it invaded the Qing. The submission of the Xitao Mongols not only brought peace to the border of the Qing with the Xitao Mongols as well as to the Xitao area, but also provided the Qing a valuable fresh force for its fighting with the Junggar. While the Qing battled the Junggar in the 35th year of the reign of Kangxi (1696), the Xitao Mongols was designated as the spearhead of the west-route troops of the Qing. In the fighting, Gardan was defeated at Zhaomoduo (昭莫多). After Gardan retreated, Vice-Dutong (副都统, a rank of the Qing military officer) Ananda (阿南达) arranged the subordinates of Heluoli (和罗理) (the leader of the Xitao Mongols) to garrison in Ebugete (额布格特). Heluoli himself led about one thousand soldiers to be in garrison at Tulutu (土鲁图) of A'ertai (阿尔台). In the 36th year of the reign of Kangxi (1697), Heluoli applied to the Qing government that: "Please follow the example of the forty nine banners (of Inner Mongolia) and banner the Xitao Mongols." Then later in the same year, the Qing government made the Xitao Mongols form into the Banners and to set up Zuoling (佐领, a rank of the Qing military officer), at the same time Heluoli was invested as a Beile. The Xitao Mongols

were named as Alashan Banner (阿拉善旗) and became the special banner directly under Li Fan Yuan (理藩院, the organization for the management of Mongolia, Tibet, etc). With that, the Xitao Mongols were officially under the Qing. In many campaigns, later by the Qing government on its western and northern frontiers, the Alashan Banner was often used as the spearhead.

In the 37th year of the reign of Kangxi (1698), the Qing government controlled the Heshuote tribe of Qinghai.

However, the Junggar continued to be big trouble to the Qing. Cewang Alabutan (策妄阿拉布坦) of the Junggar, the successor of Gardan, showed himself submissive on the surface but felt enmity towards the Qing. Following Gardan, he occupied the southern part of the Kazak grasslands (哈萨克草原), annoyed the Torgout tribe (土尔扈特部), attacked Kashgar (喀什噶尔) and controlled the six towns of Uighur of the southern Xinjiang. In a short time, Cewang Alabutan controlled the whole area south and north of Mount Tian. He even wanted to control Tibet. In the 55th year of the reign of Kangxi (1716), Cewang Alabutan sent a troop of one thousand soldiers to Tibet. In the following year, this Junggar troop occupied Lhasa, killed Lazang Khan (拉藏汗), the ruler of Tibet at that time, and installed a new puppet government who listened to the Junggar. Considering that since Tibet neighbored Qinghai, Dian (滇) and Shu (蜀), if it was occupied by the Junggars, the Qing's frontiers would not be peaceful any more, Emperor Kangxi sent soldiers to Tibet twice in the 57th year of his reign (1718). In the 59th year of the reign of Kangxi (1720), the Qing army arrived in Tibet and captured Lhasa. The beaten Junggar

soldiers, only 500 people left, escaped back to Yili through the grasslands of northern Tibet. The effort of the Junggar for the occupation of Tibet as well as against the Qing failed completely. By this entrance into Tibet, the control of the Qing government of Tibet had been strengthened. The Qing government started to send officials to Tibet to deal with the affairs there.

The strengthening of controls of the Qing government in Tibet lessened the influence of Qinghai Mongols on the Tibetan affairs, and that caused the discontent of the Qinghai Mongols. Lob Tsangdanjin (罗卜藏丹津), a leader of the Qinghai Mongols, rebelled against the Qing in the early reign of Yongzheng. Emperor Yongzheng sent troops to put down the rebellion and Lob Tsangdanjin escaped to the Junggar. Through suppressing the Lob Tsangdanjin Rebellion, the Qing government tightened its hold on the Qinghai Mongols. However, the leader of the Junggar at that time, the son of Cewang Alabutan, Gardan Celing (噶尔丹策零), kept pursuing territorial expansion towards the Kerk Mongolia area, and he refused to give Lob Tsangdanjin to the Qing. The armies of the Junggar and the Qing again fought each other several times in the reign of Yongzheng. They battled to a draw and finally negotiated peace.

In the reign of Qianlong, Gardan Celing died and the Junggar nobles fought each other for power. Three groups of Junggars submitted to the Qing first or later due to losing or not wanting to be involved in the fighting for power. In the 20th year of his reign (1755), with the opportunity that the Junggar was divided against itself, Emperor Qianlong sent troops to Junggar and the Qing troops soon swept to victory.

However, when the Qing army had just retreated, Amur Sana (阿睦尔撒纳), the Junggar noble, rebelled because he was dissatisfied with the power distribution arrangement by the Qing government in the Eleut Mongols. Soon he controlled the north of Mount Tian. In the 21st year of the reign of Qianlong (1756), the Qing army troops went back to the Junggar by two routes. Amur Sana escaped to the north to Kazak (哈萨克). When the Qing army was chasing Amur Sana to the north, many other Eleut nobles rebelled behind it and fought each other for the leadership of the Eleut Mongols. The next year the Qing government for the third time by several routes sent troops to the Junggar. As many local people died from the smallpox epidemic at that time in the Junggar area, the Qing army pushed quickly into the area. In May², Amur Sana had to escape to Kazak. In June³, the Qing troops arrived at Aihusi River (爱呼斯河, Aya Gusi River [阿亚古斯河] now), and the Kazak leader sent his representatives to the Qing army to show submission. Soon after, Amur Sana died in a Russian fort and the area north of Mount Tian was finally settled. By this time, all Mongol tribes around the Qing had submitted to the Qing, and further, these tribes became the protective forces for the Qing Empire's western and northern frontiers. After then, there was a long peaceful period for the Qing on its western and northern frontiers (Figure 2.2).⁴

² The traditional Chinese calendar.

³ Ibid.

⁴ References for the outline and summary of the relationship between the early Qing and the Mongols: Zhao Yuntian, "Taizu Taizong shiqi dui Monan Menggu"; Wang Yu and Liu Yuebin, "Ruguan qianhou Manzhou yu Menggu"; Liang Lixia, "Xitao Menggu Blute Menggu Guifu"; Zhao Zhen, "Kangxi monian qingjun liangci ru Zang"; Zhu Chengru, "Kangi Yong Qian sanchao sui Zhunga'er bu zhanzheng"; Xie Lihong, "Kangxi di beibu bianfang"; Wang Xilong, "Qingdai Xinjiang fenfeng zhi de shibai"; etc.



Figure 2.2: The Qing Empire, cited from *New Qing Imperial History*, Figure 1

2.2 Tibetan Buddhism's Role

While defeating the Ming Empire in the earliest phase of Qing history and to stabilize its western and northern frontiers after the Qing government was formed, the Qing regime had intertwined with the Mongol tribes. During the close relationship, more and more Mongol tribes submitted to the Qing, and with this the Qing increased in power and expanded its controlled territory. During this process, Tibetan Buddhism became a medium of intercourse between the two groups.

Tibetan Buddhism was the national religion in the Mongol Yuan Dynasty and adhered to by the Mongol nobles. Under the push of the Mongol nobles, Tibetan Buddhism became the religion believed in by all Mongolians in the middle of the 17th century. It influenced various aspects of Mongolian life and its leaders, the lamas, especially the high lamas, had great power and influence in Mongolian society. The

high lamas were not only the religious leaders worshipped by the Mongolian nobles and common people, but also the influencing agents in the Mongolian political affairs inherent in their powerful religious influence on the Mongolian people. They were the consultants or even the directors of the Mongol nobles for their political decisions. They were the negotiators and intermediaries when the Mongol tribes fought each other.

Realizing the important role of Tibetan Buddhism and high lamas in Mongolian political life, the Qing court started to closely interact with them in dealing with Mongolian affairs. With the development of the Qing court's relationship with the Mongols, the Qing court also developed its interaction with the Tibetan Buddhism and the high lamas and this development showed different characteristics in different periods, such as utilization, divide and rule, restriction, complete control and alienation.

In the earliest phase of Qing history, the Qing court respected Tibetan Buddhism in order to make a friendship with the Mongols. When the Mongols sent the lamas to visit the Qing court, the Qing reciprocated by sending lamas in return. Honoring the religion and customs of the Mongolians would no doubt make a good impression on the Mongolians. Further, the Qing court made efforts to win the favor and support of the high lamas to assist with the submission of Mongols. For example, to draw the Kerk Mongols over to its side, Huang Taiji and Shunzhi repeatedly invited the Dalai Lama (达赖喇嘛) to the Qing. The Dalai Lama finally came to the Qing in the 9th year of the reign of Shunzhi (1652), and influenced by the visit, the Kerk Mongols

paid homage and tribute to the Qing monarch several years later.

After the Qing central government was formed, the government employed the influential force of the high lamas to stabilize its western and northern frontiers. Emperor Kangxi asking the Dalai Lama to mediate the fights between the Eleut Mongols and Kerk Mongols was one of many such cases. However, due to different political interests, the Tibetan Buddhist high lamas did not always accord with the interests and wishes of the Qing court, sometimes they even opposed the Qing. After the opposition of the Dalai Lama during the Sanfan Rebellion, the Qing government tried to divide the powers of the high lamas for an easier rule of them. Under the principle, the Qing government raised the positions of the Jibzündamba Qutuytu (哲布尊丹巴呼图克图) and the Zhangjia Living Buddha (章嘉活佛) in Tibetan Buddhism to reduce the Dalai Lama's influence on the Outer Mongols and Inner Mongols. Also, the Qing supported the Panchan Lama (班禅喇嘛) to share the power of the Dalai Lama in Tibet.

In the reign of Yongzheng, the Qing government further restricted the powers of the high Lamas in dealing with the local political affairs. For example, the emperor sent officials to Tibet and Outer Mongolia in the name of helping the Dalai Lama's and the Jibzündamba Qutuytu's deal with Tibetan affairs and Outer Mongolian affairs. In the Qianlong reign, the emperor restricted even further the powers of the high lamas. For example, after the elder brother of the 2nd Jibzündamba Qutuytu poisoned himself by order of Qianlong, the Kerk Mongols intended to rebel because they were discontented with the order of Qianlong. Although through the Zhangjia Living

Buddha's persuasion of the Jibzündamba Qutuytu, the rebellion did not arise and things calmed down, soon after that, the Qing government set up an organization claiming to be helping the Jibzündamba Qutuytu's management of the Outer Mongols but it was really to gain a tighter control of the Jibzündamba Qutuytu.

Near the end of the reign of Qianlong, the Qing government installed the "Jinping Cheqian" (金瓶掣签, Golden Urn Lottery) system⁵. With its institution the Qing court deprived the Dalai Lama of his right of choosing the reincarnate and that meant a complete control of Tibetan Buddhism by the Qing government. After the last Mongol tribe submitted to the Qing court in the reign of Qianlong and the using of Tibetan Buddhism and the Tibetan Buddhist high lamas for the purpose of the submission of Mongols ceased, since the Jiaqing reign the Qing court's interaction with Tibetan Buddhism and high lamas became weak, and the Qing court started to show a distance with Tibetan Buddhism and the high lamas.

Because of the great importance of the Mongolian affairs and Tibetan Buddhism for the Qing, the Qing court set up a special institution to manage all the affairs about Mongols and Tibetan Buddhism since the reign of Nurhachi. It was titled Menggu yamen (蒙古衙门) in the period of Nurhachi and renamed as Li Fan Yuan (理藩院) in the period of Hong Taiji. By the time of Qianlong, the Li Fan Yuan had become a grand institution with a staff of 189. At the same time, from Nurhachi till Qianlong,

⁵ The Qing court set up two golden urns, one was in the Potala Palace of Lhasa and another one was in Yonghegong of Beijing. The reincarnation soul boys of all the important Living Buddhas of Tibet and the Jibzündamba of Outer Mongolia were chosen through lot-drawing from the golden urn in Lhasa, and the reincarnation soul boys of other important Living Buddhas of Outer Mongolia and Inner Mongolia were chosen through lot-drawing from the golden urn in Beijing. All these soul boys confirmed through lot-drawing from the golden urn as the reincarnation of a Grand Living Buddha must be reported to the Qing central government for approval prior to his official enthronement.

the number of Mongolian and Tibetan lamas, who stayed in the Qing capitals and served for the Qing's Mongolian and Tibetan affairs, increased continuously.⁶

2.3 Tibetan Buddhist Temples Sponsored by the Early Qing Court

With this background of the Qing intertwining with Mongols and Tibetan Buddhism during the early and middle Qing Dynasty, a considerable number of Tibetan Buddhist temples were decreed by the Qing monarchs in central China. Based on the examining of the records about the temples in the historical documents and the collecting of information about them from various fields, the main constructions or reconstructions of each period from Nurhachi till Qianlong about the temples could be listed (Appendix 1-6). Further, based on this, the characteristics, meanings and construction reasons of the temples will be explored and discussed in the following chapters.

⁶ References for the outline and summary of the role of Tibetan Buddhism in the relationship between the early Qing and the Mongols: Zhao Yuntian, "Qingdai qianqi liyong lamajiao"; Chen Guogan, "Qingdai dui Menggu de lamajiao zhengce"; Zhao Yuntian, "Qingdai Lifanyuan"; Zhang Yuxin, *Qingzhengfu yu lamajiao*; etc.

Chapter 3 Political Concern in the Tibetan Buddhist Temple Construction

Based on historical documents and the analysis of the backgrounds and locations of the Tibetan Buddhist temples as described in the previous chapter, the author of this dissertation suggests that the main reason for the building of these temples in central China was political concern of early Qing court to make alliance with the Mongols and Tibetan for the consolidation of the newly founded empire. In this chapter, I shall look into specific cases of such construction activities and propose several situations in which such building intention was demonstrated.

3.1 First Encounter with Tibetan Buddhism

Nurhachi ordered the building of two Tibetan Buddhist temples as far as we know. One of them was the pagoda and its temple in Liaoyang (辽阳, the capital of the Later Jin regime after Hetu Ala) to honor Orlug Darqan Nangsu Lama (斡禄打儿罕囊素喇嘛) after his death. Nangsu Lama was a Tibetan lama who used to live in Korqin Mongol and he was well respected. Nurhachi invited him from Korqin to stay in his Later Jin State. Finally he died in the Later Jin in the 6th year of the Tianming reign (1621). Apart from the well-known Nangsu Lama there were other lamas who

came from nearby Mongol tribes to the Later Jin. Nurhachi treated them very well: meeting them in polite way and giving them many properties and high positions.¹ The order of the building of the pagoda and the temple could also be regarded as an expression of honoring the lamas and thereby the Buddhist school. Because of prolonged warfare, the construction of the pagoda of Nangsu was unable to begin during the life of Nurhachi, and was finally built in the 4th year of the Tiancong reign by Hong Taiji (1630).²

Hong Taiji, Nurhachi's son and successor, followed after his father by inviting high lamas to the Later Jin. By not only inviting high lamas from Mongolia but also from Tibet, he went further than his father in dealing with Tibetan Buddhism. He even tried hard to make direct contact with the Dalai Lama, the leader of Tibetan Buddhism in Tibet³. With his effort, the special representative of the Dalai Lama, Hutuktu Ila

¹ See Li Qipu, "Liaoyang *Dajin lama fashi baoji beiwen*"; Li Qipu, "Shengjing Sisi manzhouyu beiwen"; Li Qipu, "Shengjing Sisi zangyu beiwen"; Li Qipu, "Wolu Da'erhan Nangsu" (1-4).

² Ibid. In "Liaoyang *Dajin lama fashi baoji beiwen*" (101) and "Wolu Da'erhan Nangsu" (3) (36), Li Qipu records a Manchu record dated the 32nd of the 3rd month of the 7th year of the Tianming reign (1622), which is from *Manwen Laodang* 满文老档 [The old documents written in Manchu]. The record includes the information that: "(after Nangsu Lama died, Nurhachi) then made the temple in the house of Canjiang (参将, title of a high-ranking military officer) Han (韩), which was located outside the south gate of Liaoyang, and arranged funeral rites there." From the record, one may propose the hypotheses that the "temple" was the redecorated house of Canjiang Han.

³ See *Menggu gebu wei tongyi yao Dalai Lama shi fu Huang Taiji shu* 蒙古各部为同意邀达赖喇嘛事复皇太极书 [The letter to Hong Taiji from Mongolian tribes about their agreement to invite the Dalai Lama], in *Qingchu Wushi Dalai Lama dang'an shilliao xuanbian* 清初五世达赖喇嘛档案史料选编 [The collection of historical documents about the 5th Dalai Lama in the early Qing Dynasty] (hereafter cited as *Dalai dang'an*), 1-2, Item 1; *Huang Taiji wei yangqing shengxian shi zhishu Tubote Han ji Xizang da lama deng* 皇太极为延请圣贤事致书土伯特汗及西藏大喇嘛等 [The letter to Tibet Khan and Tibetan high lamas from Hong Taiji about inviting high lamas from Tibet], in *Dalai dang'an*, 6, Item 4; *Huang Taiji zhi Tubote Han shu* 皇太极致土伯特汗书 [The letter to Tibet Khan from Hong Taiji], in *Dalai dang'an*, 2-3, Item 2; *Yila Gukesan deng fanzang xiehui Huang Taiji zhi Dalai Lama deng chishu* 伊拉古克三等返藏携回皇太极致达赖喇嘛等敕书 [The letter carried by Hutuktu Ila Kuksan to the Dalai Lama from Hong Taiji], in *Dalai dang'an*, 8-10, Item 8; etc.

Kuksasn (伊拉古克三胡土克图), visited Shengjing (盛京, Hong Taiji's capital) in the 7th year of the Chongde reign (1642). When Ila Kuksasn arrived in Shengjing, Hong Taiji knelt in adoration of Heaven with his ministers before entering the guesthouse with him: "When Hutuktu Ila Kuksasn and Daiqing Zhuo'erji (戴青绰尔济) sent by the Dalai Lama of Tibet arrived in Shengjing, the emperor with his princes and ministers went out of Huaiyuan Gate (怀远门) to welcome them. Returning to the guesthouse, the emperor made the rite of 'San Gui Jiu Kou (三跪九叩, kneel down three times and kowtow nine times)' to worship Heaven with all his princes and ministers. After the emperor entered the guesthouse and sat down, Hutuktu Ila Kuksasn presented him with the letter of the Dalai Lama. The emperor stood up to receive the letter and treated the lamas very politely. After the emperor sat down again, he ordered two seats placed on the right of his seat and had the two lamas sit on them. The attendants of the two lamas made the San Gui Jiu Kou rite to the emperor then."⁴

The importance Hong Taiji accorded to the coming of the special representatives of the Dalai Lama and his respect to them can be seen from this record.

After Hong Taiji defeated Lingdan Qayan, Mergen (墨尔根) Lama carried to Hong Taiji the famous statue of Mahākāla (the god of war in Tibetan Buddhism), which was made by Lama Pagba (八思巴) the sage and man of virtue in the Yuan

⁴ *Huang Taiji jiejian Dalai Lama shizhe Yila Gukesan deng* 皇太极接见达赖喇嘛使者伊拉古克三等 [Hong Taiji meeting the representatives of the Dalai Lama, Hutuktu Ila Kuksasn et al], in *Dalai dang'an*, 7, Item 5.

Dynasty and devoutly worshiped by Yuan emperors and their descendant Lingdan Qayan. After obtaining the statue, Hong Taiji had a great temple named Shisheng (实胜, victory) built to house the statue and knelt in prayer in front of it at the temple opening ceremony⁵. It seems that Nurhachi and Hong Taiji fostered the public image of the Manchu leaders as being Tibetan Buddhist patrons. However, from the documents available, neither Nurhachi nor Hong Taiji showed any adherence to Tibetan Buddhism privately. Conversely, many documents demonstrate their intimacy with Shamanism. For example, Nurhachi held the most majestic rituals for going out for a battle and a triumphant return in Tangzi (堂子, the place where sacrificial rites of Shamanism were performed)⁶; Hong Taiji sharply criticized Tibetan Buddhism in person and actually sent princes and ministers to pray for his recovery from serious illness in Tangzi and the royal ancestral temple⁷; etc.

The respect for Tibetan Buddhism by Nurhachi and Hong Taiji in public would help nurture the relationship between Manchu and nearby Mongols, which was greatly needed by Manchu. The benefit might just be the original impetus to their respectful behavior. Regarding the political concern as one of the factors influencing

⁵ See *Shisheng Si beiwen* 实胜寺碑文 [The inscription of Shisheng Temple], in *Qingdai lamajiao bei ke lu* 清代喇嘛教碑刻录 [The list of Tibetan Buddhist inscriptions in the Qing Dynasty] which is appended to the manuscript of Zhang Yuxin's *Qing zhengfu yu lamajiao*, 209-211 (hereafter cited as *Lamajiao beike*).

⁶ Bai Hongxi, "Qinggong Tangzi", 78-80.

⁷ See *Huang Taiji yanyan Yila Gukesan deng* 皇太极筵宴伊拉古克三等 [Hong Taiji dining Hutuktu Ila Kuksan et al], in *Dalat dang'an*, 8, Item 7; records in *Qing Taizong shilu* 清太宗实录 [Records of Qing Taizong], vol. 28, cited in Zhang Yuxin, *Qing zhengfu yu lamajiao*, 22-23.

the behaviors, it could be explained and understood more easily the high value that Hong Taiji had for the coming of the representatives of the Dalai Lama and the Mahākāla statue, since the coming of the representatives could be regarded as the gesture of the Dalai Lama's support of Hong Taiji, and the Mahākāla statue, the symbol and protection of royal power of the Mongol Yuan Dynasty, had a great spiritual attraction to all Mongol tribes. Furthermore, it could better explain Hong Taiji's kneeling to "Heaven" when Hutuktu Ila Kuksasn arrived at Shengjing, since if it is supposed that compared to the subject Hong Taiji really worshipped, lamas even the Dalai Lama, as well as their intimacies, were more likely perceived by Hong Taiji as the object he really wanted, thus he thanked Heaven for sending the object to him.

3.2 Intensified Relationship with Tibetan Buddhism for Consolidating the Empire

Most of Emperor Shunzhi's new Tibetan Buddhist temples were built around the time of a great political event related to Mongols, the coming of the 5th Dalai Lama to the Qing. Like his father Hong Taiji, Emperor Shunzhi invited the 5th Dalai Lama to the Qing on several occasions and its purpose was to control the Outer Mongolia: "In the Taizong time, Taizong invited the Dalai Lama (to the Qing) for the Kerk Mongols

had not submitted to the Qing yet and all its tribes listened to the Dalai Lama. But when Taizong died, the Dalai Lama had not arrived yet. Later, Prince Regent Rui (睿 摄政王) again invited the Dalai Lama and he promised that he would come the next year. Since I once again invited him after I ruled the empire myself, the Dalai Lama then set out on his journey (to the Qing) with 3,000 attendances.”⁸ The 5th Dalai Lama arrived at Beijing in the 9th year of the reign of Shunzhi (1652).

During the two years when the Dalai Lama was coming to the Qing and staying at the Qing court, several Tibetan Buddhist temples were built or rebuilt in Beijing, such as Huang Temple (黄寺), Xihuang Temple, the pagoda on Qionghua Island (琼华岛) of Beihai (北海), Baita Temple (白塔寺), Pusheng Temple (普胜寺), Huailai Temple (怀来庙) and Xidadadandan Temple (唏旦旦单单庙). Indeed, some of the temples had been clearly announced to be built or rebuilt for the 5th Dalai Lama as his residence in Beijing, such as Huang Temple and Xihuang Temple⁹. That massive construction of Tibetan Buddhist temples in Beijing coincides with the visit of the 5th Dalai Lama to the Qing court suggests Emperor Shunzhi was more than just a good host, but he intended to use the occasion to cement his ties with the Tibetan Buddhist

⁸ *Shunzhi di qianshi wangyao jinjing gei Dalai Lama chiyu* 顺治帝遣使往邀进京给达赖喇嘛敕谕 [The letter to the Dalai Lama from Emperor Shunzhi about sending a messenger to invite the Dalai Lama to Beijing], January 15 of the Chinese lunar calendar, the 1st year of the reign of Shunzhi (1644), in *Dalai dang'an*, 10-11, Item 9.

⁹ See *Lifanyuan shangshu Nikan deng wei chijiao libu shangci xiujian Huailai Miao gongjiang deng ren tiben* 理藩院尚书尼堪等为飭交礼部赏赐修建怀来庙工匠等人题本 [The proposal of rewarding the craftsmen working for the building of Huailai Temple, etc., to the Board of Rites and Ceremonies by the minister of the Board of General Affairs of Mongolia, Tibet, etc., Nikan], April 20 of the Chinese lunar calendar, the 10th year of the reign of Shunzhi (1653), in *Dalai dang'an*, 36, Item 62; Long Xiaoyun, *Fosi yu fotan*, 56-57.

establishment for the interest of the Qing court.

3.3 The Establishment of Two Centers for Tibetan Buddhism in Central China

Nearly all of Kangxi's new Tibetan Buddhist temples were located on sites related to Mongolian affairs. More than half of Kangxi's new Tibetan Buddhist temples were at Mount Wutai and Chengde; and nearly all the rest were in Beijing, the capital. Mount Wutai was the only sacred mountain of Tibetan Buddhism in central China. Mongolian nobles as well as Mongolian common people made pilgrimages to Mount Wutai year after year. Emperor Kangxi was the first Qing monarch to visit Mount Wutai and he visited there as many as five times from the 22nd year of his reign (1683) and onward. During the visits, especially the later visits, Emperor Kangxi brought Mongolian nobles and high Tibetan lamas with him every time¹⁰. He even brought with him the 1st Jibzundamba Qutuytu, the leader of Tibetan Buddhism in Outer Mongolia during his visit of the 37th year of his reign (1698)¹¹. In the meanwhile, he built and rebuilt at the mountain many Tibetan Buddhist temples. That also started from the 22nd year of his reign (1683).

Among them, the most impressive construction was in the 44th year of his reign

¹⁰ See Wu Zhaobo, "Xixun Wutai Shan", 17.

¹¹ See Zhao Gaiping and Hui Huiming, "Luelun qingdai qianqi de Wutai Shan zangchuan fojiao", 192.

(1705) when he turned ten Chinese Buddhist temples into Tibetan Buddhist temples on the mountain. These became the first temples fully inhabited by lamas on the mountain.¹² Later, several other Chinese Buddhist temples were also turned into Tibetan Buddhist temples with his permission¹³. The changeover no doubt accentuated the character of Tibetan Buddhism on Mount Wutai. The reason for that would be mainly the concern about Mongols and that was pointed out directly by his grandson, Emperor Qianlong: “All Mongol tribes believe in Tibetan Buddhism. My grandfather built a temple here and let it be inhabited by lamas. Mongolians from Inner Mongolia and Outer Mongolia come here to pay homage every year. Controlling people by using their religion is a good way of ruling over them. This is the purpose of my grandfather.”¹⁴ Obviously, all the activities, including frequent visits to and the building of Tibetan Buddhist temples on Mount Wutai, would convey the impression to Mongolian and Tibetan people that the Qing emperor liked and respected Tibetan Buddhism and that would arouse good sentiments in the Mongolian and Tibetan people towards the Qing.

Another important site at which Qing monarchs would be engaged in the building of Tibetan Buddhist temples was Chengde which was originally a small

¹² See Zhao Gaiping and Hou Huiming, “Luelun qingdai qianqi de Wutai Shan zangchuan fojiao”, 190-191, 193.

¹³ See Cui Zhengsen, “Zhenghai Si fojiao jianshi”, 8.

¹⁴ *Wanghai Si* 望海寺 [The poem of Wanghai Temple], cited from Wu Zhaobo, “Xixun Wutai Shan”, 17.

village, with a population of no more than one thousand people. In the 20th year of the reign of Kangxi (1681), Emperor Kangxi set up the Mulan Hunting Ground (木兰围场) outside the Great Wall, and gathered the soldiers of Manchu and Mongolia yearly to go hunting there. The annual hunt on Mulan Hunting Ground was considered as the means by Kangxi to tighten the control of Mongol tribes on his northern and western frontiers militarily¹⁵. There were dozens of travelling palaces set up on the way from Beijing to the Mulan Hunting Ground. The camp of Rehe Shangying (热河上营) at Chengde was one of the three main travelling palaces. Later, much developed by Kangxi, it became the greatest palace outside Beijing and was renamed as “Bishushanzhuang” (避暑山庄, Summer Palace). Kangxi stayed there for nearly half a year since the 42nd year of his reign (1703). During the stay, he met Mongol nobles, hunted with them on Mulan Hunting Ground, and entertained them in Bishushanzhuang. Around the 50th year of the reign of Kangxi (1713), two big Tibetan Buddhist temples, Puren Temple (溥仁寺) and Pushan Temple (溥善寺), were built in Chengde beside Bishushanzhuang.

All these activities concerning Mount Wutai and Chengde—visiting the mountain many times with Mongol nobles and high lamas, building Bishushanzhuang and meeting Mongol nobles regularly there, constructing Tibetan Buddhist temples on

¹⁵ For detailed discussion, see James Millward and others, eds., *New Qing Imperial History*.

the mountain and the summer palace, occurred during the period when Kangxi focused his attention on the northern and western frontiers of his empire which were inhabited by Mongol people.

3.4 Relationship with the Mongols during the Kangxi Reign

During this period, Kangxi dealt with a lot of affairs concerning these Mongols, started to learn well the importance of Tibetan Buddhism to the Mongols and combined the utilization of the religion into his strategy for these Mongols. The circumstances during the period are revealed in many documents. During the Rebellion of Wu Sangui (吴三桂) early in his reign, Emperor Kangxi asked the leaders of the Mongol tribes in Qinghai (青海) to resist Wu Sangui and catch his soldiers and turn them over to the Qing army. All the leaders replied that they believed in the Yellow Sect of Tibetan Buddhism and only obeyed the Dalai Lama¹⁶.

The Dalai Lama first remained neutral between Emperor Kangxi and Wu Sangui. Then he asked a favor for Wu Sangui from Emperor Kangxi and did nothing to really

¹⁶ In the 35th year of the reign of Kangxi (1696), Emperor Kangxi sent Erlangbao, an official, to Qinghai to give his command to the leaders of Qinghai tribes to catch Wu Sangui's soldiers who had fled to their areas and send them to the Qing. But all the leaders replied that they believed in the Yellow Sect of Tibetan Buddhism and only listened to the Dalai Lama. See *Qing Shengzu shilu* 清圣祖实录 [The memoir of Qing Shengzu], vol. 175, cited from Zhang Yuxin, *Qing zhengfu yu lamajiao*, 62-63. Also see *Kangxi shenze Diba yu Ga'erdan goujie deng qingshi gei Dalai Banchan Dalai Han deng chiyu* 康熙帝申贲第巴与噶尔丹勾结等情事给达赖班禅达赖汗第巴等敕谕 [The imperial decree of Emperor Kangxi to the Dalai Lama, the Panchan Lama and the Dalai Khan about reprimanding Diba for his collaboration with Gardan, etc.], August 11 of the Chinese lunar calendar, the 35th year of the reign of Kangxi (1696), in *Dalai dang'an*, 181-185, Item 262.

help with the suppression of Wu Sangui. Gardan, the leader of the rebellion of Junggar, was a trusted disciple of the Dalai Lama. After he returned to Junggar and became the leader of his tribe since his brother was killed in a struggle for power of the tribe, he started attacking Kerk Mongols on the pretext that Jibzündamba Qutuytu of Kerk Mongols did not respect the Dalai Lama (In fact, the Qing government deliberately raised the status of Jibzündamba Qutuytu and let Jibzündamba Qutuytu and the representative of the Dalai Lama use cushions of the same specification in their meeting, meaning they were equal in status).

When Gardan attacked Kerk Mongols in the name of defending the Yellow Sect of Tibetan Buddhism (the sect of the Dalai Lama) and further entered Qinghai, Emperor Kangxi asked the Dalai Lama to persuade Gardan to stop and surrender to the Qing. But, the representative of the Dalai Lama did not persuade Gardan to give up but instead he bolstered Gardan's morale by holding Tibetan Buddhist rituals before the battles. When the Qing army had beaten the Gardan army, the representative of the Dalai Lama again tried hard to delay the chase by the Qing army by reason of persuading Gardan to surrender. It was known afterwards that it was at the instigation of Diba (第巴, the majordomo of the Dalai Lama) in the name of the Dalai Lama that Gardan started to challenge the Qing.¹⁷ During the rebellion of

¹⁷ See *Yu qian nengyuan wang Dajianlu zhencha fangyu bing zhuo gechu dufu soucha Wu Sangui yu Dalai Lama*

Junggar, when Kerk Mongols was defeated by Gardan, many Kerk nobles wanted to go off to Russia and asked Jibzündamba Qutuytu for his advice. Jibzündamba Qutuytu did not agree with them and insisted on going to the Qing court with the reason that Russia had fundamentally different religious beliefs than the Kerk Mongols. Then all the leaders and the people of Kerk Mongols followed Jibzündamba Qutuytu to submit to the Qing. Through these important events—the rebellion of Wu Sangui, the Surrender of Kerk Mongols, the rebellion of Gardan, etc, Kangxi must have well recognized the importance of the influence of Tibetan Buddhism in the Mongolian affairs.

During the reign of Kangxi, Tibetan Buddhism was increasingly seen and used as a means to handle Mongolian affairs—sending high lamas to mediate disputes among

jiaotong shuzha 諭遣能員往打炉偵察防禦并著各處督撫搜查吳三桂與達賴喇嘛交通書札 [The imperial order of sending officials to Dajianlu to investigate and guard against the intercommunicating between Wu Sangui and the Dalai Lama and commanding provincial high officials to search letters between Wu Sangui and the Dalai Lama], May 13 of the Chinese lunar calendar, the 19th year of the reign of Kangxi (1680), in *Dalai dang'an*, 82-83, Item 141; *Yu qian Zhanbila fu Songpan dengchu zhentan diqing* 諭遣詹璧拉赴松潘等處偵探敵情 [The imperial order of sending Zhanbila to Songpan, etc., to spy on the enemy's situation], May 20 of the Chinese lunar calendar, the 19th year of the reign of Kangxi (1680), in *Dalai dang'an*, 83, Item 142; *Dalai Lama weifu buzai qingqiu zhaoxiang Wu Sangui yuanyin zoushu* 達賴喇嘛為復不再請求招降吳三桂原因奏書 [The letter from the Dalai Lama for replying the letter of not applying for summoning Wu Sangui to surrender], August 1 of the Chinese lunar calendar, the 19th year of the reign of Kangxi (1680), in *Dalai dang'an*, 83-84, Item 143; *Dalai Lama wei tingxin chuanyan qingqiu kuanmian Wu Sangui deng yinjiu qingzui zoushu* 達賴喇嘛為听信傳言請求寬免吳三桂等引咎請罪奏書 [The letter from the Dalai Lama about that he admits his error and asks for punishment for his applying for giving mercy to Wu Sangui], August 1 of the Chinese lunar calendar, the 19th year of the reign of Kangxi (1680), in *Dalai dang'an*, 84-85, Item 145; *Kangxi di wei shuqing kuanyou Jilong Hutuketu dengshi yuyi bochi gei Dalai Lama chiyu* 康熙帝為疏請寬宥濟噶呼圖克圖等事予以駁斥給達賴喇嘛敕諭 [The imperial decree of Emperor Kangxi to the Dalai Lama about refuting the proposal of giving mercy to Jilong Hutuketu, etc.], February 15 of the Chinese lunar calendar, the 32nd year of the reign of Kangxi (1693), in *Dalai dang'an*, 154-156, Item 193; *Yu Suo'etu deng ming chashou Dalai jiaotong Ga'erdan shuzha* 諭索額圖等命查收達賴交通噶爾丹書札 [The imperial order of commanding Suo'etu et al to search the letters between the Dalai Lama and Gardan], May 22 of the Chinese lunar calendar, the 35th year of the reign of Kangxi (1696), in *Dalai dang'an*, 176, Item 258.

Mongolia tribes¹⁸, condemning dissidents by reason of not complying with regulations of the Yellow Sect of Tibetan Buddhism¹⁹, etc. In these circumstances, Kangxi's activities around Mount Wutai and Chengde are explicable and could be classed as part of his strategy about Mongolian affairs. Since the two places (for Chengde, it would be identified as the area including Bishushanzhuang and Mulan Hunting Ground) were the most remarkable sites concerning Mongolian affairs or Tibetan Buddhism in central China, in a sense, they may be regarded as two bases in central China for Kangxi's strategic plan for Mongols. The Tibetan Buddhist temples at the two sites became the places of religious activities for Mongolians and that was helpful in promoting the ties between the Qing court and these Mongols. In fact, some temples were just built at the request of the Mongol nobles, for example, the Puren Temple and Pushan Temple of Chengde²⁰.

Most of the rest of Kangxi's Tibetan Buddhist temples were in the capital Beijing, the political center. Many of them were also built either on request from Mongol nobles or for housing high lamas, for instance, Zifu Temple (资福寺) and Chongguo Temple (崇国寺) were built and repaired at the request of the Mongol nobles and

¹⁸ *Dalai dang'an* records many such cases.

¹⁹ For instance, before and during the war, Emperor Kangxi and Gardan recriminated for not complying with regulations of the Yellow Sect of Tibetan Buddhism. See letters between Emperor Kangxi and Gardan during the period, which are recorded in *Dalai dang'an*.

²⁰ See *Puren Si beiwen* 溥仁寺碑文 [The inscription of Puren Temple] written in the 53rd year of the reign of Kangxi (1714) and editor's information about the inscription, in *Lamajiao beike*, 281-282; *Pushan Si beiji* 溥善寺碑记 [The inscription of Pushan Temple] written in the 53rd year of the reign of Kangxi (1714) and editor's information about the inscription, in *Lamajiao beike*, 282-284.

Jibzindamba Qutuytu²¹, Songzhu Temple (嵩祝寺) was built as the residence of the Zhangjia Living Buddha²², etc. While the poem of Wanghai Temple (望海寺) written by Emperor Qianlong pointed out the political nature of the Kangxi's Tibetan Buddhist temples²³, the essential coincidence of the key sites for Kangxi's Tibetan Buddhist temple construction with the political sites for dealing with the Mongols as well as the detailed background of some of the temples may support that.

3.5 Strategy of Emperor Yongzheng for the Mongols

Several Tibetan Buddhist temples were built or rebuilt by Emperor Yongzheng in central China. Of them, the rebuilding of the Xihuang Temple was at the request of the Mongol nobles, and the Fayuan Temple (法渊寺) was built right next to the Songzhu Temple, the residence of the Zhangjia Living Buddha in Beijing. At the same time, Yongzheng showed his knowledge of the importance of Tibetan Buddhism to Mongol people as well as his strategy for using that in his dealing with Mongolian affairs. For example, soon after Emperor Yongzheng succeeded to the throne, Nian

²¹ See *Chongguo Si beiwen* 崇国寺碑文 [The inscription of Chongguo Temple], written in the 60th year of the reign of Kangxi (1721), in *Lamajiao beike*, 304-305; *Zifu Yuan beiji* 资福院碑记 [The inscription of Zifu Temple], written in the 60th year of the reign of Kangxi (1721), in *Lamajiao beike*, 302-303.

²² Chen Qiangyi points out in "Songzhu Si yu Zhangjia Huofo" (42) that the temple was built in the 50th year of the reign of Kangxi (1711) and named as "Songzhu" the following year, but without any source indicated. Zhang Fan indicates in "Songzhu Si cehui ji shijian niandai" the source of the document in which the Songzhu Temple was recorded to be built in the 51st year of the reign of Kangxi (1712).

²³ See *Wanghai Si* 望海寺 [The poem of Wanghai Temple], cited from Wu Zhaobo, "Xixun Wutai Shan", 17.

Gengyao (年羹尧), the general he appointed to quell the Lob Ysangdanjin Rebellion, reported from Xining (西宁) to him that “lamas of all famous Tibetan Buddhist temples within several hundred kilometers of Xining wear armor and hold weapons,”²⁴ Emperor Yongzheng immediately instructed his general that “do not need to be charitable to these Tibetan Buddhist temples except for the monastery of the little Lama (the 3rd Zhangjia Living Buddha).”²⁵ However, the emperor instructed his general with more details in the other decree that “false aspects of Tibetan Buddhist doctrine [are] too numerous to recite. However, though lamas slept with their wives and daughters and coerced them out of their money, the Mongolians prostrate themselves before the lamas and die for Tibetan Buddhism. That is really hard to understand..... It is good to get rid of the badly-behaved lamas in the inner area (it means Qinghai area), that is why I praised you for your method of dealing with the lamas the other day. But, you must have a very convincing explanation and never get the reputation for persecuting lamas for that would drive Mongolians to despair. You have to behave as if you cannot help it.”²⁶

On the one hand, Emperor Yongzheng was not charitable to the lamas supporting Lob Ysangdanjin, indeed, he killed a great number of lamas and destroyed many

²⁴ *Nian Gengyao zouzhe zhuanji* 年羹尧奏折专辑 [The collection of Nian Gengyao's reports], 46, cited from Wang Xiangyun, “Qingchao huangshi, Zhangjia Huofo yu lama simiao”, 119 Endnote 13.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Endnote 17.

