

“Translating” Wutai Shan into Ri bo rtse lnga (Five-Peak Mountain)

——The Inception of a Sino-Tibetan Site in the Mongol-Yuan Era (1206-1368)*

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Abstract: This paper aims at critically re-assessing the early history of Wutai shan as a Sino-Tibetan mountain. Despite references to Mt. Wutai in Tibetan sources compiled or reworked at a much later time, the historical presence of Tibetan Buddhism on Mt. Wutai started with Chögyal Pakpa’s pilgrimage in 1257 and his related writings. Beginning with his pilgrimage and efforts to culturally introduce Wutai shan, Tibetan Buddhism gradually took root on the mountain under imperial auspices in the ensuing years. The first part of the paper deals with the accounts in Tibetan sources of pilgrimages allegedly made by Indo-Tibetan masters prior to the Yüan period. The author argues that these accounts project a much later awareness of Mt. Wutai’s presence into the narrative of earlier historical events. The second part of this paper looks into four poems by Pakpa that deal with his pilgrimage to Wutai shan. In them Pakpa successfully redefined Mt. Wutai through a Tibetan lens both for the Yüan

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empire and Tibetan Buddhism. The last part of the paper is concerned with the subsequent institutional development on the mountain in the Yüan period.

1. Introduction

Five-peak Mountain as Mañjuśrī's abode quickly rose to fame in China during the early Tang and retained its popularity throughout the rest of Chinese history, even though the identification was for the most part an innovation that happened outside India proper.¹ Conceivably, a Tibetan Buddhist would have a hard time to find Indian corroboration for this somewhat counter-intuitive claim.² After all, why would a major deity who hailed from India end up residing in China?

To the best of my knowledge, neither the place name Ri bo rtse lnga (the Tibetan translation for Wutai Shan) nor the identification of Mañjuśrī's abode with a Chinese mountain appears in any extant Tibetan text that can be dated to the Tibetan imperial period (seventh – mid-ninth centuries). While there is one entry in Chinese historical sources pointing to the knowledge

1 The 60-fascicle and 80-fascicle *Buddhāvataṃsaka Sūtras* (*Huayan jing* 華嚴經, T nos. 278 and 279) make a reference to a certain Mt. Pure-and-Cool (Qingliang Shan 清涼山) where Mañjuśrī resides, though they do not provide any further identification (T no. 278, 9: 590a3-a5 and T no. 279, 10: 241b20-b22). The *Foshuo wenshushili fa bozang tuoluoni jing* 佛說文殊師利法寶藏陀羅尼經 (T no. 1185A) and its expanded version (*Wenshushili baozang tuoluoni jing yiming wenshushili pusa bazi sanmeifa* 文殊師利法寶藏陀羅尼經亦名文殊師利菩薩八字三昧法, T no. 1185B) contain a passage that identifies Mañjuśrī's abode with a mountain in China called “Five Summits” (*Wuding* 五頂), see T no. 1185A, 20: 791c12-c16 and T no. 1185B, 20: 798a29-b2. The translation of T no. 1185A around 710 CE post-dates the identification of Wutai Shan with Mañjuśrī's abode, and this passage seems to be a Chinese interpolation.

2 Changkya Rölpe Dorjé (Lcang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje, 1717-1786) serves as an example of a pre-modern scholar who investigated the issue from a Sino-Tibetan perspective. In his unfinished Wutai gazetteer, he seems unable to locate any reference to Ri bo rtse lnga (Wutai Shan) or Ri dwangs sil (Qingliang Shan) in any Tibetan canonical source. Instead, he resorts to two texts translated into Chinese, the aforementioned T no. 1185B (referred to as *Gzungs rin po che'i gter mdzod dam mtshan gzhan 'jam pa'i dbyangs kyi gzungs sngags yi ge brgyud pa'i cho ga zhib mo*) and the *Mañjuśrīyamūlakalpa* (*Dafangguang pusa zang wenshushili genben yigui jing* 大方廣菩薩藏文殊師利根本儀軌經, T no. 1191) translated by Tianxizai 天息災 (d. 1000), see Changkya, “Ri bo dwangs pa bsil gyi kar chag mjug ma tshang ba,” 2a-3a. Although T no. 1191 mentions “Great China” (*Dazhina* 大支那) in passing twice, Wutai Shan as a place name does not appear in it. The appearance of “Cīna” in the extant Sanskrit *Mañjuśrīyamūlakalpa* requires separate treatment, for it is a later redaction. In his recently presentation in IABS 2017, Paul Harrison alerted us that the scene of Mañjuśrī's revealing the dhāraṇī to an itinerant monk is set somewhere near Cīna in the *Viśeṣavatīdhāraṇī*, though Mt. Wutai is not mentioned. According to him, the first half of T no. 1185A&B incorporates the *Viśeṣavatīdhāraṇī* (T no. 1408, T no. 1409 and D 872), of which a Sanskrit version has been found in the Schøyen collection.

of this mountain among some of the subjects in the Tibetan Empire,³ it discloses little about whether the Tibetans at the time had really accepted the identification that Wutai Shan was Mañjuśrī's abode (*bzhugs pa'i gnas*).

There are many Tibetan accounts of pilgrimages to Five-Peak Mountain that purportedly happened earlier than the Mongol-Yuan era. However, given the late dates of the sources and the roughly four hundred years political fragmentation (ninth –thirteenth centuries) in both Tibet and China, it seems open to question whether they reflect a historical reality or not.⁴ It is not until the latter half of the thirteenth century that Tibetan sources began to register verifiable activities of Tibetan Buddhists on the mountain, starting with the visit in 1257 made by Chögyel Pakpa (Chos rgyal 'phags pa; Basiba 八思巴; 1235-1280), the fifth of the Five Sakya Patriarchs (Sa skya gong ma rnam lnga).⁵

From the twelfth century on, Tibetans started to show interest in re-constructing, almost from scratch, the history of their imperial past.⁶ In the mid-thirteenth century, stimulated by the Tibeto-Mongolian political arrangement and the new world order, the previous drip of curiosity gushed forth into a stream.⁷ It is in this process of political reconfiguration that Five-Peak Mountain was transformed into a Sino-Tibetan site. By reframing the original Chinese claim with narratives featuring Tibetans, Tibetan authors absorbed a Chinese myth into the Tibetan imagination; by engaging in religious activities on site, Tibetan Buddhism was for the first time transplanted onto a sacred site in the heartland of China. The paper will start with two mythical

3 In 824 Tibet made a request for a panoramic painting of Five-Peak Mountain via the Tang military commissioner of the Hexi 河西 corridor. “On the Jazi day in the ninth month of the fourth year in the Changqing reign of Emperor Muzong (824), Li Jincheng, Military Commissioner of Lingwu, presented a memorial, ‘Tibet had sent envoys to us to seek for a painting of Five-Peak Mountain. This mountain is in Daizhou and has many Buddhist traces. They came and asked for that because the western barbarians revere this religion.’” 穆宗長慶四年九月甲子，靈武節度使李進誠奏，吐蕃遣使求五臺山圖。山在代州，多浮圖之跡，西戎尚此教，故來求之。 (Wang Qinruo, *Cefu yuangui*, Fascicle 999, p. 11560.) A redacted and oft-quoted version of this passage also shows up twice in the *Old Dynastic History of the Tang* (*Jiu tangshu* 舊唐書).

4 As Debreczeny has noticed, “It was the incorporation of Tibet and then China into the larger Mongol empire in the mid-thirteenth century that fostered the establishment of a regular Tibetan presence on Wutai Shan, for which we have reliable documentation.” (Debreczeny, 2011: 16.)

5 See Chen Qingying, 2007: 65-70; Petech, 1990: 15.

6 Historiographical activities between the fall of the Tibetan Empire in the mid-ninth century and the end of the century were scanty. Among the works listed in Martin and Bendor’s *Tibetan Histories* (1997) as historical works composed earlier than the twelfth century (Nos. 1-9), only *The Testimony of Ba* (No. 1), *The Pillar Testament* (No. 4), and *The Grand Annals* (No. 7) contain narratives about imperial history. The dating of the former two proves to be questionable (see below), and the last one, written by Khu ston Brtson 'grus g.yung drung (1011-1075), is not extant. van der Kuijp dates the inception of the genre *rgyal rabs* (“royal lineages”) to the eleventh century, while he lists Sakya patriarch Grags pa rgyal mtshan’s (1147-1216) work as the earliest example available to us (see van der Kuijp, 1996: 42-43).

7 See the relevant works among Nos. 44-95 in Martin & Bendor, 1997: 40-61.

aspects of the site and then move on to Pakpa's pilgrimage and the institutional presence of Tibetan Buddhism on the mountain in the Mongol-Yuan era.

2. Mythical Pilgrimages

The earliest account of a Tibet-to-Wutai journey is often said to be found in *The Testimony of Ba* (*Rba/Sba bzhed*),⁸ a text that relates the introduction of Buddhism and the founding of the Samyé monastery in the late eighth century, traditionally attributed to Ba Selnang (Sba gsal snang), a participant of the event. Hereafter I simply use the *Ba* to stand for the earlier recension of the text and the *Extended Ba* to stand for the later supplemented recension possibly redacted in the fourteenth century.⁹

According to both recensions, a Wutai expedition was carried out by a Tibetan diplomatic corps in the 740s. This group of five led by a minister named Sangshi was originally sent by Emperor Tridé Tsuktsen (Khri lde Gtsug btsan, 704–755 CE) to the Tang capital Chang'an to procure Chinese Buddhist texts. After having reached Sichuan on their return, they heard of the tidings that Emperor Tridé Tsuktsen had died and the country fallen into chaos. At that moment, Sangshi decided to "return to Tibet via Wutai Shan, a very great detour."¹⁰

Then, because Shangshi was heartbroken at the demolition of the monastery Drinzang ([Brag dmar] mgrin bzang), he and other four envoys went to obtain the design modelled after Mañjuśrī's palace, which was located on top of Wutai Shan (Mgo de'u shan) in China and had been completed within seven days in the middle of a shrouding haze [cast] by non-humans. At that time, one of them did not know how to climb the mountain; one of them reached the top but did not see anything; one of them saw the monastery but was not able to find the door; one of them saw the door, but the door was shrouded by something resembling a net. [Only] Shangshi made

8 See, among others, Beckwith, 1987: 7, 9, note 30; Debreczeny, 2011: 9-10; Chen Qingying, 2007: 66. When the *dba'* as a clan name was first written down, the syllable *dba'* was pronounced as a bilabial instead of a semi-labial (*w*); later, in order to preserve the phonetic value, the spelling was changed to *dpa'*, *rba* or *'ba'*; *sba* seems an even later form from *rba* due to cursive script.

9 Gönpö Gyeltsen's (Mgon po rgyal mtshan) edition published in Beijing is representative of the *Ba*. A large portion of the *Ba* is also incorporated into the much-celebrated work *Mkhas pa'i dga' ston* (*A Scholar's Feast*), titled as the *Rba bzhed*. Rolf Stein's edition *Sba bzhed zhabs btags ma* published in Paris is representative of the *Extended Ba*, which extends the narrative of the *Ba* to include the activities of Atiśa (d. 1054). Hugh Richardson dated the latter to the fourteenth century (Sørensen, 1994: 634). For discussions on the two recensions, see van der Kuijp, 1984: 176-180; 2013: 133-134, note 44-45.

10 Kapstein, 2000: 72

his way in. He prostrated himself before and made offerings to the noble Mañjuśrī and all the other bodhisattvas, and prostrated himself before and made offerings to each arhat. He conversed with every saint. In order to take the layout ('*dug lugs*) of the complex as a model [in the future], he committed it to his memory. When he had emerged [from the palace], all beasts on that mountain bowed to him and escorted him to the foot of the mountain. Then he returned to Tibet.¹¹

It was historically impossible for a diplomatic corps to make such a detour traversing half of the Tang territory. Unsurprisingly, in the recently discovered manuscript titled *Testimony of Wa* (*Dbā' bzhed*, hereafter *Wa*),¹² which represents a much earlier form of the *sba/rba* tradition, the episode of Sangshi's mission to Five-Peak Mountain is not mentioned at all. Instead, the text only provides a short passage about Tridé Tsuktsen's marriage with Jincheng gongzhu 金城公主 (Gyim shang Ong co; d. 739) as an introduction to their son Trisong Detsen's (Khri strong lde bstan) entrance on the stage.¹³

This interpolation serves several purposes. First, since the expedition was aimed at obtaining Chinese Buddhist texts on behalf of the young prince Trisong Detsen, the episode foreshadows the stories about Trisong Detsen's eventual embrace of both Indian and Chinese Buddhism and his efforts to promulgate Buddhism when he came to real power later in the *Wa*. Second, this story introduces to the reader the famous Korean Chan monk Kim Hwasang (Jin Heshang 金和尚), whose encounter with Sangshi in Sichuan foreshadows the dissemination of Kim's and Hwasang Mahāyāna's (Moheyen 摩訶衍) Chan teachings in Tibet. More importantly, another interpolated passage in the *Ba* reports that the design of Mañjuśrī's abode was used in building a complex to host Padmasambhava and Śāntarakṣita. While Padmasambhava is not of special prominence in the *Wa*,¹⁴ the compiler of the *Ba* clearly decided to include more

11 / *de nas zang shi* [read *sang shis*] *mgrin bzang bshig pa blo* [Stein: *glo*] *la bcags* [read *gcags*] *nas / khong pho nya mi lnga pos rgya'i ri mgo de'u shan gyi rtse na mi ma yin gyis na bun btibs* [read *gtibs*] *pa'i khrod du zhag bdun gyis tshar bar brtsigs pa'i arya mañju'i pho brang yod pa las / dpe len du mchis pa'i tshe mi gcig gis ri la 'dzeg ma shes / gcig gis rtse la phyin kyang ci yang ma mthong / mi gcig gis lha khang mthong ste sgo ma rnyed / gcig gis sgo mthong ste dra* [Stein: *gra*] *ba 'dra ba zhig gis bkab te 'gro ma shes / sang shis nang du phyin nas 'phags pa 'jam dpal la sogs te byang chub sems dpa' thams cad la phyag byas / mchod pa phul / dgra bcom pa kun la yang phyag byas mchod pa phul / 'phags pa kun dang gtam byas te de'i 'dug lugs dper bya ba'i phyir yid la bzung ste phyir don pa dang / ri de'i gcan gzan kun gyis phyag byas nas ri'i sgab tu bskyal nas bod du 'ongs so* / (Gönpö Gyeltsen, 1980: 8. This passage, though in a much later form, also appears in Stein, 1961: 7). For the spelling variants of Sangshi's name and his disputed identities, see Pasang Wangdu & Diemberger, 2000: 44, note 101.

12 Pasang Wangdu & Diemberger's *dBa' bzhed* contains a translation of the *Wa* and the photographic reproduction of the folios.

13 Pasang Wangdu & Diemberger, 2000: 35-37.

14 As Doney has observed, "In the *Wa*, Padmasambhava does not hold the preeminent status that he does in the *Zangs gling ma*" (Doney, 2013: 10).

available vignettes of this mahāsiddha,

Then, [together with Padmasambhava], the preceptor (*mkhan po*, i.e. Śāntarakṣita), having reached the palace, notified the emperor [of their arrival]. As for prostrating oneself before the emperor, the emperor said “I cannot bear the prostration of a renunciant!” The ācārya (*slob dpon*, i.e. Padmasambhava) prostrated himself before a boulder, and caused it to shatter to pieces.¹⁵ After the emperor prostrated himself [before Padmasambhava], the ācārya inquired after his health [as a response].