Tibetan Buddhist temples in Qinghai. On the other hand, he had not forgotten the influence of Tibetan Buddhism to the Mongolians while he slaughtered lamas. Though he had a private negative attitude towards the devotion of Tibetan and Mongolian people to Tibetan Buddhism, Emperor Yongzheng used tactful management of respecting Tibetan Buddhism on the surface since he did not want to arouse strong feelings among the masses. Later, after the rebellion was suppressed, for pacifying the local Mongol people, he gave the order to rebuild the two great temples of Guomang Temple (郭莽寺) and Guolong Temple (郭隆寺) in that area, which were burned down by the Qing army during the suppressing of the rebellion²⁷. Considering the knowledge and strategy of Yongzheng about the bond between Tibetan Buddhism and Mongols, the building or rebuilding of some of his Tibetan Buddhist temples, such as Xihuang Temple and Fayuan Temple, might have reflected his sense of unease, or the desire to pacify the Mongols.

3.6 Declaration of the Political Reason in the Qianlong Reign

Emperor Qianlong claimed in many Tibetan Buddhist temple inscriptions that the

²⁷ See *Chici Guanghui Si beiwen* 敕賜廣惠寺碑文 [The inscription of Guanghui Temple], written by Emperor Yongzheng, and editor's additional information about the inscription, in *Lamajiao beike*, 320-321; *Chici Youning Si beiwen* 敕賜祐寧寺碑文 [The inscription of Youning Temple], written by Emperor Yongzheng, and editor's additional information about the inscription, in *Lamajiao beike*, 321-323.

political concern about Mongols was one of the reasons for temple construction, for example, in the inscriptions of Puning Temple (普宁寺), Anyuan Temple (安远庙), Pule Temple (普乐寺), Putuozongsheng Temple (普陀宗乘之庙), Xumifushou Temple (须弥福寿之庙), etc²⁸. Besides, he gave a concise summary of his reasons for the Chengde Tibetan Buddhist temples in the tablet inscription of “*Chu Shanzhuang beimen zhanli fanmiao zhizuo*” (出山庄北门瞻礼梵庙之作, Poem for going out of the north gate of the villa to worship in the Tibetan Buddhist temples) that “Many Tibetan Buddhist temples are built for the stability of distant places.” And then, he further explained that: “Temples are built on the hills north of the mountain villa (Bishushanzhuang). Puning Temple is built in the 20th year (1755) on Sanmoye Temple (三摩耶庙, Same Temple [桑耶寺]) of Tibet to commemorate the military victory as the west frontier is pacified and West Mongols come to pay homage. Anyuan Temple is built in the 24th year (1759) on Gu’erzha Temple (固尔扎庙) of Yili (伊犁) for the submitted Dashidawa (达什达瓦) people who move to here. Pule

²⁸ See *Puning Si beiwen* 普宁寺碑文 [The inscription of Puning Temple], written by Emperor Qianlong in the 20th year of his reign (1755), in *Lamajiao beike*, 383-385; *Zhangjia Ruobiduoji zhuang* 章嘉·若必多吉传 [Biography of Zhangjia Rolpai Dorje], chapter 13; Chen Qingying, “Zhangjia Ruobiduoji yu qingchao huangshi xingjian de lama siyuan”, 98; Chen Qingying and Wang Wenjing, “Zhaomiao Qianlong yuzhi shibei”, 44; *Anyuan Miao zhanli shushi* 安远庙瞻礼书事 [Notes on worshipping in Anyuan Temple], written by Emperor Qianlong, in *Lamajiao beike*, 412-413; Chen Qingying and Wang Wenjing, “Zhaomiao Qianlong yuzhi shibei”, 44; *Pule Si bei* 普乐寺碑记 [The inscription of Pule Temple], written by Emperor Qianlong in the 32nd year of his reign (1767), in *Lamajiao beike*, 416-418; Chen Qingying, “Zhangjia Ruobiduoji yu qingchao huangshi xingjian de lama siyuan”, 100; *Putuo Zongsheng Zhi Miao bei* 普陀宗乘之庙碑记 [The inscription of Putuozongsheng Temple], written by Emperor Qianlong, in *Lamajiao beike*, 430-432; Chen Qingying, “Zhangjia Ruobiduoji yu qingchao huangshi xingjian de lama siyuan”, 100; Chen Qingying and Wang Wenjing, “Zhaomiao Qianlong yuzhi shibei”, 44; *Xumi Fushou Zhi Miao bei* 须弥福寿之庙碑记 [The inscription of Xumifushou Temple], written by Emperor Qianlong in the 45th year of his reign (1780), in *Lamajiao beike*, 462-464; Chen Qingying and Wang Wenjing, “Zhaomiao Qianlong yuzhi shibei”, 44; etc.

Temple is built in the 30th year (1765) for Mongolians who come to pay homage. Potala Temple (布达拉庙, Putuozongsheng Temple), completed in the 35th year (1770), is for praying for the widowed empress. Zhashilunbu Temple (扎什伦布庙, Xumifushou Temple) is built in the 45th year (1780) when Panchan Lama came to Rehe (热河, Chengde) to celebrate my 70th birthday, which was modeled on the residence of Panchan Lama in Rear Tibet. Other temples, such as Shuxiang Temple, Guang'an Temple and Luohan Hall, are built because the Mongol tribes, submitting before or lately, come to pay homage one after another and they all believe in Tibetan Buddhism, thus [I] build the Tibetan Buddhist temples for them to worship the Buddha that is my conciliation to them, not just for a gorgeous sight.”²⁹

In the inscription for the rebuilding of the Xihuang Temple of Beijing, Qianlong also included the concern about Mongols in the construction reasons: “Following the ancestors’ rules, praying for longevity of the widowed empress, pacifying the Mongols, illuminating Buddhism—these are the reasons for the building of the temple.”³⁰

Apart from the construction reason, some temples also demonstrated the political intention of their founding in their regulations. For example, the regulation of

²⁹ *Chu shanzhuang beimen zhanli fanmiao zhizuo* 出山庄北门瞻礼梵庙之作 [Poem for going out of the north gate of the villa to worship in the Tibetan Buddhist temples], in *Lamajiao beike*, 441.

³⁰ *Chongxiu huang Si beweni* 重修黄寺碑文 [The inscription of the rebuilding of Huang Temple], written by Emperor Qianlong, in *Lamajiao beike*, 428-429.

Putuozongsheng Temple prescribed that: “Among all the Mongol nobles who come to worship, those under Maharaja and above first-class Taiji (台吉, title of Mongol noble) plus lamas are permitted to mount the Red Building (红台) to worship, others with an official position are permitted worshipping and kneeling at the colored glaze arch. All the others are not allowed to enter the temple gate. All the people entering the temple are not permitted to walk on the central axis but entering from the left or right side-door to show reverence.”³¹

3.7 The Cognitive Development of the Political Reason

Based on the evidence and analyses above, providing solace to Mongols could be classed as one of the roles played by the Tibetan Buddhist temples and that would benefit the bond between the Qing central authority and Mongols. At the same time, we also notice that there might be a more sympathetic reason in the recognition of providing solace to Mongols in the Kangxi period.

Kangxi proposed the idea of “managing people by using their popular social conventions”³² and considered that would be “the way to achieve a long and peaceful

³¹ *Putuozongsheng zhimiao zhibei* 普陀宗乘之庙制碑 [On the stele of the Putuozongsheng Temple], in *Lamajiao beike*, 439.

³² *Guangren Si beiwen* 广仁寺碑文 [The inscription of Guangren Temple], written by Emperor Kangxi, in *Lamajiao beike*, 267.

reign”³³. Buddhism as well as Tibetan Buddhism was counted by Kangxi among the “popular social conventions” and Tibetan Buddhism was especially the popular convention for Mongol people. Under this ruling principle, Tibetan Buddhist temples were built:

“I pay close attention to the western border areas. As the area of Guanlong (关陇) is of vital importance to the western border areas, I then make inspection tours there. During the tours, I get to know local circumstances, investigate officials, cancel taxes, reward good deeds and rebuild halls for worshipping sages on my way. I will do all things for the great benefit of the people.....Managing people by using their popular social conventions is the way to achieve a long and peaceful reign. Though Buddhist thought is greatly different (from Confucianism), they arrive at the same end of helping the country and the people by different means. I survey the terrain and choose a good place to build the Buddhist temple. The temple is constructed without any waste of financial resources of the people and completed in a year. The construction of the temple makes the mountain become Mount Ling (灵山, the place where Buddha lives); the construction of the temple makes the river clear and unruffled just like *Dingshui* (定水, the state of keeping in deep Buddhist meditation like clear and unruffled water)..... Not only people in the vicinity come to the Buddhist city, but also people of outlying prefectures and vassal states come to the Buddhist land. I build the temple to pray for longevity for my mother and grandmother and to benefit the state. I build the temple to gratify the people’s will and make them happy. With benevolence and by customs, I rule my land.”³⁴

Including Tibetan Buddhist temples, Emperor Kangxi sponsored construction of various temples in all parts of the country extensively. According to the national statistics for the 6th year of the reign of Kangxi (1657), there were 6713 big temples

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ *Guangren Si beivou*, in *Lamajiao beika*, 267.

and 6409 small temples built with the government's permission; there were 8458 big temples and 58682 small temples built without the government's permission; there were 140913 monks, nuns and Daoists, and out of this number 110292 were monks, 8615 were nuns and 21286 were Daoists.³⁵ Emperor Kangxi was an active supporter of temple construction, especially for well-known temples. For example, he bestowed a thousand taels of gold to Fayu Temple (法雨寺) on Mount Putuo (普陀山) for its reconstruction in the 28th year of his reign (1689)³⁶; he rebuilt Tanzhe Temple (潭柘寺) on the south foot of Mount Baozhu (宝珠峰) of Beijing in the 31st year of his reign (1692); he built an extension to Minzhong Temple (悯忠寺) (later renamed as Fayuan Temple [法源寺] in the 11th year of the reign of Yongzheng, 1723); he rebuilt Baiyun Temple (白云观, Daoist temple) in Beijing on a large scale, especially a major extension to it in the 45th year of his reign (1706); he repaired Dongyue Temple (东岳庙, Daoist temple) outside Chaoyang Gate (朝阳门) of Beijing;³⁷ etc. On the one hand, Emperor Kangxi had been carrying out the policy of supporting the construction of all kinds of temples; on the other hand, his support was in moderation and he never let any religion over expand so as to affect his rule. When the development of temple construction went beyond the limit he seemed to have set,

³⁵ See Wu Zhaobo, "Kangxi di yu fojiao", 38.

³⁶ See Zheng Xuejun, "Kangxi yu Putuo Shan Fayu Chansi".

³⁷ See Wu Zhaobo, "Qingdai Beijing simiao jiqi jiazhi", 78-80.

Emperor Kangxi then gave orders to his local officials that “apart from the original temples, do not permit the building of new temples or the adding of new buildings to the original temples.”³⁸ During the whole of Kangxi period, general temple construction including the Tibetan Buddhist temple construction was under control and on the whole, increased in a moderate manner.

Due to the defining of the religions as popular social conventions and the instituting of the principle to use such conventions to control people, Kangxi’s temple construction was made under a clearer theoretical guidance. Tibetan Buddhist temple construction was a part of the whole temple construction programme with this consistent approach. This recognition of religions and approach to temple constructions was inherited by Emperor Yongzheng and Qianlong.

According to the statements of related historical documents and the analyses of the characteristics of the temples in terms of location and background, political concern about Mongols could be considered as the main reason for the construction of Tibetan Buddhist temples in the early and middle Qing Dynasty, and the reason may have gained its cognitive development and as more recognized principle in the Kangxi period.

³⁸ Cited from Wu Zhaobo, “Kangxi di yu fojiao”, 38.

Chapter 4 Divine Blessing for the Protection of the State and Imperial Well-being

Apart from the political motive of pacifying the Mongols and making an alliance with them, one other major reason for patronage of Tibetan Buddhist temples for the Qing must be for seeking the divine blessing. This motive can be seen in their early attempts of temple building and resulted in temples embodying significant meaning.

4.1 Divine Blessing for the Protection of the State and Imperial Well-being

Nurhachi built the group of seven great temples to the east of his capital, Hetu Ala, just one year before his Later Jin regime was officially established. It was stressed in the state documents that the temple group was constructed “on the east of the capital” “in the direction of the sun rising”¹. The accentuation of the temples’ location and the connection of the location with “sun” makes one consider the very significance of the temples to the Hetu Ala city. Building such a big group of temples which were significant to the capital city and doing it just when the new regime is

¹ In *Manzhou laodang* 满洲老档 [The old records of Manzhou], cited from Li Qinpu, “Wolu Da’erhan Nangsu” (2), 13. Some scholars consider that Nurhachi believed in heaven. See Lu Haiying, “Nurhachi chongtian xintian”; Xue Hongbo, “Nurhachi tianming guan”; etc.

◀

established, one has reason to consider that the group of temples may contain a meaning of praying for divine blessing on the capital as well as the Later Jin regime. Among the seven great temples, some were devoted to the gods from Daoism, such as Yuhuang Temple (玉皇庙, Jade Emperor Temple) and Shiwang Temple (十王庙, Ten Kings Temple), some were devoted to the Buddhas from Tibetan Buddhism, such as Buddha Temple (佛寺)². Nurhachi may hope all the gods from various religions to bless him in his reign and wars. Tibetan Buddhism was one among the religions.

After Lingdan Qayan was defeated by Hong Taiji, Mergen Lama carried from Lingda Qayan to Hong Taiji the famous statue of Mahākāla (the god of war in Tibetan Buddhism), which was made by Lama Pagba the sage and man of virtue in the Yuan Dynasty and devoutly worshiped by Yuan emperors and their descendant Lingdan Qayan. To house the statue, Hong Taiji had a big temple named Shisheng built. At the grand temple opening ceremony, he knelt in prayer in front of it³. The regard and enthusiasm of Hong Taiji toward the Mahākāla statue was very likely because of the statue's special royal background. With that, the statue had a great spiritual attraction to all Mongol tribes thereby its possession would elevate the position of Manchu to the Mongol tribes and facilitate the submission of the Mongol tribes to Manchu.

² The titles of the temples are from the records dated the 4th month of 1615 in *Manzhou laodang*, cited in Li Qipu, "Wolu Da'erhan Nangsu" (2), 13-14. These temples are not in existence. Li Qipu in "Liaoyang *Dajin lama fashi baoji beiwen*" and "Wolu Da'erhan Nangsu" and Zhang Yuxin in *Qing zhengfu yu lamajiao* (7) confirm that the Buddhist temple devoted to the three Buddhas was a Tibetan Buddhist temple.

³ See *Shisheng Si beiwen*, in *Lamajiao beike*, 209-211.

Perhaps, more than that, Hong Taiji also regarded the coming of the statue as a message from Heaven that told him he would be the successor to the Yuan to rule the whole of China. Thus he valued the coming of the statue and prayed to it.

The meaning of the Four Shengjing Temples for prayer for divine blessing was expressed plainly in their temple inscriptions: “To the east of (the Shengjing city), in order to overpower resisters, build the

temple devoted to Buddha of luminosity.....To the south, in order to

make people safe and sound and make crops grow well, build the temple devoted

to Buddha of benevolence.....To the west, in order to be long-lived, build the temple

devoted to Buddha of longevity..... To the north, in order to make the emperor’s

throne stable, build the temple devoted to Buddha of time.....”⁴ Moreover, with the purpose of praying for divine blessing on

the regime, the four temples were built surrounding the capital city of Shengjing in the east, south, west and north. Their pagodas were erected exactly at the four cardinal

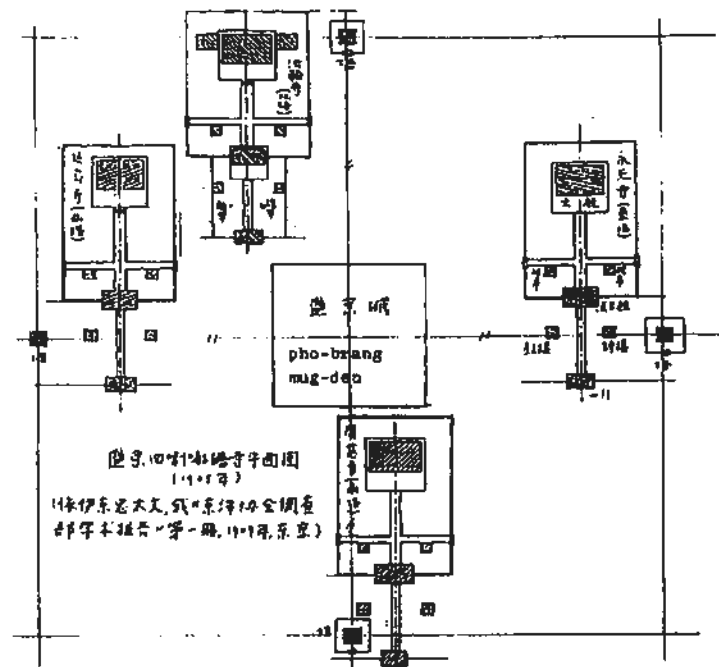


Figure 4.1: Plans of the Four Shengjing Temples, drawn by Ito Chuto, cited from Li Qinqu, “Shengjing Sisi zangyu beiwen”, 98

⁴ This quotation is translated from the Manchu inscription of the Falun Temple. The Manchu inscription of the Falun Temple is fully recorded in Li Qinqu’s “Shengjing Sisi manzhouyu beiwen” (96).

points of the capital city. (Figure 4.1) Surrounding the capital city at organized points, the four temples seem to form a spatial power to influence the capital city. From this, one cannot stop connecting their purpose of protecting the capital and the regime with their specific locations, and giving an assumption that the specific positions of the temples could be regarded as insurance for the attaining of their construction purpose of protecting the capital city and the regime. In other words, probably, Nurhachi and Hong Taiji regarded these Tibetan Buddhist temples, such as the Seven Great Temples and the Four Shengjing Temples, as objects which had great power and could protect their regime, and with this view, they put them in the places where they could exert their influence the most for the purpose of protecting the regime. For Nurhachi, the place was the high ground east of the capital city where the sun rises; for Hong Taiji, the place was the four cardinal points of east, south, west and north of the capital city.

The same purpose of “blessing the empire and the people”⁵ and the care in choosing the temples’ location can also be noticed in the Baita Temple of Shunzhi:

“A lama from Tibet proposed erecting pagodas and temples to bless the empire and the people. Obeying the imperial decree (of Emperor Shunzhi) in which it was said that ‘if it is helpful to the country and the people, how do I (Emperor Shunzhi) grudge the money of tens of thousands (taels)’, confer

⁵ *Baita Si bei* 白塔寺碑 [The inscription of Baita Temple], in *Lamajiao beike*, 221-222.

the title of 'Naomuhan (惱木汗)' on the lama and build the pagoda on the high ground of Xiyuan (西苑, the Beihai Garden later)."⁶

When Shunzhi built his new Buddhist pagoda (which was the first great Buddhist pagoda or even the only Buddhist pagoda in his reign) and its temple for the purpose of "blessing the empire and the people"⁷, he chose to locate them on the high ground right next to his palace. The location of the Tibetan Buddhist pagoda and temple may well be similar in meaning to the four Shengjing pagodas and temples of Hong Taiji. The consideration by Shunzhi of following his father and grandfather to pray for divine blessing on the Qing regime was expressed with more details in the inscription for the rebuilding of Xianyou Temple in Xingjing in the 15th year of his reign (1658):

"From time immemorial emperors rule their lands with humaneness and righteousness and of greatest importance by giving great respect to deities to make their empires prosperous and the people happy. There is no deity more powerful than Heaven and there is nothing more important than initiating. The temple at Xingjing is this first action. It is so important to our empire since it is the place where Heaven comes to us and the place where Heaven is worshiped by us. If we take good care of it, the deities will support us; if we pay great homage to it, the deities will help us. Therefore, isn't the prosperity of our empire the providence that is the result of respecting deities as well as the effort of Taizu (太祖, the Temple Name of Nurhachi) and Taizong (太宗, the Temple Name of Hong Taiji) emperors in founding the empire and ruling it with benevolence and righteousness? So, Heaven is everywhere, and piety towards Heaven must be maintained at all times. After succeeding to the throne, I often think about the motherland of our empire and am more and more steady in worshipping Heaven and following my ancestors. Therefore, I ordered the relating department to repair the temple and offer sacrifices twice a year in spring and autumn, and

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

carve the inscription on stone to tell the reason. Even when things are at their worst, we have to keep reverent love and devotion accorded the deities and decorate the temple for the steadiness of our empire. Future posterity and subjects do not forget what I say today.”⁸

During the subsequent reigns of Kangxi, Yongzheng and Qianlong, the purpose of “praying for a blessing on the state” continued to be one of the reasons for the buildings or rebuilding of Tibetan Buddhist temples as expressed in the inscriptions to commemorate, for example, in the inscriptions of Hongren Temple (弘仁寺)⁹, Pusading (菩萨顶)¹⁰, Tailu Temple (台麓寺)¹¹, Guangren Temple (广仁寺)¹² and Puren Temple¹³ of Kangxi, the inscriptions of Longfu Temple (隆福寺)¹⁴ and the great white pagoda of Beihai¹⁵ of Yongzheng, the inscriptions of Chanfu Temple (阐福寺)¹⁶, Yongfu Temple (永福寺)¹⁷ and Hongren Temple¹⁸ of Qianlong.

However, the way the regime can be blessed from the temple building seems to

⁸ *Xingjing Xianyou Si beiwen* 兴京显祐寺碑文 [The inscription of Xianyou Temple of Xingjing], written in the 15th year of the reign of Shunzhi (1658), in *Lamajiao Beike*, 224-225.

⁹ See *Hongren Si beiwen* 弘仁寺碑文 [The inscription of Hongren Temple], in *Lamajiao beike*, 229; *Zhantanfo xilai lidai zhuanji* 旃檀佛西来历代传记 [The history of the coming of Zhantan Buddha statue from the west], in *Lamajiao beike*, 231.

¹⁰ See *Pusading Da Wenshu Yuan bei* 菩萨顶大文殊院碑 [The inscription of Da Wenshu Yuan of Pusading], written by Emperor Kangxi, in *Lamajiao beike*, 240-241.

¹¹ See *Tailu Si bei* 台麓寺碑 [The inscription of Tailu Temple], written by Emperor Kangxi in the 40th year of his reign (1701), in *Lamajiao beike*, 259-260.

¹² See *Guangren Si beiwen* 广仁寺碑文 [The inscription of Guangren Temple], written by Emperor Kangxi, in *Lamajiao beike*, 267.

¹³ See *Puren Si beiwen* 溥仁寺碑文 [The inscription of Puren Temple], written in the 53rd year of the reign of Kangxi (1714), in *Lamajiao beike*, 281-282.

¹⁴ See *Longfu Si beiwen* 隆福寺碑文 [The inscription of Longfu Temple], in *Lamajiao beike*, 310-311.

¹⁵ See *Baita chongxiu beiwen* 白塔重修碑文 [The inscription about the reconstruction of the White Pagoda], written in the 1st year of the reign of Yongzheng (1733), in *Lamajiao beike*, 324-325.

¹⁶ See *Chanfu Si beiwen* 阐福寺碑文 [The inscription of Chanfu Temple], written by Emperor Qianlong, in *Lamajiao beike*, 353-354.

¹⁷ See *Jian Yongfu Si beiwen* 建永福寺碑文 [The inscription of the building of Yongfu Temple], written by Emperor Qianlong in the 54th year of his reign (1789), in *Lamajiao beike*, 473-474.

¹⁸ See *Chongxiu Hongren Si beiwen* 重修弘仁寺碑文 [The inscription of the rebuilding of Hongren Temple], written by Emperor Qianlong in the 25th year of his reign (1760), in *Lamajiao beike*, 405-406.

be perceived a little different by the monarchs at various times. For Hong Taiji, the divine protection power of an individual deity was of paramount importance in the patronage of the temple and pagoda. The mention of divinities with human characteristics as well as the expressions of their powers in the temple inscriptions, such as the inscriptions of the four Shengjing temples and Shisheng Temple of Hong Taiji and Xianyou Temple of Shunzhi, may reveal that it should be the individual powers of the divinities having human qualities that the monarchs relied on to protect their regime at that times. At the same time, temples were “the places where the divinities come to us”¹⁹ and “the places where we worship the divinities.”²⁰ Since “the places where the divinities come to us” and “we worship the divinities” were carefully located at positions seemingly significant to the capital city or royal palace and thus forming a spatial influencing power to the capital or palace, which could be regarded as the symbols of the regime, (e.g. “the high ground in the east from which direction the sun rises on the capital city” of the great seven temples of Nurhachi, the cardinal points of capital city for the four Shengjing temples of Hong Taiji, the high ground next to the royal place of the great Buddhist pagoda and its temple of Shunzhi, etc.) these temples built with the purpose of praying for the divine blessing on the state may be expected to also take part in the getting of the purpose and to work better

¹⁹ *Xingjing Xianyou Si beiwen*, in *Lamajiao Beike*, 224-225.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

with their specific locations. With this view, the temples would be regarded as the objects having some powers themselves. Then, as one of the consequences arising there from, the combination of the Later Jin regime and Tibetan Buddhism was shown in a structured pattern in the space of the capital, that was more complex than simply building a temple anywhere randomly in the capital.

This function of erecting temples to invite divine presence for the protection of the land, the empire, or for prayer for blessing and healing of the monarch is a well established practice since the Northern and Southern Dynasties. This can be seen too in particular at the beginning of a new dynasty, such as early Tang and Song. The same practice was adopted in Japan with many state sanctioned monasteries founded for the blessing bestowed on the state. In the case of Qing Dynasty, such function seemed to have diminished at the beginning of the Kangxi reign. In the 5th year of his reign (1666), Kangxi built Hongren Temple near the great Buddhist pagoda of Shunzhi to house the Zhantan Buddha statue (旃檀佛像, sandalwood statue of Buddha) which he moved from Jiufeng Temple (鷲峰寺). Kangxi wrote two inscriptions after the temple was completed. Of them, one mainly explained the reasons for the building of the temple and one mainly described the history of the Buddha statue. In the inscriptions of the Hongren Temple, which was the only Tibetan Buddhist temple construction in the early period of the reign of Kangxi, the Qing

monarch mentioned the connection between the Buddha and the statue as well as the power of the Buddha statue. It was discoursed in the inscriptions that: The Buddha statue was sculptured by Buddha Śākyamuni. When Buddha Śākyamuni came on earth later, “the statue rose to the sky to meet the Buddha” and “the Buddha told the statue that he (the statue) would go to Zhendan (震旦, China) for the expanding of Buddhism in Zhendan one thousand years after his (Buddha’s) Parinirvana.”²¹ “Since it was fashioned, the Zhantan Buddha statue has been quite efficacious. We should show our reverence to it.”²² This was the last time for the Qing monarchs to emphasize the individual powers of the divinities in Tibetan Buddhist temple inscriptions.

In these same inscriptions, the good social influence of the Buddhist thought was proposed, explained and praised for the first time: “I (Kangxi) think Buddhism has existed for a long time. It makes people abandon bad thinking and behaviors and work towards good thinking and behaviors and thus helps with moralization and it cannot be ignored.”²³ “Buddhism and the social management seem unconnected, but in reality, they are the same in the principle of teaching people to be good.”²⁴ Since that

²¹ *Zhantanfo xilai lidai chuansi ji* 旃檀佛西来历代传祀记 [The history of the coming of the Zhantan Buddha statue from the west], written by Emperor Kangxi in the 5th year of his reign (1666), in *Lamajiao beike*, 231.

²² *Hongren Si beiwen* 弘仁寺碑文 [The inscription of Hongren Temple], written by Emperor Kangxi in the 5th year of his reign (1666), in *Lamajiao beike*, 229.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Zhantanfo xilai lidai chuansi ji*, in *Lamajiao beike*, 231.

time, the divinities and their individual powers are never mentioned in the Tibetan Buddhist temple inscriptions by the Qing monarchs. Conversely, the positive social influence of Buddhist thought which greatly helped the monarchs' rule was formulated into the inscriptions and expressed as one of the main reasons for the temple construction.

4.2 Prayer for Filial Piety

While the original purpose for divine blessing changed, new elements were added into the benediction spectrum. Filial piety, a concept of Confucianism in Han-Chinese culture, was the most striking one among them, which started showing its influence during the reign of Shunzhi. In the 15th year of his reign (1658), Shunzhi built Deshou Temple (德寿寺) at Nanyuan (南苑, South Imperial Garden) to thank his mother for bringing him up²⁵. This is the first Qing Tibetan Buddhist temple built for the purpose of filial piety. The ideas of Confucianism do not just appeared as the reason for the Tibetan Buddhist temple construction but also influenced the behaviors of the Qing monarch in the events related to Tibetan Buddhism. For example, in the

²⁵ See *Chongxiu Si beiji* 重修寺碑记 [The inscription of the rebuilding of the temple], cited in Huang Hao, "Nanyuan jiugong Deshou Si", 65. Ma Jia also mentions the construction history of Deshou Temple in *Zangchuan fojiao siyuan* (42).

event of the visit of the 5th Dalai Lama to the Qing court, Emperor Shunzhi invited the 5th Dalai Lama to the Qing on several occasions and the 5th Dalai Lama finally came to meet the Qing monarch in the 9th year of the reign of Shunzhi (1652). As to the site where the Qing monarch would meet the Dalai Lama, the Qing court changed it repeatedly. At first, Emperor Shunzhi wanted to meet the Lama outside Beijing and within the Great Wall²⁶. Then, the Qing government agreed to the 5th Dalai Lama's proposal of meeting at Daiga (代噶) which was located outside the Great Wall in Inner Mongolia²⁷. Later, after much discussion among Manchu and Han high officials of the Qing court, especially because of the objection from Han officials, Emperor Shunzhi decided not to go out of the Great Wall to meet the Dalai Lama²⁸. Finally, Emperor Shunzhi met the Dalai Lama at Nanyuan of Beijing²⁹. It was worth noting the differences of opinions among Han officials and Manchu officials³⁰. The thought

²⁶ See *Shunzhi di wei yu biannei jindi yingya Dalai Lama chiyu* 顺治帝为于边内近地亲迓给达赖喇嘛敕谕 [The order from Emperor Shunzhi to the Dalai Lama that Emperor Shunzhi will be meeting the Dalai Lama at some place inside the Great Wall], August 13 of the Chinese lunar calendar, the 9th year of the reign of Shunzhi (1652), in *Dalai dang'an*, 24, Item 34.

²⁷ See *Shunzhi di yunzhun zai Daiga xiangjian gei Dalai Lama chiyu* 顺治帝允准在代噶相见给达赖喇嘛敕谕 [The order from Emperor Shunzhi to the Dalai Lama that Emperor Shunzhi agreed to the 5th Dalai Lama's proposal of meeting at Daiga], August 29 of the Chinese lunar calendar, the 9th year of the reign of Shunzhi (1652), in *Dalai dang'an*, 24, Item 35.

²⁸ See *Yuzhun Hong Chengshou deng zouqing wuzhi bianwai wangying Dalai Lama rujing* 谕准洪承畴等奏请勿至边外往迎达赖喇嘛入京 [The permission to the application of not going out of the Great Wall to meet the Dalai Lama by Hong Chengshou et al], September 29 of the Chinese lunar calendar, the 9th year of the reign of Shunzhi (1652), in *Dalai dang'an*, 26, Item 38; *Shunzhi di wei buneng qinya er teqian qinwang daiying zhigu gei Dalai Lama chiyu* 顺治帝为不能亲迓而特遣亲王代迎之故给达赖喇嘛敕谕 [The order from Emperor Shunzhi to the Dalai Lama that a prince will be going out to welcome the Dalai Lama instead of Emperor Shunzhi], October 13 of the Chinese lunar calendar, the 9th year of the reign of Shunzhi (1652), in *Dalai dang'an*, 26, Item 39.

²⁹ See *Dalai Lama yu Nanyuan yejian Shunzhi di* 达赖喇嘛于南苑谒见顺治帝 [The Dalai Lama meeting Emperor Shunzhi at Nanyuan], December 15 of the Chinese lunar calendar, the 9th year of the reign of Shunzhi (1652), in *Dalai dang'an*, 27, Item 40.

³⁰ See *Yuzhun Hong Chengshou deng zouqing wuzhi bianwai wangying Dalai Lama rujing*, in *Dalai dang'an*, 26, Item 38.

of Manchu officials of going far to welcome the Dalai Lama coincided with the attitude of great homage paid towards Tibetan lamas, which started from the Nurhachi period and was employed till the early reign of Shunzhi when the Four Shengjing Pagodas had their opening ceremonies. The Han officials opposed the idea on the grounds that it was unfit for Emperor Shunzhi, the ruler of the whole empire, to go out of his way to meet a lama, which was obviously derived from the idea of propriety of Confucianism rites. Finally, Emperor Shunzhi adopted the opinion of Han officials and did not go out to meet the Dalai Lama.

With the case of the idea of propriety of Confucianism rites influencing the meeting of Emperor Shunzhi and the Dalai Lama in the 9th year of the reign of Shunzhi (1652), one would not be surprised to see another concept from Confucianism appear to be the reason for the Tibetan Buddhist temple construction in the 15th year of the reign of Shunzhi (1658). Since Deshou Temple, many Tibetan Buddhist temples of the succeeding reigns had been built or rebuilt with the meaning of filial piety, which was mainly wishing the widowed empress a long life. This was the case for the rebuilding of Bishan Temple (碧山寺)³¹, the building of Guangren Temple³² and Qixia Temple (棲霞寺)³³ in the reign of Kangxi, the building of

³¹ See *Wutai Shan Bishan Si bei* 五台山碧山寺碑 [The inscription of Bishan Temple on Mount Wutai], written by Emperor Kangxi in the 39th year of his reign (1700), in *Lamajiao beike*, 257-258.

³² See *Guangren Si beiwen*, in *Lamajiao beike*, 267.

³³ See *Wutai Shan Qixia Si bei* 五台山棲霞寺碑 [The inscription of Qixia Temple on Mount Wutai], in *Lamajiao*

Chanfu Temple³⁴, Da Bao'en Yanshou Temple (大报恩延寿寺)³⁵, Baoxiang Temple (宝相寺)³⁶ and Putuozongsheng Temple³⁷, the rebuilding of Wanshou Temple (万寿寺)³⁸, Hongren Temple³⁹, Zhengjue Temple (正觉寺)⁴⁰, Gongde Temple (功德寺)⁴¹ and Huang Temple⁴² during the reign of Qianlong. The expression of the idea of filial piety, mainly wishing the widowed empress longevity, in the construction of Tibetan Buddhist temples started in the reign of Shunzhi, developed in the reigns of Kangxi, and reached its peak in the reign of Qianlong. As it progressed, some temples with the meaning of filial piety but honoring the memory of the emperor's father or grandfather joined the Qing Tibetan Buddhist temple construction. The rebuilding of the Longfu Temple in the reign of Yongzheng and the building of Yongyou Temple in the reign of Qianlong were instances of this⁴³.

Later, during the reign of Qianlong, the emperor even started the construction of

beike, 272-273.

³⁴ See *Chanfu Si beiwen*, in *Lamajiao beike*, 353-354; *Wanfo Lou* 万佛楼 [Poems about Wanfo Tower engraved on stone], written by Emperor Qianlong, in *Lamajiao beike*, 355.

³⁵ See *Wanshou Shan Da Bao'en Yanshou Si beiwen* 万寿山大报恩延寿寺碑文 [The inscription of Da Bao'en Yanshou Temple on Wanshou Hill], written by Emperor Qianlong, in *Lamajiao beike*, 362-364.

³⁶ See *Baoxiang Si beiwen* 宝相寺碑文 [The inscription of Baoxiang Temple], written by Emperor Qianlong, in *Lamajiao beike*, 409-411.

³⁷ See *Putuo Zongsheng Zhi Miao beiwen*, in *Lamajiao beike*, 430-432.

³⁸ See *Chixiu Wanshou Si beiwen* 勅修万寿寺碑文 [The inscription of Wanshou Temple], written by Emperor Qianlong in the 16th year of his reign (1751), in *Lamajiao beike*, 358-359.

³⁹ See *Chongxiu Hongren Si beiwen*, in *Lamajiao beike*, 405-406.

⁴⁰ See *Chongxiu Zhengjue Si beiwen* 重修正觉寺碑文 [The inscription of the rebuilding of Zhengjue Temple], written by Emperor Qianlong, in *Lamajiao beike*, 307-308.

⁴¹ See *Chongxiu Gongde Si beiwen* 重修功德寺碑文 [The inscription of the rebuilding of Gongde Temple], written by Emperor Qianlong, in *Lamajiao beike*, 423-424.

⁴² See *Chongxiu Huang Si beiwen* 重修黄寺碑文 [The inscription of the rebuilding of Huang Temple], written by Emperor Qianlong, in *Lamajiao beike*, 428-429.

⁴³ See *Longfu Si beiwen* 隆福寺碑文, in *Lamajiao beike*, 310-311; *Yongyou Si beiwen* 永佑寺碑文 [The inscription of Yongyou Temple], written by Emperor Qianlong in the 17th year of his reign (1752), in *Lamajiao beike*, 369-370.

Tibetan Buddhist temples for his birthdays' celebration, which embodied the meaning of praying for his longevity and he worked hard on it. Such constructions made praying for divine blessing on the emperor, mainly for his longevity, a clear purpose and meaning of the founding of Qing Tibetan Buddhist temples.

Due to the perceived magical power of Tibetan deities, it is easy to see why divine blessing was a strong motive for the founding of the temples. Such motive appears to mainly mean "praying for the blessing on the state" in the very early stages of the Qing Dynasty. At that time, the temples with this meaning were arranged in some specific positions and thus seem to form a spatial influencing power to the capital city or the imperial palace. The significant spatial pattern probably resulted from the perception that the regime would be protected by the individual powers of the divinities and the temples would take part in the divinities' job of protecting the regime since they were the places where the divinities came to earth. This perception of how the regime could be blessed might have changed and it was expressed in the temple inscriptions that it was the religious thought the Qing monarchs would rely on most to ensure the continuity of their rule since the early period of the reign of Kangxi. Simultaneously, temples with the meaning of praying for divine blessing on the regime were not found special in their locations any more. While its initial component had changed its semantic, the scope of the divine blessing also broadened in meaning.

New elements, such as the expression of filial piety and the personal desire of the emperor for longevity, trickled into the purpose for founding of Tibetan Buddhist temples.

Chapter 5 Emperor Qianlong's Use of Tibetan Buddhist Temples as Cultural Sign

Emperor Qianlong ordered the building or rebuilding of a large number of Tibetan Buddhist temples, many more than his predecessors had done. Many of these temples were situated in the imperial gardens and some possessed many architectural features in a Tibetan style. For these two remarkable characteristics of Qianlong's Tibetan Buddhist temples, the reproducing of cultural sign and landscape might be one of the potential motivations for their founding.

5.1 Temples in the Imperial Gardens

During the reign of Qianlong, the most famous imperial gardens were the five gardens of Yuanmingyuan (圆明园), Changchunyuan (畅春园), Qingyiyuan (清漪园), Jingmingyuan (静明园) and Jingyiyuan (静宜园) in Beijing and Bishushanzhuang in Chengde. Apart from these six enormous gardens, there were also some smaller imperial gardens in Beijing, such as Xiyuan and Nanyuan. In all the imperial gardens, Emperor Qianlong ordered the building of Buddhist building complexes, of which some were named temple, which can be illustrated by taking Yuanmingyuan Garden and Qingyiyuan Garden as examples. Among the five major imperial gardens in Beijing, Yuanmingyuan and Qingyiyuan were the ones Emperor Qianlong mainly focused on with many construction activities. The former was enlarged on by the

emperor on a grand scale and the latter he built up from scratch. In both, dozens of Buddhist building complexes were constructed.