[Someone] asked “Where should they stay?” Sangshi answered, “Let us build a Buddha[?] (*ston pa*) in here.” As a gateless enclosure around Drakmar Drinzang was completed, within [the enclosure] a monastery was modelled and built after the design [brought back by Sangshi] from Wutai Shan (*Sgo de'u shan*) in China. Then they were asked to take up residence there.¹⁶

After Śāntarakṣita explained to the court how excellent Padmasambhava was as a “spell-master” (*sngags mkhan*) and a divination-expert (*phywa mkhan*), Shangshi asked Padmasambhava to consecrate the new building. Padmasambhava took this opportunity and performed a séance where he converted local deities in Tibet to Buddhism.¹⁷ The presence of Sangshi’s Wutai trip in this Padmasambhava narrative signals that the textual insertion happened after the “recovery” of the *Zangs gling ma* (the earliest *terma* hagiography of Padmasambhava) in the twelfth century.¹⁸

The connection between Padmasambhava and Five-Peak Mountain was further developed in the Mongol-Yuan era. The *Lotus Testament* (Padma bka' thang), a *terma* (treasure text) “recovered” by the famous *tertön* (treasure-finder) Orgyen Lingpa (O rgyan gling pa, b. 1323),

15 This demonstration of his *siddhi* seems to suggest that the emperor, unaware of Padmasambhava’s powerfulness, was initially not willing to pay obeisance to him. I think this encounter story has its origin in Chapter 10 of the *Zang gling ma*. For an overview of Chapter 10, see Doney, 2014: 47.

16 *mkhan po pho brang du gshegs nas btsan po la brda sbyar nas btsan po la phyag bzhes pa la / btsan po na re / rab tu byung ba'i phyag mi thub gsungs nas / slob dpon gyis pha bong la phyag mdzad pas shags [read bshags] kyis gas / btsan pos phyag phul bas slob dpon gyis snyun rmed pa mdzad / chags [read phyags] gar phebs ces pa dang / sang shis de'i bar du ston pa rtsig [read rtsigs] ces nas / brag dmar mgrin bzang 'khor sa sgo ma mchis pa cig rtsig tsa na / nang lha khang sgo rgya'i [sic! Read rgya'i sgo] de'u shan la dpe blangs pa gcig tshar lags pas der phyags 'bebs par zhus / (Gönpö Gyeltsen, 1980: 27. The same passage also appears in Rolf Stein, 1961: 21-22).*

17 Gönpö Gyeltsen, 1980: 28-29.

18 The *Zangs gling ma* by Nyangrel does not contain a narrative about Five-Peak Mountain; the mountain only shows up in Chapter 6 in passing as Mañjuśrī’s place of residence (Doney, 2014: 46, 120 [mss. H 19b5], and 241 [mss. I 17a2]). The *Chos 'byung*, which is attributed to Nyangrel (for its dating, see note 23) and incorporates a portion of the *Ba*, does not contain the two quoted Wutai Shan passages.

contains a whole chapter devoted to Five-Peak Mountain.¹⁹ In this account, having preached in India, Śākyamuni Buddha went to China in hope of spreading the true dharma there. To his own dismay, he failed to win over the ignoramuses. He had to ask Mañjuśrī of Five-Peak Mountain to engage the Chinese with the “contingent truth” (*kun rdzob bden pa*) such as divination and astrology. Fearing that these teachings might eclipse the true dharma, Mañjuśrī hid them on Five-Peak Mountain. They were eventually recovered by Padmasambhava. The chapter obviously aims to buttress the superiority of the Nyingma lineages: not only have the Nyingmapas preserved the Indian teachings transmitted by Padmasambhava, but they also have taken over Chinese religious knowledge originated from Mañjuśrī.

Another important Wutai legend is in Chapter 15 of *The Pillar Testament* (*Bka' chems ka khol ma*), a text that claims to be written by Emperor Songtsen Gampo (d. 649) and allegedly “recovered” by Atiśa (d. 1054).²⁰ Reusing the fact that Songtsen Gampo once led a campaign to Southwest China, the text claims that he led an expedition to Five-Peak Mountain instead,

For the sake of protecting Tibet’s lookout points (i.e. to secure the border), bringing about happiness to all Chinese people ruled by Emperor Taizong (kong rtse 'phrul chung)²¹ through the magic power of the bodhisattva of China [i.e. Mañjuśrī], and leading them to the buddhafield of the Amitābha Buddha, [Emperor Songtsen Gampo] marched, well-equipped and with a large army, into the Chinese territory in the east and took up residence on Five-Peak Mountain (Ri bo rtse lnga). He performed inconceivable [amount of] miracles and built 108 monasteries on behalf of the Chinese emperor.²²

As Vostrikov has pointed out, this work probably was compiled sometime in the

19 Orgyen Lingpa, 1987: 260-277. It provides geographical details such as an updated transliteration of Wutai Shan (Bo de shan) and Hutuoshui 滹沱水 (Su ta si ri). For an English translation based on both Gustave-Charles Toussaint’s French translation and the Tibetan text, See Douglas & Bays, 1978: 224-230.

20 Mönlam Gyatso, 1989: 264-271. As Ronald Davidson points out, “there is little reason to believe that either Atiśa or his immediate entourage had anything to do with the remarkable *Pillar Testament*” (Davidson, 2005: 226).

21 For Emperor Taizong’s different names in different Tibetan sources, see Sørensen, 1994: 215-216, n. 613.

22 / bod yul gyi so kha bsrung ba'i ched dang / rgya nag gi yul du byang chub sems dpa'i rdzu 'phrul stobs kyis / rgya nag rgyal po kong rtse 'phrul chung gis gtso mdzad pa'i rgya nag gi rgyal khams kyis sems can thams cad bde ba la bkod pa'i ched dang / sang rgyas snang ba mtha' yas kyis zhing khams su 'khrid pa'i ched du / yo byad bzang po dang bcas nas dngas dpung mang po dang bcas shar phyogs rgya nag gi yul du byon nas / rgya nag ri bo rtse lnga na bzhugs shing / sprul pa bsam gyis mi khyab pa mdzad nas / rgya nag 'phrul gyi rgyal po la lha khang brgya rtsa brgyad brtsigs la / ... (Mönlam Gyatso, 1989: 266-267). Butön alludes to this episode in his *History of Buddhism*, “Thereafter the king traveled to China’s Five-Peaked Mountain, where he constructed 108 monasteries.” (Lisa Stein & Ngawang Zangpo, 2013: 280).

thirteenth – fourteenth centuries.²³ This Wutai story, awkwardly inserted into a lengthy story about the construction of the Jokhang complex, might belong to an even later layer of *The Pillar Testament*.

In contrast, two early historical works (as opposed to *termas*) give us a more sobering reflection on the lack of Tibet-Wutai connections before Pax Mongolica. *The Red Annals* (*Deb ther dmar po*) by Tselpa Kunga Dorjé (1309-1364) does not mention Five-Peak Mountain until it starts to narrate contemporary history,²⁴ probably due to the fact that its author had a

23 Vostrikov, 1970: 31. For an attempt to date the text to the twelfth century, see Davidson, 2004: 78. Based on the chronology of the transmitters of the text in the “Coda” (*mjug bsdu ba*) of the text, van der Kuijp posits, the last transmitter, who the *Ka khol ma* referred to simply as “me,” “must have flourished sometime towards the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century” (van der Kuijp, 1996: 47). In view of the enveloping narrative of Atiśa’s involvement, it seems to me that it is hard to argue that this “me” is not to be considered the actual compiler. van der Kuijp also observes that “Of the twelfth and thirteenth century chronicles known to date, the text is only mentioned in the works of Nyangrel and Mkhas pa Lde’u” (van der Kuijp, 1992: 48). As he has argued, the *terminus a quo* of Mkhas pa Lde’u’s work “must be placed in the second half of the thirteenth century” (van der Kuijp, 1992: 489). Likewise, the traditional attribution of the *Chos ’byung me tog snying po sbrang rtsi’i bcud* to Nyangrel has been proved to be problematic by Hirshberg’s recent study. As it turns out, this historical work was probably initially compiled by a direct or indirect descendent or disciple of Nyangrel, and subsequently went through several redactions. See Hirshberg, 2016: Chapter 4 & 5.

24 *The Red Annals* mentions this site once in the Sakyapa section in connection with the office of Imperial Preceptor (see below). The Karma-Kagyu section in the Beijing edition also mentions that the Third Karmapa Rangjung Dorjé (1284-1339) visited Five-Peak Mountain during the reign (1333-1370) of the last Yüan emperor Toghon Temür, “[The Third Karmapa] left [the capital] on the 15th day of the fifth month in the Dog Year [1334]. He was granted a royal edict for his title “Karmapa, the Realizer of the Emptiness of All Phenomena,” the seal of National Preceptor (*gu shrī*; *guoshi* 國師), a crystal leather case, and a golden-script medallion. His old and new [abodes] in Mt. Tsari, Tibet, were awarded breys of gold. Tingdzin Zangpo (Ting ’dzin bzang po) and the great monk Mtshal, two direct disciples of his in East Tibet (*mdo khams*), were awarded gifts (*skyes ma*) such as the seals of Situ (司徒). According to a royal edict, periodic services and an imperial ancestor hall (*yin thang*; 影堂) were established in Tshurphu Monastery (i.e. the seat of the Karmapas). He was appointed as Darqan [“hereditary server of the Mongol royal family”] in the Tshur area. Via a detour (*yur lam*) he arrived at Five-Peak Mountain and Tangut (Mi nyag). In these places, there were countless wonderful omens and benefits to sentient beings” (*khyi lo zla ba lnga pa’i nya la btegs / chos thams cad kyi stong pa nyid rtogs pa’i karma pa zhes pa’i mtshan gyi ‘ja’ sa gu shrī tham kha shel gyi spel* [read *bel*] *kha / gser yig sgor mo phul / bod rtsa ri gsar rnying du gser bre’i gnam sbyin dang / nyid kyi zhal slob mdo khams kyi bla ma ting ’dzin bzang po dang / mtshal dge sbyong chen po la si tu’i tham kha sogs skyes ma’i gnam sbyin phul mtshur phur ‘ja’ ya* [read *sa*] *du rgyal po’i dus mchod dang yin thang btsugs / mtshur lung pa dar gan du phul yur lam rtse lnga dang mi nyag ‘gar byon / de rnams su ngo mtshar gyi ltas dang ‘gro don dpag tu med / Tselpa Kunga Dorjé, 1981: 102-103*). Petech has expressed his doubt about whether this overlong Karma-Kagyu section belongs to the original *Deb dmar* (Petech, 1990: 2), which is indeed absent in the Gangtok recension (for a Japanese translation of the Gangtok recension, see Inaba & Satō, 1964). It seems very likely that “the great monk Mtshal” here refers to exactly Tshal pa si tu Kun dga’ rdo rje, the very author of the *Deb dmar*.

better grasp of the imperial history through examining Chinese historical sources.²⁵ The *Mirror Illuminating Royal Genealogies* (*Rgyal rabs gsal ba'i me long*) by Sönam Gyeltsen (1312-1375) also keeps silent with regard to Five-Peak Mountain.

3. Wutai shan as an “Accomplishment Spot” (*Siddhisthāna*)

It is through *mahāsiddha* (“Great [Tantric] Achiever”) narratives that the place name “Five-Peak Mountain” in connection with *siddhi*-seeking activities were kept to a small degree available in Tibetan literature from the Fragmentation period down to Pakpa’s historical visit in 1257. The earliest example of such a story can be traced to a Dunhuang Sanskrit-Tibetan manuscript (PT 849) written circa 980, almost a century and a half after the fall of the Tibetan Empire.²⁶

The son of the Indian king of the doctrine, Devaputra ... obtained the accomplishment of the sublime Avalokiteśvara. Travelling to Tibet, ... he was accompanied to China. The Chinese emperor and many Chinese ministers greatly honoured him with worship. On Mt Wutai he beheld the visage of sublime Mañjuśrī.²⁷

This is the only instance where the Tibetan word “*Ri bo rtse lnga*” appears in Dunhuang Tibetan corpus.²⁸ There is no record of this Devaputra in Chinese sources; the extensive travelling seems just a staple of the *mahāsiddha* legend and a rhetorical proof of his *siddhis*. A *mahāsiddha* story in *The Blue Annals* (*Deb ther sngon po*) featuring Paṇḍita Vairocanarakṣita, also purportedly an Indian prince, illuminates this point,

[Vairocanarakṣita] toured 24 countries except for Oḍḍīyāna (U rgyan). ...He went to Tibet and planned to go to Five-Peak Mountain. he did not go [at first], for

25 For example, the “Chapter on Tibetan Empire” (*Tufan zhuan* 吐蕃傳) of the *New Dynastic History of the Tang* (*Xin tangshu* 新唐書), which incidentally does not contain the entry of the request for a Wutai panorama, was incorporated into this text (Tselpa Kunga Dorjé, 1981: 17-24). For Jambhala, an informant of Tselpa for Chinese history, see van der Kuijp, 1993.

26 On the dating, see Kapstein, 2003: 17.

27 Kapstein, 2003: 10-11. Here I use Kapstein’s translation.

28 The phonetic transliteration of Wutai Shan also shows up once in the Sino-Tibetan Dunhuang Manuscript IOL Tib J 754 written at the end of the tenth century. According to van Schaik, it contains, among other texts, four Tibetan letters concerning a Chinese monk Daozhao travelling from the Hehuang (河湟) region to Dunhuang. Only the open letter (Letter 2) mentions Wutai shan (‘Go de shan). It was composed by a Chinese-Tibetan called Ngogs lu zhi nam ka, who probably was Daozhao’s patron. For an analysis of this letter, see van Schaik & Galambos, 2011: 161-164. The other three letters of passage simply ignore this place name and there is no mentioning of Mañjuśrī in these letters.

the king entrusted the chapel to him. ... Then he went to China. ... He toured two-thirds of Jambudvīpa. He visited Tibet five times, including the many upper and lower districts in the U and Tsang regions.”²⁹

Five-Peak Mountain in this sense also crept into the early Sakya tradition. For example, Drakpa Gyeltsen (Grag pa rgyal mtshan, 1147-1216), the third patriarch of the Sakya tradition, weaves the site into a *mahāsiddha* narrative in his “History of the Guru Lineage of Lūhipa’s Cakrasaṃvara System” (*Bde mchog lū hi pa’i lugs kyi bla ma brgyud pa’i lo rgyus*). According to this text, Nāropa, a key Indian *mahāsiddha* who flourished in the eleventh century, bestowed a prophecy upon one of his disciples called Dharmamati,

[Dharmamati told his younger brother,] “Please stay in the presence of Guru (Nāropa) [as a disciple in place of me]! Because Guru [once] told me, ‘If you do not preach the dharma and [instead] go to Five-peak Mountain, you will obtain *siddhis*.’ [Now] I will go.” Having said so, [Dharmamati] took off. After that, he disappeared, never heard from again.³⁰

An echo of this passage can also be found in Gö Zhönnupel’s (1392-1481) *The Blue Annals*, where the famous translator Zhama Senggé (Zha ma seng ge), exhorted by Pa Dampa to leave the Six Perfections (*phyin drug*, **ṣaṭprajñāparāmitā*) for Tantric practices, went to Five-Peak Mountain and disappeared.³¹ The unavailability of such a site makes it potent and fitting for Tantric practices or, in some cases, final passing away.³²

The *mahasiddha* theme continued to be present in religious writings in the post-Pakpa era. In the *Rhinoceros Book of the Lang Family* (*rlangs kyi po ti bse ru*), a *terma* dated to between

29 *yul nyi shu rtsa bzhi las ma byon pa u rgyan las med /... bod du byon te ri bo rtse lnga la bzhud rtsis byas pas rgyal po’i mchod gnas bcol te ma thon / ... de nas rgya nag tu byon pas ... dzambu’i gling gi sum gnyis bskor / bod du lan lnga byon te dbus gtsang gi sa cha stod smad mang por byon pas* (Gö Zhönnupel, 1985: 989; also see Roerich, 1976: 846).