Yuanmingyuan Garden was the first imperial garden Emperor Qianlong set out to expand on a large scale and the place where he spent most of his time, almost six months in a year. Emperor Qianlong followed Emperor Yongzheng's custom of allocating his mother to live in Changchunyuan Garden and himself in Yuanmingyuan Garden. Before moving into the Yuanmingyuan Garden, Emperor Qianlong expanded the garden so that it would match in scale and size to his status. The extension was completed in the 9th year of his reign (1744)¹ and he moved in soon after. Later, he constructed Changchunyuan Garden (长春园) and Qichunyuan Garden (绮春园) beside the Yuanmingyuan Garden. The Changchunyuan Garden was started in the 14th year of the reign of Qianlong (1749) and completed two years later. The Qichunyuan garden² was completed around the 37th year of his reign (1772). Since the three gardens of Yuanmingyuan, Changchunyuan and Qichunyuan were closely linked together with connected gates and administrated by the same minister, they were often referred to collectively as Three Gardens of Yuanmingyuan (圆明三园) or simply Yuanmingyuan (圆明园).³ In this dissertation, "Yuanmingyuan Garden" is used by this author to refer to the specific garden with the name, and "Yuanmingyuan" for the three gardens collectively. In the three gardens of Yuanmingyuan, Yuanmingyuan Garden and Changchunyuan Garden were the ones Qianlong mainly focus his

¹ See *Hungjia yuanyou jianzhu*, 135.

² It was renamed by Emperor Tongzhi (同治) as Wanchunyuan Garden (万春园) later.

³ See Qiao Yun, "Yuanmingyuan sishi jing yijing", 114.

attention on for their construction. There were about one hundred well-known “scenes” in both gardens. Some were palaces where Emperor Qianlong dealt with daily political affairs or he and his consorts resided; some were small gardens modeled on beautiful private gardens in southern China which Emperor Qianlong visited and was very interested to duplicate; some were islands and caves which embodied the legendary places where immortal beings are said to live; some were study halls for Emperor Qianlong to read in; some were farmlands where Emperor Qianlong could enjoy the rural scenery; some were natural sceneries such as mountains covered with trees and rivers full of fish and lotus; some were ancestral halls for worshipping the emperor’s father and grandfather; some were religious sites such as the temples of Buddhism and Daoism; some were constructed villages and towns for the emperor and his consorts to enjoy roaming about the streets lined with shops; some were palaces and play grounds of Western style; and so on. Emperor Qianlong put into the gardens all things that interested him and he wanted, and together they had to be regarded as a big paradise for his enjoyment and satisfaction in both material and spiritual desires. With a bountiful supply of funds from the national treasury, the showcase of the paradise should be very adequate. Buddhist building complex was one among the all things (Table 5.1; Figure 5.1). Since nearly all of the Buddhist building complexes were characterized by Tibetan Buddhism in the Buddha statues and furnishing arrangement they housed, they could all belong to Tibetan Buddhism. Among them, many were small-sized with only one or two courtyards and at the same times, located on higher ground or against hills.

Figure 5.1: Buddhist Scenes Built during the Qianlong Period in Yuanmingyuan, in the General Plan of the Three Gardens of Yuanmingyuan by He Zhongyi and Zeng Zhaofen

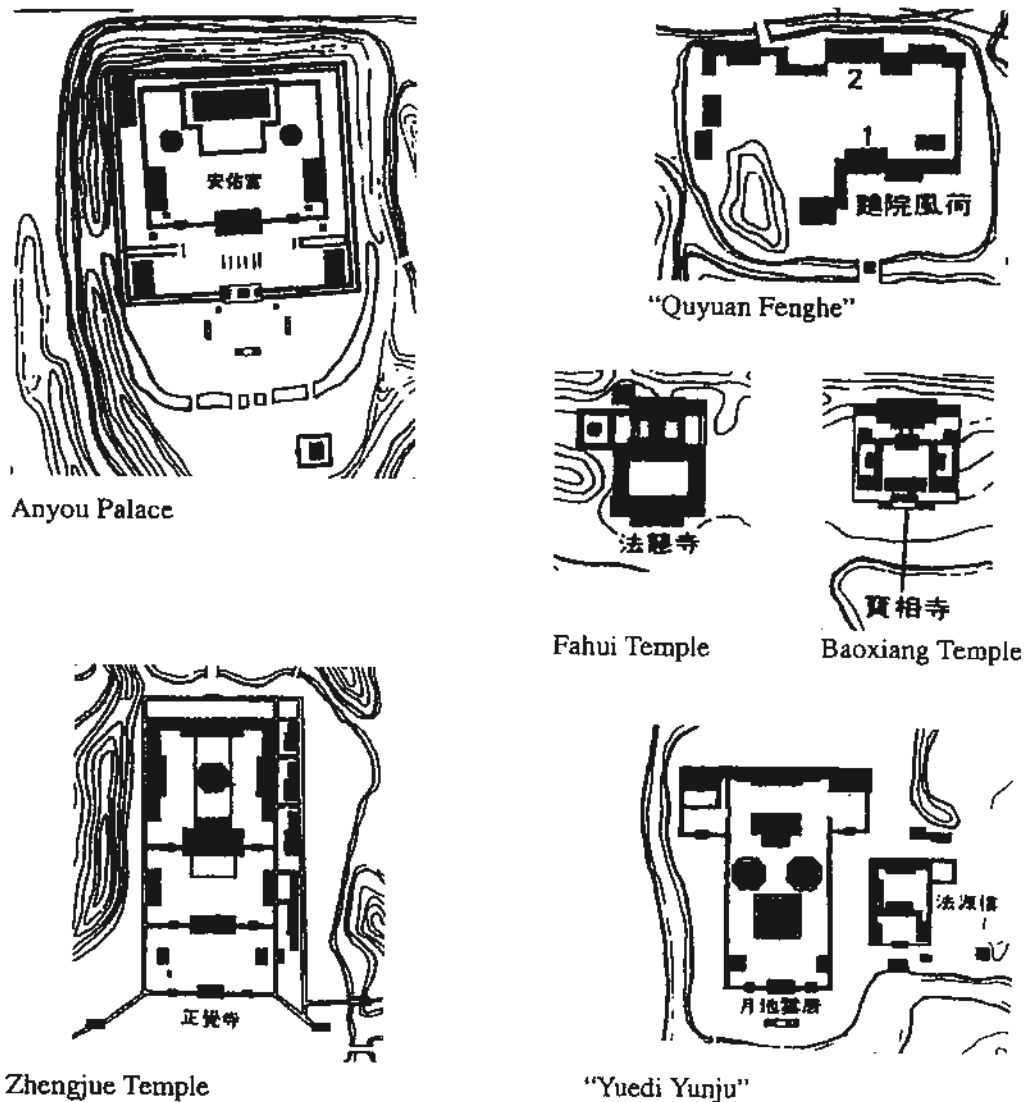


Table 5.1: The List of Buddhist Scenes Constructed during the Reign of Qianlong in Yuanmingyuan Garden and Changchunyuan Garden, cited from Fang Xiaofeng, "Yuanmingyuan zongjiao jianzhu yanjiu", 40-41, Figure 1

No.	Garden	Scene Name	Construction Time	Remarks
1	Yuanmingyuan	"Yuedi Yunju" (月地云居)	The 2 nd year of the reign of Qianlong (1737)	The Fayuan Tower (法源楼) was built in "Yuedi Yunju" in the 44 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1779)
2	Yuanmingyuan	"Luoji Shengjing" (洛迦胜境)	The 3 rd year of the reign of Qianlong (1738)	Belonging to "Quyuan Fenghe" (曲院风荷)
3	Yuanmingyuan	Anyou Palace (安佑宫, or "Hongci Yonghu" [鸿慈永祐])	The 8 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1743)	

4	Changchunyuan	Baoxiang Temple (宝相寺)	The 12 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1747)	
5	Changchunyuan	Fahui Temple (法慧寺)	The 12 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1747)	
6	Changchunyuan	Zhengjue Temple (正觉寺)	Before the 38 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1773)	Lamas lived in the temple.

In the 15th year of his reign (1750), Emperor Qianlong started to build a new garden in the area of Weng Hill (瓮山) and Xi Lake (西湖) to the west of the Yuanmingyuan Garden, in the name of celebrating his mother's 60th birthday and completing the water system in the northwest part of Beijing⁴. He first built Da Bao'en Yanshou Temple on the site of the deserted ancient Yuanjing Temple (圆静寺) south Weng Hill, and he then built Xiangyan Zongyin Temple (香岩宗印之阁) after the pattern of Tuolin (Tholing) Monastery (托林寺) of Tibet to the north of the hill the following year⁵. Soon after, construction of a number of halls, towers, pagodas and bridges around Xi Lake on the south foot of Weng Hill began⁶. During the construction, Weng Hill and Xi Lake were renamed as Wanshou Hill (万寿山) and Kunming Lake (昆明湖) respectively and the new garden was given the name of "Qingyi yuan" (清漪园) in the 16th year of the reign of Qianlong (1751)⁷. There were fourteen Buddhist building complexes constructed in Qingyi yuan Garden (Table 5.2; Figure 5.2)⁸. They constituted a considerable proportion of the all sixty constructions

⁴ See Zhou Wei quan, "Qingyi yuan shilue".

⁵ See Chen Qingying, "Zhangjia Ruobiduoji yu qingchao huangshi xingjian de lama siyuan", 98; Chen Qingying and Wang Wenjing, "Zhaomiao Qianlong yuzhi shibe", 44.

⁶ Zhou Wei quan, "Qingyi yuan shilue", 147.

⁷ See Zhou Wei quan, "Qingyi yuan shilue", 138 Note 4.

⁸ This statistics is mainly based on the statistics of Zhang Long about the religious scenes in Qingyi yuan Garden during the Qianlong period. See Zhang Long, *Qianlong shiqi Qingyi yuan shanshui geju fenxi ji jianzhu buju chutan*. Zhou Wei quan also offers a list of the religious buildings in the Qingyi yuan Garden in the reign of Qianlong. The lists of Zhang Long and Zhou Wei quan are basically consistent. Since Zhang Long offers detailed

in the Qingyiyuan Garden and most of them were situated on the Wanshou Hill. Except Da Bao'en Yanshou Temple and Xiangyan Zongyin Temple, all other Buddhist building complexes were small-sized and among them, some even were a single building. Moreover, some of the Buddhist building complexes in the Qingyiyuan Garden were very free in shape, for instance, the Zhijing Pavilion was circular in shape, the Luohan Hall was a “田” grid, the Baoyun Pavilion was a “回” grid and the Tanhua Pavilion was a star in shape.

Table 5.2: The Statistics of the Buddhist Building Complexes in the Qingyiyuan Garden in the Reign of Qianlong

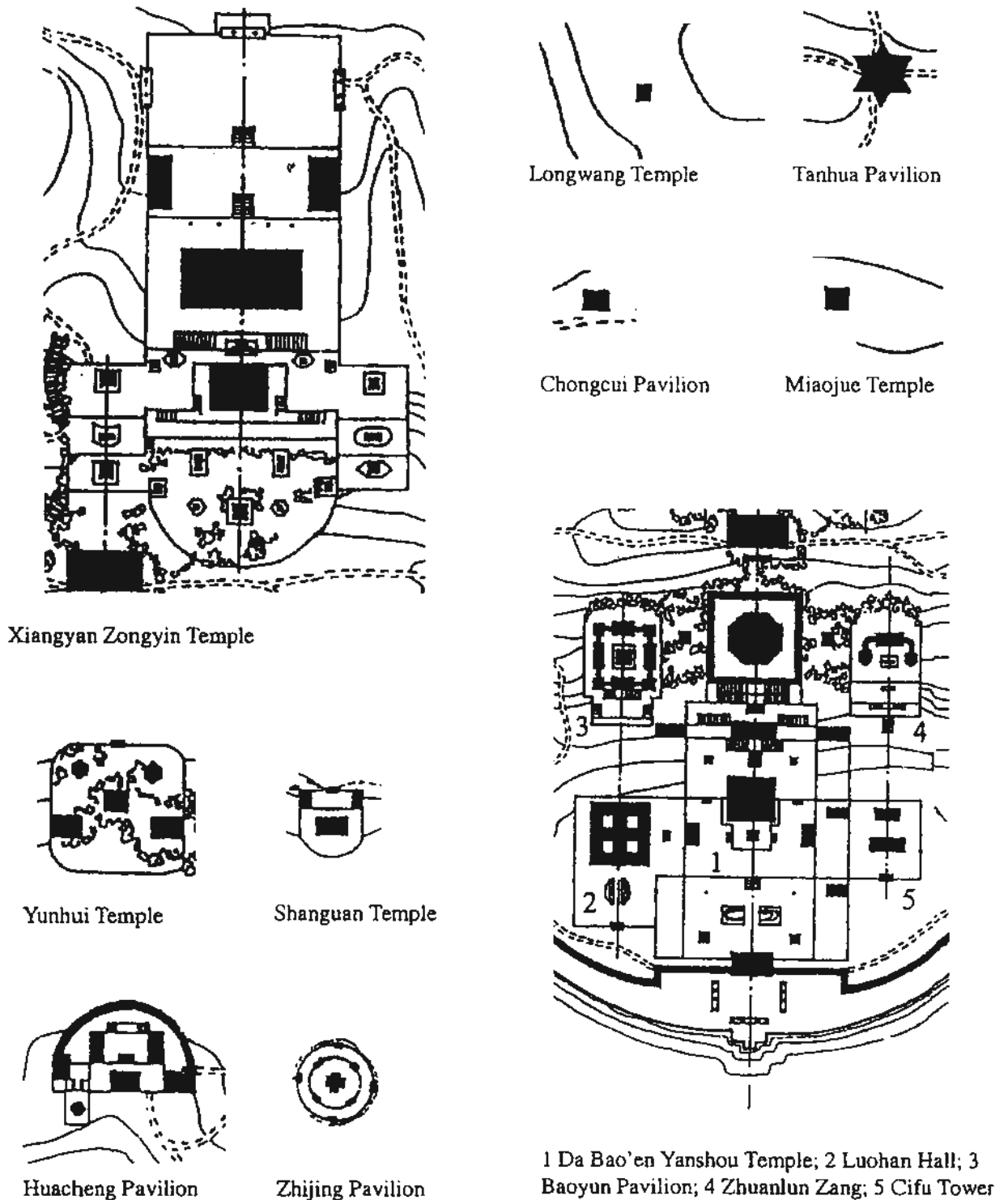
No.	Name	Architecture Type	Remarks
1	Da Bao'en Yanshou Temple (大报恩延寿寺)	Building complex	The temple was modeled after Bao'en Temple in Nanjing (南京). The pavilion was modeled after the Liuhe Tower (六合塔) in Hangzhou (杭州).
2	The Luohan Hall (罗汉堂)	Building complex	The hall was modeled after the Luohan Hall (罗汉堂) of Jingci Temple (净慈寺) in Hangzhou.
3	The Baoyun Pavilion (宝云阁)	Building complex	
4	The Cifu Pavilion (慈福楼)	Building complex	
5	Zhuanlun Zang (转轮藏)	Building complex	
6	The Tanhua Pavilion (昙花阁)	Single building	
7	The Chongcui Pavilion (重翠亭)	Single building	
8	Xiangyan Zongyin Temple (香岩宗印之阁, or "Xumi Lingjing" [须弥灵境])	Building complex	The complex was modeled on Tuolin Monastery of Tibet ⁹ .
9	Yunhui Temple (云会寺)	Building complex	
10	Shanguan Temple (善观寺)	Building complex	
11	Huacheng Pavilion (花承阁)	Building complex	

information about the furnishings these religious buildings housed, the statistics of Buddhist scenes in this thesis is mainly based on Zhang Long's research.

⁹ Zhang Long considers the "Xumi Lingjing" is modeled on Samye Monastery of Tibet. Chen Qingying concludes that the "Xumi Lingjing" is modeled on Tuolin Monastery of Tibet, based on his research on the biography of the 3rd Zhangjia Living Buddha by the Living Buddha's disciple. This author agrees with the viewpoint of Chen Qingying and lists Tuolin Monastery here instead of Samye Monastery as the prototype of the "Xumi Lingjing".

12	Longwang Temple (龙王庙, or Nanfang Pavilion [南方亭])	Single building	
13	Miaojue Temple (妙觉寺)	Building complex	
14	Zhijing Pavilion (治镜阁)	Single building	

Figure 5.2: Buddhist Buildings in Qingyi Garden in the Reign of Qianlong, from the General Plan of Qingyi Garden of the Qianlong Period, *Yiheyuan*, Figure 6-7



5.2 Essence of the Garden Temples as the Visual Symbol of Chinese Culture and Natural Landscape

Many Buddhist building complexes (temples) were ordered to be built by Emperor Qianlong in imperial gardens, such as the gardens of Yuanmingyuan, Changchunyuan and Qingyiyuan, which were considered as the collections of all fine things in the world, and most of them were on high ground. From this phenomenon ensues the supposition that the number of temples on high ground in such gardens might be a representation of “temple” and “mountain temple”, the visual symbol of Chinese culture and natural landscape at that time.

During the reign of Qianlong, Buddhist temples had been considered an indispensable part of the cultural landscape as well as the natural landscape. In *Honglou meng* (红楼梦, The Dream of Red Mansions), the most well-known Chinese novel written in the reign of Qianlong, its protagonist Jia Bayou (贾宝玉) spoke thus of “natural”: “It is not natural, when the distant hill has not a wavy motion, the water has not a source, there is not a pagoda of a temple on high and there is not a bridge to the market.”¹⁰ It can be seen that “a pagoda of a temple” was considered by the people then as an indispensable part of the natural landscape. Buddhism developed continuously in China since it was introduced into China in the Han (汉) Dynasty and became an important part of Chinese culture. Buddhism advocates the practicing of

¹⁰ *Honglou Meng* 红楼梦 [The Dream of Red Mansions], written by Cao Xunqin, chapter 17.

Buddhism peacefully and therefore, Chinese monks always set up temples where they practiced Buddhism on mountains far from the cities. Since Buddhism was so popular in China, Buddhist temples built by the Buddhists were very popular and numerous in China¹¹. Quite a few of the temples were constructed on mountains and many of them were very famous¹². In the course of time, "temple"—mostly "mountain temple"—became a fixed and common visual symbol in natural landscape as well as in the cultural pattern of China. It is very possible for Emperor Qianlong, the Manchu emperor who was knowledgeable and enjoyed Chinese culture, to represent the popular and common symbol of Chinese culture and natural landscape consciously or unconsciously in his gardens. On the other hand, it was natural even unavoidable for the temples to be involved in the Qianlong gardens, since the gardens were the collections of the imitations of many of the well-known natural scenes within China and the reproductions of typical Chinese cultural atmospheres¹³, and "temple" especially "mountain temple" was a key element in a lot of them. The phenomenon of that many temples in the imperial gardens were singular construction without any residence monks, further proves the supposition. It could also be supported to a certain extent by the Mount Wutai Tibetan Buddhist temple construction.

¹¹ It was recorded in historical documents that: there were 2,846 Buddhist temples in the Liang (梁) Dynasty of the Southern Dynasties (南朝). There were more than 30,000 Buddhist temples in the Northern Wei (北魏) Dynasty. During the period of Wuzong (武宗) exterminating Buddhism in the Tang (唐) Dynasty, only the destroyed Buddhist temples reached 44,600. In the Southern Song (南宋) Dynasty, Buddhist temples further developed and many of them were concentrated on some mountains, such as the temples on the Five Mountains. It is uncertain that totally how many Buddhist temples were in China in the Ming and Qing dynasties. However, after the fires, earthquakes, wars and man-made destructions, there were still more than 50,000 Buddhist temples left in 1949. See Fang Hua, "Tianxia mingshan seng zhan duo", 31.

¹² Since mountain temples were so popular in China, the statement of "most of the famous mountains are occupied by monks" (or "all the famous mountains are occupied by monks") has been going round in Chinese society.

¹³ Zhou Wei-quan discusses the imitation and reproduction in detail. See Zhou Wei-quan, "Qingyiyuan Shilue"; Zhou Wei-quan, "Yuanmingyuan"; Zhou Wei-quan, *Zhongguo dudian yuanlin shi*, 333-440.

Emperor Qianlong visited Mount Wutai six times during his reign: in the 11th year (1746), in the 15th year (1750), in the 26th year (1761), in the 46th year (1781), in the 51st year (1786) and in the 57th year (1792)¹⁴. During his first visit, Emperor Qianlong is said to have offered sacrifices to the Buddhas in Pusading (菩萨顶), Luohou Temple (罗睺寺), Yuhuachi Temple (玉花池), Shouning Temple (寿宁寺), Banruo Temple (般若寺), Zhenhai Temple (镇海寺), Qifo Temple (七佛寺), Shuxiang Temple (殊像寺), Sanquan Temple (三泉寺) and Tailu Temple (台麓寺). During his second visit, Emperor Qianlong is said to have offered sacrifices to the Buddhas in Xiantong Temple (显通寺). During his third visit, Emperor Qianlong is said to have offered sacrifices to the Buddhas in Pusading (菩萨顶), bestowed the property to the lamas of Pusading (菩萨顶), Tailu Temple (台麓寺), Yongquan Temple (涌泉寺), Luohou Temple (罗睺寺) and Shouning Temple (寿宁寺), rebuilt Xianjiao Temple (显教寺, or Yanjiao Temple [演教寺]), Wanghai Temple (望海寺), Falei Temple (法雷寺), Puji Temple (普济寺), Lingying Temple (灵应寺) on the five peaks of Mount Wutai, Dawenshu Temple (大文殊寺) on the Pusading Peak (菩萨顶), Xiantong Temple (显通寺, or Yantong temple [演通寺]), Shuxiang Temple (殊像寺), Luohou Temple (罗睺寺), Guangzong Temple (广宗寺), Shouning Temple (寿宁寺) at the foot of the mountain and Bishan Temple (碧山寺), Yongquan Temple (涌泉寺), Qixian Temple (栖贤寺), Zhenhai Temple (镇海寺), Baiyun Temple (白云寺) nearby. During his fifth visit, Emperor Qianlong is said to have bestowed ten thousands taels of silver to the Zhangjia Living Buddha to the chanting of Buddhist scriptures by the

¹⁴ Zhao Gaiping and Hou Huiming, "Luelun qingdai qianqi de Wutai Shan zangchuan fojiao"; Xiao Yu, "Qingchao zhudi yu Wutai Shan", 12.

lamas of temples on the five peaks.¹⁵ The matter of Emperor Qianlong visiting Mount Wutai was characterized by the frequency, the patronage of a few temples while offering to the Buddhas in the temples, and preferring to offer sacrifices or reconstruct Tibetan Buddhist temples to the temples of Chinese Buddhism. Of the five visits, Emperor Qianlong only rebuilt a few temples during his third visit, and so far, there is no record of Emperor Qianlong building or rebuilding Tibetan Buddhist temples on Mount Wutai at times when he was not visiting. Considering the apathy of Emperor Qianlong to the damaged temples at Mount Wutai¹⁶, the conclusion that Emperor Qianlong did not build too many Tibetan Buddhist temples at Mount Wutai might be correct.

Why so few Tibetan Buddhist temples were built by Emperor Qianlong at Mount Wutai, while the monarch built a great number of Tibetan Buddhist building complexes (temples) in his imperial gardens of Beijing? Surely, this author considers that Emperor Qianlong was a believer in Tibetan Buddhism. He set up numerous halls and chambers for worshipping the Buddha of Tibetan Buddhism just next to his residence palaces and studies in the Forbidden City and in every imperial garden he stayed; he built Tibetan Buddhist temples by the tombs of his ancestors; he sent lamas to chant Buddhist scriptures in the hall where the portraits of his father and grandfather were hung; he knelt in adoration of high lamas; and so on. Tibetan Buddhism featured broadly in Emperor Qianlong's private spaces, where there was no

¹⁵ See details of the five visits of Emperor Qianlong in *Shanxi tongzhi. Xunxing ji* 山西通志. 巡幸记 [The overall history of Shanxi: Inspection tours], vol. 81. Xiao Yu in "Qingchao zhudi yu Wutai Shan" (12) also summarizes the five visits of Emperor Qianlong.

¹⁶ See cases in Xie Xiaohua, "Qian Jia nianjian Wutai Shan simiao xinggong xiushan gongcheng shiliao" (I).

need to show any political symbols, which indicates that Emperor Qianlong seemed to have faith in Tibetan Buddhism.

At the same time, Mount Wutai had a much closer relation with the Manchu emperor during the reign of Qianlong. Not only the Qing emperor was more often called “Mañjusrī Emperor (曼殊师利大皇帝)” by Tibetans and Mongolians during his reign¹⁷, but also Emperor Qianlong liked to stress the link between the Qing nation and Mañjusrī by trumpeting their same pronunciation¹⁸. The images of the Qing emperor of Qianlong and Mañjusrī overlapped clearly at that time¹⁹. As the abode of Mañjusrī in central China²⁰, Mount Wutai therefore had a closer relation with the emperor Qianlong as well as the Qing state. Worshiping at Mount Wutai could be regarded as praying for the Qing emperor of Qianlong and the Manchu state as well. Meanwhile, Mount Wutai was the only sacred mountain of Tibetan Buddhism in central China. In the name of praying for the state and in the meantime, with a personal belief in Tibetan Buddhism, Emperor Qianlong may very well build or rebuild a great number of Tibetan Buddhist temples at Mount Wutai. However, he rebuilt few Tibetan Buddhist temples at Mountain Wutai. Neither his personal belief nor the symbolic sense of “to worship at Mountain Wutai is to pray for the Qing state”

¹⁷ There were many cases recorded in *Liushi Banchan chaojin dang'an xunabian* 六世班禅朝觐档案选编 [The collection of selected historical documents about the coming of 6th Panchan Lama to Beijing in the Qing Dynasty] (hereafter cited as *Banchan dang'an*), in which Emperor Qianlong was called “Mañjusrī Emperor”. The Qing monarchs being called “Mañjusrī Emperor” by the Tibetan high lamas and nobles started since Hong Taiji. See Zhou Zhuying, “Qingdai zhudi yu Wenshu Shili pusa”.

¹⁸ See Chen Qingying and Wang Wenjing, “Zhaomiao Qianlong yuzhi shibei”, 48.

¹⁹ Many cases demonstrate the overlap. For example, Zhou Zhuying in “Qingdai zhudi yu Wenshu Shili pusa” quotes several documents, in which Emperor Qianlong was called “the incarnation of Mañjusrī” (115-116) by the 3rd Zhangjia Living Buddha.

²⁰ Mount Wutai had been a sacred mountain for Buddhists as the abode of Mañjusrī since the Jin Dynasty. It was the sacred mountain not only for the believers of Chinese Buddhism, but also for the believers of Tibetan Buddhism. Tibetan Buddhism kept a close contact with Mount Wutai since the Tang Dynasty. For a detailed discussion of this issue, see Cui Wenkui, “Wutaishan yu Wutaitu”; Wang Lu, “Wutai Shan yu Xizang”.

made him enthusiastic about building or rebuilding Tibetan Buddhist temples on Mount Wutai, a site of great significance to Tibetan Buddhism and to his empire. Instead, he built many Tibetan Buddhist building complexes (temples) in his private gardens at Beijing. This seems like a contradiction and there might be a reason other than Emperor Qianlong's personal belief in Tibetan Buddhism or praying for the Qing Empire to build the great number of Tibetan Buddhist temples in the gardens of Beijing and Chengde.

Cultural enjoyment might be a potential motivation for the building of these many building complexes (temples) in the gardens. More specifically, while Emperor Qianlong planned and constructed his gardens with great fervor and put a lot of signs and scenes that he found interesting or satisfying from all of China, even from all of the world, into the gardens for enjoyment, very likely, temples, thus were absorbed into the gardens as one such sign and a part of many of such scenes as well. True, some of the temples kept performing a function as a religious site since Emperor Qianlong held some religious activities in them, but in general, acting as a sign of the culture and the natural landscape might be one of the essences of the garden temples.

5.3 Characteristics of the Tibetan Monastic Architectural Style

The reproduction of cultural sign and landscape might also be connected with the other characteristic of Qianlong's Tibetan Buddhist temples, which is that some temples possessed many architectural features of Tibetan monastic style.

Before the introduction of the temples' Tibetan monastic architectural style, an identification of the Tibetan monastic architectural style is necessary²¹. Tibetan society has been a religious society from earliest times. After its introduction to Tibet in the 7th century, especially its rapid expansion in the 11th century, Buddhism evolved as the predominant religion in Tibet²² and nearly all the Tibetans believe in it. Tibetan Buddhism has significant influences on all parts of Tibetan life: arts, literature, custom, and architecture. To be more precise, its role, including its rituals, goals, habits and unseen world of gods, demons and deities, has formed the basis for an entire approach to life in Tibet. Its influence on Tibetan architecture mainly shows in the two aspects: the creating of the new architectural category—Tibetan Buddhist monastery and the decorations full of religious meanings of Tibetan Buddhism in all categories of Tibetan architecture. About the Buddhist monastery, it entered into Tibet as a new architectural category in the 7th century. The first “monasteries” (e.g. Jokhang and Ramoche) were only temples to house Buddha images. Samye, built in the reign of Khri-srong-lde-btsan, is the first monastery with all the three Buddhist treasures of

²¹ The identification of the Tibetan monastic architectural style in this section is summarized from Tibetan architectural researches: Xu Zongwei, *Xizang chuantong jianzhu daoze*; Knud Larsen and Amund Sinding-Larsen, *Lasa lishi chengshi ditu ji*; Su Bai, *Zangchuan fojiao shiyuan kaogu*; etc.

²² Buddhism entered into Tibet from India and China during the reign of Srong-tsan-gam-po (Songtsen Gampo) in the 7th century (Most scholars researching on Tibetan Buddhism agree with this idea for it is supported by some concrete traces found). Following Srong-tsan-gam-po, most Tibetan kings during the 7th-9th centuries believed in and actively promoted Buddhism in Tibet. Among them, kings Khri-srong-lde-btsan (740-786) and Ral-pa-can (817-836) were the two most devout believers and promoters. Through their efforts, such as inviting famous Buddhist scholars from India and China to Tibet, translating Buddhism texts from Sanskrit and other Indian languages into Tibetan, building Buddhist monasteries, encouraging people to embrace Buddhism and so on, Buddhism began its significant role in the life of Tibetans. And because of this, the three of them, Srong-tsan-gam-po, Khri-srong-lde-btsan and Ral-pa-can, are regarded by the Tibetans as incarnations of the Bodhisattva even today (King Srong- tsan-gam-po is revered as an incarnation of Avalokiteśvara, the patron deity of Tibet; King Khri-srong-lde-btsan is regarded as an incarnation of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī; King Ral-pa-can is considered to be the incarnation of Vajrapāni). Although supported by kings, the development of Buddhism was not smooth in its early stages. It struggled with Bon, a local religion existent prior to the advent of Buddhism, for several centuries. Sometimes Bon suppressed Buddhism, for example, Buddhism was moribund during the 9th-10th centuries because of Bon's efforts. Finally the Bon lost its influence among the people. Buddhism got its big renaissance in the 11th century and starts to play a dominant role in the life of Tibetans since then.

Buddha, scriptures and monks in Tibet. After that, especially after the great renaissance of the 11th century, Buddhist establishments and monasteries started to play a very important role in the Tibetan society. The monasteries became the centre of the society in many aspects. Firstly, they are the symbols of the Buddha, thus the faith, the religion, and the belief system. Secondly, they are places for believers to pray to Buddha and engaged in rituals for veneration and prayer. Thirdly, they are almost the only schools in Tibet for education. Fourthly, they are the political institutions where the living Buddhas deal with affairs both in religion and politics, especially after the fusion of religious and political leadership instituted since the 11th century. Besides, because nearly all the Tibetans believed in Buddhism and it is encouraged to be monks in Tibet, a great number of monks lived and were educated in monasteries. In its zenith, the number of monks and nuns reached 60 percent of the local population in parts of Tibet. So, monasteries are the residences for quite a large number of people. All these religious and social functions of the Buddhist monastery lead to its important social position and considerable number in Tibet and form its architectural content and form as well. Since its birth till now, the development of the monastic form can be divided into five stages in general, and every stage has its special characteristics (Table 5.3).

Table 5.3: Five Stages during the Development of Tibetan Monastic Architecture

Stage	Time	Characteristics of architectural form	Possible reasons
1 st	7 th - 10 th centuries	Two types: (1) mainly occupied by monk houses (e.g., Jokhang Monastery) (2) mainly occupied by Buddha halls (e.g., Samye Monastery)	Modeled on Indian monasteries e.g., Jokhang Monastery was modeled on Nalāndā Monastery, India; Samye Monastery was modeled on Odantapuri Monastery, India

2 nd	Late 10 th century-early 13 th century	<p>Modeling on those Tibetan monasteries built before (e.g., Tuolin Monastery was modeled on Samye Monastery; the monastery in Guge Palace City was modeled on Jokhang Monastery; etc.)</p> <p>Other new main characteristics: Reinforcing of Buddha Halls; Installing and enlarging of Assembly Halls; Starting to arrange circular praying paths around the Buddha Halls;</p>	<p>Buddhist renaissance</p> <p>Development of Buddhism and increase of believers and Buddhist activities</p>
3 rd	Late 13 th century-late 14 th century	<p>Intensifying external walls, reinforcing entrance porches and building forts (e.g., Sajianan Monastery); Enlarging Buddha Halls and Assembly Halls (e.g., Xialu Monastery and Changzhu Monastery); Chinese entrance arch, Dougong, Xieshan roof system (e.g., the entrance arch in Sajianan Monastery, Dougong and Xieshan roof system in Xialu Monastery, etc.)</p>	<p>Defense—politics Political thought</p> <p>Development of Buddhism</p> <p>In contact with Chinese</p>
4 th	15 th century – 1640s	<p>Many monasteries adjusting their color and content to match the tradition of Gelu school Installing rectangular Buddha Halls which were surrounded by circumambulation corridors behind Assembly Halls (e.g., Drepung Monastery and Baiju Monastery) The circular praying paths being moved from inside of the Buddha Hall to its outside since the 16th century</p>	<p>With the rapid spreading of Gelu school, many monasteries of other schools belonged to Gelu school at the that time</p> <p>Increasing of the believers and the thought of security</p>
5 th	After 1640s	<p>In the first sub-stage (the 5th Dalai-1751), enlarging on all kind of halls, especially the Assembly Halls; Buddha Hall being divided into several tiny halls; installing past Living Buddhas' stupas inside the Buddha Halls; Buddha images being only installed in Assembly Halls and no Buddha halls in kangcuns</p> <p>In the second sub-stage (after 1751), few large monasteries being built; constructing Living Buddhas' Villas</p>	

While Tibetan monastery developed over time, it is obvious that there were different regional variations in architectural form and style. The variation could be attributed to reasons such as different Buddhist sects, local building material and method,

sub-customs of building and decoration, etc. Since the 11th century, with the renaissance and rapid spread of Buddhism in Tibet, Tibetan Buddhism developed into various sects: Nying-ma-pa, Kadam-pa, Kar-gyud-pa, Sakyapa, Gelukpa, etc. Although these sects were based on the same basic Buddhist tenets, they followed different teachers and differed widely in regard to the esoteric and monastic discipline. Because of that, their monastic architectural form has some differences. For example, the main halls of Sakyapa's monasteries are always covered with three colors—red, blue and white—on their external walls, which are the major colors of the most powerful deity of the sect. Gelukpa (Gelu School) has the secret lecture hall in its monastery. Although Gelukpa became the predominant sect after its foundation in early 15th century and most monasteries in Tibet belong to Gelukpa since then as the result, other sects such as Nying-ma-pa, Kadam-pa, Kar-gyud-pa, Sakyapa, and even Bon religion still had their believers and monasteries in different parts of Tibet. So, monastic architecture has the regional variation due to the doctrines of different sect.

Monastic architecture also has the regional variation due to other reasons such as local building material, sub-customs of building and decoration, etc. For example, while monasteries in some regions were mainly built with stone in their external walls, monasteries in other regions were built with clay in their external walls being limited by available building materials; Han-Chinese influences complicated the constructions with wood as the most frequently used material in monasteries of eastern Tibet as the region had closer contact with Han-China; the people in Shannan preferred to decorate their windows with “small yak horn”, while the people in Ali

usually decorated their windows with “big yak horn”²³; and so on.

However, though Tibetan monastic architecture has a chronological developmental as well as a regional variations, it distinguishes itself from buildings in other parts of the China by some general characteristics, which are mainly influenced by the geographical and climate environments as well as the abiding religious tradition of Tibet. Such traditions have continued for many centuries. Since Buddhist monastery is the most important as well as the most popular construction in Tibet, these characteristics could also be regarded as the Tibetan architectural characteristics (Table 5.4).

Table 5.4: General Characteristics of Tibetan Monastic Architecture, summarized from dozens of high-rank Tibetan monasteries

		Characteristics	Possible reasons
Monastery layout		Large size	Playing various social roles—ritual center of Buddha worship, school and local authority; Containing a great number of monks for nearly all the Tibetan people believe in Tibetan Buddhism
		Buddha Hall, Assembly Hall and Living Buddha’s house head the monastery	The three Buddhist treasures of Buddha, scriptures and monks
		The plan of Buddha Hall is regular and symmetrical; The general plan of the monastery is irregular; Some monasteries show a “mandala” pattern in their general plans (e.g. Samye Monastery)	“Mandala”—perception of the ordered world from Buddhism
Building	Buddha Hall and Assembly Hall	Circular corridors in Buddha Halls	A ritual —making the Buddhist Wheels move
		Huge Assembly Halls	A great number of monks together to recite or have rituals
		Assembly Hall and Buddha Hall combined	
		Louvers on the roofs of Assembly Halls and Buddha Halls	

²³ A broad black window frame, made of clay and sometimes with a yak horn pattern on its top, is called “Yak horn” in Tibet. The “small yak horn” is the frame with a small yak horn pattern. The “big yak horn” is the frame with a big yak horn pattern.

	Living Buddha's house		
	Kongcun		Kongcun—house group for common monks to live; Monks from the same area live in the same Kongcun.
Structure		Building materials: wall (stone, clay, Nima Grass); column and beam (wood); door and window (wood with clay frame)	Local materials
		Strong sloping external wall	
		Loadbearing: wall + column and beam; Column and beam system; Dilong wall system (mostly in large buildings)	
		Bianma (benma) frieze on the top of external wall	Both structure and decoration in important religious buildings
		Windows open freely	
Decoration	Color	Black, white, red and gold (Gelukpa [Gelu School])	
	Painting	Colorful, properly arranged with five major colors and filled in the interior; Variety of topics and Most topics to be of Buddhism	Local custom; Buddha worship
	Other decorations	Buddha wheel, the eight treasures, Jingzhuang, etc. (material: wood, metal and cloth) Contrast between "empty" exterior and colorful and over-decorated interior	Nobleness and Buddhist meaning (e.g. Buddha wheel — Buddha's supernatural power; The eight treasures—lucky; Jingzhuang—symbol of Buddha

With the general characteristics, such as thick sloping external walls made of stone and clay, terraced roof, *benma* frieze, bright colors full of religious meanings such as the white or red color of the external walls, small black-bordered windows, gorgeous and complicated decorations made of metal, wood and cloth and full of Buddhist meanings, etc., the Tibetan monastic architecture distinguishes itself.

5.4 Differences between Chengde Temples and Their Tibetan Prototypes

In many Tibetan Buddhist temples ordered by Emperor Qianlong in Chengde, we see architectural features with the Tibetan monastic style. For some of the temples,

their architectural form is said to be modeled on Tibetan monasteries as explained in the commemorative inscriptions. That might be the reason for the architectural features the Tibetan monastic style seen in these temples. For instance, Puning Temple is said to have been modeled on the earliest Tibetan temple at Samye²⁴; Putuozongcheng Temple is said to have been patterned on the Dalai Lamas residence, Potala Palace, in Lhasa²⁵; likewise, Xumifushou Temple is said to have been constructed on the model of Panchan Lama's residence, Tashihunpo Monastery²⁶, in Shigatse; etc. However, although these temples, such as Puning Temple, Putuozongsheng Temple and Xumifushou Temple, possessed many architectural features of Tibetan monastic style, they had obvious distinctions in architectural plan and form from their prototypes which were mentioned in their inscriptions.

Take Puning Temple as an example (Figure 5.3-10). Puning Temple embodies the "Xumi Universe" (Sumeru Universe, 须弥世界, the world with the Mount Sumeru in the center), the view of the universe by Buddhism, in its layout it is said to have matched Samye Monastery. The pattern of the "Xumi Universe" is located at the rear part of Puning Temple: There is a giant tower in the center of the pattern; Four big halls surround the giant tower at the cardinal points and each of them has two side halls; Four pagodas are erected to the northwest, northeast, southwest and southeast of the central tower; Two other halls are right next to the tower, one on the north side and

²⁴ See *Puning Si beiwen*, in *Lamajiao beike*, 383-385; *Zhangjia Ruobiduoji zhuang*, chapter 13; Chen Qingying, "Zhangjia Ruobiduoji yu qingchao huangshi xingjian de lama siyuan", 98; Chen Qingying and Wang Wenjing, "Zhaomiao Qianlong yuzhi shibe", 44.

²⁵ See *Putuo Zongsheng Zhi Miao bei*, in *Lamajiao beike*, 430-432; Chen Qingying, "Zhangjia Ruobiduoji yu qingchao huangshi xingjian de lama siyuan", 100; Chen Qingying and Wang Wenjing, "Zhaomiao Qianlong yuzhi shibe", 44.

²⁶ See *Xumi Fushou Zhi Miao bei*, in *Lamajiao beike*, 462-464; Chen Qingying and Wang Wenjing, "Zhaomiao Qianlong yuzhi shibe", 44.

one on the south side. The central giant tower indicates the Mount Sumeru, the center of the world by Buddhism; the four big halls at the cardinal points indicate “the four major continents” of “Xumi Universe”; the side halls of the four big halls, which are eight altogether, indicate “the eight minor continents”; the four pagodas mean the four kinds of wisdoms of Buddha, and the two halls next to the central tower are the shrines for the sun and the moon. Puning Temple expresses the concept of “Xumi Universe” in its layout, in idea it is similar to what Samye Monastery intended to achieve, however, it differs from Samye Monastery in several ways. In front of the “Xumi Universe” pattern, the Puning Temple contains a typical Han-Chinese building complex equal in scale with the “Xumi Universe” construction, which the Samye Monastery does not possess. The Puning Temple faces south while the Samye Monastery faces east.

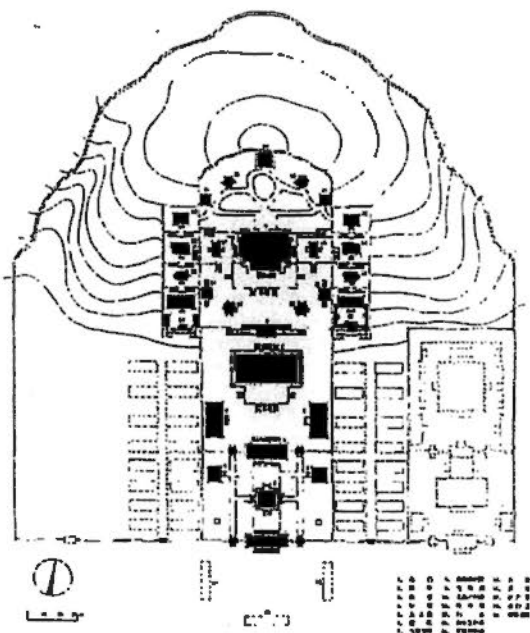


Figure 5.3: General Plan of Puning Temple, measured by Architecture Department of Tianjin University, cited from *Cehngde gu jianzhu*, 245, Figure 333

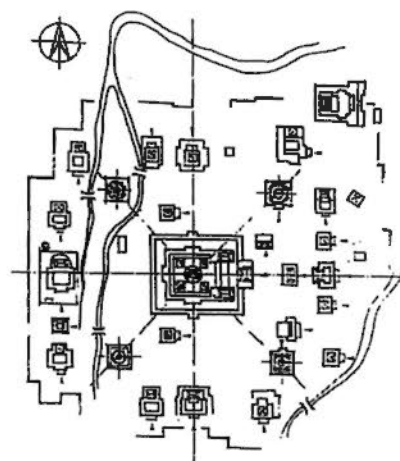


Figure 5.4: General Plan of Samye Monastery, based on the wall painting of the Qianlong period in the Red Palace of Potala Palace, cited from Sun Dazhang, *Cehngde Puning Si*, 223, Figure 1-38



Figure 5.5: Puning Temple, cited from Sun Dazhang, *Chengde Puning Si*, 20-21, Figure 1



Figure 5.6: Samye Monastery, cited from Zhang Ying, 134



Figure 5.7: Dasheng Pavilion of Puning Temple



Figure 5.8: Wuce Hall of Samye Monastery, cited from Zhang Ying, 135

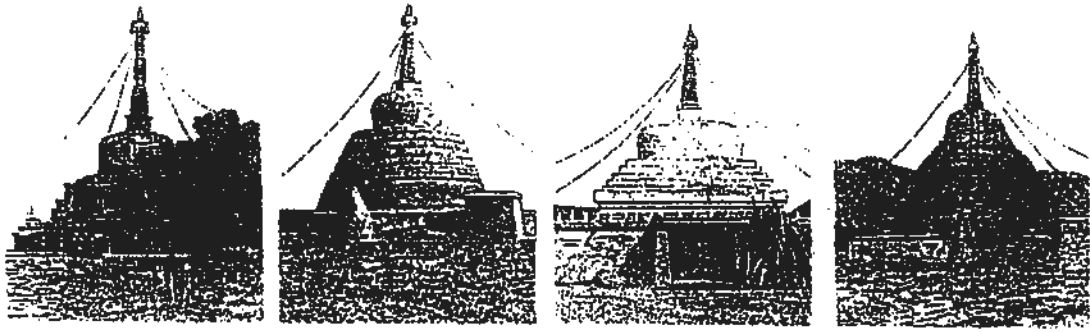


Figure 5.9: Four Pagodas of Samye Monastery, before their destruction in the Great Cultural Revolution, cited from Sun Dazhang, *Chengde Puning Si*, 227



Figure 5.10: Four Pagodas of Puning Temple, measured by Architecture Department of Tianjin University, cited from *Chengde gu jianzhu*, 265, Figure 372-375

The central tower, the Dasheng Pavilion (大乘阁), of the Puning Temple is different from the central tower, the Wuce Hall (乌策大殿), of the Samye Monastery in architectural plan and form. In the Wuce Hall, around a central Buddha hall, a sutra chanting hall is attached at the front and a two-floor corridor for circumambulation surrounds along the other three sides. The first and second floors of the Wuce Hall are made of stone and brick, and its third floor is made of wood. The first floor of the Wuce Hall has a Tibetan architectural style showed by the thick stone external walls, bordered small windows, etc. The second floor has a Han-Chinese architectural style showed by the big cornices, *dougongs* (斗拱, brackets), etc. The third floor has a five

pyramid roof system of Indian architectural style. The Dasheng Pavilion of the Puning Temple does not have the sutra chanting hall thus it is a pure Buddha hall instead of a combined Buddha hall and sutra chanting hall. The plan of the Dasheng Pavilion is a rectangle with the long side facing the front, which is different from the square plan of the Wuce Hall. There is a big hollow in the middle of the Dasheng Pavilion, going up through all three floors. Instead of wide surrounding circumambulation corridors, there are only some narrow connecting corridors on each floor inside the Dasheng Pavilion. Except the false Tibetan-style windows, the facades of the Pavilion are full of *dougongs*, cornices, golden glazed tiles, lozenge windows and doors and Chinese paintings, which all are Chinese architectural elements.

Besides the central tower, the twelve “continents” of the Puning Temple and the Samye Monastery are also different. While the Samye Monastery’s “continents” are quite free in size and color, the Puning Temple’s “continents” are systematic. In Puning Temple, all the major continents are red and have same big size, and all the minor continents are white and have the same smaller size. The four pagodas of the Puning Temple have an identical design while the pagodas of the Samye Monastery show unique features based on the directional colours and shapes. Comparing Puning Temple and Samye Monastery, we have to say that, truly, the Puning Temple contains an architectural representation of “Xumi Universe”, which is similar in conception as Samye Monastery, however, it has obvious differences from the Samye Monastery in its general layout plan and individual building’s architectural form.²⁷ It is also the

²⁷ Sun Dazhang studies on the architectural layout, form, structure of the Puning Temple in detail, and compare Puning Temple with Samye Monastery as well. See Sun Dazhang, *Chengde Puning Si*.

case between other Chengde Tibetan Buddhist temples and their prototypes, such as Putuozongsheng Temple and Potala Palace, Xumifushou Temple and Tashihunpo Monastery. The Putuozongsheng Temple is located in a similar ground as the Potala Palace, namely, the buildings are located on a mountain side, and the layouts are non-symmetrical and the giant Buddha halls of red and white occupy the highest points and stand over the whole complex of buildings. Each specific building within the complex has very different plan and architectural form. There are even fewer resemblances between Xumifushou Temple and Tashihunpo Monastery. (Figure 5.11-20)



Figure 5.11: Putuozongsheng Temple



Figure 5.12: Potala Palace, cited from Zhang Ying, *Chuantong jianzhu*, 33

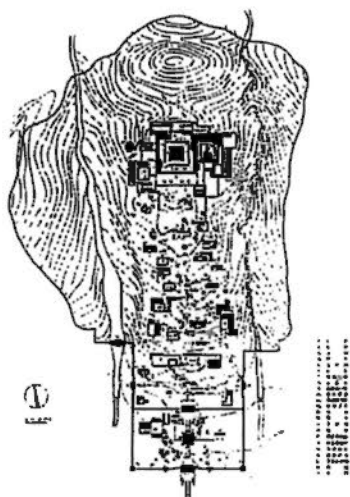


Figure 5.13: General Plan of Putuozongsheng Temple, measured by Architecture Department of Tianjin University, cited from *Chengde gu jianzhu*, 284, Figure 407

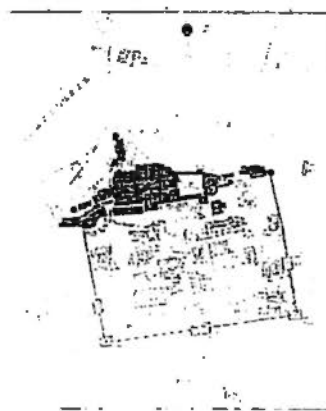


Figure 5.14: General Plan of Potala Palace, cited from Knud Larsen and Amund Sinding-Larsen, *Lasa Lishi chengshi*, 100

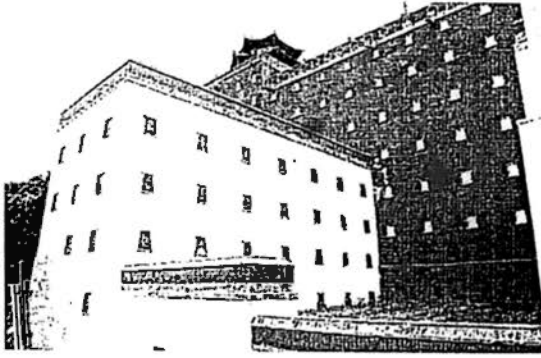


Figure 5.15: Red and White Palace of Putuozongsheng Temple (with False Tibetan-Style Windows on the External Walls and Red Paint on the Wall Top Where the Bianma Freize of Tibetan Architecture Locates)



Figure 5.16: Red and White Palace of Potala Palace, cited from Xu Zongwei, *Xizang chuantongjian daoze*, 8

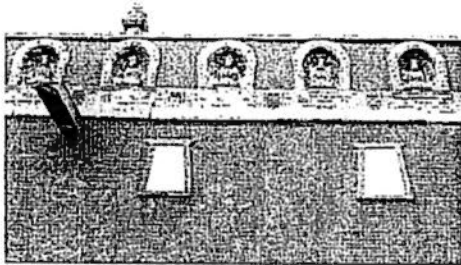


Figure 5.17: Top of the Wall in Red and White Palace of Putuozongsheng Temple



Figure 5.18: Top of the Wall in Red and White Palace of Potala Palace, cited from Xu Zongwei, *Xizang chuantongjian daoze*, 386



Figure 5.19: Xumifushou Temple



Figure 5.20: Tashihunpo Monastery, cited from Zhang Ying, *Chuantong jianzhu*, 164

5.5 Laxness for Exactly Duplicating an Architectural Form

Some scholars suggest that these obvious distinctions between the Chengde Tibetan Buddhist temples and their Tibetan prototypes were due to Emperor Qianlong's Tibetan Buddhist temples being modeled from Thangka (Thang-ga, 唐卡, Tibetan religious painting) so that it was hard to duplicate the prototypes perfectly, since Thangka were only two-dimensional paintings²⁸. Searching through documents, we have to note that Thangka had not been the exclusive way to get the information of these Tibetan monastic architectures if the emperor wanted. Before and during the reign of Qianlong in the Qing Dynasty, many officials had been sent to Tibet on missions. For instance, in the 12th year of the reign of Yongzheng (1734), Prince Yunli (允礼) was sent by the emperor to meet the Dalai Lama in Taining (泰宁) and discuss with him about his returning to Lhasa. During his trip, Prince Yunli wrote a diary about what he saw on the way, in which he described Tibetan customs, including the architectural layout and form of Huiyuan Temple, the residence of the Dalai Lama at Dajianlu, and Tibetan Buddhist rituals²⁹. Since the 5th year of the reign of Yongzheng (1727), Chancellors of Tibet had been appointed and sent by the Qing emperors to station in Lhasa and they reported regularly to the emperors about the Tibetan information. Lamas were the group of persons who knew the Tibetan monastic architectural information better. Many lamas, who came from Tibet or had visited

²⁸ See Chayet, "Architectural wonderland".

²⁹ See Yuli, *Xizang riji*.

Tibet, stayed in Beijing during the reign of Qianlong. Take the 3rd Zhangjia Living Buddha as an example. The Zhangjia Living Buddha visited Tibet twice and stayed there for several years. For the first time, he accompanied the Dalai Lama returning to Lhasa from Dajianlu and then stayed in Tibet for several years studying Tibetan Buddhism. For the second time, he went to Tibet for finding the reincarnated soul boy of the Dalai Lama and that took him a couple of years. During his stay in Tibet, he visited many Tibetan monasteries, including Reting Monastery (热振寺), Dalong Poduo Monastery (达陇颇多寺), Jokhang Monastery (大昭寺), Potala Palace, Gandan Nanjielin Monastery (甘丹南杰林寺), Drepung Monastery (哲蚌寺), Sera Monastery (色拉寺), Samye Monastery, Changzhu Monastery (昌珠寺), Tashihunpo Monastery, etc³⁰. In some of them he stayed for several months. It is worth noting that all monastery prototypes which were mentioned in the Chengde temple inscriptions, such as Samye Temple, Potala Palace and Tashihunpo Temple, were included in the list of the Tibetan monasteries which the Zhangjia Living Buddha had visited. The Zhangjia Living Buddha had a very close relationship with Emperor Qianlong and he was appointed consultant of some Chengde Tibetan Buddhist temples' construction.

From the above, we see that there were many potential ways for Emperor Qianlong to know these Tibetan monasteries better. Some scholars even mention that Qianlong used to send workers to Tibet to draw the architectural pictures of the Tibetan monasteries³¹. Then, were the distinctions between the Chengde temples and their Tibetan prototypes because of inaccuracy in the conveyance of building

³⁰ See Tuguan, *Zhangjia*, 106-269.

³¹ See Luo Wenhua, *Longpao yu jiasha*, 15, 370, 398.

information, or the inevitable differences between two constructions in Tibet and Chengde? Surely, there could be some differences between these Tibetan Buddhist temples and their prototypes because of the differences of the two sites, where they were built, the geography, culture, technique, etc, especially considering that the two sites were thousands of miles apart. But, this author does not want to attribute the big differences only to the distance or the modeling method. On such a condition that many information channels were available for Emperor Qianlong, even if there was an information loss and an inevitable difference between two sites, many features of Chengde Tibetan Buddhist temples should not happen, especially the false windows in the temples, the whole front half part of typical Han-Chinese architectural complex in the Puning Temple, the central axis in nearly all the temples, etc. What we perceive from the Chengde temples is that they tried to show the image of Tibetan monastic architecture and some specific qualities of their prototypes, but at the same time, they did not try to match their prototypes exactly in architectural layout and form.

The exploring of the distinctions between the Chengde Tibetan Buddhist temples and their Tibetan prototypes is inspired and also supported by the construction of small gardens in imperial gardens. Emperor Qianlong built in his imperial gardens many small gardens modeled on famous private gardens from Jiangnan region. For example, the Anlan garden (安澜园) of the Yuanmingyuan Garden modeled on the Anlan garden (安澜园) of Haining (海宁), the Xiaoyoutian garden (小有天园) of the Yuanmingyuan Garden modeled on the Xiaoyoutian garden (小有天园) of Hangzhou (杭州), the Shizilin garden (狮子林) of the Changchunyuan Garden modeled on The

Shizilin garden (狮子林) of Suzhou (苏州) and the Ru garden (如园) of the Changchunyuan Garden modeled on the Ru garden (如园) of Nanjing (南京). Because of his preference for the Shizilin garden of Suzhou, Emperor Qianlong imitated it twice, in the Changchunyuan Garden of Beijing and Bishushanzhuang of Chengde respectively. These small gardens, which Emperor Qianlong imitated in his big imperial gardens, also had obvious distinctions from their prototypes in architectural layout and form. It was not very hard for Emperor Qianlong to build a small garden exactly the same as its original prototype from southern China, but there was not a solitary instance of this having happened. Emperor Qianlong pointed out directly that he only imitated the prototypes in meaning and feeling, not in form³². Qianlong expressed the idea many times in his poems and inscriptions.

“Imitating” and “reproducing” were the predominant methods for Emperor Qianlong to create a large number of scenes in his imperial gardens. Apart from the above small gardens which were modeled on the private gardens of Jiangnan, dozens of scenes in Yuanmingyuan, Qingyiyuan Garden and Bishushanzhuang came from either the imitating of the fair landscapes and famous constructions in Jiangnan area or the reproducing of the traditional Chinese culture stories.³³ With the habit of Emperor Qianlong of imitating and reproducing in construction, it would not be a surprise to see that the Chengde Tibetan Buddhist temples were modeled on famous Tibetan monasteries. More important is that, showing a laxness for exactly duplicating

³² “Following the meaning and feeling (of the prototype), but adjusting (the new building) to match well the natural landscape and not giving away the merits it has” (Hong Li, *Huishan Yuan bajing shixu* 惠山园八景诗序 [Preface of the poems on the eight scenes of Huishan Garden]).

³³ For detailed information, see Zhou Weiquan, “Qingyiyuan Shilue”; Zhou Weiquan, “Yuanmingyuan”; Zhou Weiquan, *Zhongguo dudian yuanlin shi*, 333-440.

an architectural form in the small gardens, the physical match between the Chengde Tibetan Buddhist temples and their Tibetan prototypes seems to be of little importance to Emperor Qianlong also. As in the inscription of Putuozongsheng Temple, Emperor Qianlong wrote that: “The Putuo (普陀, the dwelling place of Avalokiteśvara, meaning the Putuozongsheng Temple here) of the Bishushanzhuang garden is the Putuo of Tibet, is the Putuo of India, and is the Putuo on the South Sea (南海, South China Sea). Moreover, thinking about why we build the temple, it is not an issue of the utmost importance that this Putuo matches that Putuo.”³⁴ The meaning or aesthetic experience of being homogeneous rather than the exact replica of the physical architecture appears to be the major objective Emperor Qianlong reached out for and enjoyed.

Probably as a sign of the culture and the natural landscape, many temples were absorbed into the imperial gardens during the reign of Qianlong. Again, likely based on the imitating of the famous Tibetan monasteries, those salient Tibetan cultural landscapes, some Qianlong temples showed obvious architectural features of Tibetan monastic style. The reproduction of cultural sign and landscape could be considered as a motivation for the forming of the characteristics of the Qianlong Tibetan Buddhist temples, and it might benefit from the high cultural attainments of the emperor and his passion and affection for appreciating the richness of his adopted cultures as well³⁵. For the obvious distinctions between those Qianlong’s Tibetan

³⁴ See *Putuo Zongsheng Zhi Miao beiji*, in *Lamajiao beike*, 430-432.

³⁵ For the high cultural attainments of Emperor Qianlong and his passion and affection for appreciating the cultural richness, see Liu Lu, “Qianlong Huangdi de shirenhua qingxiang”; Kang Wuwei, “Diwang pinwei”; Dai Yi, “Lun Qianlong”; Feng Erkang, “Qianlong di xingge”; Zhang Renshan, “Dengji lunli”; etc.

Buddhist temples and their Tibetan prototypes in architectural layout and form, which is also discussed in this chapter, this author is inclined to attribute it to the primary intent of imitating for the meaning or aesthetic experience of being homogeneous rather than the exact replica of the physical architecture .

Chapter 6 Influencing Factors in the Development of the Tibetan Buddhist Temples

The construction of the early and middle Qing Tibetan Buddhist temples in central China and its development are influenced by a variety of factors including politics, economy, culture, religion and the building traditions. These factors influencing the temple constructions and architecture were varied and changed in emphasis over different period of time. And, with the changing of these factors, the temples developed and changed in their scale, characteristics and meaning.

6.1 Politics and the Economic Condition

Politics had been the most important factor for the construction of the temples. It was mainly geared towards pacifying and unifying the Mongol tribes. As the most important ally of the Manchus in the war with the Ming Empire, the alliance with the Mongols helped tremendously in the process of establishing their empire. After the establishment of Qing dynasty, this alliance also provided frontier stability while the Manchus expanded their domain. To establish and strengthen the alliance with these Mongol tribes could be regarded as one of the main purposes for the construction of the Tibetan Buddhist temples by the Qing government. These Tibetan Buddhist temples built in central China acted as a friendly signal by which Manchus conveyed to the Mongol tribes that the Manchus were also followers of the same religion.

Furthermore, the founding of these temples suggested that the Mongols were welcome in central China to visit these religious edifices. The tactics seem to have paid off and the friendly relationship with the Mongols did help the Qing government to achieve its political goals, the submission of Kerk Mongols being a typical example.

Sometimes the intensification of the Tibetan Buddhist temple construction might have been linked to and supported by a favourable economic situation that ensured a healthy state coffer. The temple construction during the reign of Qianlong could be a good example. Generally characterized by economic prosperity, a plentiful national treasury, social stability, a growing population and an expanding territory, the reign of Qianlong was the most prosperous period of the Qing Empire. Starting from a reasonable amount in the national treasury under Yongzheng, the silver reserve in the national treasury continued to increase in the Qianlong time. Up to the middle of the reign of Qianlong, the silver sum in the national treasury reached twice the yearly tax income from the whole empire.¹ For the Imperial Household Department (内务府), which was in charge of the property of Emperor Qianlong, its total receipts reached in excess of 70,000,000 taels (两) of silver during the reign of Qianlong. Under such a high income of the national treasury as well as the Imperial Household Department, all construction of various kinds, including palaces, gardens and temples, increased quickly during the reign. Temple construction was a part of it. Paid for by the Imperial Household Department, the emperor sponsored the construction of a large number of temples, expenses of rituals, temple operating costs, monthly wages, etc.

¹ For the characteristics of the Qianlong time, see Dai Yi, "Lun Qianlong"; Feng Erkang, "Qianlong di xingge"; Zhang Renshan, "Dengji lunli"; etc.

Among all the items temple construction occupied most of the expenditure. His total patronage paid by the Imperial Household Department on temples was 5,594,299.4 taels of silver during his rule. In some years, the patronage for temple construction was quite high because several big temples were built or rebuilt at the same time. For example, the expenditure on temples was more than 400,000 taels of silver for the constructions of halls, archways and stone-stele pavilions of Da Xitian (大西天), and other projects constructed between the 21st and 22nd year of the reign (1756-7); and the expenditure was more than 500,000 taels of silver for repairing Zhantan Temple (旃檀寺) and Da Xitian in the 25th year of the reign (1760); etc.² We have to say the economic prosperity and plentiful national treasury was a favourable condition for the construction of the Tibetan Buddhist temples in the reign of Qianlong, and the rapid increase of the Tibetan Buddhist temple construction in the period is in accordance with the rapid increase of all construction of that time in the empire.

6.2 Involvement of the Qing Emperors

The involvement of the Qing monarchs is considered by this author as an important characteristic of temple construction that had influenced the construction details and architectural form. Firstly, the building and rebuilding of nearly all the temples was decreed by the monarchs, and except for a few cases, in which the

² The sum of total income, total expenditure and expenditure on temples of the Imperial Household Department listed in this passage are cited from He Xiangling, *Patronage of the Emperor Qianlong on Beijing Temples*, chapter 4. He Xiangling's statistics is based on the data in *Neiwufu yinku yongxiang yuezhe dang* 内务府银库用项月摺档 [Monthly summary of the expenditure of the Imperial Household Department].

Mongol nobles offered the construction funds, nearly all the building or rebuilding was sponsored by the monarchs. Considering the great concern of the Qing monarchs towards Mongols and the potentially significant role of the construction of the temples in their strategy for these Mongols, we could believe in the active participation of the monarchs in the project decision and planning process of the temples, even their controlling role. Some records show the participation of these monarchs in the project decision and planning process in details, for example, the rebuilding of Chongguo Temple during the reign of Kangxi. In the 60th year of the reign of Kangxi (1721), Jibzündamba Qutuytu and the Mongolian nobles applied for permission to build a new temple to congratulate Emperor Kangxi on his birthday and to set up a lodging for lamas to rest and have meals. Emperor Kangxi agreed to set up a lodging but did not agree to the building of a new temple for the reason that building a new temple was too expensive. Jibzündamba Qutuytu and the Mongolian nobles appealed instead to rebuild Chongguo Temple to congratulate the emperor on his birthday. Emperor Kangxi finally agreed to their request in view of their sincerity.³

Some documents even indicate that the emperors selected the sites of the temples due to various reasons. The inscription of Guangren Temple records that “I (Emperor Kangxi) survey the terrain and choose a good place to build the Buddhist temple.”⁴ In the case of Pule Temple, for the temple location, which is between Anyuan Temple and Chui Peak (锤峰), it is said in the temple inscription that Emperor Qianlong “felt

³ See *Chongguo Si beiwen* 崇国寺碑文 [The inscription of Chongguo Temple], written in the 60th year of the reign of Kangxi (1721), in *Lamajiao beike*, 304-305; *Zifu Yuan beiji* 资福院碑记 [The inscription of Zifu Temple], written in the 60th year of the reign of Kangxi (1721), in *Lamajiao beike*, 302-303.

⁴ *Guangren Si beiwen*, in *Lamajiao beike*, 267.

that the space between Anyuan Temple and the Chui Peak was rather empty.”⁵ An analysis based on some temple locations and the background of the Qing regime is compatible with this evidence from the documents. With thirteen suits of armors left by his father, Nurhachi led his clansmen to fight other Manchu tribes and the great Ming Empire. In due course, Nurhachi unified the whole Manchu area and took the Liaodong area from the Ming after some intense battles. After Nurhachi, his fourth son Hong Taiji won the fierce power struggle among the Manchu nobles and became the new Manchu leader. Years later, Hong Taiji officially established the Qing Empire and built up an advantage for the Manchus in the war with the Ming Empire. Both Nurhachi and Hong Taiji were powerful leaders. The Seven Great Temples were built to the east of the capital, Hetu Ala, one year before Nurhachi officially established his Later Jin regime. After their completion, some high lamas from Mongol were invited by the Manchu leader to hold their opening ceremony. Some scholars consider this group of temples to be one of the preparations for the establishment of the Later Jin regime, especially in the spiritual aspect⁶. It was stressed in the state documents that the group of temples was constructed “on the east of the capital” “in the direction of the sun rising”⁷. The accentuation of the temples’ location and the connection of the location with “sun” does make one consider the very significance of the temple to the Hetu Ala city. The same care in the selection of the temple site can be seen in the case of the four Shengjing Temples. With the construction meant for protecting the capital

⁵ *Pule Si beiji*, in *Lamajiao beike*, 416-418.

⁶ See Li Qinpu, “*Dajin lama fashi baoji beiwen*”.

⁷ In *Manzhou laodang*, cited from Li Qinpu, “Wolu Da'erhan Nangsu” (2), 13. Some scholars consider that Nurhachi believed in heaven. See Lu Haiying, “Nurhachi chongtian xintian”; Xue Hongbo, “Nurhachi tianming guan”; etc.

as well as the regime, which was clearly expressed in the temple inscriptions⁸, these four temples were located in four directions of the capital city of Hong Taiji, Shengjing, and their stūpas were set up right at the cardinal points of the capital city. Surrounding the capital at these strategic and symbolic points, the four temples formed a spatial diagram that would possess the power to influence and protect the capital city. It would be hard to believe that, as powerful leaders, Nurhachi and Hong Taiji were not involved in the location consideration of the temples, which seem to mean a lot to their capitals as well as their regime. This is evident by the work of Zhang Yuxin who points out that “Nurhachi was very concerned about the construction of his temples even during the battles”⁹.

The participation of the Qing monarchs in the design of the temples is also expected based on the records which show the concern of the monarchs about design details and form of other building types or objects. The predilection of Qing monarchs with the supernatural can be seen in the imperial constructions of Emperor Shunzhi, who completed the Shangditan (上帝坛, Altar for Heaven) with an unusual orientation and form despite the criticism of the officials¹⁰, and expressed his enthusiasm for paying homage to super-natural powers very clearly¹¹. With these examples that show Shunzhi’s decision making interest in construction projects and

⁸ See the inscriptions of the four temples in Shengjing, which are fully recorded in Li Qinpu’s “Shengjing Sisi manzhouyu beiwen” and “Shengjing Sisi zangyu beiwen”.

⁹ Zhang Yuxin, *Qing zhengfu yu lamajiao*, 5. But, Zhang Yuxin does not mention the sources for the conclusion.

¹⁰ In the 14th year of his reign (1657), Emperor Shunzhi built an altar to the east of Fengxian Hall (奉先殿) in the Forbidden City named “Shangditan” to worship Heaven and adopted for it a west-east axis, which was uncommon in Han-Chinese ritual construction. The altar was completed despite the criticism of the officials on its construction idea as well as its form, and it was soon destroyed after Emperor Shunzhi died. For the case of Shangditan, see Zhu Qingzheng, “Shunzhi chao Shangditan”.

¹¹ “There is no rite more important than paying homage to Heaven and there is no filial piety above respecting parents” (*Qing Shizu Shilu* 清世祖实录 [Memoir of Qing Shizu], vol. 107, cited from Zhu Qingzheng, “Shunzhi chao Shangdi Tan”, 75).

their architectural forms, and from his interest in Tibetan Buddhist temples as the places where he could pay homage to the super-natural powers, it is not unusual for Emperor Shunzhi to play an active role in the construction of Tibetan Buddhist temples.

More so than other monarchs, there are a great number of records showing that emperors Yongzheng and Qianlong were very concerned about design details and the form of an object. Take Emperor Qianlong as an example, in a project for the making of Babao (八宝, eight propitious articles in Tibetan Buddhism), the following text suggests his direct involvement:

On the 10th day, Yuanwailang (员外郎, a subordinate official) Si De (四德) at el submitted to Emperor Qianlong the Babao for review, which included an ivory umbrella, a silver and enamel water jar, a silver and enamel lotus, a silver and enamel pot, a silver and enamel trumpet shell, a silver intestine-style sculpture, a silver and enamel bell with a cover, a silver and enamel mirror with a handle. Emperor Qianlong gave an order that: according to the ivory umbrella, make a new silver and enamel bigger umbrella with a silver and enamel seat; make a new smaller silver and enamel lotus with a silver and enamel seat; according to the water jar, make a new silver and enamel water jar higher and bigger, with a silver and enamel seat. Have the drawings of all these changes for review before making.

On the 17th day, Yuanwailang Di De at el submitted the ivory umbrella and submitted the drawings of the new umbrella, lotus and water jar for review. Emperor Qianlong gave his order that: according to the drawings, make the new umbrella and water jar; make the lotus smaller again and have the drawing of the changed lotus for review.

On the 18th day, Yuanwailang Si De at el submitted the drawing of smaller lotus for review. Emperor Qianlong gave an order that: put the leaf underneath and the lotus on top, and have a new drawing of the change for review.

On the 19th day, Yuanwailang Si De at el submitted the new drawing of the changed lotus for review. Emperor gave his order that: make the lotus according to the drawing.

On the 9th day of the 5th month of the 45th year of the reign of Qianlong

(1780), Yuanwailang Si De at el put the completed new umbrella, lotus and water jar in Fengsan Wusi Hall for the emperor to review. The emperor gave his order to change the seats of the lotus and water jar to be wooden and submit them to the Buddha Hall after their completion.¹²

The Eight Treasures were designed and constructed after a total of five sessions of review, and Emperor Qianlong instructed all the changes himself. Records like this could be seen frequently in the documents of *Huoji dang* (活计档, *Documents of Craftworks*) during the periods of Yongzheng and Qianlong¹³. Sometimes, they designed the object's form themselves, for example, Yongzheng once designed a cloth for himself¹⁴.

It could be expected for the emperors who were concerned about details to be involved in the decision process of their temples' form. If they did not do that, there must be some special reason for them not doing that. In fact, there were several records in *Liushi Banchan chaojin dang'an xuanbian* (六世班禅朝觐档案选编, The collection of records about the coming of the 6th Panchan Lama), in which Qianlong instructed the temple construction in details, such as three layers of gilt be applied to the surface of the roof of the halls, the changes of architectural form, etc. These records also mentioned that Tangyang (烫样, detailed architectural model) had to be produced for the emperor to review for all buildings or architectural changes under Qianlong's instructions before they were constructed. From the above discussion, this author is inclined to think that not only was the project planning of the Tibetan

¹² *Liushi Banchan chaojin dang'an xuanbian* 六世班禅朝觐档案选编 [The collection of records about the coming of the 6th Panchan Lama], 113-114, Item 145 (hereafter cited as *Banchan dang'an*).

¹³ Luo Wenhua fully quotes a number of records from *Huoji dang* during the Qianlong time which recorded the instructions of Qianlong on objects' form. See Luo wenhua, *Longpao he jilasha*. Such kind of records could also be seen frequently in *Banchan dang'an*. Yang Qiqiao quotes tens records from *Huoji dang* of the Yongzheng reign to show Yongzheng's detailed instructions about the making of the objects. See yang Qiqiao, *Jiekai Yongzheng huangdi yinni de miansha*.

¹⁴ See the item of the 28th day of the 3rd month of the 9th year of the reign of Yongzheng (1731) in *Huoji dang*, cited from Wei Qingyuan, "Pingjie Yang Qiqiao zhu *Jiekai Yongzheng huangdi yinni de miansha*", 102.

Buddhist temples tightly controlled by the Qing monarchs, but also their architectural characteristics—location, layout or form, decorations and ritual implements might also be influenced by the monarchs.

6.3 Cultural Factor for Qianlong Temple Construction

Culture is another factor influencing the construction of the temples. It seems to be even more remarkable among all the factors for the temple construction during the reign of Qianlong. Firstly, most probably as a cultural symbol, temples were absorbed into Qianlong's imperial gardens in large numbers. Secondly, to beautify the cities as well as to preserve the cultural heritage, many city temples were ordered by the emperor to be renewed. For example, in the middle of his reign, Emperor Qianlong ordered a thorough investigation into Beijing's temples, which included all the temples in the four city areas of northwest, northeast, southwest and southeast and those along main avenues within fifteen miles outside the city. Then, among all the two thousand plus temples which were reported by the survey, more than one hundred temples which had serious damage but were of great antiquity were rebuilt by the Imperial Household Department, some small run-down common temples had been demolished, and other temples were required to do repairs by themselves.¹⁵ From how Emperor Qianlong treated these temples—rebuilding and demolishing temples along main avenues, the renewal of Beijing temples in about the 20th year of the reign

¹⁵ See Wu Zhaobo, "Qingdai Beijing simiao jiqi jiazhi".

of Qianlong (1755) could be regarded as a part of Beijing city renewal, which was to beautify the city and at the same time, to preserve valuable culture sources. Under the renewal, a large number of city temples were reconstructed, and some of them were Tibetan Buddhist temples.

The impressive expression of culture values and tradition in Qianlong's Tibetan Buddhist temples also indicate the expanding meaning carried by these temples. Not only the temples with the meaning of filial piety, specifically to pray for longevity of the empress dowager, grew rapidly in number during the period, but also many temples started to be built under the wish for the reigning emperor's longevity. Thus, it could be considered that due to the increasing desire for cultural expression, the Qing Tibetan Buddhist temple construction reached its peak during the reign of Qianlong, even when the importance of befriending Mongol tribes became weakened with the submission of nearly all Mongol tribes and the Qing Empire reaching its zenith at that time.

6.4 Personal Character of the Emperors

As the individual impetus from Emperor Qianlong is considered to be involved in the cultural expression in the Tibetan Buddhist temples of the reign of Qianlong, we also see the reflection of some of Emperor Yongzheng's personal modes in Tibetan Buddhist temple constructions during his reign. Emperor Yongzheng consciously

imitated his father Emperor Kangxi in many aspects¹⁶, and often rebuilt buildings which Emperor Kangxi had rebuilt or visited¹⁷. In his Tibetan Buddhist temples, we see that the repair of Xihuang Temple in the 1st year of the reign of Yongzheng (1723) was to remember Emperor Kangxi¹⁸; Shanyin Temple of Dolon-nuur was just built next to Huizong Temple of Emperor Kangxi and was regarded as being built after the manner of Emperor Kangxi's building of Huizong Temple; Guangtong Temple, which Yongzheng rebuilt, was especially mentioned in its rebuilding inscription that it had been reconstructed during the Kangxi period¹⁹. Emperor Yongzheng was acquainted with the 2nd Zhangjia Living Buddha since he was a young prince. He often discussed Buddhist philosophies with the Living Buddha. Because of his friendship with the 2nd Zhangjia Living Buddha, Emperor Yongzheng treated his reincarnation, that is the 3rd Zhangjia Living Buddha²⁰, very well. Not only did Emperor Yongzheng protect the reincarnation and his temple from damage during the Lob Ysangdanjin Rebellion while he killed a large number of lamas and destroyed many Tibetan Buddhist monasteries in Qinghai²¹, but also let him study together with his favorite son Hongli

¹⁶ Take handwriting as an example. Emperor Yongzheng worked hard to imitate Emperor Kangxi in handwriting and won a commendation from Emperor Kangxi for his perfect imitation when he was a prince. Emperor Kangxi required Prince Yong to write on Chinese fans and bestowed the fans to his officials. The total number of these fans was no less than one hundred every year. For detailed information, see Yan Chongnian, "Yongzheng di yu Yuanmingyuan", 88.

¹⁷ Several such cases are recorded in documents. For instance, he added a new library building in Guanyin Temple (观音寺) close to Guangning Gate (广宁门) of Beijing. Emperor Yongzheng claimed in the inscription in celebration of the construction of the new library building that one of the reasons for the project is that Emperor Kangxi once visited the temple. See *Daci Guanyin Si bei* 大慈观音寺碑 [The inscription of Guanyin Temple], written by Emperor Yongzheng, and editor's additional information about the inscription, in *Lamajiao beike*, 323-324.

¹⁸ See *Xihuang Si beiwe* 西黄寺碑文 [The inscription of Xihuang Temple], in *Lamajiao beike*, 309-310.

¹⁹ See *Guangtong Chanxi beiwen* 广通禅寺碑文 [The inscription of Guangtong Temple], in *Lamajiao beike*, 327-329; *Chongxiu Guangtong Si bei* 重修广通寺碑 [The inscription of the rebuilding of Guangtong Temple], written in the 51st year of the reign of Kangxi (1712), in *Lamajiao beike*, 279-280.

²⁰ Lcang skya Rol—pavi—to—rje (章嘉·若必多吉, 1717—1786).

²¹ For more details, see Wang Xiangyun, "Qingchao huangshi, Zhangjia Huofo yu lama simiao".

(弘历, the future Emperor Qianlong) after he was sent to Beijing.²² In the Tibetan Buddhist temples of Yongzheng, the Songzhu Temple and Fayuan Temple of Beijing were the residences of the Zhangjia Living Buddha when he visited Beijing.

Yongzheng had a big interest in Buddhist thought and studied it deeply. In accordance with this, in many inscriptions of his Tibetan Buddhist temples, Yongzheng mentioned the influence of Buddhism for the good and set forth his views of Buddhist philosophies at great length. The inscriptions of Longfu Temple, Huiyuan Temple and Guangtong Temple²³ were such cases. The income of the national treasury increased quickly during the reign of Yongzheng. It reached 62,183,349 taels in the 8th year of the reign (1730) from 32,622,421 taels in the 60th year of the reign of Kangxi (1721)²⁴. However, very few Tibetan Buddhist temples were constructed during the reign of Yongzheng and that matched well with the situation of the time when few religious structures were sponsored by the imperial coffer.

6.5 Qing Emperors' Tibetan Buddhist Faith

How much was the construction of Qing Tibetan Buddhist temples influenced by the personal and intimate relationship of Qing monarchs with Tibetan Buddhism? To be more specific, whether these Qing monarchs believed in Tibetan Buddhism and

²² See Chen Qingying, "Zhangjia Ruobiduoji yu qingchao huangshi xingjian de lama siyuan"; Wang Xiangyun, "Qingchao huangshi, Zhangjia Huofo yu lama simiao".