30 *khyod bla ma’i spyen sngar sdod cig / kho bo la bla ma’i gsung gi khyod chos ma bshad par rgya’i ri bo rtse lnga la phyin na dngos grub thob bo gsungs pas der ’gro gsungs nas der bzhud do // de nas phyis gtam ma thos pas ji ltar song cha med do /* (Drakpa Gyeltsen, 2007: 16). This story is retold in *The Blue Annals* (Gö Zhönnupel, 1985: 462; Roerich, 1976: 381).

31 Gö Zhönnupel, 1985: 273; Roerich, 1976: 220. Roerich mistakes *pha drug* for a place name. Pa Dampa in fact suggested that Zha ma seng ge should transcend Mahāyāna and transition to Vajrayāna practices when he arrived at Five-Peak Mountain.

32 For example, Bu ston rin chen grub (1290-1364) mentions in his famous *History of Buddhism* that one of the Great Translator Rinchen Zangpo’s disciples “translated the texts known as the translator’s six works, then passed away at the Five-Peaked Mountain (Utai Shan, China)” (Lisa Stein & Ngawang Zangpo, 2013: 301, 308).

the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries³³, this theme is braided into a story that echoes Songtsen Gampo's Wutai expedition in *The Pillar Testament*. The narrative features Jangchup Dreköl (Byang chub 'dre bkol, 968-1076), the legendary ancestor of the Lang clan,

Then, he went to the east. [...] There he was welcomed by all deities and spirits in East Tibet (Mdo khams), headed by the deity Pomré (Spom ras). He went to Wutai Shan in China and met with the noble Mañjuśrī in person. The mother dākinīs (*ma mkha' 'gro ma*) there offered *siddhis* to him, which was a sign of his spiritual accomplishments. [...] He subdued all Chinese palaces (*pho brang*). As he was demonstrating his signs of accomplishments, monasteries were built and completed and he took up residence [there].³⁴

In the text, Jangchup Dreköl is portrayed as a mythologized foil to Tai situ Jangchup Gyeltsen (Ta'i situ Byang chub rgyal mtshan, 1302–1364, r. 1354–1364), who toppled the Sakya regime and became the founder of the Pagmodrupa Dynasty (1354-1618).³⁵ In this sense, Jangchup Dreköl's connection with Five-Peak Mountain foreshadows the diplomatic relationship between the Lang clan and the Chinese government established by Jangchup Gyeltsen.

The site shows up in *The Blue Annals* several times, primarily as an “accomplishment spot.” For example, Tsangpa Ryaré Yeshé Dorjé (Gtsang pa rgya ras Ye shes rdo rje, 1161-1211), the founder of the Drukpa ('Brug pa) subsect of the Kagyupa school, “ordered his roughly 5000 disciples who were to realize *mahāmudrā* to devote their lives to tantric practices in places such as Oḍḍīyāna, Jalamdharma, Kāśmīra, Vulture Peak, Five-peak Mountain of China, Tsari, Sha'uktakgo (a hidden place in Lhatse County) and Kailash.”³⁶ In another famous case, Gö Zhönnupel embeds Pa Dampa Sanggyé (Pha dam pa Sangs rgyas; fl. late 11th century), the putative founder of the Zhi-byed lineages, into a Chinese tale. The account first sets up Pa Dampa as someone who had an incredible capability of traveling, by stating that he “performed Tantric rites in all the localities of the 24 countries” and in his fifth visit to Tibet “he proceeded

33 See Stein, 1962: 101-102.

34 / *de nas khong gis shar du byon / ... der khong la spom ras mgo byas pa'i mdo khams kyi lha 'dre thams cad kyis bsu ba byas nas / rgya nag ri bo rtse lngar byon / 'phags pa 'jam dpal dngos dang mjal / ma mkha' 'gro ma yis dngos grub drangs / de yang grub pa thob pa'i rtags yin / ... rgya'i pho brang thams cad btul / grub rtags bstan nas de na bzugs / dgon pa mdzad nas sgrub la bzugs /* (Chappel Tséten Püntso, 1986: 45-46).

35 For his career in Tibet, see van der Kuijp, 1991: 316.

36 *phyag rgya chen po'i rtags pa shar ba stong phrag lnga tsam / u rgyan dang dza landha ra dang kha che dang bya rgod phung po'i ri bo dang / rgya'i ri bo rtse lnga dang tsa ri dang sha 'ug stag sgo dang ti se la sogs pa'i gnas dag tu tshe dang sgrub pa snyoms pa gyis gsung ba'i bka' gnag nas /* (Gö Zhönnupel, 1985: 785). Also, see Roerich, 1976: 669.

to China and spent 12 years there.”³⁷ Pa Dampa also told one of his followers that “I shall live with a *jñāna-dākinī* on the Wu-t'ai-Shan of China (Ri-bo-rtse-lña in Shan-hsi Province of China). You should address your prayers over there.”³⁸ This promise is realized later in the chapter,

Pa Dampa arrived at China. He met an old sage carrying a plantain staff on a climbing route on Five-Peak Mountain. The sage was an emanation of Mañjughoṣa. He said: “In this country there are many plagues; in Vajrāsana there exists a [*Uṣṇīṣa-vijaya-dhāraṇī*]. If you obtain it today, the plagues in this country will stop.” Pa Dampa asked: “Vajrāsana is far away. How can I obtain it today?” The sage pointed to a certain hole inside a rock cleft, and said, “If you go from there, you will obtain it.” Pa Dampa went to the hole and in an instant made a round-trip to Vajrāsana and back. Having obtained the *dhāraṇī*, he stopped the plagues. Then he met the lord Mañjughoṣa again.³⁹

This account reminds us of the legend of Buddhapāla, the founding myth of the cult of Five-Peak Mountain in China.⁴⁰ In both accounts, an Indian master met Mañjuśrī in disguise, who asked the master to return to India to fetch the *Uṣṇīṣa-vijaya-dhāraṇī* on behalf of China. In some of the later recounts, Buddhapāla was led by Mañjuśrī into a grotto, just as did Pa Dampa.⁴¹ The main difference seems to be the speediness of the two mahāsiddhas: it took Buddhapāla more than seven years, instead of an instant. It also worth noting that the author might have grafted the life story of another Dampa, the Sakya master Dampa Kūnga Drakpa (Dam pa Kun dga' grags pa, 1229-1303) who actually resided on Five-peak Mountain in the 1270s (see below), onto an earlier Indian Pa Dampa.

37 Roerich, 1976: 870, 871. Here I use Roerich's translation, or more precisely, Roerich and Gedün Chöpel (Dge 'dun chos 'phel, 1903-1952)'s co-translation.

38 Roerich, 1976: 898. Here I follow Roerich and Gedün Chöpel. The *jñāna-dākinī* (ye shes mkha'gro, “wisdom sky-goer”) is a clear reference to higher Tantric practice.

39 / dam pas rgya nag tu byon / rtse lnga'i ri las 'dzegs pa'i lam khar drang srong rgan po chu shing gi khar ba thogs pa cig dang mjal / de 'jam dbyangs kyi sprul pa yin / de na re / yul 'di na nad yams mang bas rdo rje gdan na rnam par rgyal ma'i gzungs yod / de khyod kyis de ring lon na yul 'di'i nad yams 'chad pas long [read 'ong] gsung / rdo rje gdan thag ring bas de ring rang ga na lon byas pas / brag khung cig gi nang na bug pa cig yod pa bstan nas 'di la phyin na lon zer / dam pas brag khung de la byon pas / rdo rje'i gdan yud tsam gyis 'khor / gzung kyang lon nas nad yams zhi bar mdzad / der rje btsun 'jam pa'i dbyangs dang yang mjal / (Gö Zhönnupel, 1985: 1063-1064). Also, see Roerich's *The Blue Annals*, 1976: 911.