²³ See *Longfu Si beiwen* 隆福寺碑文 [The inscription of Longfu Temple] and editor's additional information about the inscription, in *Lamajiao beike*, 310-311; *Huiyuan Miao beiwen* and editor's additional information about the inscription, in *Lamajiao beike*, 315-318; *Guangtong Chansi beiwen* and editor's additional information about the inscription, in *Lamajiao beike*, 327-329; etc.

²⁴ Lu Jian, "Kang Yong Qian hubu yinku".

how would that faith impact the desire for patronizing Tibetan Buddhist temples? We do not find many obvious signs in the founding of these temples to show an obvious relationship of the Qing monarchs with Tibetan Buddhism except for Emperor Qianlong, based on the locations and backgrounds of the temples he patronized.

Before looking into the case of Emperor Qianlong, let us first examine the cases of earlier Qing monarchs. The Tibetan Buddhist temple ordered by Nurhachi at Hetu Ala was only one in the group of seven temples of various religions. The building time of the temples in the reigns of Shunzhi exactly overlapped with important political events connected with Mongols. As for Yongzheng, as we have discussed before, the backgrounds of Yongzheng's Tibetan Buddhist temples were connected with the emperor's political purposes, the behavior mode of following the manner of Emperor Kangxi, a friendly relationship with the Zhangjia Living Buddha, the affirmation and interest of Buddhist thought, etc., but there was no sign of Emperor Yongzheng building Tibetan Buddhist temples due to his devotion to Tibetan Buddhism. On the contrary, Emperor Yongzheng had not constructed any Tibetan Buddhist building in Yuanmingyuan Garden where he lived during most of his rule. Thus we can conclude that there is little evidence to support the argument that personal belief of the Qing monarchs from Nurhachi till Yongzheng resulted in the construction of Tibetan Buddhist temples as an expression of the monarchs' faith in the religion.

If we look into the faith of different monarchs of the Qing, it is apparent that their purpose for patronizing, and the resulting architectural forms, must be directly

related to their personal faith or relationship with different religions including Tibetan Buddhism. There were fewer records about the very early Manchu leaders, Nurhachi and Hong Taiji. We do know, Nurhachi and Hong Taiji did not hold their most significant rituals in the Tibetan Buddhist temples, instead, Nurhachi held the most majestic rituals for going out for a battle and a triumphant return in Tangzi of Shamanism²⁵, and Hong Taiji sent his princes and ministers to pray in Tangzi and the royal ancestral temple for his serious illness²⁶.

The founding emperor of the Qing, Emperor Shunzhi, seemed to have more personal relationship with Chan Buddhism than Tibetan Buddhism. He was acquainted with many Chan masters such as Yulin Tongxiu (玉琳通秀), Muchen Daoqian (木陈道忞) and Zhuxi Xingseng (筇溪行森); he let Zhuxi Xingseng held old rituals of cremation of his most beloved Imperial Consort Dong'e (董鄂妃) and himself; he built Wanshan Hall (万善殿) at the site of the original Chongzhi Hall (崇智殿) of the Ming Dynasty, appointed another of his favourite monks, Hanpu Xingcong (憨璞性聪), as the abbot of the Chongzhi Hall, and bestowed a lot of money, paintings and Buddhist scriptures to the monks of the Wanshan Hall; and so on.²⁷ Because of the affinity between Emperor Shunzhi and Chan Buddhism, there even was a rumor that Emperor Shunzhi did not die of illness but became a monk.

Embracing Han-Chinese culture almost wholeheartedly, Emperor Kangxi ruled the whole of China using the pragmatic Neo-Confucianism and preferred simplicity

²⁵ See Bai Hongxi, "Qinggong Tangzi", 78-80.

²⁶ See Huang Taiji yanyan Yila Gukesan deng, in *Dalai dang'an*, 8, Item 7; *Qing Taizong shilu*, vol. 28, cited in Zhang Yuxin, *Qing zhengfu yu lamajiao*, 22-23.

²⁷ See Huang Chunhe, "Shunzhi huangdi weihe taochan"; Yin Shumei, "Shunzhi chujia le ma"; Long Xiaoyun, *Fosi yu fotang*, 143-146.

and efficiency in his rule²⁸, and thus Kangxi is regarded by the historical scholars as a Confucianist emperor. In addition, in regards to the emperor's attitude towards Tibetan Buddhism and its leaders from the historical documents such as the letters between Kangxi and the Dalai Lama, one can find no personal homage to the Dalai Lama as well as Tibetan Buddhism from Emperor Kangxi but rather a political wrestling relationship between them. Indeed, not only the lamas in Tibet but Emperor Kangxi also treated the lamas in Beijing very strictly²⁹ and regarded them as political pawns³⁰.

As for Emperor Yongzheng, he is generally considered to be more interested in various forms of religion. He called himself "Layperson Yuanming" (圓明居士) or "Layperson Puchen" (破尘居士). He wrote books on Chan Buddhism, compiled quotations of well-known Chan masters, published classics of Buddhism, spent a lot of time with monks and even intervened in Buddhist matters through administrative devices.³¹ Seeing that Emperor Yongzheng felt a strong affinity to Buddhism especially the Chan School, some scholars regard Emperor Yongzheng as a monk living at home³². While Emperor Yongzheng practiced Chan Buddhism, he was also

²⁸ For more information, see Sun Fuxuan, "Zunxue zhiyong"; Chen Junling, "Daotong, zhitong zhi heyong"; Zhang Jian, "Kangxi de shixue sixiang"; Zhao Bingzhong, "Kangxi di yu rujia xueshuo"; Huang Aiping, "Kang Yong Qian sandi de tongzhi sixiang yu wenhua xuanze"; Wang Juncai, "Qingchu tongzhi sixiang"; etc. Neo-Confucianism is developed by Zhu Xi (朱熹) from traditional Confucianism.

²⁹ See *Lifanyuan shangshu Kalantu deng wei chabao Zhulaqi Gelong cong Dalai Lama chu daihui lama shi tiben* 理藩院尚书喀兰图等为查报朱喇齐格隆从达赖处带回喇嘛事题本 [The report by the minister of the Board of General Affairs of Mongolia, Tibet, etc., Kalantu, about the investigation on Zhulaqi Lama bring lamas from the Dalai Lama], November 11 of the Chinese lunar calendar, the 5th year of the reign of Kangxi (1666), in *Dalai dang'an*, 64-66, Item 117.

³⁰ See *Kangxi di wei gao Dalai Lama yuanji yiyou shiliu nian deng qingxing gei huangtaizi chiyu* 康熙帝为告达赖喇嘛圆寂已有十六年等情形给皇太子教谕 [The imperial decree of Emperor Kangxi to Crown Prince to tell him the news of that the Dalai Lama has died for sixteen years], March 10 of the Chinese lunar calendar, the 36th year of the reign of Kangxi (1697), in *Dalai dang'an*, 195-198, Item 272.

³¹ For a detailed discussion about Yongzheng's relationship with Buddhism, see Feng Erkang, "Yongzheng di chongfo"; Ma Tianxiang, "Yongzheng yu qingchu chanxue".

³² Feng Erkang, "Yongzheng di chongfo". To be more precise, the "monk" of Yongzheng is considered by the author of this dissertation as the one doing things of great benefit to the whole world and much different from

in close relationship with Daoism. Yongzheng built Daoist buildings and conducted Daoist activities in the Yuanmingyuan Garden³³, where he lived and dealt with political affairs most of the year, and in the Forbidden City³⁴. From constructing Daoist building complexes to asking Daoists for help when he was ill³⁵ and throwing himself into making pills of immortality, all sorts of actions of Emperor Yongzheng suggest that he had a close interaction with and kept getting closer to Daoism. Since Emperor Qianlong banished Daoists from the Yuanmingyuan Garden as soon as Emperor Yongzheng died and asked them not to say anything about the Yuanmingyuan Garden, some scholars even think the stern view of Daoists taken by Emperor Qianlong might reflect the fact that Emperor Yongzheng died of an overdose of these pills which contained mercury³⁶. It was not a conflict to Emperor Yongzheng to maintain the intimate relation with both Buddhism and Daoism since he highly

those ordinary monks who only cultivated themselves according to religious doctrines. Such perception was clearly revealed in a letter Emperor Yongzheng wrote to one of his close officials Nian Gengyao: "There was a well-known Daoist with the surname Liu in Beijing. He told everyone that he was a few hundred years old. When Prince Yi (怡亲王) met him the other day, he told Prince Yi that Prince Yi was a Daoist in his past-life. I laughed at the news and asked Prince Yi why you Daoist came to exert yourself to help me the monk. Prince Yi could not answer. I said the real Buddha or faerie or saint just focuses his attention on benefiting all human beings and does not take care who he is no matter a monk or a Daoist. Only the ordinary practitioner classes him as monk or Daoist. Then we all laughed." (*Nian Gengyao zouzhe zhuanji*, cited from Feng Erkang, "Yongzheng di chongfo", 27. This passage is also included in Ma Tianxiang, "Yongzheng yu qingchu chanxue", 104) From the letter, we also see the high value of Yongzheng of the syncretism of all religions such as Buddhism and Daoism under the thought of Chan Buddhism.

³³ After ascending the throne, Emperor Yongzheng firstly repaired the imperial garden Changchunyuan (畅春园), which was built by Emperor Kangxi, so that his mother could live, and then expanded his personal garden Yuanmingyuan. The Yuanmingyuan Garden then became the place where he lived and dealt with political affairs most of the year. He built many religious buildings in Yuanmingyuan Garden, such as "Ritian Linyu" (日天琳宇), "Pengdao Yaotai" (蓬岛瑶台) and "Shewei Cheng" (舍卫城). There was a wide variety of religious buildings in Yuanmingyuan Garden during the Yongzheng period. Among them, "Ritian Linyu", "Pengdao Yaotai" and the Guangyu Palace (广育宫) were the Daoist building complexes. Some documents reveal the fact that Emperor Yongzheng was engaged in Daoist activity in Yuanmingyuan Garden. Emperor Yongzheng set up new altars near his living palace and ordered articles relating to making pills of immortality. The construction of these Daoist alters is recorded in the entry of 27 January (Chinese lunar calendar) of the 9th year of the reign of Yongzheng (1731) in *Huofl dang* 活计档 [Documents of handicraft works], cited from Fang Xiaofeng, "Yuanmingyuan zongjiao jianzhu", 44.

³⁴ For example, Emperor Yongzheng rebuilt Da Guangming Hall (大光明殿) and often used Qin'an Hall (钦安殿). Both are located in the Forbidden City and devoted to Daoist deities. For more details, see Xigu Liangfu, "Yongzheng chao de Zhengyi Jiao", 20.

³⁵ Xigu Liangfu in "Yongzheng chao de Zhengyi Jiao" enumerates some examples of Emperor Yongzheng asking Daoists for help when he was ill.

³⁶ See Yan Chongnian, "Yongzheng di yu Yuanmingyuan", 88.

valued and furthered the syncretism of Buddhism and Daoism under the thought of Chan Buddhism. While Emperor Yongzheng kept a close relationship with both Chan Buddhism and Daoism³⁷, there was no sign of Emperor Yongzheng paying special attention to Tibetan Buddhism except his close personal relationship with the Zhangjia Living Buddha.

Finally, Emperor Qianlong seemed to have devoted the most attention to Tibetan Buddhism, surpassing all of his predecessors. This can be attested by some characteristics of the Tibetan Buddhist temple construction during his reign. Firstly, among all the temples that Qianlong sponsored for their construction, Tibetan Buddhist temples got more patronage than others³⁸. The more remarkable sign is that the emperor ordered the building of a large number halls and chambers for worshipping Tibetan Buddhist Buddhas in his palaces and imperial gardens, of which some are right inside his sleeping quarters and study rooms (see Chapter 7 of this dissertation). Because of this proliferation of Tibetan Buddhist sites both within the private living space of Emperor Qianlong and many central China locations, one has reason to believe that Emperor Qianlong held to a personal belief in Tibetan Buddhism which played a major role in his daily life. His interest and care about the faith can be demonstrated through his wish to work out a comprehensive understanding of the religious meaning of the complex lineage of Tibetan Buddhist

³⁷ Among all the Daoist schools, Emperor Yongzheng specially treated especially well the Zhengyi Sect (正一教), whose thought was close to Chan Buddhism. He put an essay of Zhang Boduan (张伯端), the founder of the Zhengyi Sect, into his collection of quotations of well-known monks, felt a strong affinity to Daoist Lou Jihuan (娄近垣) from the Zhengyi Sect, bestowed resources on the Zhengyi Sect to rebuild its temples on Mount Longhu (龙虎山), awarded the high Daoists of the Zhengyi Sect on Mount Longhu official titles, and so on. For more details, see Xigu Liangfu, "Yongzheng chao de Zhengyi Jiao", 17-20.

³⁸ See IHDL.

deities. Qianlong enthusiasm of this work is translated into systematic arrangements of Thangkas, Buddha statues and ritual articles in those Tibetan Buddhist halls and chambers. Thus, the discussion about the influence of the Qing monarchs' personal attitude to the construction of the Tibetan Buddhist temples would not only be significant in the understanding of the construction and its development, but also be a benefit to and enrich the knowledge about the monarchs' personal beliefs with the findings obtained till now, especially for the current argument about Qianlong's personal belief in Tibetan Buddhism.

6.6 Participants of the Temple Construction

The design and construction of these Tibetan Buddhist temples in central China involved many people who must have a direct influence on the form of their architecture. For example, Lama Pi Lig Thu Nang So (毕力兔朗苏) designed the Buddha statues and stūpas of the Four Shengjing Temples of Hong Taiji. Many Han craftsmen and several other lamas are also listed in the worker list of the temples.³⁹ While it is not certain how these people might have influenced the architecture of the temples, it might be reasonable to suggest that lamas such as Pi Lig Thu Nang So would most probably offered designs of Tibetan style, and those Han-Chinese worker the typical Han-Chinese style. In the Puren Temple of Kangxi, we also see the case that because of the participation of some Kerk Mongolian workers, some Buddha

³⁹ See *Shengjing Lianhua Jingtū Shisheng Sì jiāncheng Huang Taiji qinwang xingli shangci*, in *Dalai dang'an*; the Chinese translation of the inscriptions of the Four Shengjing Temples from Tibetan, Li Qinpu, "Shengjing Sisi zangyu beiwen", 104.

statues in the temple showed the features of a Nepalese style⁴⁰. However, to those characteristics mainly discussed in this dissertation, such as location and layout of the temples, the role and influence of monarchs and officials in charge of the construction projects are perhaps more crucial. For example, while a typical Han-Chinese temple layout was seen in Hong Taiji's Tibetan Buddhist temples, all the other imperial constructions during his time, such as palaces and the capital city, were given a symmetrical arrangement, which was a significant change from the asymmetry in the palace and capital city during the Nurhachi period⁴¹. Also, after the temple layout of typical Han-Chinese of the Kangxi period, some patterns, which were popular in Tibetan monasteries and expressed the complicated Tibetan Buddhist meanings, appeared to take the leading place in the layout of some Qianlong's Tibetan Buddhist temples. We cannot imagine such systemic changes could be made by common workers without the permission of emperors. Therefore, such system changes should be made under the emperors' direction within the context of the politics and culture of the time.

6.7 Development of the Temple Construction and Its Influencing Factors

On the whole, from the Nurhachi period to the Qianlong period, Qing Tibetan Buddhist temples grew in the scale of the temple complexes as well as the size of their

⁴⁰ See Luo Wenhua, *Longpao yu jiashu*, 332-339.

⁴¹ The detailed descriptions and drawings of the layouts of palaces and capital cities of Nurhachi and Hong Taiji could be seen in Liang Zhenjing's "Hetu Ala cheng 'Zunhao Tai'", Liu Chang's "Qingdai qianqi gongshi" and "Fo Ala".

individual building (Table 6.1) and this is in line with the increasing national strength.

Table 6.1: Summary of the Early and Middle Qing Tibetan Buddhist Temples in Central China Dececd by the Qing Monarchs

Reign	No.	Main sites	Notable location characteristics	Potential main meanings	Architectural layout
Nurhachi	2	Hetu Ala, Xingjing	East of the city	Strengthening the alliance with Mongols; Praying for divine blessing	Unknown
Hong Taiji	6	Shengjing	On city axes	Strengthening the alliance with Mongols; Praying for divine blessing	Tibetan stūpas and Chinese courtyards
Shunzhi	13	Beijing	High ground near the palace	Political concern of Mongols; Praying for divine blessing; Filial piety	Tibetan stūpas and Chinese courtyards
Kangxi	22	Mount Wutai, Beijing, Chengde		Political concern of Mongols; Ruling people with their conventions; Filial piety	Han-Chinese temple layout
Yongzheng	6	Beijing		Following Kangxi's manner; Helping the rule with Buddhist thought; Political concern of Mongols	Han-Chinese temple layout
Qianlong	45	Beijing, Chengde	Inside and around imperial gardens	Representation of cultural symbol and meaning; Filial piety; Political concern of Mongols	Han-Chinese temple layout and Tibetan pattern

In the general trend of increasing patronage of Tibetan temples, the period of Yongzheng is the only declining section. Facing the rebellion of Qinghai Mongols and the Tibetan Civil War (卫藏战争), the demand for the submission of the Mongol tribes to the Qing was still strong in this period. Nor can the factor of economics be considered as the most responsible force for the decline, since the income of the national treasury increased to 62,183,349 taels in the 8th year of the reign of Yongzheng (1730) from 32,622,421 taels in the 60th year of the reign of Kangxi (1721)⁴². By comparison, thirteen constructions and reconstructions, which is more

⁴² Lu Jian, "Kang Yong Qian hubu yinku".

than twice in the reign of Yongzheng, were completed during the reign of Shunzhi even though the state coffer was rather empty at the beginning of the dynasty and fighting for unifying the entire country was still going on⁴³. The main factor for the decline of the whole construction scale in the reign of Yongzheng might be the personal character of the emperor, who showed little interest in Buddhist temple construction while he studied deeply the Buddhist thoughts. During the period of Qianlong, cultural expression appeared to be the most noticeable factor to have influenced temple construction. And at this time, the number of projects to build or rebuild Tibetan Buddhist temple reached its peak, even when the importance of befriending Mongol tribes became weakened with the submission of nearly all Mongol tribes and the Qing Empire reaching its zenith at this time. The top motive for patronizing Tibetan Buddhist temple can be said to have changed from mainly political to predominantly cultural reasons. New meanings also had been added in the temple construction based on the change of the social culture. The first Qing Tibetan Buddhist temple having the meaning of filial piety, which was a popular concept of Confucianism in the Han-Chinese culture, appeared fifteen years later after the Qing regime entered central China. It appeared in the period when the Qing court was more and more influenced by Han-Chinese culture, seen in cases such as Shunzhi accepting the idea of the Han officials based on the ritual consideration of Confucianism not to meet the Dalai Lama outside Beijing in the 9th year of his reign. We could attribute the appearance of the first Tibetan Buddhist temple built with the meaning of filial piety

⁴³ See Li Junjia, "Huguang jiaofu"; Wei Qingyuan, "Shunzhi chao lizhi"; etc. There are some other scholars consider that the economical policies such as tax cuts proposed by Duo'ergun and Shunzhi existed only in name (Yang Tao, "Caizheng weiji"; Zhao Yi, "Shezheng shiqi de shehui jingji"; etc.).

to the increasing influence of the Han-Chinese culture. With the increasingly deeper understanding of the Han-Chinese culture, Qing emperors increasingly appreciate Han-Chinese reason for temple sponsorship. While the personal character of Emperor Yongzheng is considered to be the most responsible factor for the decline in the whole construction scale of the Tibetan Buddhist temples in that period, the personal belief of Emperor Qianlong in Tibetan Buddhism and his enthusiasm for presenting Tibetan Buddhist culture could also be regarded as the reason for the phenomenon that many temples ordered by the emperor contained the architectural features of Tibetan style⁴⁴. Whereas, the controlled use of such architectural features in the central part of the royal palaces and imperial gardens may indicate the subordinate position of such features in the consideration for the construction of the major and most important building complexes of the empire.

Multiple factors from politics, economy, culture, religion, and the backgrounds and characters of the builders influenced the construction of the early and middle Qing Tibetan Buddhist temples. These factors varied in their combination in different periods and influenced the temple construction by their interacting force. Sometimes, one or several factors among all the influential ones stood out to be the most important in their influence. The changes of the factors' conditions with time were also reflected in the temple construction. With these changes, the temple construction developed and changed in its scale, characteristics and meaning.

⁴⁴ For more information about the closer cultural exchange between Beijing and Tibet during the Qianlong period, see Luo Wenhua, *Longpao yu jiaha*.

Chapter 7 Architectural Features of Imperial sponsored Tibetan Buddhist Temples

Since many of the Tibetan Buddhist temples decreed by Qing monarchs from Nurhachi till Kangxi have been destroyed, and nearly all the extant temples had been rebuilt during the reign of Qianlong, it is not certain what their original architectural forms were. Moreover, hardly any record exists that might give any information about the architectural form of these temples when first built. This dissertation will therefore discuss the architectural features of these early and middle Qing Tibetan Buddhist temples focusing on their building layouts primarily based mainly on the plans as described in historical documents available.

7.1 Han-Chinese Layout of Tibetan Buddhist Temples

Except for Nurhachi's temples, which were unknown because of the lack of records, some drawings or descriptions of the layouts of the temples which were decreed by the Qing monarchs from Hong Taiji to Qianlong could be found in some documents. Shown by these drawings or descriptions, most of the layouts could be

classed as a typical Han-Chinese temple layout¹, or at least having a part which was arranged in the typical Han-Chinese temple layout. Specifically, nearly all of the layouts were arranged with courtyards. In the courtyards, usually there was a Temple Gate (山门), a Heavenly King Hall (天王殿) and a Main Hall (大殿) located one behind another on the axis, two side halls built on each side of the Main Hall, and Bell Tower (钟楼) and Drum Tower (鼓楼) on each side before the Heavenly King Hall. Judging by the axis, the symmetrical arrangement of the temple and the components of the temple such as the Temple Gate, the Heavenly King Hall, the Main Hall, the Bell Tower and the Drum Tower, most of the layouts could be said as having a typical Han-Chinese temple layout. For example, the layout of Hong Taiji's Shisheng Temple was described in a record of that time that there was a Temple Gate, Heavenly King Hall and Main Hall located one behind another and two side halls were built on each side of the Main Hall². Ito Chuta of Japan draws a general plan of The Four Temples of Shengjing. In the general plan, the four temples had a similar layout with each other: all temple had an north-south axis; a Temple Gate, Heavenly King Hall and Main Hall of the temple were located one behind another; a bell tower and a drum tower were put on each side before the Heavenly King Hall while two stone-stele

¹ For a detailed introduction of the typical Han-Chinese temple layout, see Zhang Yuhuan, *Zhongguo fojiao siyuan jianzhu*, 27-84.

² See *Shengjing Lianhua Jingtu Shisheng Si jiancheng Huang Taiji qinwang xingli shangci* 盛京莲花净土实胜寺建成皇太极亲往行礼赏赐 [Hong Taiji worshipping in Shisheng Temple after its completion], in *Dalai dang'an*, 3-6, Item 3.

pavilions were situated on each side before the Main Hall (Figure 4.1). Although till now it has not been certain that the plans were the original ones, one cannot exclude the possibility that they were and this author is inclined to believe in the plans' originality according to the case of Shisheng Temple. The Four Shengjing Temples not only had a similar layout with each other, but also showed a similar layout with Shisheng Temple.

Likewise, the form of Baita Temple located on Qionghua Island of the imperial garden founded by Emperor Shunzhi might have been in the Han-Chinese courtyard form. The temple was represented in the Plan of Beijing drawn in the 15th year of the reign of Qianlong (1750)³. Since no record of its reconstruction can be found in the periods of Kangxi and Yongzheng⁴, its first repair initiated during the period of Qianlong was in the 16th year of his reign (1751)⁵, one year later than the Plan of Beijing (1750) was drawn, thus we could believe that the plan of the temple in the Plan of Beijing (1750) represents what the temple looked like when it was first constructed. In the Plan, Baita Temple is seen to have consisted of a central axis-symmetrical layout arranged with courtyards and buildings, including the arches,

³ See *Jiamo Qianlong Jingcheng Quantu* 加慕乾隆京城全图 [Re-traced master plan of Beijing city in the Qianlong period], 1996. *Jiamo Qianlong Jingcheng Quantu* is the reprinting of the master plan of Beijing city drawn in the 15th year of the reign of Qianlong (1750) with some lines re-traced.

⁴ Emperor Yongzheng ordered the repair of the pagoda in the 8th year of his reign (1730). See *Baita Chongxiu beiwen* 白塔重修碑文 [The inscription about the reconstruction of the White Pagoda], written in the 11th year of the reign of Yongzheng (1733), and editor's additional information about the inscription, in *Lamajiao beike*, 324-325.

⁵ See "The List of Tibetan Buddhist Temples Built or Rebuilt by the Imperial Household Department in the Qianlong Time" (IHDL).

Temple Gate, Bell Tower, Drum Tower, Main Hall, side halls, etc. (Figure 7.1).

Similar layout can also be seen in Puren Temple in Chengde, decreed by Emperor Kangxi in the 52nd year of his reign (1713). Since it is not seen in any available rebuilding lists after Kangxi's rule, it may not have been much altered after Kangxi and the existing temple layout might be the original one as founded. In the layout, on the north-south axis, there is a Temple Gate, Heavenly King Hall, Main Hall and Rear Hall situated one behind another; a bell tower and a drum tower were set up on either side of the Heavenly King Hall; two side halls facing each other were located on both sides of the Main Hall and the Rear Hall respectively (Figure 7.2).

Later examples of Hongren Temple and Songzhu Temple are also represented in the Plan of Beijing (1750) (Figure 7.3-4). There is no record about Hongren Temple's reconstruction in the Yongzheng period and its first repair recorded in the Qianlong period is in the 25th year of the reign (1760)⁶, ten years later than the Plan was drawn. Songzhu Temple was built in the 51st year of the reign of Kangxi (1712)⁷. In the 12th year of the reign of Yongzheng (1734), it was repaired⁸. Since this repair was so soon after its building and there are no commemorative texts of this repair⁹, we could

⁶ See IHDL.

⁷ Chen Qiangyi points out in "Songzhu Si yu Zhangjia Huofo" (42) that the temple was built in the 50th year of the reign of Kangxi (1711) and named as "Songzhu" the following year, but without any source indicated. Zhang Fan indicates in "Songzhu Si cehui ji shijian niandai" the source of the document in which the Songzhu Temple was recorded to be built in the 51st year of the reign of Kangxi (1712).

⁸ See Zhang Fan, "Songzhu Si cehui ji shijian niandai", 21.

⁹ One or several inscriptions are usually written after a construction or a grand reconstruction to celebrate it as well as record the construction or reconstruction reason.

regard it as mainly works of maintenance nature. Therefore the layouts of Hongren Temple and Songzhu Temple shown in the Plan of Beijing (1750) could be regarded as the original ones as founded in the Kangxi period. The layouts are similar with Puren Temple's. Besides, the Puren Temple, Hongren Temple and Songzhu Temple were laid out to face south, which was the typical orientation of Han-Chinese temples. In the 1st year of the reign of Yongzheng (1723), Longfu Temple in Beijing was ordered by the emperor to be rebuilt. In the temple inscription for celebrating the reconstruction, Yongzheng wrote that he "rebuilt the temple gate, restored the archway, repaired and redecorated the main halls from front to back and their side halls."¹⁰ According to the description of the temple layout in the inscription, which dealt with the temple gate, archway, main halls from front to back and their side halls, the layout of the rebuilt Longfu Temple could be considered as a Han-Chinese temple layout (Figure 7.5). Fayuan Temple was also a similar case (Figure 7.6). During the reign of Qianlong, either in temples that were converted from other building types, such as Yonghegong, which was converted from a prince's mansion, or in newly built temples, such as Chanfu Temple in Xiyuan, a typical Han-Chinese temple layout is seen (Figure 7.7-8). Most Tibetan Buddhist temples in the imperial gardens during the period were also arranged in such a layout (Figure 5.1).

¹⁰ *Longfu Si beiwen*, in *Lamajiao beike*, 310-311.

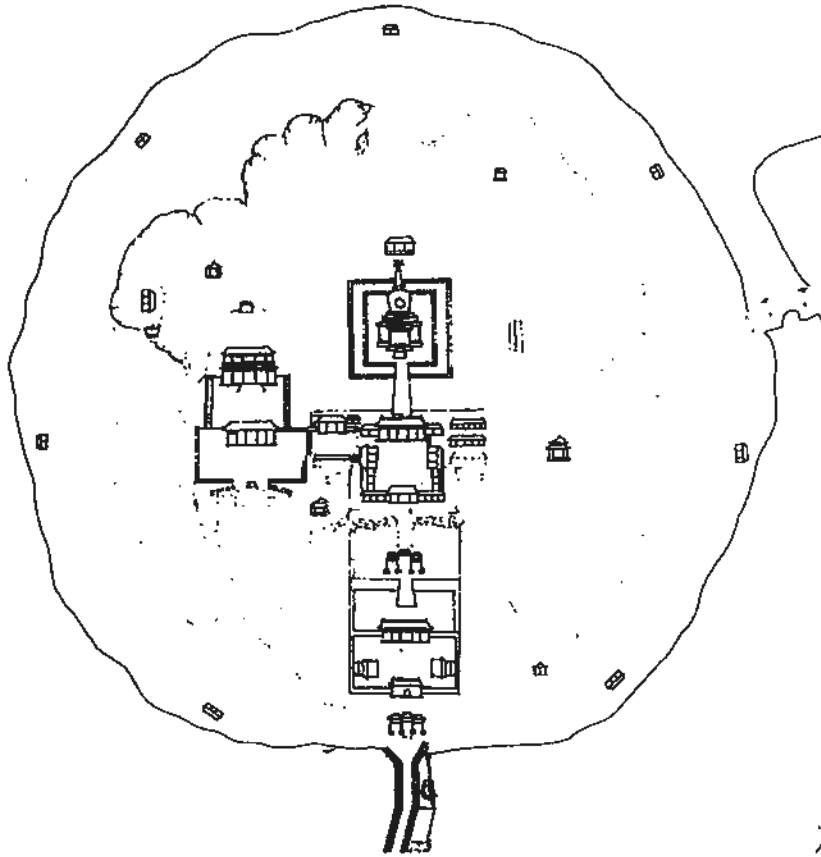


Figure 7.1: Plan of Baita Temple on Qionghua Island in Xiyuan, in *Jiamo Qianlong Jingcheng Quantu* 加慕乾隆京城全图 [Re-traced master plan of Beijing city of the Qianlong Time, 1996] which is the reprinting of the master plan of Beijing city in the 15th year of the reign of Qianlong (1750) with some lines re-traced

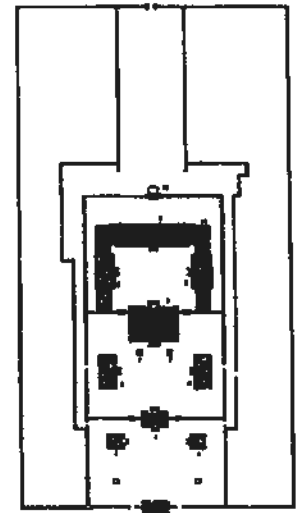


Figure 7.2: Plan of Puren Temple, from *Chengde gu jianzhu*, 241, Figure 327

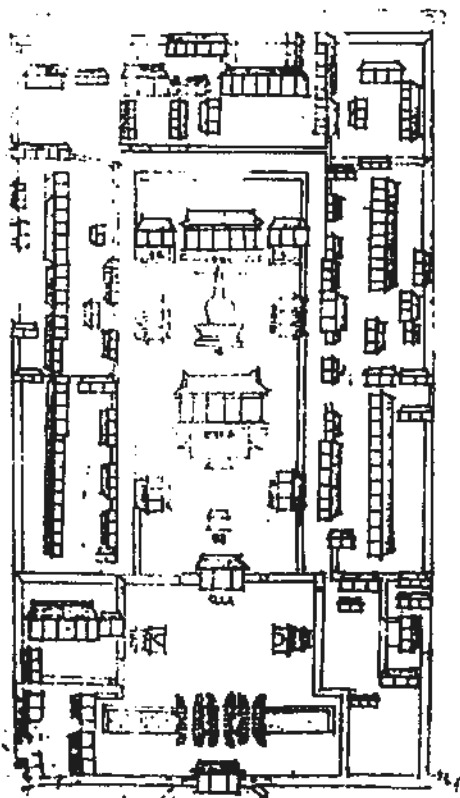


Figure 7.3: Plan of Hongren Temple, in *Jiamo Qianlong Jingcheng Quantu* ²

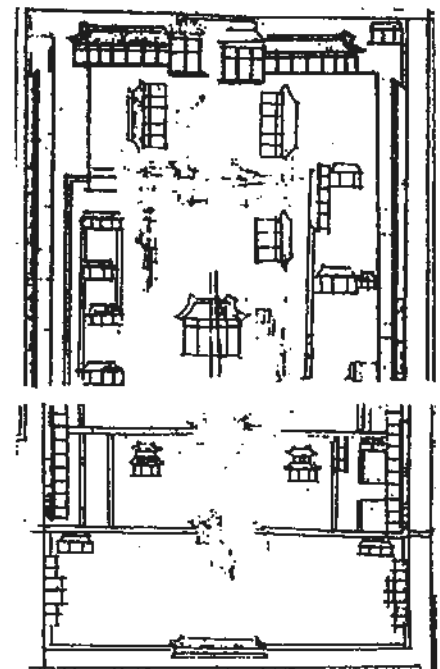


Figure 7.4: Plan of Songzhu Temple, in *Jiamo Qianlong Jingcheng Quantu*

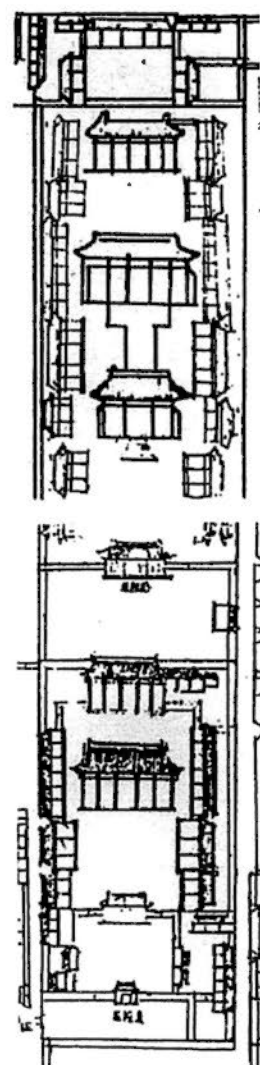
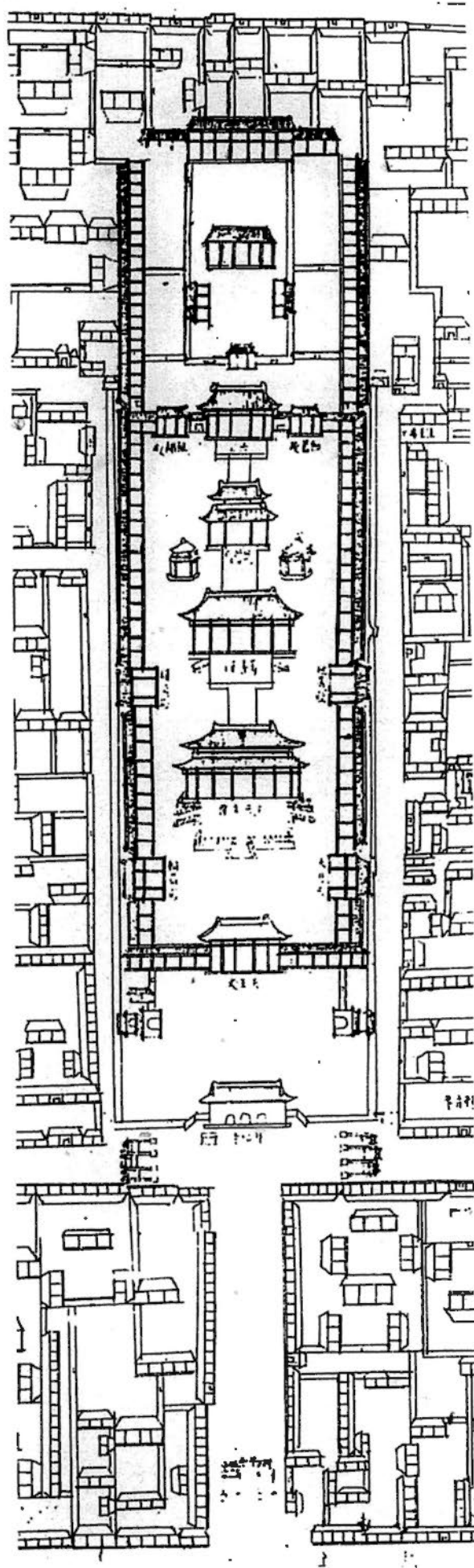


Figure 7.6: Plan of Fayuan Temple, in *Jiamo Qianlong Jingcheng Quantu*

Figure 7.5: Plan of Longfu Temple, in *Jiamo Qianlong Jingcheng Quantu*

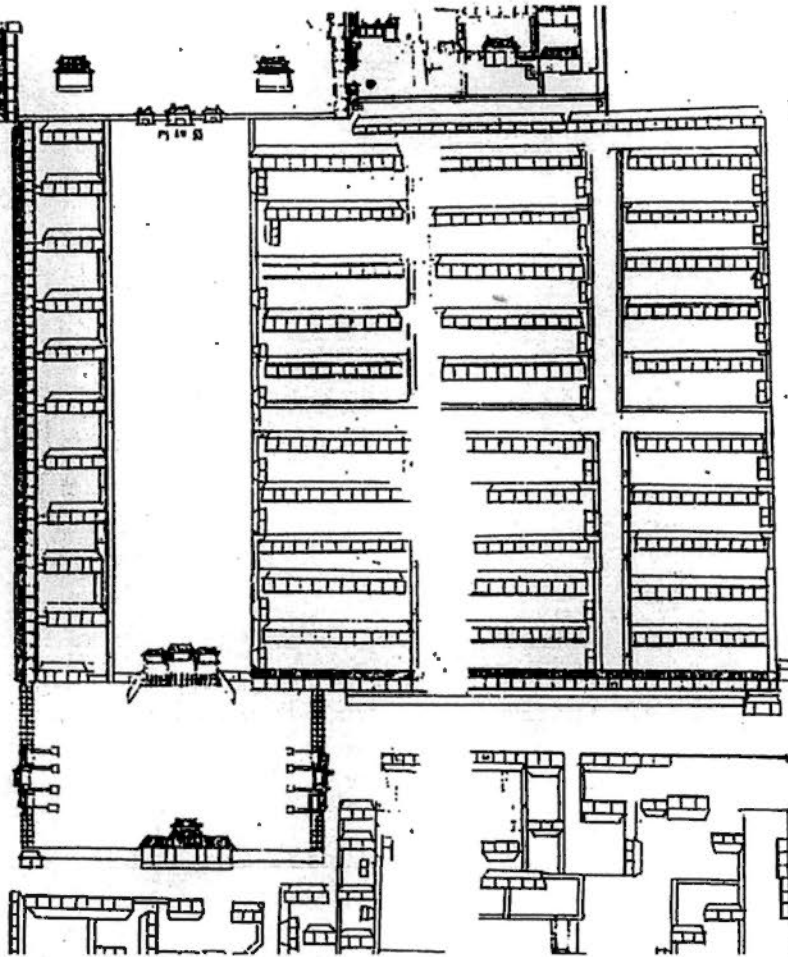
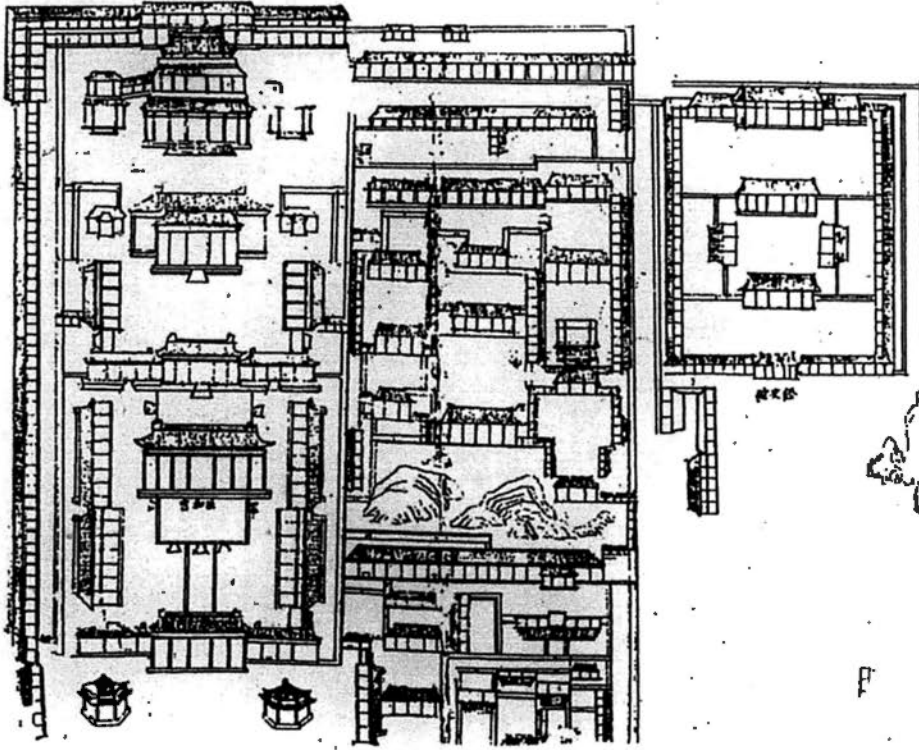


Figure 7.7: Plan of Yonghegong, in *Jiamo Qianlong Jingcheng Quantu*

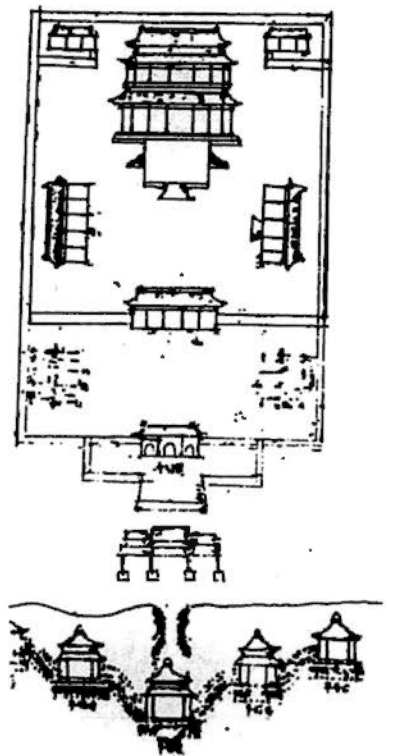


Figure 7.8: Plan of Chanfu Temple, in *Jiamo Qianlong Jingcheng Quantu*

7.2 Non-Han-Chinese Features of Tibetan Buddhist Temples

While the early and middle Qing Tibetan Buddhist temples were basically arranged in a Han-Chinese temple layout, some of them had some special characteristics which the Han-Chinese temples usually did not possess. At the same time, these characteristics developed in the temples over time. For example, the stand-alone Tibetan Buddhist stūpa was the most remarkable characteristic for the very early Qing Tibetan Buddhist temples. It was seen in the four Shengjing temples of Hong Taiji, the Baita Temple of Shunzhi and the Hongren Temple of Kangxi (Figure 4.1; 7.1; 7.3).¹¹

While the stūpa combined with these temples, it also changed its position to the temple building part of the temples. For the Four Shengjing Temples, the pagodas were located beside their temple building parts and exactly at the cardinal points of the Shengjing city. The great white Buddhist stūpa ordered by Shunzhi was built on the peak of the island hill, known now as Qionghua Island, in Xiyuan. In the layout of the temple with the stūpa located to the rear of the main temple halls, one can see the following characteristics: the temple is symmetrically arranged along a strong central axis with many halls and three courtyards; and the stūpa is placed at the end serving

¹¹ The first stūpa mentioned in the Qing Dynasty is the Buddhist stūpa of Nangsu Lama. Since we have not much information about it, the stūpa is not included in this discussion.

as the focal point of the temple axis. In Hongren Temple, the very early Tibetan Buddhist temple of Emperor Kangxi, the stūpa is located in the middle of the rear courtyard and seemed to rather small in scale. From the four Shengjing temples of Hong Taiji to the Baita Temple of Shunzhi to the Hongren Temple of Kangxi, we see the change in the position of the Tibetan stūpa vis-à-vis the temple buildings, that is from a position beside the main temple buildings, onto the axis of the temple and be its focal point, and thereby integrated further into the building complex. After Hongren Temple, these Tibetan-style stūpas never appeared in Qing Tibetan temples in central China again. Hongren Temple is the temple discussed in the last chapter as the last Qing Tibetan Buddhist temple for the Qing monarchs to emphasize individual powers of the divinities and the first Qing Tibetan Buddhist temple to propose, explain and praise the good social influence of the Buddhist thought in its temple inscription. From this discussion, the period when the Hongren Temple was built is considered as the point of transition for the Qing monarchs' perception of how their rule could be helped by the temple construction. Before this time, temples with a purpose of praying for divine blessing on the regime might be regarded by the Qing monarchs as the powerful objects which would take part in the job of protecting the regime and the stūpas of the temples as the most responsible element for this. After this time, temples were built mainly in the recognition of the Qing monarchs for the

good social influence of Buddhist thought. Therefore, with this analysis, the disappearance of the stūpa in the Qing Tibetan Buddhist temples can be considered to happen at the same time as the change of the Qing monarchs' perception about the role of the temples. Besides, the movement of the stūpa onto the temple axis is supposed to be under the influence of Han-Chinese architectural culture that emphasized symmetry¹².