40 Debreczeny has pointed out, “the details of this tale are almost identical to the famous story of another monk from the west, Buddhapālita” (Debreczeny, 2011: 15; Buddhapālita for Buddhapāla). For the Buddhapāla legend, see the preface to the Chinese translation of the *Uṣṇīṣa-vijaya-dhāraṇī* (*Foding zunsheng tuoluoni jing* 佛頂尊勝陀羅尼經) (T no. 967, 19: 349b3-c19).

41 For example, see *Guang qingliangzhuan* 廣清涼傳, T no. 2099, 51: 1111a19.

4. Pakpa's Visit and the Poetics of Wutai

When Pakpa was *en route* from Tibet to the imperial capital Xanadu (Shangdu 上都) in 1257, he spent about three months (the fifth, sixth and seventh Tibetan lunar months) on Five-Peak Mountain,⁴² a place that he might have already known from the Sakya tradition. Four dated Wutai poems in the *Collected Writings of the Sakya Patriarchs* (*Sa skya bka' 'bum*) keep a poetic account of this sojourn for us: (1) “A Hymn to Mañjuśrī through the Meaning of His Appellations” (hereafter “Appellations”), (2) “Garland of Flowers: A Paeon to Mañjuśrī” (“Flowers”), (3) “Garland of Jewels: A Hymn to Mañjuśrī on Five-Peak Mountain” (“Jewels”), and (4) “A Hymn to Five-Peak Mountain with Respect to Its Different Aspects” (“Aspects”).⁴³ The colophons read as follows,

I, Pakpa, composed “A Hymn [to Five-Peak Mountain] with Respect to Its Different Aspects,” when I arrived at and paid respect to the peaks of Five-Peak Mountain in succession, in the period of the waxing moon in the middle summer month (the fifth lunar month) of the female-fire snake year (1257).⁴⁴

I, named Pakpa, with the top of my head receiving the dust off the feet of the great auspicious dharma-king Sakya Paṇḍita, composed these 25 stanzas, i.e. “A Hymn to Mañjuśrī Kumārabhūta through the Meaning of his Appellations,” on Five-Peak Mountain on the seventeenth day of the middle summer month of the female-

42 Pakpa's “account of deeds” (*xingzhuang* 行狀), composed by Wang Pan 王磐 one year after his death, does not mention this event. The absence may result from the fact that the Wutai trip took place one year before Pakpa became politically important in China and three years before Kublai appointed him as Imperial Preceptor. For the “account of deeds” preserved in the Yuan Buddhist chronicle *Fozu lidai tongzai* 佛祖歷代通載, see *T* no. 2036, 49: 707b10-c15. A roughly identical text also appears in the *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀 (*T* no. 2035, 49: 434b3-c7) as a part of its appendices.

43 There is another “Praise to Sakya Paṇḍita Written on Five-Peak Mountain” (*Chos rje pa la bstod pa ri bo rtse lngar bris pa*) focusing on praising his master. Its colophon reads, “I composed [this] in the period of the waxing moon in the last summer month (i.e. the 6th lunar month) of the female-fire snake year on Five-Peak Mountain in China, where the noble Mañjuśrī was indeed teaching” (*me mo sbrul gyi lo dbyar zla tha chungs kyi yar gyi ngo la 'phags pa 'jam dpal gyis nges par bstan pa'i gnas rgya'i ri bo rtse lngar bris pa'o* / Chögyel Pakpa, vol. 1, 2007: 109-110).

44 / *me mo sbrul gyi lo dbyar zla 'bring po'i yar gyi ngo la rim gyis ri bo rtse lnga'i rtse mo rnams su phyag 'tshal du phyin pa'i tshe ri bo'i rtse mo so so'i rigs su mthun par bstod pa 'di'ang 'phags pas sbyar ba'o* // (Chögyel Pakpa, vol.4, 2007: 44).

fire snake year.⁴⁵

Relying on the glory of Kublai Khan's merit, when I, the dharma-preacher Pakpa, arrived at Five-Peak Mountain and was praying to Mañjuśrī, my aspiration to give praise [to him] increased, as the transcendent one (i.e. Mañjuśrī) showed many emanations to me. Further, for the sake of bringing prosperity to all beings with the excellent magnificence of erecting and upraising the banner of the great liberation, I composed and completed the "Garland of Flowers: A Paean" on this very Five-Peak Mountain on the eighth day of the seventh month of the female-fire snake year.⁴⁶

With the top of my head decorated with the dust off the feet of the one endowed with fearless wisdom, the compassionate one who loved every sentient being as his only son, being the high-souled one unrivalled on surface of earth, i.e., the great dharma-lord Sakya Paṇḍita, with the body of my intellect decorated with the collection of his precious aphorisms, I, named Pakpa, composed and completed this hymn "Garland of Jewels" on Five-Peak Mountain on the twenty-first day of the seventh month of the female-fire snake year.⁴⁷

The *prima facie* motive for this trip was to meet with the real Mañjuśrī, of whom his deceased master Sakya Paṇḍita was considered an emanation.⁴⁸ This trip is also recorded in the hagiography

45 / *'jam dpal gzhon nur gyur pa la mtshan don gyi sgo nas bstod pa / tshigs su bcad pa nyi shu rtsa lnga pa 'di ni / chos kyi rgyal po dpal ldan sa skya paṇḍi ta chen po'i zhabs rdul spyi bos len pa / 'phags pa'i ming dang ldan pas / me mo sbrul gyi lo dbyar zla 'bring po'i tshes bcu bdun la ri bo rtse lngar sbyar ba'o* // (Chögyel Pakpa, vol. 4, 2007: 20-21).

46 *rgyal po go pe la zhes bya ba'i bsod nams kyi dpal la mngon par brten nas chos smra ba 'phags pa zhes bya bas / ri bo rtse lngar mchis nas 'jam pa'i dbyangs la gsol ba btab pa'i tshe / bcom ldan 'das kyi rnam par 'phrul ba du ma bstan pas bstod par 'dod pa'i blo gros rnam par 'phel ba dang / gzhan yang thar pa chen po'i rgyal mtshan rab tu bsgreng zhing / mngon par mtho ba'i dpal 'byor bzang pos skye dgu'i tshogs bde legs su bya ba'i phyir / ri bo rtse lnga de nyid du me mo sbrul gyi lo / zla ba bdun pa'i tshes brgyad la nye bar bsnags pa me tog gi phreng ba zhes bya ba sbyar ba 'di yongs su rdzogs so* // (Chögyel Pakpa, vol. 4, 2007: 25).

47 *bsnyengs pa mi mnga' ba'i mkhyen rab can / 'gro ba thams cad la bu gcig pa ltar rab tu brtse ba'i thugs rje mnga' ba sa'i steng na 'gran zla thams cad dang bral ba'i bdag nyid chen po / chos kyi rje sa skya paṇḍita chen po'i zhabs kyi rdul gyis spyi gtsug brgyan cing legs par bshad pa rin po che'i tshogs kyi blo gros kyi lus rnam par brgyan pa / 'phags pa'i ming dang ldan pas ri bo rtse lnga de nyid du me mo sbrul gyi lo zla ba bdun pa'i tshes nyi shu gcig la rdzogs par sbyar ba'o* // (Chögyel Pakpa, vol. 4, 2007: 36-37).

48 In the biography of Sakya Paṇḍita written shortly after his death by his disciple Dmar ston Chos kyi rgyal po (c.1198-c.1259), it is already claimed that "doubtlessly [Sakya Paṇḍita] should be understood as Lord Mañjughoṣa himself" (*gdon mi za bar mgon po 'jam pa'i dbyangs nyid du rig par bya'o* // Stearns, 2001: 166; translation mine).

of Pakpa compiled in 1283 (three years after his death) by his disciple Yeshé Gyeltsen.⁴⁹

He toured the abode of Lord Mañjughoṣa (i.e. Mañjuśrī), known as Five-Peak Mountain, for the three summer months. At the time, he was greeted and made offerings to by all the people and the scale [of the greeting and offering-making] was great, witnessing unprecedented [visions] such as lattice-like rays [cast] by the playfulness of Mañjughoṣa. Then, the high-souled one (i.e. Pakpa) further elaborated his praise for Five-Peak Mountain, Lord Mañjughoṣa's abode. If one wishes to know more about the details of this account, he needs to read those [poems]. Later after that, the Khan (rgyal po, i.e. Kublai) with his great treasures invited him to the Great Khan's palace...⁵⁰

It seems the “lattice-like radiant rays” alludes precisely to the encounter between Pakpa and Mañjuśrī described in his poem “Jewels”,

At the magnificent light rays of yours,
ineffable like the taste of *samādhi*,
I gazed and gazed, unable to describe it.
Still, by recollecting and extolling,
I felt elated, singing the praise with
the merely sound of my verses!