Qianlong's Tibetan Buddhist temples contained more architectural features which the typical Han-Chinese usually did not possess which were mainly regarded as Tibetan monastic style. Among them, the most outstanding one is a temple layout known as the "Xumi Universe" (须弥世界) pattern appearing during the early years of the Qianlong reign¹³. It is first seen in the Xiangyan Zongyin Temple, which was built in Qingyiyuan Garden in the 16th year of the reign of Qianlong (1751)¹⁴ (Figure 5.2). Four years later, Puning Temple of Chengde was also built with the pattern in its

¹² For a Han-Chinese monastery, the stūpa was commonly located on its central axis and inside it. In the earliest period of the Han Buddhist monastic architecture, the stūpa was usually at the center of the monasteries (e.g. Yongning Temple [永宁寺] of the Beiwei [北魏] Dynasty, which was located in Luoyang [洛阳]). From the Southern and Northern Dynasties (南北朝) till the Tang (唐) Dynasty, the stūpa was usually before the Main Hall and after the Heavenly King Hall (e.g. Guangsheng Monastery [广胜寺] in Hongdong [洪洞] of Shanxi [山西], Gu Zhulin Monastery [古竹林寺] of Mount Wutai, etc.). After the Tang Dynasty, the stūpa was moved to behind the Main Hall (e.g. Tayuan Monastery [塔院寺] of Mount Wutai, Guanyin Monastery [观音寺] in County Ji [藁] of Hebei [河北], etc.). For the stūpa outside the monastery, they were usually at three locations: before the Temple Gate on the central axis, north of the temple on the central axis or in the southeast of the monastery at an angle of 35 to the central axis, which was said as an auspicious and favorable direction. More discussion and examples about the stūpa's location in Han-Chinese monasteries could be seen in Zhang Yuhuan, *Zhongguo fojiao siyuan jianzhuzhu*, 63-69.

¹³ The "Xumi Universe" pattern is the representation of the Xumi Universe (须弥世界), which is the perception of the world in Tibetan Buddhism. This pattern was often used in Tibetan monasteries, such as Samye Monastery, Tuolin Monastery and Baiju Monastery.

¹⁴ For the construction date of the Xiangyan Zongyin Temple, see Wang Xiangyun, "Qingchao huangshi, Zhangjia Huofo yu lama simiao", 118; Chen Qingying, "Zhangjia Ruobiduoji yu qingchao huangshi xingjian de lama siyuan", 98; Chen Qingying and Wang Wenjing, "Zhaomiao Qianlong yuzhi shibe", 44.

rear part (Figure 7.9). After Puning Temple, the “Xumi Universe” pattern did not show up again in the Qing Tibetan Buddhist temple layouts, instead, a giant main hall that is arranged in a “回” plan began to be seen in later temples. The Qing rulers called this arrangement Dugang Fashi (都纳法式 or Dugang style)¹⁵. Most Chengde Tibetan Buddhist temples after Puning Temple, such as Puyou Temple, Anyuan Temple¹⁶, Pule Temple, Putuozongsheng Temple and Xumifushou Temple, were such cases. Each of their main halls, the Falun Hall (法轮殿) of Puyou Temple, the Pudu Tower (普渡殿) of Anyuan Temple, the Xuguang Pavilion (旭光阁) of Pule Temple, the Wanfa Guiyi Hall (万法归一殿) of Putuozongsheng Temple and the Miaogao Zhuangyan Hall (妙高庄严殿) of Xumifushou Temple, was arranged in the “回” plan. (Figure 7.10-14)¹⁷

¹⁵ “Dugang Fashi” was mentioned by Yunli (允礼) in his *Xizang riji* (西藏日记, The diary in Tibet) and by Emperor Qianlong in several Chengde temple inscriptions. “The sutra hall design, as a creation of Tibetan architecture, is that: while the sutra hall rises its flat roof in its middle to let light to enter the space, the hall is surrounded by accessory buildings and that makes the plan of the sutra hall as “回” pattern.....Because the Tibetan pronunciation of “sutra hall” is “Dugang”, the Chinese documents title this fixed pattern as “Dugang Fashi.” (*Labrang Monastery*, 15, cited from Zhang Yuxiao, *Xizang zangchuan fojiao siyuan jianzhu xingzhi*, 36) For the detailed introduction and discussion of the “回” plan of the main halls of the Tibetan monasteries, see Xu Zongwei, *Xizang chuantong jianzhu*, 16-76; Zhang Yuxiao, *Xizang zangchuan fojiao siyuan jianzhu*, 5-12, 29-38. That is the flat roof of the sutra hall rises in its middle to be the light resource for the room ”

“回” pattern is also used in the Buddha halls of the monasteries in Tibet.

¹⁶ The front part of Anyuan Temple was nonexistence, but it was very likely a pattern of “Jialan Qitang” according to other existing cases such as Puyou Temple.

¹⁷ There is no major construction or reconstruction of Qing Tibetan Buddhist temples after the reign of Qianlong. These existing temples, originally built in the reign of Qianlong, could be regarded as having their layouts from the Qianlong period.

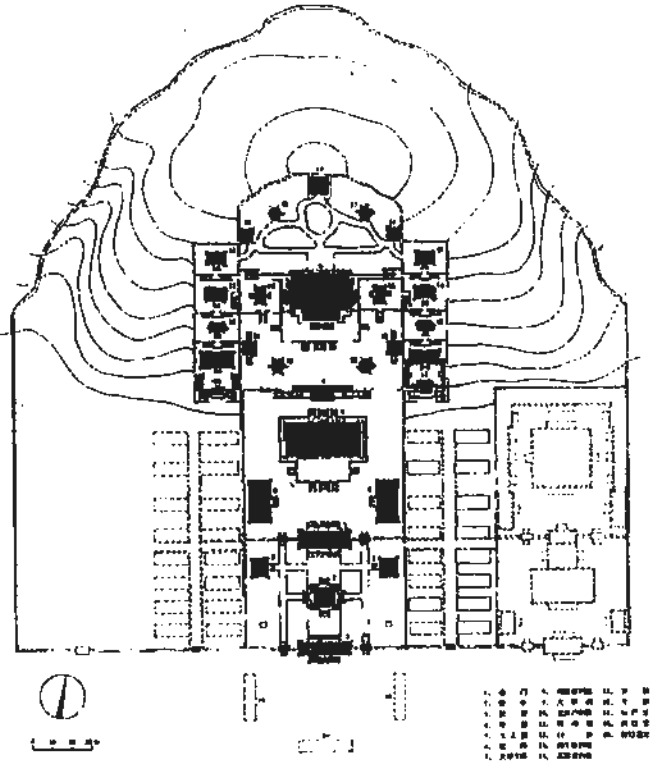


Figure 7.9: Plan of Puning Temple, cited from *Chengde gu jianzhu*, 245, Figure 333

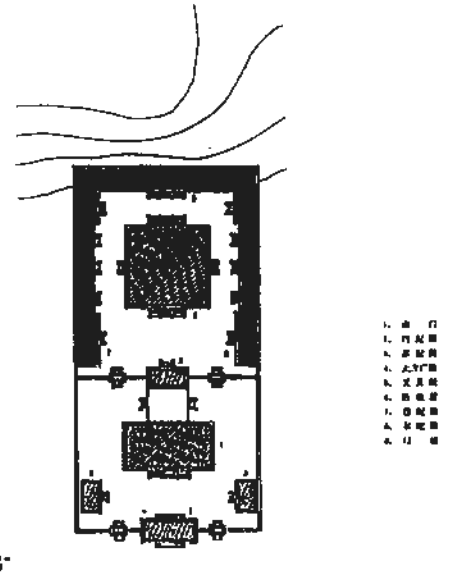


Figure 7.10: Plan of Puyou Temple, cited from *Chengde gu jianzhu*, 266, Figure 376

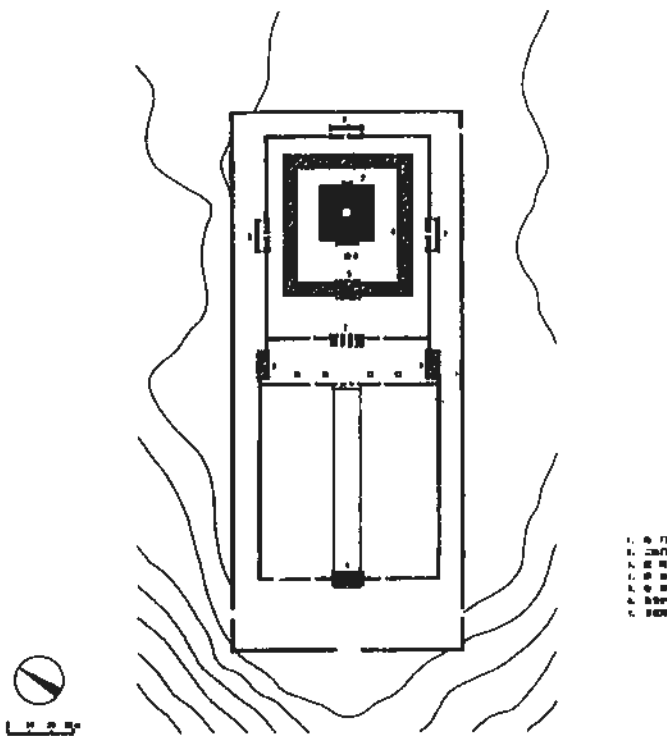


Figure 7.11: Plan of Anyuan Temple, cited from *Chengde gu jianzhu*, 270, Figure 383

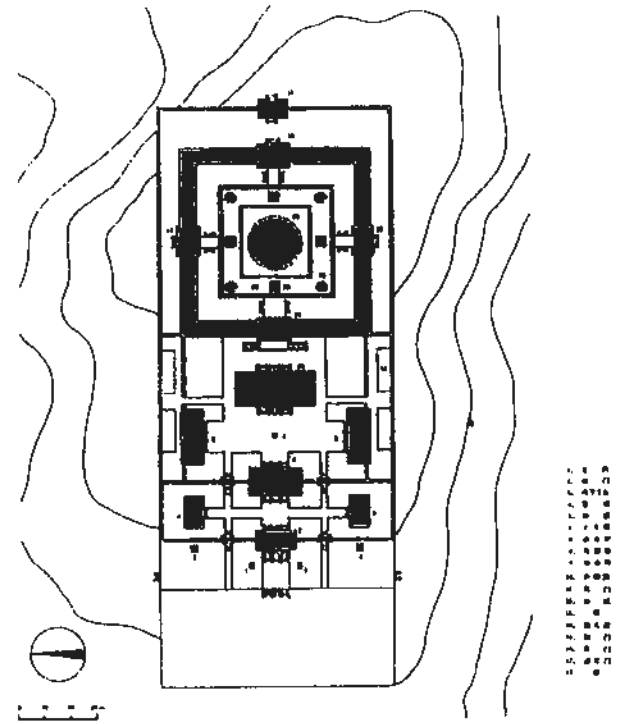


Figure 7.12: Plan of Pule Temple, cited from *Chengde gu jianzhu*, 276, Figure 392

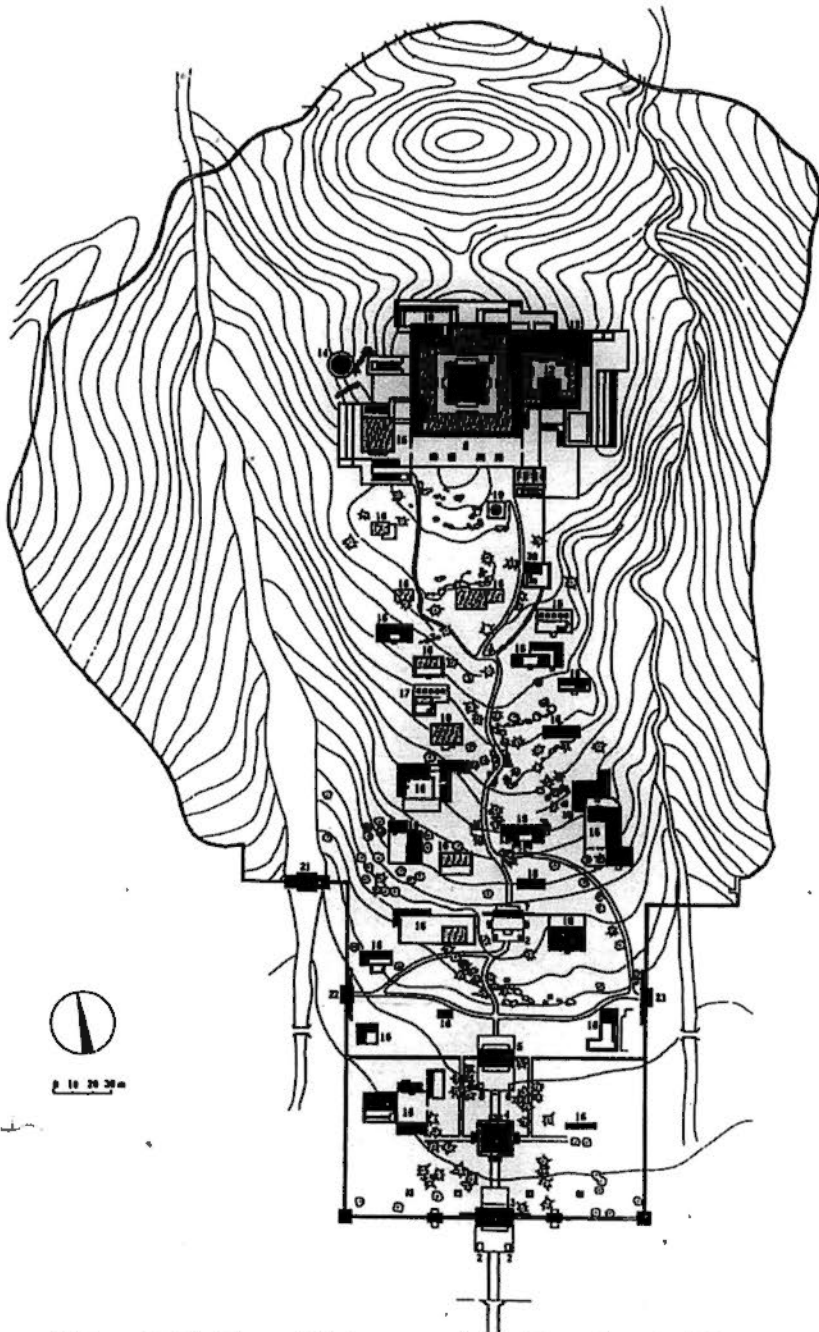
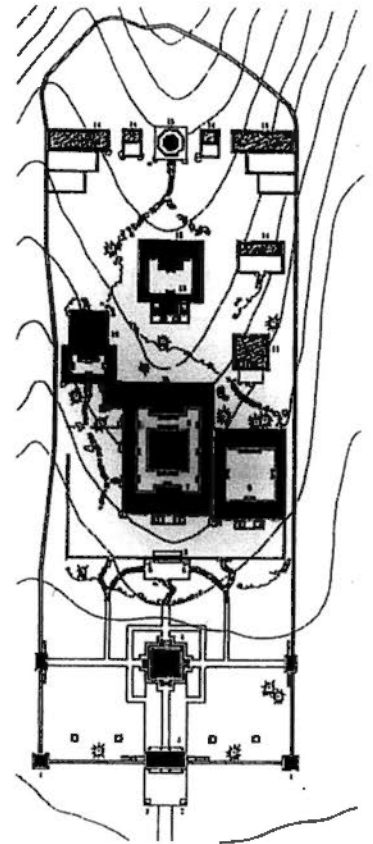


Figure 7.13: Plan of Putuozongsheng Temple, cited from *Chengde gu jianzhu*, 284, Figure 407



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Figure 7.14: Plan of Xumifushou Temple, cited from *Chengde gu jianzhu*, 308, Figure 448

Before the giant main hall with a “回” plan showed in the Qing Tibetan Buddhist temples in central China in the reign of Qianlong, it used to be seen in the temples ordered by the Qing emperor in the areas immediately adjacent to central China, where Mongolians and Tibetans lived, particularly during the reign of Yongzheng. *Koubei Santing Zhi* (口北三厅志, *The Chronicle of Koubei*) recorded in volume four that: “The Shanyin Temple was located southwest of Huizong Temple, about one *li* away. It was built by Emperor Yongzheng to house the Zhangjia Living Buddha in the 9th year of his reign (1731). The temple was constructed on Dugang Fashi which the Dalai Lama of Tibet adopted as his residential palace. ‘Dugang’ means the sutra hall in Chinese. The layout of the Shanyin Temple was that: inside the gate, a bell tower and a drum tower as well as a pavilion of stone stele with a Manchu inscription and a pavilion of stone stele with a Chinese inscription were set up on both sides. There were two main halls. The front main hall was a building with eighty one bays. All the halls were covered with yellow glazed tiles and a stone wall surrounded the whole temple. ‘Shanyin’ was the name of the

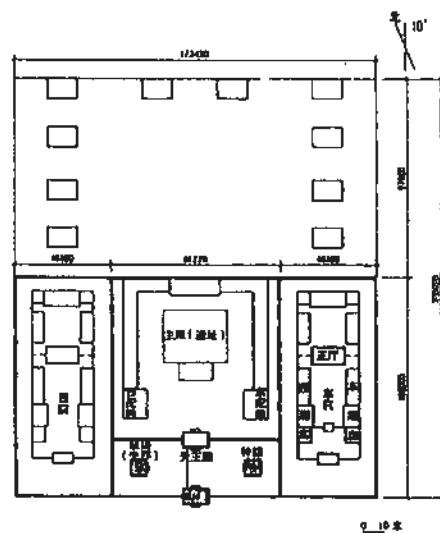


Figure 7.15: Plan of the extant Shanyin Temple, cited from Gao Yali and Liu Qingbo, “Duolun Huizong Si”, 16, Figure 2

gorgeous temple.”¹⁸ (Figure 7.15) The Prince Guo Yunli (果亲王允礼)¹⁹ who accompanied the 7th Dalai Lama to the Huiyuan Temple from Lhasa described Huiyuan Temple in his *Xizang riji* (西藏日记, The diary in Tibet): “..... The Huiyuan Temple was located in the northwest of the city. Facing south, a building with three floors was built in Dugang Fashi. It was rectangular and had a flat roof. On the flat roof, religious banners stood. Outside, windows were in the middle of the wall and a gate in front. Inside, all the pillars could be seen and a patio allowed access of daylight. There also was a corridor toward the west wing which had several rooms for the Dalai Lama to live.”²⁰ However, before Yongzheng, no traces show that there was any temple ordered by the Qing monarchs,

neither in central China nor outside central China, design in the Dugang Fashi. For example, we do not find the form in the Huizong Temple, the very important temple ordered by Emperor Kangxi in Inner Mongolia (Figure 7.16). With the use of Dugang Fashi in the layout of Chengde Tibetan Buddhist temples instead of the

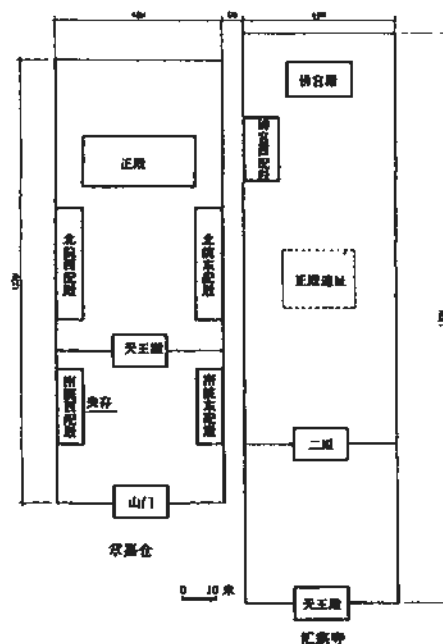


Figure 7.16: Remains of Huizong Temple, cited from Gao Yali and Liu Qingbo, “Duolun Huizong Si”, 15, Figure 1

¹⁸ *Shanyin Si beiwen*, in *Lamajiao beike*, 318-319.

¹⁹ Yunli (1697-1738) is the 17th son of Emperor Kangxi.

²⁰ Yunli, *Xizang riji*, 22.

“Xumi Universe” pattern from the middle period of the reign of Qianlong, decorations and components with Tibetan monastic style can also be seen in the main building of the temple. For example, small Tibetan stūpas were also put on the roof ridge of central halls, as well as the temple gate, the Heavenly King Hall and the Zongyin Hall (宗印殿) of Pule Temple; windows with Tibetan style also appeared in the front part of the temple such as the Temple Gate, the Wuta Gate (Five Pagoda Gate, 五塔门) and the Bai Tai (White Platform, 白台) of Putuozongsheng Temple; and so on. With these two changes—the adoption of Dugang Fashi instead of “Xumi Universe” pattern and additional Tibetan ornaments, the design of these Tibetan Buddhist Temples in Central China appears to fit into the Han-Chinese architectural form increasingly. In summary, Emperor Qianlong made his Tibetan Buddhist temples in a more syncretic combination of the architectural features of Han-Chinese and Tibetan style.

Many temples with many architectural features of Tibetan monastic style including these syncretic features were ordered by Emperor Qianlong in Chengde. In fact, except for a couple of temples in Beijing, few such temples were built outside Chengde. Some scholars proposes that the Chengde landscape was a representation of the landscape of the whole great Qing Empire under Emperor Qianlong, and in the representation, the Tibetan Buddhist temples with the architectural features of Tibetan

monastic style were intended to represent Tibetan features²¹. Considering the construction method of imitating that was often used by Emperor Qianlong²² and the joy he could gain from representing the landscape of his entire empire, the point of view seems acceptable. However, since this view is based on an observation of the visual pattern of the Bishushanzhuang complex without any historic documents to support it, this author would rather regard the proposal as a potential possibility.

Based on the available documents and discussion, this author would propose that the use of the architectural features of Tibetan monastic style in these temples in Chengde might be attributed to a mixed influence of several factors. Firstly, most Chengde Tibetan Buddhist temples could be regarded as “monuments” since they were built mainly to coincide with military or political victories relating to the Mongol tribes and taking place in areas of Tibet and Junggar. The temples founded for such purpose include Puning Temple, Anyuan Temple, Putuozongcheng Temple, and Xumifushou Temple. Puning Temple, was built in the 20th year of the reign of Qianlong (1755) patterned on the earliest Tibetan temple at Samye, to commemorate the subjugation of the Junggar Mongols²³. Anyuan Temple, built on the east bank of the Wulie River in the 29th year of the reign of Qianlong (1764), was for the twelve

²¹ See Forêt, *Mapping Chengde*.

²² See Section 5.5 of Chapter Five of this dissertation.

²³ See *Puning Si beiwen* 普宁寺碑文 [The inscription of Puning Temple], written by Emperor Qianlong in the 20th year of the reign of Qianlong (1755), in *Lamajiao beike*, 383-385; *Zhangjia Ruobiduoji zhuang* 章嘉·若必多吉传 [Biography of Zhangjia. Rolpai Dorje], chapter 13; Chen Qingying, “Zhangjia Ruobiduoji yu qingchao huangshi xingjian de lama siyuan”, 98; Chen Qingying and Wang Wenjing, “Zhaomiao Qianlong yuzhi shibe”, 44.

thousands former Junggars resettled by Emperor Qianlong at Chengde. It is modeled on the Ghulja (Kulja) Temple (固尔札庙), which stood on the Yili River before it was destroyed by the Qing army in the 21st year of the reign of Qianlong (1756) during the Junggar campaigns.²⁴ South of the Anyuan Temple and across the Wulie River, Pule Temple was constructed from 31st year to the 32nd year of the reign of Qianlong (1766-7) for the Mongols who came to Chengde every year to pay homage to the Qing emperor.²⁵ Putuozongcheng Temple was Emperor Qianlong's homage to the Dalai Lama's Potala Palace at Lhasa. The construction of this vast and ambitious complex west of the Wulie River and north of the garden wall of Bishushanzhuang began in the 32nd year of the reign of Qianlong (1767) and was completed in four years later (1771). Completed to coincide with Emperor Qianlong's 60th (1770) and his mother's 80th birthday (1771), the temple also celebrated the visits and gifts of various Mongol groups, including the recently subjected Junggars and Torghuts (土尔扈特) who had just fled to Qing lands from west of the Volga.²⁶ Xumifushou Temple was constructed in the 45th year of the reign of Qianlong (1780) to welcome the 6th

²⁴ See *Anyuan Miao zhanli shushi* 安远庙瞻礼书事 [Notes on worshipping in Anyuan Temple], written by Emperor Qianlong, in *Lamajiao beike*, 412-413; Chen Qingying and Wang Wenjing, "Zhaoniao Qianlong yuzhi shibe", 44.

²⁵ See *Pule Si beiji* 普乐寺碑记 [The inscription of Pule Temple], written by Emperor Qianlong in the 32nd year of his reign (1767), in *Lamajiao beike*, 416-418; Chen Qingying, "Zhangjia Ruobiduoji yu qingchao huangshi xingjian de lama siyuan", 100.

²⁶ See *Putuo Zongsheng Zhi Miao beiji* 普陀宗乘之庙碑记 [The inscription of Putuozongsheng Temple], written by Emperor Qianlong, in *Lamajiao beike*, 430-432; Chen Qingying, "Zhangjia Ruobiduoji yu qingchao huangshi xingjian de lama siyuan", 100; Chen Qingying and Wang Wenjing, "Zhaomiao Qianlong yuzhi shibe", 44.

Panchan Lama's visit to Chengde²⁷. Several stone steles recording the events and victories stood right inside the monasteries. Chengde was such a place where the Qing emperors communicated with the Mongolians and Tibetans and therefore it was a fitting place for the construction of these Tibetan Buddhist temples as monuments relating to the Mongolians and Tibetans. Decorating the "monuments" with the architectural styles of the areas where the victories happened or were related to no doubt could please the winner, Emperor Qianlong. Therefore, it is not hard to understand why ethnic architectural style, mainly Tibetan, was adopted in the "monuments".

At the same time, these Tibetan Buddhist temples could perform the function of demonstrating Emperor Qianlong's friendship for the Mongolians and Tibetans. The temples can be seen as the gift of Emperor Qianlong to these people that they revered most, and at the same time satisfied their religious need when staying in Chengde. Further, the appearance of the architectural elements which were popular in the hometowns of these Mongolians and Tibetans would appease them more and definitely show Emperor Qianlong's friendship better to them. On this point, Emperor Qianlong expressly said several times to the 6th Panchan Lama that he constructed Xumifushou Temple modeled after Tashilhunpo Temple, which was the 6th Panchan

²⁷ See *Xumi Fushou Zhi Miao beiji* 须弥福寿之庙碑记 [The inscription of Xumifushou Temple], written by Emperor Qianlong in the 45th year of his reign (1780), in *Lamajiao beike*, 462-464; Chen Qingying and Wang Wenjing, "Zhaomiao Qianlong yuzhi shibe", 44.

Lama's palace in Tibet, to welcome his visit²⁸; and Anyuan Temple was modeled on the Ghulja Temple, the temple in the hometown of the Junggars who were resettled by Qianlong. Therefore, it might be the role of Chengde as the place where the Qing emperors communicated with the Mongolians and Tibetans to be the main reason for these temples containing many architectural features of Tibetan monastic style to be built at Chengde.

With respect to the Chengde temples which had many architectural features of Tibetan monastic style, there is another phenomenon worthy of note. That is all of them were built on the surrounding hills outside the central area of Bishushanzhuang, in other words, no temples with such features were located inside the central scene of the Bishushanzhuang.

7.3 Tibetan Buddhist Buildings in the Forbidden City

The controlled use of the architectural features of Tibetan style was also shown in the Forbidden City. Emperor Qianlong not only decreed the building of Tibetan Buddhist temples, but also ordered the building of many Tibetan Buddhist halls or chambers, which were mainly situated in the Forbidden City and the imperial gardens.

²⁸ See *Banchan dang'an*.

Though these halls and chambers are not temples and thus not included in the major discussion of this dissertation, this author would like to mention them here as a reference for the discussion of the controlled use of the architectural features of Tibetan style.

In the Forbidden City, there were six Tibetan Buddhist areas of such halls and chambers during the time of Qianlong: the Zhongzheng Hall (中正殿) area consisting of Zhongzheng Rear Hall (中正殿后殿), the east and west side hall of Zhongzheng Hall, Xiangyun Pavilion (香云亭), Baohua Hall (宝华殿), Fanzong Tower (梵宗楼), Yuhua Pavilion (雨花阁) and the east and west side tower of Yuhua Pavilion; the Jianfu Palace (建福宫) imperial garden area which had the Tibetan Buddhist halls and pavilions of Huiyao Tower (慧曜楼), Jiyun Tower (吉云楼), Guangsheng Tower (广生楼), Ninghui Tower (凝晖楼) and Jingshen Hall (敬慎斋); the Cining Palace (慈宁宫) area which had the Tibetan Buddhist halls of the Great Buddha Hall (大佛堂) and Yinghua Hall (英华殿); the Cining Palace imperial garden area which had the Tibetan Buddhist halls and pavilions of Ciyin Tower (慈荫楼), Baoxiang Tower (宝相楼), Xianruo Hall (咸若馆) and Linxi Pavilion (临溪亭); the Imperial Garden (御花园) area which had the Tibetan Buddhist pavilions of Qianqiu Pavilion (千秋亭) and Chengrun Pavilion (澄瑞亭); and the Ningshou Palace (宁寿宫) area which had the Tibetan Buddhist halls and pavilions of Fori Tower (佛日楼), Fanhua Tower (梵华楼),

Yanghe Hall (养和精舍), Cuishang Tower (粹赏楼) and Yi Hall (抑斋). (Figure 7.17)

The sum of the halls and pavilions was thirty five in the six Tibetan Buddhist areas.

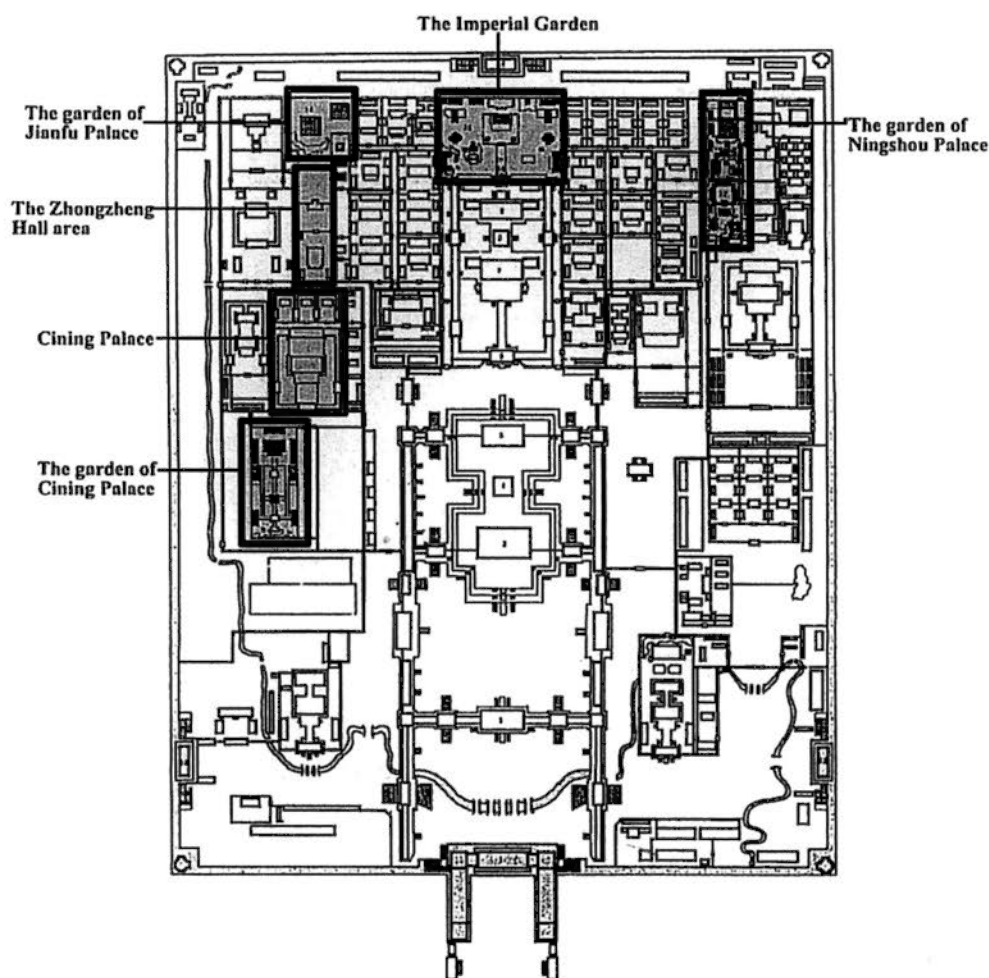


Figure 7.17: Locations of the Six Tibetan Buddhist Areas in the Forbidden City

In addition to these free-standing halls, there were also quite a number of Tibetan Buddhist chambers which were situated inside many of the main halls of the Forbidden City. Some of them were within the six Tibetan Buddhist areas while some outside these areas. The former included the east and west chambers of Yangxing Hall (养性殿东西暖阁), the east and west chambers of Yangxin Hall (养心殿东西暖阁),

the east chamber of Ningshou Palace (宁寿宫东暖阁), the east chamber of Yihe Hall (颐和轩东暖阁) on the second floor of Ningshou Palace, the chamber of Yanchun Pavilion (延春阁), the chamber of Jingsheng Hall (敬胜斋), etc. The latter included the east and west chambers of Chongjing Hall (崇敬殿东西暖阁), the east chamber of Shoukang Hall (寿康宫东暖阁), the east and west chambers of Baoben Hall (爆本殿东西暖阁), etc.²⁹ Nearly all these six Tibetan Buddhist areas and other Buddhist chambers in the Forbidden City were built during the reign of Qianlong. Therefore, though Emperor Kangxi turned the Zhongzheng Hall (中正殿) area into a Tibetan Buddhist site where lamas chanted Tibetan Buddhist scriptures regularly, it was Emperor Qianlong who was the first Qing emperor to set up numerous sites for worshipping the Buddha of Tibetan Buddhism in the imperial palaces. Most of the Tibetan Buddhist sites were inside the space of Emperor Qianlong's daily life. For instance, the garden of Jianfu Palace was the place where Emperor Qianlong usually amused himself by strolling about and holding feasts after the day's work; the Ningshou Palace was built by Emperor Qianlong for his dwelling after adjudicating the throne to his son; the west chamber of Yangxin Hall (养心殿西暖阁) which was the sleeping hall of Emperor Qianlong as well as the place where he attended to the state affairs daily.

²⁹ Zhang Yuxin, *Zangzu wenhua zai Beijing*.

The numerous halls and chambers for worshipping Buddha of Tibetan Buddhism existing in the private living space of Emperor Qianlong indicates his personal faith in Tibetan Buddhism as well as the importance of Tibetan Buddhism in his daily life. The emperor's personal enthusiasm for Tibetan Buddhism is also supported by the thorough understanding of the religious meaning of the complex lineage of deities in Tibetan Buddhism and the enthusiasm to systemize the lineage³⁰, that was shown in the ordered arrangement of Thangkas, Buddha statues and ritual articles in those Tibetan Buddhist halls and chambers. For examples, in Huiyao Tower, which was built in the garden of Jianfu Palace in the 23rd year of the reign of Qianlong (1758) and was finished with its interior decoration three years later, a full construction and reorganization of Mijiao Sibü Shenxi (密教四部神系, the four Buddha lineages in Exoteric Buddhism) was completed through an ordered arrangement of the Thangkas, Buddhist statues and ritual appliances.³¹ In the chamber of Yangxi Hall (养心殿仙楼), which was built in the 11th year of the reign of Qianlong (1746), the Wufang Fo (五方佛, the Buddhas of Five Directions) Thangkas were arranged around the Amitāyus Tower (无量寿塔, Tower of Infinite Life), which was said to ensure Emperor Qianlong's longevity³². The chamber of Yangxing Hall (养性殿), built in the 41st year

³⁰ The arrangements of Thangkas, Buddha statues and ritual articles in several Tibetan Buddhist halls and chambers in the Forbidden City and their religious meaning are fully discussed in "Qinggong liupin folou moshi de xingcheng" by Luo Wenhua.