Your light illuminates hundreds of lands,
overcomes the lily-groves in the deluded minds,
making the lotuses of intellect to blossom wide,
sun of wisdom! Before you I prostrate myself!

The way your radiance enchants all sentient beings,

49 Leonard van der Kuijp kindly alerted to me the fact that Rdo rje 'dzin Ye shes rgyal mtshan, the author of this biography, should have been a direct disciple of Pakpa's. The colophon states that this work was encouraged by the fifth Imperial Preceptor Grags pa 'od zer (1245-1305/1308) and the eleventh Sakya throne-holder Bzang po dpal (1262-1324). See Yeshé Gyeltsen, 2008: 418 [ka, 209b].

50 / rje btsun 'jam pa'i dbyangs kyis bzhugs pa'i gnas ri bo rtse lngar grags pa der dbyar zla ba gsum ljongs rgyu zhing byon te / de'i tshe skye bo thams cad kyis mngon sum du rje btsun 'jam pa'i dbyangs kyi rnam par rol pas sngon ma byung ba'i 'od kyi drva ba la sogs pas bsu ba dang mchod pa'i khyad par rgya chen po byung ngo / de'i tshe bdag nyid chen po 'dis rje btsun 'jam pa'i dbyangs bzhugs pa'i gnas ri bo rtse lnga la bstod pa yang rgya cher mdzad de / 'di'i rnam par thar pa rgyas par shes par 'dod na de dag tu blta bar bya'o / / de nas slar yang rgyal po chen po'i pho brang du / rgyal pos 'byor pa chen pos gdan drangs te / ... (Yeshé Gyeltsen, 2008: 378 [ka, 189b]).

Just like when the sun's light rays blaze,
 even the moon in daylight cannot bear.
 To say nothing of outshining all other kinds of beauty!

The light rays dispelling afflictions and longings;
 the exuding moonbeams, like elixir streams,
 defeat even the waxing august moon.
 To say nothing of destroying wrong views and cataracts!

In the fields of your disciples, propitious
 crops grow everywhere and all the time,
 even better than rumbling rain-clouds.
 To say nothing of uplifting the river of faith!

...
 The mist-like light rays coalesce,
 like ocean waves ruffled by the wind,
 inexhaustibly reaching the skyline.
 Of the rays, some gracefully expands,
 entwining like wreaths of flowers,
 some appear like heaps of jewels,
 some seem crescent- or half-moon-shaped,
 some manifest in pillar-like forms,
 some of the wide light rays fill up
 the space between the sky and the earth,
 whose confines, I cannot fathom!⁵¹

51 / *khyod kyi 'od zer shin tu phul byung ba // bdag gis mthong de mthong ba ji bzhin du // brjod par nus min ting 'dzin ro myong bzhin // 'on kyang dran pa yis kyang dpal 'gyur bas // cha tsam tshigs su bcad pa'i dbyangs kyis ni // nye bar sgrogs la mngon par spro bar gyur // khyod kyi 'od kyis zhing brgya snang byed cing // log blo'i ku mud tshal 'joms rtag par yang // blo gros padmo rab tu rgyas byed pa // ye shes nyi ma khyod la phyag 'tshal lo // khyod kyi 'od zer skye rgu'i yid 'phrog pa'i // thad na nyi ma'i 'od zer 'bar ba yang // nyin mo'i zla ba tsam du'ang mi bzod na // mdzes pa g'zhan kun zil gnon smos ci 'tshal // 'od zer de yis nyon mongs gdung sel ba // bsil zer bdud rtsi'i rgyun 'dra 'phro ba yis // ston zla rgyas pas dper yang mi bzod na // log dang rab rib 'phrog pa smos ci 'tshal // de yis gdul bya'i zhing la dge legs kyi // lo tog rab tu bskrun pas rnam kun tu // char sprin rab tu sgrogs pa'ang zil gnon na // dad pa'i chu klung 'phel bgvid smos ci 'tshal / ... // na bun 'od zer phung por gyur pa 'ga' [var: lags] // rhung gis bskyod pa'i rgya mtsho'i rba rlabs bzhin // zad mi shes pa bar snang mtshams na rgyu // 'od zer la la spel legs me tog gi // phreng ba ji bzhin phan tshun brkyang ba dang // la la nor bu spungs pa lta bu dang // zla tshes 'dra dang tshes brgyad zla ba'i dbyibs // ka ba'i rnam pa lta bur snang ba dang // 'od zer chen po 'ga' zhig nam mkha' dang // sa g'zhi bar kun khyab par snang bas na // de mtha' tshad gzung bdag gis rngo ma thogs / (Chögyel Pakpa, vol. 4, 2007: 32-33).*

For Pakpa, the encounter experience was ineffable and, paradoxically, inspirational. As elusive as the taste of meditation, it presented a dilemma. How could anyone adequately craft praise to Mañjuśrī, who is “Lord of Speech, Unraveller of Speech”?⁵² The effect “would be like making offerings to the sea gods with water coming from the sea!”⁵³ Pakpa had to draw inspiration from Mañjuśrī, derive his poetics from Mañjuśrī’s wisdom, and merge his own voice with Mañjuśrī’s eloquence.

In his poems, Pakpa solves this conundrum of divine inspiration with a touch of deity yoga. First, he poetically establishes the surrounds of the five peaks as a maṇḍala (ritual altar). The five peaks represent five emanated deities, with their corresponding five colours, five awakened families, five kinds of wisdom, five kinds of poisons, et cetera. Take Central Peak in the “Jewels” as an example (the symbols for the central deity are in bold),

Central Peak looks like a **lion** crouching,
with rock-hills as **white** as the hue of *kunda* flowers.

...

For the salvation of creatures afflicted by **ignorance**,
the master of **mirror-like wisdom** on Central Peak,
appearing as the lord of the **wheel family**,
purifying the **form aggregate**, I salute you!⁵⁴

Since Mañjuśrī is the focus of the whole hymn and the object of the salutations, the maṇḍala here is centered around a primordial Mañjuśrī, instead of the usual Vairocana.⁵⁵

52 *smra ba'i rje / smra ba'i seng ge mtshungs med pa* / (Chögyel Pakpa, vol. 1, 2007: 109).

53 */ rgya mtsho las ni byung ba'i chus // rgya mtsho'i lha ni mchod pa ltar* / (Chögyel Pakpa, vol. 4, 2007: 20).

54 */ dbus kyi ri bo seng ge bsgyings pa bzhin // brag ri kunda'i mdangs ltar rab tu dkar /.../ gti mug gis non 'gro ba bskyab pa'i phyir // dbus kyi ri rtser me long ye shes bdag // 'khor lo'i rigs kyi bdag po'i skur ston pa // gzugs phung sbyong mdzad khyod la phyag 'tshal lo* / (Chögyel Pakpa, 2007: 26, 31).

55 Chen Qingying directly inserts the Five Buddhas into his translation, with Vairocana for the *ādarśa-jñāna* (“mirror-like wisdom”) in the center and Akṣobhya for the *dharmadhātusvabhāva-jñāna* (“wisdom of the nature of the phenomenal sphere”) in the east (Chen Qingying, 2007: 69). However, in the five Buddha system, the *ādarśa-jñāna* is associated with Akṣobhya and the *dharmadhātusvabhāva-jñāna* with Vairocana, not the other way around.