³¹ For the building history and interior arrangement of the Huiyao Tower, see Zhang Shuxian, "Jianfu Gong Huanyuan jianzhu".

³² See Wang Xiangyun, "Qingchao huangshi, Zhangjia Huofo yu lama simiao".

of the reign of Qianlong (1776), had a similar arrangement with the Thangkas of the Buddhas of Five Directions and Amitāyus Tower. In such spiritual places that are full of religious meanings, Emperor Qianlong must have been more pacified.

However, while a large number of halls and chambers for worshipping Buddha of Tibetan Buddhism were set up in the Forbidden City and nearly all of them showed a thorough understanding of the religious meaning of the complex lineage of the deities in Tibetan Buddhism and the enthusiasm to systemize the lineage by ordered arrangement of Thangkas, Buddha statues and ritual articles in their interiors, hardly any of them showed architectural features with Tibetan monastic style in their architectural form. Including Huiyao Tower, the chamber of Yangxin Hall and the chamber of Yangxing Hall, nearly all the Tibetan Buddhist halls and chambers in the Forbidden City were typical Han-Chinese in architectural form and that was harmonious with their surroundings. From the Bishushanzhuang to the Forbidden City, we see a controlled use of the architectural features of Tibetan style in the central area of the imperial palaces and gardens.

Generally speaking, based on the drawings and descriptions from available historical documents, most of the layouts of the early and middle Qing Tibetan Buddhist temples could be classed as a typical Han-Chinese temple layout, or at least having a part which was arranged as a typical Han-Chinese temple layout. However,

they contained some elements of Tibetan monastic style, which were obvious in certain periods. The first period of that is from the reign of Hong Taiji till the very early reign of Kangxi. During this period, the most remarkable element is the Tibetan stūpa. Its building might be connected with the perception of the Qing rulers of the time that the temples were regarded as the powerful objects for protecting the state and the stūpas were the parts of the temples most responsible for the job. The second period is the reign of Qianlong. The “Xumi Universe” pattern and the Dugang Fashi could each be counted as the most outstanding elements in the early and middle periods of the Qianlong reign respectively. The latter layout first appeared in the temples founded by Emperor Yongzheng in the areas immediately adjacent to central China and finally entered the temples within central China in the middle period of Qianlong reign. At the same time with the Dugang Fashi’s being introduced into the Qianlong temples, these temples, which had many architectural features of Tibetan style both in layout and form, became more integrated in the merging of the Han-Chinese architectural features and the Tibetan style. Moreover, although the Qianlong temples contained many architectural features of Tibetan style, a controlled use of these features in the central part of the imperial palaces and gardens is suggested by the findings in the distribution of the temples with many such features.

Chapter 8 Conclusion

This dissertation aims for an understanding of Qing Tibetan Buddhist temples in central China decreed by the monarchs during the early and middle Qing Dynasty from an architectural perspective. After surveying the characteristics of construction and the architecture of the many temples, this dissertation has analyzed the context in which these temples were decreed thereby elucidated the meanings of the temples, and probed the factors influencing these characteristics and meanings.

It is found in the research that the most apparent reason for the building of these temples was to pacify the Mongols and pray for divine blessing on the state. When these purposes and meanings were expressed in some temple inscriptions, the characteristics of construction and architecture of the temples further support these purposes. In the early period of the Qing hegemony, these temples were located at sites closely related to Mongolian affairs and frequently built around the events related to Mongols or to satisfy the Mongol people. There were occasions that Tibetan Buddhist temples were decreed to be built in this early period for the protection of the State. With this purpose, the temples were arranged at specific locations relative to the capitals or imperial palaces. Such physical positioning might imply that the temple or the idea of the temples as having substantial powers of protection. The disappearance of the specificity in location during the very early period of the Kangxi reign, coupled with the differences of the contents between the temple inscriptions of that time and those previous ones, also indicate the change of the perception of the Qing rulers about the role of the temples in their function to protect the state.

This dissertation also examines the many Tibetan Buddhist temples that were built in imperial gardens during the Qianlong period and proposes that these temples were used as cultural symbols. Their representational qualities as well as the way they were utilized all suggested that Qianlong intended to express, through these and many other temples located in the city of Beijing, that he was a learned connoisseur of all culture and religion within his empire. In this role, Qianlong's temples distinguished themselves from those earlier temples, which could be considered to be mainly founded for political reasons. The proposal of explaining these temples as cultural icons can also be applied to temples decreed to be built in the Summer Palace at Chengde. In fact, it is during the reign of Qianlong that we see a huge explosion of the number of temples decreed by the emperor. The construction of Tibetan Buddhist temple reached its peak at this time, even though the demand of the Qing court to ally with the Mongols was reduced since all Mongol tribes had submitted to the Qing before the middle of the Qianlong reign.

This dissertation also demonstrates that the purpose for temple patronage has a direct relationship with the architectural layout and form of the temple architecture of the Qing period. For the Shunzhi reign, the temples were designed to reflect an alignment with Han-Chinese culture, likewise the form. In the long period of Kangxi, many warfares with the Mongols resulted in the fact that the temples were founded primarily for purposes of political appeasement. The personal nature of Yongzheng emperor can be seen in the idiosyncratic nature of the temple architecture. Finally, the Qianlong emperor's preference for all things culture meant that the forms of these

temples are varied and thereby presenting a multi-dimensional view of Tibetan temples.

With the presentation of the characteristics of construction and the architecture of the Tibetan temples, the discussion of the meanings revealed from these characteristics, this dissertation provides a multi-layered understanding of these early and middle Qing Tibetan Buddhist temples. The elaboration of the ways of how the meanings were reflected and shown in the architectural patterns of the temples, and the clarification of the influence of the varied factors on the characteristics of construction and architecture of the temples, illustrate the detailed context of the interaction between the construction and architecture of the temples, the meanings of the temples and the influencing social factors. With these efforts and findings, this dissertation offers a basis for future study about the Qing Tibetan Buddhist temples from the architectural angle, and contributes to the study of the relationship between architecture and society by providing a case study.

Appendix 1: Manchurian Tibetan Buddhist Temples Built in the Periods of Nurhachi and Hong Taiji

Period	No.	Temple Name	Site	Original Construction Time	Reconstruction Time In this Period	Reconstruction Time In the Periods before	Architecture	Picture	Relevant Information
Nurhachi	1	Buddhist Temple (佛寺, devoted to the Buddhas of the three phases of time, one of the Seven Temples)	Hetu Ala	Between the 43 rd and the 45 th year of the reign of Wanli (1615-1617) ¹					<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A little vestige of the Seven Temples remains, including a big stele in the Shunzhi time.²
	2	Pagoda of Orlug Darqan Nangsu Lama of the Great Jin Dynasty (大金喇嘛碑禄打儿罕囊素的坟塔, or Temple of the Great Jin Dynasty [大金喇嘛庙])	Liaoyang	Proposed in the 7 th year of the Tianming reign (1622) and finally completed in the 4 th year of the Tiancong reign (1630) ³				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Figure: The Pagoda in a Tibetan Style⁴ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Dajin lama fashi baoji</i> 大金喇嘛法师宝记 [Notes on the lama of the Great Jin Dynasty], written in the 4th year of the Tiancong reign (1630).⁵
Hong Taiji	1	Pagoda of Orlug Darqan Nangsu Lama of the Great Jin Dynasty	Liaoyang	Proposed in the 7 th year of the Tianming reign (1622) and finally completed in the 4 th year of the Tiancong reign (1630) ⁶				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Figure: The Pagoda in Tibetan Style⁷ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Dajin Lama Fashi Baoji</i>. • <i>Da lama feita beiwén</i> 大喇嘛坟塔碑文 [The inscription of the pagoda and temple of the lama], written in the 15th year of the reign of Shunzhi (1658).⁸
	2	Lianhua Jingtuo Shisheng Temple (莲花净土实胜寺, or called Huang Temple [皇寺] later) ⁹	West of Shengjing	Between the 1 st and the 3 rd year of the Chongde reign (1636-1638) ¹⁰					<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Lianhua Jingtuo Shisheng Si beiji</i> 莲花净土实胜寺碑记 [The inscription of Lianhua Jingtuo Shisheng Temple].¹¹

¹ Li Qianpu, "Shengjing Sisi manzhouyuyi beiwén", 90; Li Qianpu, "Wolu Da'erhan Nangsu" (2), 13.
² Zhang Yukun, *Qing zhengfu yu lamenjiao*, 7.
³ Li Qianpu, "Liaoyang Dajin lama fashi baoji beiwén", 96; Li Qianpu, "Wolu Da'erhan Nangsu" (3), 37.
⁴ Li Qianpu, "Shengjing Sisi manzhouyuyi beiwén", 91.
⁵ Li Qianpu, "Liaoyang Dajin lama fashi baoji beiwén".
⁶ Li Qianpu, "Liaoyang Dajin lama fashi baoji beiwén", 96; Li Qianpu, "Wolu Da'erhan Nangsu" (3), 37.
⁷ Li Qianpu, "Shengjing Sisi manzhouyuyi beiwén", 91.
⁸ Li Qianpu, "Liaoyang Dajin lama fashi baoji beiwén", 104; Li Qianpu, "Shengjing Sisi manzhouyuyi beiwén", 91.
⁹ Li Qianpu, "Wolu Da'erhan Nangsu" (1), 19.
¹⁰ Li Qianpu, "Liaoyang Dajin lama fashi baoji beiwén", 97; Li Qianpu, "Wolu Da'erhan Nangsu" (1), 19.
¹¹ Li Qianpu, "Shengjing Sisi manzhouyuyi beiwén", 91.

3	Yongguang Temple (永光庙, one of the Four Shengjing Temples)	In the east of Shengjing	Between the 8 th year of the Chongde reign and the 2 nd year of the reign of Shunzhi (1643-1645) ¹² The pagoda of the temple was completed in the 1 st year of the reign of Shunzhi (1644) ¹³					• Figure: The Plans of the Four Shengjing Temples ¹⁴	• <i>Chijian Huguo Yongguang Si beiji</i> 敕建护国永光寺碑记 [The inscription of Nation Protection Yongguang Temple]. ¹⁵
4	Guangci Temple (广慈庙, one of the Four Shengjing Temples)	In the south of Shengjing	Between the 8 th year of the Chongde reign and the 2 nd year of the reign of Shunzhi (1643-1645) ¹⁶ The pagoda of the temple was completed in the 1 st year of the reign of Shunzhi (1644) ¹⁷					• Figure: The Plans of the Four Shengjing Temples ¹⁸	• <i>Chijian Huguo Guangci Si beiji</i> 敕建护国光慈寺碑记 [The inscription of Nation Protection Guangci Temple]. ¹⁹
5	Yanshou Temple (延寿寺, one of the Four Shengjing Temples)	In the west of Shengjing	Between the 8 th year of the Chongde reign and the 2 nd year of the reign of Shunzhi (1643-1645) ²⁰ The pagoda of the temple was completed in the 1 st year of the reign of Shunzhi (1644) ²¹					• Figure: The Plans of the Four Shengjing Temples ²²	• <i>Chijian Huguo Yanshou Si beiji</i> 敕建护国延寿寺碑记 [The inscription of Nation Protection Yanshou Temple]. ²³
6	Falun Temple (法伦寺, one of the Four Shengjing Temples)	In the north of Shengjing	Between the 8 th year of the Chongde reign and the 2 nd year of the reign of Shunzhi (1643-1645) ²⁴ The pagoda of the temple was completed in the 1 st year of the reign of Shunzhi (1644) ²⁵					• Figure: The Plans of the Four Shengjing Temples ²⁶	• <i>Chijian Huguo Falun Si beiji</i> 敕建护国法轮寺碑记 [The inscription of Nation Protection Falun Temple]. ²⁷ • In the 43 rd year of the reign of Qianlong (1778), Falun Temple was inhabited by Manchu Lamas. ²⁸

¹² Li Qiqun, "Liaoyang Dajin lama fashi baofu beiwens", 97; Li Qiqun, "Shengjing Sisi zangya beiwens", 98, 105.
¹³ Li Qiqun, "Shengjing Sisi zangya beiwens", 106 Note 4.
¹⁴ Li Qiqun, "Shengjing Sisi zangya beiwens", 96.
¹⁵ Li Qiqun, "Shengjing Sisi zangya beiwens", 91.
¹⁶ Li Qiqun, "Shengjing Sisi zangya beiwens", 98, 105; "Liaoyang Dajin lama fashi baofu beiwens", 97.
¹⁷ Li Qiqun, "Shengjing Sisi zangya beiwens", 106 Note 4.
¹⁸ Li Qiqun, "Shengjing Sisi zangya beiwens", 98.
¹⁹ Li Qiqun, "Shengjing Sisi zangya beiwens", 91.
²⁰ Li Qiqun, "Shengjing Sisi zangya beiwens", 98, 105; Li Qiqun, "Liaoyang Dajin lama fashi baofu beiwens", 97.
²¹ Li Qiqun, "Shengjing Sisi zangya beiwens", 106 Note 4.
²² Li Qiqun, "Shengjing Sisi zangya beiwens", 98.
²³ Li Qiqun, "Shengjing Sisi zangya beiwens", 91.
²⁴ Li Qiqun, "Shengjing Sisi zangya beiwens", 98, 105; Li Qiqun, "Liaoyang Dajin lama fashi baofu beiwens", 97.
²⁵ Li Qiqun, "Shengjing Sisi zangya beiwens", 106 Note 4.
²⁶ Li Qiqun, "Shengjing Sisi zangya beiwens", 98.
²⁷ Li Qiqun, "Shengjing Sisi zangya beiwens", 91.
²⁸ Li Qiqun, "Shengjing Sisi zangya beiwens", 107 Note 20.

Appendix 2: Tibetan Buddhist Temples Built or Rebuilt in the Shunzhi Period in Central China

Reign	No.	Temple name	Site	Original Construction Time	Reconstruction Time in This Reign	Architecture	Picture	Relevant Information
Shunzhi	1	Yongguang Temple (永光庙, one of the Four Shengjing Temple)	In the east of Shengjing	Between the 8 th year of the Chongde reign (1643) and the 2 nd year of the reign of Shunzhi (1645) ¹ The pagoda of the temple was completed in the 1 st year of the reign of Shunzhi (1644) ²			•Figure: The Plan of the Four Shengjing Temples ³	•Chijian Huoguo Yongguang Si beiji 敕建护国永光寺碑记 [The inscription of Yongguang Temple]. ⁴
	2	Guangci Temple (广慈庙, one of the Four Shengjing Temple)	In the south of Shengjing	Between the 8 th year of the Chongde reign (1643) and the 2 nd year of the reign of Shunzhi (1645) ⁵ The pagoda of the temple was completed in the 1 st year of the reign of Shunzhi (1644) ⁶			•Figure: The Plan of the Four Shengjing Temples ⁷	•Chijian Huoguo Guangci Si beiji 敕建护国广慈寺碑记 [The inscription of Guangci Temple]. ⁸
	3	Yanshou Temple (延寿寺, one of the Four Shengjing Temple)	In the west of Shengjing	Between the 8 th year of the Chongde reign (1643) and the 2 nd year of the reign of Shunzhi (1645) ⁹ The pagoda of the temple was completed in the 1 st year of the reign of Shunzhi (1644) ¹⁰			•Figure: The Plan of the Four Shengjing Temples ¹¹	•Chijian Huoguo Yanshou Si beiji 敕建护国延寿寺碑记 [The inscription of Yanshou Temple]. ¹²

¹ Li Qianpu, "Shengjing Sisi zangyu beiwen", 98, 105; Li Qianpu, "Dajin lama fazhi baoji beiwen", 97.

² Li Qianpu, "Shengjing Sisi zangyu beiwen", 106 Note 4.

³ Ibid., 98.

⁴ The inscription is fully recorded in Li Qianpu, "Shengjing Sisi manzhouyuan beiwen", 91.

⁵ Li Qianpu, "Shengjing Sisi zangyu beiwen", 98, 105; Li Qianpu, "Dajin lama fazhi baoji beiwen", 97.

⁶ Li Qianpu, "Shengjing Sisi zangyu beiwen", 106 Note 4.

⁷ Ibid., 98.

⁸ Li Qianpu, "Shengjing Sisi manzhouyuan beiwen", 91.

⁹ Li Qianpu, "Shengjing Sisi zangyu beiwen", 98, 105; Li Qianpu, "Dajin lama fazhi baoji beiwen", 97.

¹⁰ Li Qianpu, "Shengjing Sisi zangyu beiwen", 106 Note 4.

¹¹ Ibid., 98.

¹² Li Qianpu, "Shengjing Sisi manzhouyuan beiwen", 91.

4	Falun Temple (法伦寺, one of the Four Shengjing Temple)	In the north of Shengjing	Between the 8 th year of the Chongde reign (1643) and the 2 nd year of the reign of Shunzhi (1645) ¹⁵ The pagoda of the temple was completed in the 1 st year of the reign of Shunzhi (1644) ¹⁴			• Figure: The Plan of the Four Shengjing Temples ¹⁵	• <i>Chijian Huoguo Falun Si beiji</i> 敕建护国法轮寺碑记 [The inscription of Falun Temple]. ¹⁶ • In the 43 rd year of the reign of Qianlong (1778), Falun Temple was inhabited by Manchu Lamas. ¹⁷
5	Chahan Temple (察罕庙, or Chahan Lama Temple [查汉喇嘛庙], also called Daqing Temple [大清古刹] later) ¹⁸	Beijing	The 2 nd year of the reign of Shunzhi (1645) ¹⁹				• Called Daqing Temple (大清古刹) in <i>Lifanbu zeli</i> 理藩部则例 [Regulations of the Board of General Affairs of Mongolia, Tibet, etc.].
6	Jingzhu Temple (净住寺)	Beijing, Outside Chaoyang Gate ²⁰	The Ming Dynasty (Ibid.)	The 2 nd year of the reign of Shunzhi (1645) (Ibid.)			
7	Pujing Meditation Forest (普静禅林, or Donghuang Temple [East Yellow Temple, 东黄寺]) (Ibid., 44)	Beijing, East of Xihuang Temple (西黄寺)	The 8 th year of the reign of Shunzhi (1651) ²¹		• Simple description of the architectural layout ²²		• <i>Chongzhu Donghuan Si beiji</i> 重修东黄寺碑记 [The inscription of the rebuilding of Donghuang Temple], written in the 33 rd year of the reign of Kangxi (1694). • <i>Rixia jiuwen kao</i> , vol. 107.
8	Pusheng Temple (普胜寺, or Shidazi Temple [石达子庙]) (Ibid., 35, 43)	Beijing	The 8 th year of the reign of Shunzhi (1651) ²³				• Two stiles of Pusheng Temple, one of the 8 th year of the reign of Shunzhi (1651) and one of the 41 st year of the reign of Shunzhi (1776), are remaining in Wuta Temple (五塔寺).

¹⁴ Li Qiapu, "Shengjing Sisi zangye beiwen", 98, 105; Li Qiapu, "Dajin lama fashi baqi beiwen", 97.

¹⁵ Li Qiapu, "Shengjing Sisi zangye beiwen", 106 Note 4.
¹⁶ Ibid., 96.

¹⁷ Li Qiapu, "Shengjing Sisi zangye beiwen", 91.
¹⁸ Li Qiapu, "Shengjing Sisi zangye beiwen", 107 Note 20.

¹⁹ Li Qiapu, "Liaoyang Dajin lama fashi baqi beiwen", 102; Ma Jia, *Qingdai Beijing zangchuan fojiao shiyuan*, 37, 44.

²⁰ Li Qiapu, "Liaoyang Dajin lama fashi baqi beiwen", 100; Ma Jia, *Qingdai Beijing zangchuan fojiao shiyuan*, 37, 44.

²¹ Ma Jia, *Qingdai Beijing zangchuan fojiao shiyuan*, 39.

²² *Chongzhu Donghuan Si beiji*, 1694.

²³ Ma Jia, *Qingdai Beijing zangchuan fojiao shiyuan*, 39.

²⁴ Ma Jia, *Qingdai Beijing zangchuan fojiao shiyuan*, 35, 43; Huang Hao, *Zai Beijing de zangzu wenhua*, 42.

9	Yong'an Temple (永安寺)	Beijing, Beihai Garden	The 9 th year of the reign of Shunzhi (1652) ²⁴		Architectural description of the white pagoda ²⁵ • Description of the temple layout and architecture ²⁶ • Simple description of the temple layout ²⁹ • Mimige Hall (密秘閣 殿) ³⁰			
10	Da Longshan Huguo Temple (大陸善護國寺)	Beijing, Western	During the Dade (大德) period of the Yuan (元) Dynasty [Chongguo Si Beiwen, 1721] ²⁷	The 9 th year of the reign of Shunzhi (1652) ²⁸	• Figure: The Pagodas for the Relic of Phagpa (八思巴) in Huguo Temple ³¹ • Chongxiu Da Longshan Huguo Si bei 重修大陸善護國寺 碑 [The stele of the imperial decree of the 21 st year of the reign of Zhiyuan of the Yuan Dynasty]. ³² • Chongxiu Da Longshan Huguo Si bei 重修大陸善護國寺 碑 [The inscription of the rebuilding of Da Longshan Huguo Temple], written in the reign of Zhengde of the Ming Dynasty (1512) in Tibetan. ³³ • Chijian Da Longshan Huguo Si sishi bei 敕建大陸善護國 寺寺史碑 [The stele of the construction history of Da Longshan Huguo Temple], written in the 9 th year of the reign of Shunzhi (1652) in Tibetan] ³⁴			
11	Xihuang Temple (西黃寺, or Dalai Lama Temple [达赖喇 嘛庙], or Huizong Fanyu [汇宗梵宇]) ³⁵	Beijing, Outside Anding Gate (安定 门)	The 9 th year of the reign of Shunzhi (1652) ³⁶		• Simple description of the temple layout ²⁷		• There are photos of Dalai Lama Temple in <i>Yonghegong</i> <i>Daoguan suo Qikan</i> (雍和宮 导观期刊, The journal of Yonghegong), Book 2. ³⁸	• <i>Shuntian fazhi</i> 順天府志 [The annals of Shuntian Prefecture], The reign of Guangxu (光緒).
13	Deshou Temple (德寿寺)	Beijing, Nanyuan ³⁸	The 15 th year of the reign of Shunzhi (1658) ⁴⁰					

²⁴ Ma Jia, *Qingdai Beijing zongchuan fojiao siyuan*, 41, 45.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 41.

²⁶ Long Yunxiao, *Fosi yu foting*, 125-132.

²⁷ Some scholars consider that the temple, which was called Chongguo Temple (崇國寺) in the Yuan Dynasty, was built in the 21st year of the reign of Zhiyuan (至元) of the Yuan Dynasty (1284). See Ma Jia, *Qingdai Beijing zongchuan fojiao siyuan*, 35; Huang Hao, *Zai Beijing de zongzu wenwu*, 10.

²⁸ Huang Hao, *Zai Beijing de zongzu wenwu*, 11-12.

²⁹ Chongxiu Da Longshan Huguo Si bei, cited in Huang Hao, *Zai Beijing de zongzu wenwu*, 12; Ma Jia, *Qingdai Beijing zongchuan fojiao siyuan*, 35.

³⁰ Huang Hao, *Zai Beijing de zongzu wenwu*, 12.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 10.

³² The inscription is in the temple and is mentioned by Huang Hao in *Zai Beijing de zongzu wenwu* (10).

³³ The inscription is mentioned by Huang Hao in *Zai Beijing de zongzu wenwu* (12).

³⁴ The inscription is mentioned by Huang Hao in *Zai Beijing de zongzu wenwu* (11-12).

³⁵ Tong Xun, "Xihuang Si", 55-60.

³⁶ *Shuntian fazhi*; Ma Jia, *Qingdai Beijing zongchuan fojiao siyuan*, 44.

³⁷ Ma Jia, *Qingdai Beijing zongchuan fojiao siyuan*, 38; Huang Hao, *Zai Beijing de zongzu wenwu*, 45.

³⁸ Mentioned in Huang Hao, *Zai Beijing de zongzu wenwu*, 45.

³⁹ Ma Jia, *Qingdai Beijing zongchuan fojiao siyuan*, 42, 45.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

14	Pagoda of Orlog Darqan Nangsu Lama of the Great Jin Dynasty (大金 喇嘛幹祿打儿 罕囊素の塔, or Temple of the Great Jin Dynasty [大金 喇嘛庙])	Lianyang	Proposed in the 7 th year of the Tianming reign (1622) and finally completed in the 4 th year of the Tiansong reign (1630) ⁴¹	The 15 th year of the reign of Shunzhi (1658) ⁴²		• Figure: The Pagoda in a Tibetan style ⁴³	• <i>Da lama feita</i> between the pagoda and temple of the lama], written in the 15 th year of the reign of Shunzhi (1658). ⁴⁴
15	Women Temple (五门庙)	Beijing, Western, By Huguo Temple ⁴⁵	The Ming Dynasty (Ibid.)	About the 17 th year of the reign of Shunzhi (1660) (Ibid.)			

⁴¹ Li Qianpu, "Dajin lama fazhi beiji beiwen", 96.

⁴² Ibid., 104.

⁴³ Li Qianpu, "Shengjing Sisi manzhouyu beiwen", 91.

⁴⁴ Li Qianpu, "Dajin lama fazhi beiji beiwen", 104; Li Qianpu, "Shengjing Sisi manzhouyu beiwen", 91.

⁴⁵ Ma Jia, *Qingdai Beijing zongchuan fajiao shiyuan*, 35.

Appendix 3: Tibetan Buddhist Temples Built or Rebuilt in the Kangxi Period in Central China

Period	No.	Temple Name	Site	Original Construction Time	Reconstruction Time in This Reign	Reconstruction Time in Other Qing Reigns before	Architecture	Picture	Relevant Information	
Kangxi	1	Hongren Temple (弘仁寺)	Beijing, To the west of Jing Hill	The 5 th year of the reign of Kangxi (1666) ¹					• <i>Hongren Si beiwen</i> 弘仁寺碑文 [The inscription of Yongren Temple], written in the 5 th year of the reign of Kangxi (1666).	
	2	Pusading (菩萨顶)	Mount Wutai, The Middle Hill	North Wei (北魏) ²	The 23 rd year of the reign of Kangxi (1684) ³ The 37 th year of the reign of Kangxi (1698) ⁴		• Pusa Hall (菩萨大殿) ⁵ • The three gates ⁶		• <i>Chongxiu Wutai Shan Zhenrongyuan Jiji</i> 重修五台山其容院记 [The inscription of the rebuilding of Zhenrong Courtyard]. • <i>Qingliang Shan xinzhi</i> 清凉山新志 [The new annals of Mount Qingliang]. • <i>Zhongtai Pusading bei</i> 中台菩萨顶碑 [The inscription of Pusading on the middle hill]. • <i>Shehuchuan Tailu Si bei</i> 射虎川台麓寺碑 [The inscription of Tailu Temple at Shehuchuan].	
	3	Tailu Temple (台麓寺)	Mount Wutai, Shehuchuan	The 23 rd year of the reign of Kangxi (1684) ⁷						
	4	Miaoying Temple (妙应寺, called Baita Temple [白塔寺] by the local people)	Beijing, Near Fucheng Gate (阜成门)	The 42 nd year of the Daozong (道宗) period in the Liao (辽) Dynasty (1096) ⁸	The 27 th year of the reign of Kangxi (1688) ⁹		• Rebuilt in accordance with the original forms and without any elaborate adornments ¹⁰			• <i>Miaoying Si beiwen</i> 妙应寺碑文 [The inscription of Miaoying Temple]. • <i>Chenyuan shilue</i> 宸垣识略 [Records on Architecture], 129 • <i>Shuntian Fu zhi</i> 顺天府志 [The annals of Shuntian Prefecture], vol. 16, 29. • <i>Baita Si zhi</i> 白塔寺志 [Notes on Baita Temple], written by the Zhangjia Living Buddha in Tibetan.

¹ *Hongren Si beiwen*, 1666.
² Chen Qiao, "Pusading ya Kangxi yubi", 38.
³ *Da Lama Luozang Danbei taming*.
⁴ *Chongxiu Wutai Shan Zhenrongyuan ji*.
⁵ *Da Lama Luozang Danbei taming*.
⁶ *Chongxiu Wutai Shan Zhenrongyuan ji*.
⁷ *Shehuchuan Tailu Si bei*.
⁸ *Miaoying Si bei*.
⁹ *Miaoying Si beiwen*.
¹⁰ *Ibid*.

5	Fujing Meditation Forest (普静禅林, or Donghuang Temple [东黄寺])	Beifeng	The 8 th year of the reign of Shunzhi (1651) ¹¹	The 33 rd year of the reign of Kangxi (1694) ¹²				• <i>Chongxiu Donghuan Si beiji</i> 重修东黄寺碑记 [The inscription of the rebuilding of Donghuang Temple].
6	Luohou Temple (罗喉寺)	Mount Wutai		The 41 st year of the reign of Kangxi (1702) ¹³ The 44 th year of the reign of Kangxi (1705) ¹⁴				• <i>Chongxiu Qingliang Shan Luohou Si beiji</i> 重修清凉山罗喉寺碑记 [The inscription of the rebuilding of Luohou Temple on Mount Wutai].
7	Yongquan Temple (涌泉寺)	Mount Wutai, The Middle Hill	The 44 th year of the reign of Kangxi (1705) ¹⁵					• <i>Wutai Shan Yongquan Si beiwen</i> 五台山涌泉寺碑文 [The inscription of Yongquan Temple on Mount Wutai], written in the 44 th year of the reign of Kangxi (1705).
8	Sanquan Temple (三泉寺)	Mount Wutai		The 44 th year of the reign of Kangxi (1705) ¹⁶				
9	Shouning Temple (寿宁寺)	Mount Wutai		The 44 th year of the reign of Kangxi (1705) (Ibid.)				
10	Yuhuachi (玉花池)	Mount Wutai		The 44 th year of the reign of Kangxi (1705) (Ibid.)				
11	Qifo Temple (七佛寺)	Mount Wutai		The 44 th year of the reign of Kangxi (1705) (Ibid.)				
12	Jingangku (金刚窟)	Mount Wutai		The 44 th year of the reign of Kangxi (1705) (Ibid.)				

¹¹ *Chongxiu Donghuan Si beiji*, 1694.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Chongxiu Qingliang Shan Luohou Si beiji*, 1702.

¹⁴ Zhao Guoping and Hou Haining, "Luohou qingxiu qianqi de Wutai Shan zangchuan fojiao", 190-191, 193.

¹⁵ *Wutai Shan Yongquan Si beiwen*, 1705.

¹⁶ Zhao Guoping and Hou Haining, "Luohou qingxiu qianqi de Wutai Shan zangchuan fojiao", 190-191, 193.

13	Shancaidong (善财洞)	Mount Wutai		The 44 th year of the reign of Kangxi (1705) (Ibid.)					
14	Pu'an Temple (普庵寺)	Mount Wutai		The 44 th year of the reign of Kangxi (1705) (Ibid.)					• <i>Wutai Shan Baiyun Si bei</i> 五台山白云寺碑 [The inscription of Baiyun Temple on Mount Wutai].
15	Baiyun Temple (白云寺)	Mount Wutai		The 46 th year of the reign of Kangxi (1707) ¹⁷					• In the 50 th year of the reign of Kangxi (1711), Zhenhai Temple was turned from a temple of Chan Buddhism into a Tibetan Buddhist temple. (Ibid.)
16	Zhenhai Temple (镇海 寺)	Mount Wutai					• There were Heavenly King Hall, Main Hall, the monks' living quarters in Zhenhai Temple (Ibid.)		• <i>Fanjing Chang ji</i> 番经厂记 [Notes on the place of chanting sutras], written by Zhang Juzheng in the 1 st year of the reign of Wanli in the Ming Dynasty (1573). ²² • <i>Chenyuan shilue</i> , 44. • <i>Jingcheng fangxiang zhigao</i> 京城坊巷志稿 [Records on Beijing lanes], 33.
17	Songzhu Temple (嵩祝 寺)	Beijing, Eastern ¹⁹		The 51 st year of the reign of Kangxi (1712) ²⁰			• There are several pictures of Songzhu Temple in <i>Yonghegong</i> <i>Daoguansuo qikan</i> 雍和宫导观所 期刊 [Journal of Yonghegong] ²¹		• <i>Puren Si beiwen</i> 溥仁寺碑文 [The inscription of Puren Temple], written in the 53 rd year of the reign of Kangxi (1714).
18	Puren Temple (溥仁寺)	Chengde		Between the 52 nd and the 53 rd year the reign of Kangxi (1713-1714) ²³					
19	Pushan Temple (鸿善寺)	Chengde							
20	Zifu Temple (资福院)	Beijing, Outside Anding Gate		The 60 th year of the reign of Kangxi (1721) ²⁴					• <i>Zifu Yuan beiji</i> 资福院碑记 [The inscription of Zifu Temple], written in the 60 th year of the reign of Kangxi (1721).

¹⁷ *Wutai Shan Baiyun Si bei*.

¹⁸ Cui Zhongsen, "Zhenghai Si fojiao jianshi", 8.

¹⁹ Huang Hao, *Zai Beijing de zongzu wenwu*, 22.

²⁰ Zhang Fan, "Songzhu Si ceshi ji shijian nianmai", 21.

²¹ Huang Hao, *Zai Beijing de zongzu wenwu*, 23.

²² Ibid., 22.

²³ *Puren Si beiwen*, 1714.

²⁴ *Zifu Yuan beiji*, 1721.

21	Da Longshan Huguo Temple (大隆善护国 寺, or Chongguo Temple [崇国 寺])	Beijing, Western ²⁵	During the Daode (大德) period of the Yuan (元) Dynasty ²⁶	The 60 th year of the reign of Kangxi (1721) ²⁷	The 9 th year of the reign of Shunzhi (1652) ²⁸	•Simple description of the temple layout ²⁹ •Mingde Hall (密德殿) ³⁰ •Simply description of the temple layout during the Ming Dynasty ³¹	•Figure: The Pagodas for the Relic of Phagpa (八思 巴) in Huguo Temple (护 国寺) ³²	•Yuzhi Chongguo Si bei 御制崇国寺碑 [The inscription of Chongguo Temple], written by Emperor Kangxi. ³³
22	Fanxiang Temple (梵香 寺)	Beijing	About the 55 th year of the reign of Kangxi (1716) ³⁴					•Awang Banzhu'er Hubuketu (阿旺班珠尔胡图克图) built Fanxiang Temple during the reign of Kangxi in Beijing and in the 55 th year of his reign (1716) Emperor Kangxi permitted the lamas to live there. (Ibid.) •The temple was named as Fanxiang Temple in the reign of Yongzheng. (Ibid.) •In the 44 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1779), the Zhangjia Living Buddha applied to rebuild Fanxiang Temple, but nobody in the Imperial Household Department knew the temple. (Ibid.)

²⁵ Ma Jia, *Qingdai Beijing zongchuan fajiao siyuan yanjiu*, 35; Huang Han, *Zai Beijing de zongzhu wenwu*, 10.

²⁶ Chongguo Si beiben, 1721. Some scholars consider that Chongguo Temple was built in the 21st year of the reign of Zhiyuan (至元) of the Yuan (元) Dynasty (1284). See Ma Jia, *Qingdai Beijing zongchuan fajiao siyuan yanjiu*, 35; Huang Han, *Zai Beijing de zongzhu wenwu*, 10.

²⁷ Chongguo Si beiben, 1721.

²⁸ Ma Jia, *Qingdai Beijing zongchuan fajiao siyuan yanjiu*, 35; Huang Han, *Zai Beijing de zongzhu wenwu*, 11-12.

²⁹ Ma Jia, *Qingdai Beijing zongchuan fajiao siyuan yanjiu*, 35.

³⁰ Huang Han, *Zai Beijing de zongzhu wenwu*, 12.

³¹ Chongguo Da Longshan Huguo Si bei, 1512, cited in Huang Han, *Zai Beijing de zongzhu wenwu*, 12.

³² Huang Han, *Zai Beijing de zongzhu wenwu*, 10.

³³ The inscription is transcribed by Huang Han in *Zai Beijing de zongzhu wenwu* (1.1.13).

³⁴ Luo Wenbin, *Zongguo de fazhi*, 388.

Appendix 4: Tibetan Buddhist Temples Built or Rebuilt in the Yongzheng Period in Central China

Reign	Temple No.	Temple Name	Site	Original Construction Time	Reconstruction Time in This Reign	Reconstruction Time in Other Qing Reigns before	Architecture	Picture	Relevant Information
Yongzheng	1	Xihuang Temple (西黄寺)	Beijing, Outside of Anding Gate	The 9 th of the reign of Shunzhi (1652)	The 1 st year of the reign of Yongzheng (1723) ¹		• Simple description of the temple layout ²		• <i>Xihuang Si beiwén</i> 西黄寺碑文 [The inscription of Xihuang Temple], written by Emperor Yongzheng.
	2	Longfu Temple (隆福寺)	Beijing, Eastern	The 4 th year of the reign of Jingzai of the Ming Dynasty (1453) ³	The 1 st year of the reign of Yongzheng (1723) (Ibid.)		• Simple description of the temple layout (Ibid.)		• <i>Longfu Si beiwén</i> 隆福寺碑文 [The inscription of Longfu Temple], written by Emperor Yongzheng.
	3	Bai Pagoda (White Pagoda, 白塔)	Beijing, Beihai Garden		Between the 8 th and the 11 th year of the reign of Yongzheng (1730-1733) ⁴				• <i>Baita chongxiu beiwén</i> 白塔重修碑文 [The inscription of the rebuilding of Bai Pagoda], written in the 11 th year of the reign of Yongzheng (1733).
	4	Guangtong Temple (广通禅寺)	One mile far from Xiguan (西关) of Beijing		The 11 th year of the reign of Yongzheng (1733) ⁵	The reign of Kangxi ⁶			• <i>Guangtong Chanshibeiwen</i> 广通禅寺碑文 [The inscription of Guangtong Temple], written by Emperor Yongzheng.
	5	Songzhu Temple (嵩祝寺)	Beijing		The 12 th year of the reign of Yongzheng (1734) ⁷				
	6	Fayuan Temple (法源寺)	Beijing		The 12 th year of the reign of Yongzheng (1734) ⁸				

¹ *Xihuang Si beiwén*.

² Ma Jia, *Qingdai Beijing zongchuan fojiao shiyuan*, 38; Huang Hao, *Zai Beijing de zongzhu wenhua*, 45.

³ *Longfu Si beiwén*.

⁴ *Baita chongxiu beiwén*, 1733.

⁵ *Guangtong Chanshi beiwén*.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Zhang Fan, "Songzhu Si ceshi ji shijian zhidai", 21.

⁸ Ibid.

Appendix 5: Tibetan Buddhist Temples Built or Rebuilt in the Qianlong Period in Central China with Construction or Reconstruction Time Recorded

Reign	Temple No.	Temple Name	Site	Original Construction Time	Reconstruction Time in This Reign	Reconstruction Time in Qing Reigns before	Architecture	Picture	Relevant Information
Qianlong	1	Yonghegong (雍和宮)	Beijing		The 9 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1744) ¹				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yonghegong between 雍和宮碑文 [The inscription of Yonghegong, written by Emperor Qianlong] • In the 9th year of the reign of Qianlong (1744), Emperor Qianlong turned Yonghegong from a prince mansion into a Tibetan Buddhist temple. (Ibid.) • Between the 43rd and the 45th year of his reign (1778-1780), Emperor Qianlong built Jietai Tower (戒台塔) to welcome the 6th Panchen Lama to Beijing.²
	2	Chanfu Temple (阐福寺)	Beijing, In Beihai Garden	Between the 10 th and the 11 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1745-1746) ³					<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chanfu Si between 阐福寺碑文 [The inscription of Qingning Temple], written by Emperor Qianlong.
	3	Shisheng Temple (实胜寺)	Beijing, Beside Mount Xiang	The 14 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1749) ⁴					<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shisheng Si beiji 实胜寺碑记 [The inscription of Shisheng Temple], written by Emperor Qianlong in the 14th year of the reign of Qianlong (1749).
	4	Da Bao'en Yanshou Temple (大报恩延寿寺)	Beijing, In Qingyiuan Garden	The 15 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1750) ⁵					<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wanshou Shan Da Bao'en Yanshou Si beiji 万寿山大报恩延寿寺碑记 [The inscription of great Baoen Yanshou Temple on Wanshou Hill], written by Emperor Qianlong.
	5	Baodi Temple (宝寺)	Beijing, Beside Mount Xiang	The 16 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1751) ⁶	The 35 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1770) (IHDL)				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Manchu Tibetan Buddhist temple.⁷
	6	Wanshou Temple (万寿寺)	Beijing, Haidian		The 16 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1751) ⁸ ; The 26 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1761) ⁹				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chixiu Wanshou Si beiji 勅修万寿寺碑记 [The inscription of Wanshou Temple], written by Emperor Qianlong in the 16th year of the reign of Qianlong (1751). • Chongxiu Wanshou Si beiwén 重修万寿寺碑文 [The inscription of the rebuilding of Wanshou Temple], written by Emperor Qianlong.

¹ Yonghegong beiwén.

² Lao Wenhua, *Laopao he jizhu*, 366.

³ Chanfu Si beiwén.

⁴ Shisheng Si beiji, 1749.

⁵ Zhang Yuxin, *Qing zhengfu yu lanmajiao*, 365.

⁶ Lao Wenhua, *Longgao he jizhu*, 616.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Chixiu Wanshou Si beiwén, 1751.

⁹ Chongxiu Wanshou Si beiwén.

7	Zhengtue Temple (正觉寺, or Great Zhengtue Temple [大正觉寺], or Zhenjue Temple [真觉寺], or Wuta Temple [五塔寺] called by the local people)	Beijing	The early of the reign of Yongle ¹⁰	The 16 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1751) ¹¹ . The 26 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1761) ¹²								*Chongzhi Zhengtue Si between 重修正觉寺碑文 [The inscription of the rebuilding of Zhengtue Temple], written by Emperor Qianlong.
8	Yongyou Temple (永佑寺)	Chengde, in Bishuoshanzhuan g Garden	The 17 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1752) ¹⁴									*Yongyou Si between 永佑寺碑文 [The inscription of Yongyou Temple], written by Emperor Qianlong in the 17 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1752).
9	Miaoying Temple (妙应寺, called Baifa Temple [White Pagoda Temple, 白塔寺] by the local people)	Beijing, Near Fucheng Gate (阜成门)	The 8 th year of the Zhiyuan (至元) reign of Huhulei (忽必烈) (1271) ¹⁵	The 18 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1753) ¹⁶	The 27 th year of the reign of Kangxi (1688) ¹⁷							*Chongzhi Miaoying Si bei 重修妙应寺碑 [The inscription of the rebuilding of Miaoying Temple], written by Emperor Qianlong in the 18 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1753). *During the reconstruction of the temple in the 18 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1753), some Tibetan Buddhist scriptures and offerings were put in the White Pagoda. ¹⁸
10	Puning Temple (普宁寺)	Chengde	The 20 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1755) ¹⁹					*Modeled on Samye Temple (桑耶寺) in Tibet ²⁰	*Figure: The Overall View of Puning Temple (普宁寺) ²¹			*Puning Si between 普宁寺碑文 [The inscription of Puning Temple], written by Emperor Qianlong in the 20 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1755). *Ritai jianwen kao 日下旧闻考 [The collection and research of old records], vol. 78, 1301
11	Hongren Temple (弘仁寺 or 宏仁寺)	Beijing, To the west of Hill Jing	The 5 th year of the reign of Kangxi (1666) ²²	The 25 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1760) ²²								*Chongzhi Hongren Si between 重修弘仁寺碑文 [The inscription of the rebuilding of Hongren Temple], written by Emperor Qianlong in the 25 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1760).

¹⁰ Huang Hào, *Zai Beijing de zangzu wenwu*, 25.

¹¹ Zhang Yuxia, *Qing zhengqi yu kanqijian*, 308.

¹² Zhang Yuxia, *Qing zhengqi yu kanqijian*, 308; Lao Wenhua, *Lengzao he jianhu*, 366.

¹³ The note is mentioned by Huang Hào in *Zai Beijing de zangzu wenwu* (25).

¹⁴ Hongren Si between, 1752.

¹⁵ See Shengzhi region *Shijia sheli lingrong zhi ta beiwen* 圣旨修建释迦舍利灵通之塔碑文 [The inscription of the building of the pagoda for relics of Sakya on the Emperor's decree], written by Xiang Mei (祥迈) of the Yuan Dynasty, in *Dazang jing* (大藏经), Tripitaka, *Miaoying Si beiwen* 妙应寺碑文 [The inscription of Miaoying Temple] mentioned that the Miaoying Temple and its pagoda was built in the 42nd year of the period of Doozong (道宗) of the Liao (辽) (Liao (II) Dynasty (1096). The construction time of the Miaoying Temple and its pagoda mentioned in

¹⁶ *Chongzhi Miaoying Si bei*, 1753.

¹⁷ *Miaoying Si beiwen*.

¹⁸ Huang Hào, *Zai Beijing de zangzu wenwu*, 6.

¹⁹ *Puning Si beiwen*, 1755.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Lao Wenhua, *Lengzao he jianhu*, 27, Figure 19.

²² Hongren Si between, 1666.

²³ *Chongzhi Hongren Si beiwen*, 1760.

12	Baoxiang Temple (宝相寺)	Beijing, Mount Xiang	Between the 27 th and the 32 nd year of the reign of Qianlong (1762-1767) ²⁴				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Figure: The Exterior Scene of the Xuhua Pavilion (旭华阁) of Baoxiang Temple²⁵ • Figure: Shuxiang Temple (殊像寺) of Mount Wutai²⁶ Figure: The Manjusri Bodhisattva Statue of Shuxiang Temple of Mount Wutai²⁷ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Baoxiang Si beiwen</i> 宝相寺碑文 [The inscription of Baoxiang Temple], written by Emperor Qianlong. • <i>Baoxiang Si shibei</i> 宝相寺诗碑 [The stele of the poem on Baoxiang Temple].
13	Anyuan Temple (安远庙)	Chengde	Between the 29 th and the 30 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1764-1765) ²⁸		Modeled on Ghulja Tempi (固尔札庙) at Yili of Xinjiang ²⁹		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Anyuan Miao zhamiti shushu</i> 安远庙瞻礼书事 [Notes on worshipping in Anyuan Temple], written by Emperor Qianlong. 	
14	Yongmu Temple (永慕寺)	Beijing		The 29 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1764) ³⁰			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Yongmu Si</i> 永慕寺 [Poems about Yongmu Temple engraved on the stone], written by Emperor Qianlong. 	
15	Pule Temple (普乐寺)	Chengde	The 30 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1765) ³¹		Simple Description of the temple layout ³²		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Pule Si beiji</i> 普乐寺碑记 [The inscription of Pule Temple], written by Emperor Qianlong in the 32nd year of the reign of Qianlong (1767). 	
16	Putuozongsheng Temple (普陀宗乘之庙)	Chengde	The 32 nd year of Emperor Qianlong (1767) ³³		Modeled on Potala Palace (布达拉宫) in Lhasa ³⁴		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Figure: The Exterior Scene of Putuozongsheng Temple³⁵ • <i>Putuo Zongsheng Zhi Miao beiji</i> 普陀宗乘之庙碑记 [The inscription of Putuozongsheng Temple], written by Emperor Qianlong. 	

²⁴ *Baoxiang Si beiwen*.

²⁵ Luo Wenhua, *Longpano he jiaozhu*, 367, Figure 3.5-2-4.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Figure 3.5-2-5.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, Figure 3.5-2-6.

²⁸ *Anyuan Miao zhamiti shushu*.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Yongmu Si*.

³¹ *Pule Si beiji*, 1767.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Putuo Zongsheng Zhi Miao beiji*.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Luo Wenhua, *Longpano he jiaozhu*, 369, Figure 3.5-2-7.

17	Donghuang Temple (East Yellow Temple, 东黄寺, Original Pujing Meditation Forest [普静禅林])	Beijing	The 8 th year of the reign of Shunzhi (1651)	The 34 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1769) ³⁶			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Chongxiu Pujing Chantlin zhanli youzhu</i> 重修普静禅林瞻礼有述 [Poems about worshipping in the rebuilt Pujing Temple engraved on the stone].
18	Gongde Temple (功德寺)	Beijing		The 35 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1770) ³⁷			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Chongxiu Gongde Si beiji</i> 重修功德寺碑记 [The inscription of the rebuilding of Gongde Temple], written by Emperor Qianlong.
19	Xihuang Temple (West Yellow Temple, 西黄寺, or Dalai Lama Temple [达赖喇嘛庙], or Huizong Fan Temple [匯宗梵寺])	Beijing, Outside Anding Gate	The 9 th year of the reign of Shunzhi (1652) ³⁸	The 35 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1770) ³⁹ ; Between the 43 rd and the 45 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1778-1780) ⁴⁰ ; Between the 8 th and the 10 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1743-1745) [IHDL]	The 1 st year of the reign of Yongzheng (1723)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Figure: The Gate of the Pagoda Courtyard (塔院) • Figure: Old Picture of Huang Temple⁴¹ • Figure: Old Picture of the right of the temple⁴¹ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Chongxiu Xihuang Sibewen</i> 重修西黄寺碑文 [The inscription of the rebuilding of Xihuang Temple], written by Emperor Qianlong. • <i>Qingjing Huacheng taji</i> 清静化城塔记 [The inscription of Qingjing Huacheng Tower], written by Emperor Qianlong in the 47th year of the reign of Qianlong (1782). • <i>Rixia jinwen kao</i>, vol. 107, 616-617.
20	The Wanfo Tower (万佛楼)	Beijing, In tshe Beihai Park	The 35 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1770) ⁴⁴				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Wanfo Lou</i> 万佛楼 [Poems about the Wanfo Tower engraved on the stone], written by Emperor Qianlong.
21	Shuxiang Temple (殊像寺)	Chengde	The 39 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1774) ⁴⁵			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Modeled on Shuxiang Temple (殊像寺) of Mount Wuzai⁴⁶ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Shuxiang Si luocheng zhanli jishi chengshi</i> 殊像寺落成瞻礼即事成什 [Notes on the opening ceremony of Shuxiang Temple], written by Emperor Qianlong.
22	Enmu Temple (恩慕寺)	Beijing, In Changchunyuan Garden	The 42 nd year of the reign of Qianlong (1777) ⁴⁸				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Figure: The Overall View of Shuxiang Temple⁴⁷

³⁶ *Chongxiu Pujing Chantlin zhanli youzhu*.

³⁷ *Chongxiu Gongde Si beiji*; Luo Weibua, *Longpan he jiansha*, 366.

³⁸ *Chongxiu Xihuang Si bewen*.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ Luo Weibua, *Longpan he jiansha*, 366.

⁴¹ *Qingjing Huacheng taji*, 1782.

⁴² Luo Weibua, *Longpan he jiansha*, 560, Figure 5.1-4.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, Figure 5.1-5.

⁴⁴ *Wanfo Lou*; Luo Weibua, *Longpan he jiansha*, 366.

⁴⁵ *Shuxiang Si luocheng zhanli jishi chengshi*.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ Luo Weibua, *Longpan he jiansha*, 618, Figure 5.3-11.

⁴⁸ Wang Xiaoming, "Changchunyuan Enmu Si".

23	Xumifushou Temple (须弥福寿之庙)	Chengde	The 45 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1780) ⁴⁹					<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Modeled on Zhaohuibu Temple (扎什伦布寺) of Tibet⁵⁰ Modeled on Tibetan models⁵¹ 	Figure: the Exterior Scene of Zhao Temple (昭庙) ⁵²	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>Xumi Fushou Zhi Miao beiji</i> 须弥福寿之庙碑记 [The inscription of Xumifushou Temple], written by Emperor Qianlong in the 45th year of the reign of Qianlong (1780). <i>Zhaomian lianyun</i> 昭庙六韻 [Poems about Zhao Temple], written by Emperor Qianlong. <i>Jian Yongfu Si beiji</i> 建永福寺碑记 [The inscription of the building of Yongfu Temple], written by Emperor Qianlong in the 54th year of the reign of Qianlong (1789).
24	Zhao Temple (昭庙)	Beijing, Mount Xiang	The 45 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1780) ⁵¹							
25	Yongfu Temple (永福寺)	Beijing, West tombs of the Qing dynasty	The 54 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1789) ⁵⁴							
26	Pusheng Temple (普胜寺, or Shidazi Temple [十刹子庙 or 石刹子庙]) ⁵⁵	Beijing	The 8 th year of the reign of Shunzhi (1651) ⁵⁶	The 9 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1744) ⁵⁷ ; The 41 st year of the reign of Qianlong (1776) ⁵⁸						
27	Yong'an Temple (永安寺)	Beijing, Before the White Pagoda in the Beihai Park	In the 8 th year of the Shunzhi reign (1651) ⁵⁹	Between the 15 th and the 47 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1750-1782): 15 times [IHDL]					Figure: Yong'an Temple before the White Pagoda in the Beihai Garden ⁶⁰	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Manchu Tibetan Buddhist temple⁶¹
28	Deshou Temple (德寿寺)	Beijing, Nanyuan		Between the 20 th and the 54 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1755-1789): 7 times [IHDL]						
29	Longfu Temple (隆福寺)	Beijing		Between the 23 rd and the 55 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1758-1790): 7 times [IHDL]						

⁴⁹ *Xumi Fushou Zhi Miao beiji*.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ Zhang Yuxin, *Qing zhengfu yu lanqiaojiao*, 469; Chen Qiangyi, "Zongjingdazhao Zhi Miao", 41.

⁵² Chen Qiangyi, "Zongjingdazhao Zhi Miao", 41.

⁵³ Luo Wenhua, *Longgao he jiashe*, 15, Figure 11.

⁵⁴ *Jian Yongfu Si beiji*, 1789.

⁵⁵ Ma Jia, *Qingdai Beijing zongchuan fojiao siyuan*, 35, 43.

⁵⁶ Ma Jia, *Qingdai Beijing zongchuan fojiao siyuan*, 35, 43; Huang Hao, *Zai Beijing de zongtao wenwu*, 42.

⁵⁷ Cheng Qiangyi, "Cong lama miao dao liuxuecheng huodong jidi".

⁵⁸ Cheng Qiangyi, "Cong lama miao dao liuxuecheng huodong jidi"; Ma Jia, *Qingdai Beijing zongchuan fojiao siyuan*, 35-36.

⁵⁹ *Beita Si bei*, 1651.

⁶⁰ Luo Wenhua, *Longgao he jiashe*, 16, Figure 12.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 16.

30	Zhantian Temple (旂檀寺)	Beijing			The 25 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1760) [IHDL]					
31	Jingzhu Temple (淨住寺)	Beijing, Outside Chaoyang Gate ⁶¹	The Ming Dynasty ⁶²		The 32 nd year of the reign of Qianlong (1767) [IHDL]					* In the 60 th year of the Kangxi reign (1721), the Mongol nobles offered a Amitayur Buddha statue in the Rear Hall and Emperor Kangxi bestowed a inscribed tablet ⁶⁴
32	Huachen Temple (化成寺)	Beijing			The 32 nd Year of the reign of Qianlong (1767) [IHDL]					
33	Fuyou Temple (福佑寺)	Beijing			The 32 nd year of the reign of Qianlong (1767) [IHDL]				* Figure: The Exterior Scene of Fuyou Temple ⁶⁵	
34	Songzhu Temple (嵩祝寺)	Beijing, Northeast of the Forbidden City ⁶⁶	The reign of Kangxi ⁶⁷		The 37 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1772) [IHDL]; The 48 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1783) [IHDL]					
35	Sanfo Temple (三佛寺)	Beijing, outside Chaoyang Gate			The 39 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1774) [IHDL]					
36	Maha Gaha Temple (嘛哈噶拉廟, it was renamed Pudu Temple [普度寺] later)	Beijing			The 41 st year of the reign of Qianlong (1776) - The 56 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1791): 5 times [IHDL]					
37	Longfu Temple (隆福寺)	Beijing, Eastan Imperial Mausoleum of the Qing Dynasty			The 49 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1784) [IHDL]					

⁶¹ Ma Jia, *Qingdai Beijing zongzhuanyuan fofaiao shuyan*, 39.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ Luo Weibao, *Longzuo he fashuo*, 590. Figure 5.2-7.

⁶⁵ Huang Mao, *Zai Beijing de zongzhuanyuan*, 22.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

38	Luohou Temple (罗猴寺)	Mount Wutai	The 51 st year of the reign of Qianlong (1786) ⁶⁸				• <i>Shanxi tongzhi. Xunxing ji</i> 山西通志. 巡幸记 [The overall history of Shanxi: Inspection tours], vol. 81.
39	Guangzong Temple (广宗寺)	Mount Wutai	The 51 st year of the reign of Qianlong (1786) (Ibid.)				• <i>Shanxi tongzhi. Xunxing ji</i> 山西通志. 巡幸记 [The overall history of Shanxi: Inspection tours], vol. 81.
40	Shouning Temple (寿宁寺)	Mount Wutai	The 51 st year of the reign of Qianlong (1786) (Ibid.)				• <i>Shanxi tongzhi. Xunxing ji</i> 山西通志. 巡幸记 [The overall history of Shanxi: Inspection tours], vol. 81.
41	Bishan Temple (碧山寺)	Mount Wutai	The 51 st year of the reign of Qianlong (1786) (Ibid.)				• <i>Shanxi tongzhi. Xunxing ji</i> 山西通志. 巡幸记 [The overall history of Shanxi: Inspection tours], vol. 81.
42	Yongquan Temple (涌泉寺)	Mount Wutai	The 51 st year of the reign of Qianlong (1786) (Ibid.)				• <i>Shanxi tongzhi. Xunxing ji</i> 山西通志. 巡幸记 [The overall history of Shanxi: Inspection tours], vol. 81.
43	Qixian Temple (栖贤寺)	Mount Wutai	The 51 st year of the reign of Qianlong (1786) (Ibid.)				• <i>Shanxi tongzhi. Xunxing ji</i> 山西通志. 巡幸记 [The overall history of Shanxi: Inspection tours], vol. 81.
44	Zhenhai Temple (镇海寺)	Mount Wutai	The 51 st year of the reign of Qianlong (1786) (Ibid.)				• <i>Shanxi tongzhi. Xunxing ji</i> 山西通志. 巡幸记 [The overall history of Shanxi: Inspection tours], vol. 81.
45	Baiyun Temple (白云寺)	Mount Wutai	The 51 st year of the reign of Qianlong (1786) (Ibid.)				• <i>Shanxi tongzhi. Xunxing ji</i> 山西通志. 巡幸记 [The overall history of Shanxi: Inspection tours], vol. 81.

Appendix 6: The List of Tibetan Buddhist Temples Built or Rebuilt by the Imperial Household Department in the Qianlong Period (IHDL)

Temple Name	Site	Construction or Reconstruction Time and Expenditure (taels)	Total Expenditure (taels)
Chanfu Temple (阐福寺)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Between the 8th and the 10th year of the reign of Qianlong (1743-1745), construct buildings and the temple wall of Chanfu Temple: 19,810.00 • In the 11th year of the reign of Qianlong (1746), construct Chanfu Temple: 5,291.66 • In the 28th year of the reign of Qianlong (1763), repair Chanfu Temple: 12,614.43 • In the 32nd year of the reign of Qianlong (1767), repair the archway before the temple gate of Chanfu Temple: 26,389.38 • In the 44th year of the reign of Qianlong (1779), plant grass in Xiannong Altar (先农坛), Chanfu Temple, Jile World (极乐世界) and inside Sheshan Gate (涉山门): 10,873.77 • In the 44th year of the reign of Qianlong (1779), repair the archway of Chanfu Temple: 1,082.49 • In the 45th year of the reign of Qianlong (1780), Chanfu Temple: 1,955.25 	<p>74,856.19 (not included: • In the 44th year of the reign of Qianlong (1779), plant grass in Xiannong Altar, Chanfu Temple, Jile World and inside Sheshan Gate: 10,873.77)</p>
Yonghegong (雍和宫)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In the 13th year of the reign of Qianlong (1748), Yonghegong: 30,000 • In the 17th year of the reign of Qianlong (1752), repair the lamas' rooms of Yonghegong: 803.45 • In the 17th year of the reign of Qianlong (1752), repair the halls and lamas' rooms of Yonghegong and the halls and rooms of East Study Courtyard (东书院): 2,864.19 • In the 25th year of the reign of Qianlong (1760), repair Buddha towers and halls of Yonghegong: 2,832.90 • In the 27th year of the reign of Qianlong (1762), repair East Study Courtyard, the rooms of Buddha Tower, Drum Tower, Bell Tower and the flagpoles of Yonghegong: 16,619.53 • In the 29th year of the reign of Qianlong (1764), add offering tables, Buddha seats, etc., to Wanfu Pavilion (万福阁) of Yonghegong, Colored Glaze Pavilion (琉璃阁) of Daxitian (大西天), Amitayur Buddha Hall (无量佛殿) of Renshou Temple (仁寿寺), Hongren Temple (弘仁寺): 1,114.81 • In the 29th year of the reign of Qianlong (1764), repair East Study Courtyard (东书院), the rooms of Rear Buddha Tower (后佛楼) of Yonghegong: 6,487.19 • In the 35th year of the reign of Qianlong (1770), repair the archways of Yonghegong: 2,900.45 • In the 38th year of the reign of Qianlong (1773), repair the archways of Yonghegong: 578.79 • In the 44th year of the reign of Qianlong (1779), repair Yonghegong and Xihuang Temple (西黄寺): 944.16 • In the 44th year of the reign of Qianlong (1779), repair Falun Hall (法轮殿) of Yonghegong: 11,084.95 • In the 45th year of the reign of Qianlong (1780), renewal Falun Hall and the Yaoshi Altar (药师坛) on the east, e.g. change eaves, add surrounding corridors and decorate interior eaves, according to the style of Jietai Hall (戒台殿) on the west: 185.77 • In the 50th year of the reign of Qianlong (1785), repair three archways, two flagpoles before Heavenly King Hall and the fence of Yonghegong: 3,570.65 • In the 51st year of the reign of Qianlong (1786), build a pavilion on the platform before the main hall of Yonghegong: 6,268.54 	<p>86,308.08 (Not included: • In the 29th year of the reign of Qianlong (1764), add offering tables, Buddha seats, etc., to Wanfu Pavilion of Yonghegong, Colored Glaze Pavilion of Daxitian, Amitayur Buddha Hall of Renshou Temple, Hongren Temple: 1,114.81 • In the 44th year of the reign of Qianlong (1779), repair Yonghegong and Xihuang Temple: 944.16)</p>
Yong'an Temple (永安寺)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In the 15th year of the reign of Qianlong (1750), plant trees: 206.66 • In the 16th year of the reign of Qianlong (1751), repair Yong'an Temple: 130,704.20 • In the 17th year of the reign of Qianlong (1752), repair Yong'an Temple: 22,411.49 • In the 18th year of the reign of Qianlong (1753), add halls, corridors and ponds in the west of the Yong'an Temple: 2,000.00 • In the 20th year of the reign of Qianlong (1755), plant more trees on hills of the Yong'an Temple: 540.8 • In the 35th year of the reign of Qianlong (1770), add buildings and rooms and construct stone caves behind the hill in the Yong'an Temple: 2,826.13 	<p>211,198.05 (Not included: • In the 40th year of the reign of Qianlong (1775), the Zhengjue Hall of Yong'an Temple and the Shiyang Palace: 1,566.70)</p>

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •In the 36th year of the reign of Qianlong (1771), repair the Yong'an Temple, etc.: 9,945.44 •In the 37th year of the reign of Qianlong (1772), add buildings, rooms and corridors behind the hill in Yong'an Temple: 12,050.2 •In the 39th year of the reign of Qianlong (1774), add a stone stele in Yinsheng Pavilion (引胜亭) and Dial Pavilion (搭露亭) respectively: 1,176.01 •In the 40th year of the reign of Qianlong (1775), the Zhengjue Hall of Yong'an Temple and the Shiyang Palace: 1,566.70 •In the 41st year of the reign of Qianlong (1776), repair Yong'an Temple: 9,868.88 •In the 46th year of the reign of Qianlong (1781), repair four archways of Yong'an Temple: 679.69 •In the 46th year of the reign of Qianlong (1781), repair Yingtai (凝台) and the archways of Yong'an Temple: 134.39 •In the 47th year of the reign of Qianlong (1782), repair the pavilions and archways of Yingtai and Yong'an Temple: 654.16 	
Miaoying Temple (妙应寺)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •In the 18th year of the reign of Qianlong (1753), rebuild Miaoying Temple: 4,6000 •In the 40th year of the reign of Qianlong (1775), repair Miaoying Temple: 7,939.75 •In the 43rd year of the reign of Qianlong (1778), repair halls of Miaoying Temple: 4,770.58 	58,710.33
Deshou Temple (德寿寺)	Nanyuan (南苑)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •In the 20th year of the reign of Qianlong (1755), build Deshou Temple: 49,392.45 •In the 32nd year of the reign of Qianlong (1767), renewal the main hall of Deshou Temple and the lotus throne in it: 3,376.93 •In the 36th year of the reign of Qianlong (1771), repair the two archways before the temple gate of Deshou Temple of Nanyuan: 3,285.27 •In the 45th year of the reign of Qianlong (1780), repair the Deshou Temple of Nanyuan: 17,807.87 •In the 54th year of the reign of Qianlong (1789), repair Ningyou Temple (宁佑寺), Guandi Temple (关帝庙), Deshou Temple, Renyou Temple (仁佑庙) of Nanyuan, Niangniang Temple (娘娘庙) on the south peak and Puji Palace on the middle peak: 19,289.59 •In the 54th year of the reign of Qianlong (1789), restore the halls and rooms of Ningyou Temple and the archways of Deshou Temple, renewal the colored glaze roof and plant trees: 6,007.97 	73,862.47 (Not included: •In the 54 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1789), repair Ningyou Temple, Guandi Temple, Deshou Temple, Renyou Temple of Nanyuan, Niangniang Temple on the south peak and Puji Palace on the middle peak: 19,289.59 In the 54 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1789), restore the halls and rooms of Ningyou Temple and the archways of Deshou Temple, renewal the colored glaze roof and plant trees: 6,007.97)
Longfu Temple (隆福寺)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •In the 23rd year of the reign of Qianlong (1758), repair the archways of Longfu Temple: 5,686.13 •In the 43rd year of the reign of Qianlong (1778), repair three archways before Longfu Temple: 2,427.75 •In the 51st year of the reign of Qianlong (1786), turn Longfu Temple into a Tibetan Buddhist temple: 9,738.21 •In the 52nd year of the reign of Qianlong (1787), repair the Bilu Hall (毘盧殿) of Longfu Temple: 797 	18,649.09
Hongren Temple (弘仁寺)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •In the 25th year of the reign of Qianlong (1760), build the halls and rooms of Renshou Temple (仁寿寺) and Hongren Temple: 100,000 •In the 26th year of the reign of Qianlong (1761), build the halls and rooms of Renshou Temple and the Hongren Temple and make the Buddha statues: 8,433.59 •In the 29th year of the reign of Qianlong (1764), offering tables, Buddha seats, etc. in the Wanfu Pavilion of Yonghegong, the Liuli Pavilion of Daxitian (大西天琉璃阁), the Amitayur Buddha Hall of Renshou Temple, Hongren Temple: 1,114.81 • In the 47th year of the reign of Qianlong (1782), repair the Three Seas (三海) and Hongren Temple: 10,912.43 •In the 47th year of the reign of Qianlong (1782), repair archways of Hongren 	1,192.98 (Not included: •In the 25 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1760), build the halls and rooms of Renshou Temple and Hongren Temple: 100,000 •In the 26 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1761), build the halls and rooms of Renshou

	<p>Temple: 1,192.98</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In the 50th year of the reign of Qianlong (1785), repair the archways before Shouhuang Hall (寿皇殿) and the monks' rooms of Hongren Temple: 4,000 • In the 55th year of the reign of Qianlong (1790), repair the monks' rooms of Renshou Temple and Hongren Temple: 7,515.07 • In the 60th year of the reign of Qianlong (1795), redecorate the halls and rooms of Three Seas, Hongren Temple, Yihong Hall (倚虹堂), etc.: 20,870.37 	<p>Temple and the Hongren Temple and make the Buddha statues: 8,433.59</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In the 29th year of the reign of Qianlong (1764), offering tables, Buddha seats, etc., in the Wanfu Pavilion of Yonghegong, the Liuli Pavilion of Daxitian, the Amitayur Buddha Hall of Renshou Temple, Hongren Temple: 1,114.81 • In the 47th year of the reign of Qianlong (1782), repair the Three Seas and Hongren Temple: 10,912.43 • In the 50th year of the reign of Qianlong (1785), repair the archways before the Shouhuang Hall and the monks' rooms of Hongren Temple: 4,000 Taels • In the 55th year of the reign of Qianlong (1790), repair the monks' rooms of Renshou Temple and Hongren Temple: 7,515.07 In the 60th year of the reign of Qianlong (1795), redecorate the halls and rooms of Three Seas, Hongren Temple, Yihong Hall, etc.: 20,870.37)
Zhantan Temple (旃檀寺)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In the 25th year of the reign of Qianlong (1760), repair the halls and rooms of Zhantan Temple: 300,000 	300,000
Yongmu Temple (永慕寺)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In the 28th year of the reign of Qianlong (1763), repair Yuanling Palace (元灵宫) and Yongmu Temple (永慕寺) of Nanyuan: 51,753.27 • In the 51st year of the reign of Qianlong (1786), repair the halls in Yuanling Palace, Yongmu Temple, Zhenguo Temple (镇国寺), etc.: 10,403.66 	
Baodi Temple (宝谛寺)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In the 35th year of the reign of Qianlong (1770), repair the halls and rooms of Baodi Temple: 23,172.88 	23,172.88
Xihuang Temple (西黄寺, or Dalai Lama Temple (达赖喇嘛庙))	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Between the 8th and the 10th year of the reign of Qianlong (1743-1745): 1,784.88 • In the 35th year of the reign of Qianlong (1770), repair the halls and rooms of Xihuang Temple and the rooms of Longwang Pavilion (龙王亭) of Tangquan (汤泉): 28,408.90 • In the 36th year of the reign of Qianlong (1771), add a stele pavilion in Xihuang Temple: 3,062.72 • In the 44th year of the reign of Qianlong (1779), repair Yonghegong (雍和宫) and the Xihuang Temple: 944.16 • In the 45th year of the reign of Qianlong (1780), make tablets for Donghuang Temple and Xihuang Temple: 383.38 • In the 55th year of the reign of Qianlong (1790), repair the surrounding buildings, stele pavilion and walls of Xihuang Temple (西黄寺): 8,684.67 • In the 56th year of the reign of Qianlong (1791), repair Dalai Lama Tower (达赖喇嘛楼) including changing the platform and painting the main hall: 2,836.18 	<p>16,368.45 (Not included:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In the 35th year of the reign of Qianlong (1770), repair the halls and rooms of Xihuang Temple and the rooms of Longwang Pavilion of Tangquan: 28,408.90 • In the 44th year of the reign of Qianlong (1779), repair Yonghegong and Xihuang Temple: 944.16 • In the 45th year of the reign of Qianlong (1780), make tablets for Donghuang

			Temple and Xihuang Temple: 383.38
Songzhu Temple (嵩祝寺)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In the 37th year of the reign of Qianlong (1772), repair the temple gate, halls, drum tower, bell tower and side rooms of Songzhu Temple: 11,470.76 • In the 48th year of the reign of Qianlong (1783), repair Songzhu Temple: 4,641 	16,111.76
Maha Gala Temple (嘛哈噶拉庙, or Pudu Temple (普度寺)) ¹		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In the 41st year of the reign of Qianlong (1776), repair the main hall of Maha Gala Temple: 5,491.14 • In the 48th year of the reign of Qianlong (1783), repair the halls of Pudu Temple: 1,862.04 • In the 49th year of the reign of Qianlong (1784), repair the halls of Pudu Temple and buy trees: 191.29 • In the 56th year of the reign of Qianlong (1791), repair the halls and monks' rooms of Pudu Temple and Fanxiang Temple (梵香寺): 5,917.15 • In the 56th year of the reign of Qianlong (1791), repair the halls and monks' rooms of Pudu Temple: 975.88 	8,520.35 (Not included: • In the 56 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1791), repair the halls and monks' rooms of Pudu Temple and Fanxiang Temple: 5,917.15)
Fanxiang Temple (梵香寺)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In the 44th year of the reign of Qianlong (1779), repair Fanxiang Temple: 3,399.63 • In the 46th year of the reign of Qianlong (1781), repair the halls of Fanxiang Temple: 140.01 • In the 56th year of the reign of Qianlong (1791), repair the halls and rooms of Pudu Temple and Fanxiang Temple: 5,917.15 	3,539.64 (Not included: In the 56 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1791), repair the halls and rooms of Pudu Temple and Fanxiang Temple: 5,917.15)
Donghuang Temple (东黄寺)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In the 45th year of the reign of Qianlong (1780), make tablets for Donghuang Temple and Xihuang Temple: 383.38 	
New Manchu Tibetan Buddhist temple	To the east of the temporary palace	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In the 49th year of the reign of Qianlong (1784), repair Longfu Temple and build a new Tibetan Buddhist temple to the east of the travelling palace: 41,680.71 	
Longfu Temple (隆福寺)	At Eastern Imperial Mausoleum of the Qing Dynasty	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In the 49th year of the reign of Qianlong (1784), repair Longfu Temple at Eastern Imperial Mausoleum of the Qing Dynasty: 20,000 • In the 49th year of the reign of Qianlong (1784), repair Longfu Temple and the new Manchu Tibetan Buddhist temple to the east of the travelling palace: 41,680.71 • In the 55th year of the reign of Qianlong (1790), repair Taohua Temple (桃花寺) of Pan Hill (盘山), Longfu Temple, etc.: 9,000 	20,000 (Not included: • In the 49 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1784), repair Longfu Temple and the new Manchu Tibetan Buddhist temple to the east of the travelling palace: 41,680.71 In the 55 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1790), repair Taohua Temple of Pan Hill, Longfu Temple, etc.: 9,000)
Yongfu Temple (永福寺)	Lianggezhuang (良各庄)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In the 53rd year of the reign of Qianlong (1788), build Yongfu Temple at Lianggezhuang: 16,100.94 • In the 55th year of the reign of Qianlong (1790), repair Yongfu Temple: 4,378.96 	20,479.90
Zhengjue Temple (正觉寺)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In the 54th year of the reign of Qianlong (1789), rebuild the halls and monks' rooms of Wanshou Temple (万寿寺) and Zhengjue Temple: 37,154.47 • In the 54th year of the reign of Qianlong (1789), rebuild the halls and rooms of Zhengjue Temple: 1,738.95 	1,738.95 (Not included: • In the 54 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1789), rebuild the halls and monks' rooms of Wanshou Temple and Zhengjue Temple: 37,154.47)
Jingzhu Temple (净住寺)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In the 32nd year of the reign of Qianlong (1767), repair and redecorate the halls, rooms and walls of Jingzhu Temple: 17,875.94 	17,875.94
Huacheng Temple		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In the 32nd year of the reign of Qianlong (1767), repair and redecorate the halls, 	26,389.38

¹ The Maha Gala Temple was renamed as Pudu Temple in the 41st year of the reign of Qianlong (1776). See Zhang Yuxin, *Zangzu wenhua zai Beijing*, 152.

(化成寺)		rooms and walls of Huacheng Temple: 26,389.38	
Fuyou Temple (福佑寺)		•In the 32 nd year of the reign of Qianlong (1767), repair the east and west archway before Fuyou Temple: 4,017.38	4,017.38
Sanfo Temple (三佛寺)	Outside Chaoyang Gate (朝阳门)	•In the 39 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1774), repair the halls of Sanfo Temple: 782.14 •In the 39 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1774), repair the halls of Sanfo Temple: 3,697.72	4,479.86
Wanshou Temple (万寿寺)		•In the 54 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1789), rebuild the halls, rooms of Wanshou Temple and Zhengjue Temple (正觉寺): 37,154.47 •In the 54 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1789), rebuild the halls and rooms of Wanshou Temple: 4,788.23	4,788.23 (Not included: •In the 54 th year of the reign of Qianlong, (1789) rebuild the halls, rooms of Wanshou Temple and Zhengjue Temple: 37,154.47)
Hall Name	Site	Construction or Reconstruction Time and Expenditure (taels)	Total Expenditure (taels)
Zhongzheng Hall (中正殿)		•In the 14 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1749), build Zhongzheng Hall and Yuhua Pavilion (雨花阁): 22,311.64 •In the 31 st year of the reign of Qianlong (1766), add buildings to Zhongzheng Hall and Yuhua Pavilion: 5,726.46 •In the 35 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1770), add the east and west side room to Zhongzheng Hall outside the two corner doors of the Rear Tower (后楼): 890.42	890.42 (Not included: •In the 14 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1749), build Zhongzheng Hall and Yuhua Pavilion: 22,311.64 •In the 31 st year of the reign of Qianlong (1766), add buildings to Zhongzheng Hall and the Yuhua Pavilion: 5,726.46)
Yuhua Pavilion (雨花阁)		•In the 14 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1749), build Zhongzheng Hall and Yuhua Pavilion: 22,311.64 •In the 14 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1749), build Yuhua Pavilion: 4,231.08 •In the 21 st year of the reign of Qianlong (1756): 1,459.74 •In the 25 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1760), repair Yuhua Pavilion: 1,695.38 •In the 31 st year of the reign of Qianlong (1765), add buildings to Zhongzheng Hall and Yuhua Pavilion: 5,726.46	7,386.2 (Not included: •In the 14 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1749), build Zhongzheng Hall and Yuhua Pavilion: 22,311.64 In the 31 st year of the reign of Qianlong (1765), add buildings to Zhongzheng Hall and Yuhua Pavilion: 5,726.46)
Daxitian (大西天)		•In the 16 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1751), decorate the halls: 53.52 •In the 20 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1755), build the colored glaze pagoda in Daxitian: 50,000 •In the 21 st year of the reign of Qianlong (1756), add halls and rooms in eastern Daxitian and add Luohan Hall (罗汉堂) in the western Daxitian: 177,616.45 •In the 21 st year of the reign of Qianlong (1756), add a colored glaze archway before the gate of Daxitian and a colored glaze Yingbi (影壁) before Luohan Hall: 33,490.13 •In the 21 st year of the reign of Qianlong (1756), add two stele pavilions and two stone steles before the colored glaze pagoda to Daxitian: 32,863.67 •In the 22 nd year of the reign of Qianlong (1757), build a colored glaze pagoda in Daxitian: 450,770.40 •In the 24 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1759), construct a cupreous pagoda in Daxitian: 465.25 •In the 25 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1760), build halls, pavilions and rooms for Daxitian: 158,213.48 •In the 29 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1764), offering tables, Buddha seats, etc., in Wanfu Pavilion of Yonghegong, Liuli Pavilion of Daxitian, Amitayur Buddha	938,245.81 (Not included: •In the 29 th year of the reign of Qianlong (1764), offering tables, Buddha seats, etc., in Wanfu Pavilion of Yonghegong, Liuli Pavilion of Daxitian, Amitayur Buddha Hall of Renshou Temple, Hongren Temple: 1,114.81)

		<p>Buddha Hall of Renshou Temple), Hongren Temple: 1,114.81</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •In the 44th year of the reign of Qianlong (1779), repair the Buddha Hall in western Daxitian: 13,875.77 •In the 51st year of the reign of Qianlong (1786), repair Daci Zhenhe Hall (大慈真和殿) of Daxitian: 5,000 •In the 51st year of the reign of Qianlong (1786), repair Daci Zhenhe Hall of Daxitian: 15,897.14 	
Jile World (极乐世界)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •In the 33rd year of the reign of Qianlong (1768), build Buddha Hall of the Jile World: 272,778.44 •In the 44th year of the reign of Qianlong (1779), plant grasses on hills of Xiannong Altar, Chanfu Temple, the Jile World and inside Sheshan Gate: 10,873.77 	<p>272,778.44</p> <p>(Not included: In the 44th year of the reign of Qianlong (1779), plant grasses on hills of Xiannong Altar, Chanfu Temple, Jile World and inside Sheshan Gate: 10,873.77)</p>
Wanfo Tower (万佛楼)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •In the 38th year of the reign of Qianlong (1773), repair Wanfo Tower: 178,317.97 	178,317.97

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