Table 1: Pakpa's symbolism of the five peaks

	Center	East	South	West	North
Symbol I	lion	elephant	horse	peacock	eagle
Symbol II	<i>kunda</i> flowers	<i>kuśa</i> grass	golden flowers	red soil	trees
Colour	white	blue	yellow	Red	green
gnosis	ādarśa	dharmadhātusvabhāva	samatā	pratyavekṣaṇā	kṛtyānuṣṭhāna
Poison	ignorance	anger	pride	desire	jealousy
Aggregate	form	consciousness	feeling	perception	mental formation
Aspect	Cakra-mañjuśrī	Mañjuvajra	Cintāmaṇi-mañjuśrī	Padma-mañjughoṣa	vajratīkṣṇa

This interpretation is more in line with the poem “Aspects,” which matches up the five peaks with the five aspects of Mañjuśrī (see Table 1), and the *Chanting of Mañjuśrī's Names* (*Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*, hereafter NS). The latter, a seminal Tantric work, describes Mañjuśrī as the non-dual “gnosis body of all the Tathāgatas.”⁵⁶ To a certain degree, the way that Pakpa depicts Mañjuśrī as the *Ādibuddha* (primordial Buddha) in the two poems derives from the *Dharmadhātu-vāgīśvara-mañjuśrī maṇḍala* suggested by the NS.⁵⁷ “Having recognized this is the palace of a great *maṇḍala*, a place of tathāgatas,”⁵⁸ Pakpa describes, visualizes, and makes verbal offerings to Mañjuśrī with the “poetic jewels” coming from Mañjuśrī,

A heap of poetic jewels with tuneful radiance
emerges from the wisdom island in the ocean.
Having assembled it neatly with a thread of words,
I offer it to the “Sweet-Sounded” Dharma King.
This hymn is [hence titled] “A Garland of Jewels.”⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Chögyel Pakpa, 2007: 43-44; Tribe, 2016: 7-8.

⁵⁷ As Tribe notices, “The word *ādibuddha* also appears as a Name in the *Nāmasaṃgīti* (v. 100), ... In his commentary of NS 100 Vilāsavajra says that *Ādibuddha* has the five forms of gnosis as his nature and, after elaborating on their nature, concludes ‘and he should be understood to be Mañjuśrī’” (Tribe, 2016: 64). For the *maṇḍala* schemes, see Klimburg-Salter, 1999: 313, Plate XXXVIII; Bsod nams rgya mtsho, 1991: 54-74.

⁵⁸ ‘*di ni de bzhin gshegs pa'i gnas / dkyil 'khor chen po'i pho brang lags par khums* / (Chögyel Pakpa, vol. 4, 2007: 26).

⁵⁹ / *blo gros rgya mtsho'i gling las legs 'khrungs pa'i // snyan pa'i 'od 'phro tshig gi nor bu'i tshogs // ngag gi srad bus tshar du dngar byas nas // 'jam dbyangs chos kyi rgyal po legs mchod do // bstod tshig 'di ni nor bu'i phreng ba yin* / (Chögyel Pakpa, “Jewels,” vol. 4, 2007: 36). “Sweet-Sounded” (Mañjughoṣa) refers to Mañjuśrī.

If one thinks like Mañjuśrī and sounds like Mañjuśrī, wouldn't he become a Mañjuśrī? The implied answer seems to be yes, when Pakpa likens his poem to a Sādhana technique.

He who adorns his neck with this [garland] and installs Mañjuvajra (a Tantric persona of Mañjuśrī) into his heart will possess the fearless supreme intelligence. This method (*tshul*) reveals the reality of all knowable *maṇḍalas*.⁶⁰

In a sense, a hymn to Mañjuśrī, successfully written by an adept (*sādhaka*), should function exactly as “an accomplishment-method of Mañjuśrī” (*'jam dpal gyi sgrub thab*) that leads an adept to merging himself with Mañjuśrī.⁶¹ The poet, while stringing Mañjuśrī's wisdom “jewels” into “a garland” with “a thread of [my] utterances,” blurs the distinction between the inspired (the poet) and the inspiration (the deity); conversely, the reader, while deciphering the poem, conjures up a Mañjuśrī and, in an ideal case, would merge himself with the latter.

5. After Pakpa: Tibetan Buddhism and Five-Peak Mountain in the Yuan

Besides his poetry, Pakpa was also among those who first introduced the significance of Five-Peak Mountain to the Mongol court, by incorporate it into his explanation of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* cosmology in his *Elucidation of the Knowable* (*Shes bya rab tu gsal ba*; *Zhang suozhi lun* 彰所知論).⁶² The introductory text, later translated into both Chinese and Mongolian, was initially a transcription of a series of lectures prepared for the crown prince Činggis (Zhenjin 真金; 1243-1286). After describing the mythical surrounds of Lake Anavatapta, the text introduces three major sites, Oḍḍiyāna, Potala, and “in the east [of the

60 / 'di yis gang gis mgrin par brgyan pa de'i // sems la 'jam pa'i rdo rje rjes zhugs nas // bsnnyengs bral blo gros mchog dang ldan par 'gyur // tshul 'di ni shes bya'i dkyil 'khor ma lus pa'i de kho na nyid ston pa la / (Chögyel Pakpa, “Jewels,” vol. 4, 2007: 36).

61 Pakpa composed two such “accomplishment methods” in 1254 and 1256, see his *Gsung 'bum* vol. 3, 2007: 230-232, 232-235.

62 Chögyel Pakpa, “Shes bya rab tu gsal ba,” vol. 1, 2007: 1-72.

Jambudvīpa continent] there is Mañjuśrī's abode on Wutai Shan."⁶³ Consequently, Five-Peak Mountain became the most important Buddhist site outside the two capitals to the royal family. It was at times visited by royal members, such as Zhenjin's wife Empress Kōkejin (Kuokuozhen 闊闊真, d. 1300) in 1296, Empress Taji (Daji 答己, ca. 1266-1322) together with the Crown Prince Āyurparvata (r. 1311-1320) in 1309, and Emperor Yingzong 英宗 (r. 1320-1333) in 1321.⁶⁴

The ties between the office of Imperial Preceptor and Five-Peak Mountain did not dissolve after Pakpa's untimely death in 1280. It is the lama Dampa Kūnga Drakpa (1230-1303), who was brought to China by Pakpa, that stayed on Five-Peak Mountain at the Shouning si 壽寧寺 (Longevity-and-Serenity Monastery) in Pakpa's stead in the 1270s, according to the official biography of Dampa.⁶⁵

帝師告歸西蕃，以教門之事屬之於師。始於五台山建立道場，行秘密咒法。作諸佛事，祠祭摩訶伽刺。持戒甚嚴，晝夜不懈。屢彰神異，赫然流聞。

Imperial Preceptor (i.e. Pakpa) petitioned the court for his return to Tibet and he entrusted Buddhist affairs to the master (i.e. Dampa). [The latter] started to build a monastic complex on Five-Peak Mountain and performed esoteric mantra rituals. He conducted many Buddhist services, including rites centered on Mahākāla. He upheld his precepts strictly, unremittingly day and night. He repeatedly demonstrated miracles and became extremely well-known.⁶⁶

63 Chögyel Pakpa, "Shes bya rab tu gsal ba," vol. 1, 2007: 7. As for the geographical information, Pakpa seemingly draws on a mahāsiddha story written by the the second Sakya Patriarch Bsod nams rtse mo (1142-1182) that recounts Śāntivarman's quests for Avalokiteśvara's teachings, "The thought occurs to [Śāntivarman] that he should go and see Potala. Then, he went to Vajrāsana. At the front entrance, he saw there existed written guidebooks for the pilgrimages to Oḍḍiyāna, Śrīparvata, Five-peak Mountain in China, and Potala. He copied the guidebook for Potala, took [it with him] and took off. He went south for six months in places that had villages..." (*po ta la bltar 'gro snyam pa byung ste / de nas rdo rje gdan du byon / de'i snga [read sna?] gdong la | au dya na du 'gro ba'i lam yig dang / dpal gyi ri la 'gro ba'i lam yig dang / rgya nag ri bo rtse lnga la 'gro ba'i lam yig dang / po ta lar 'gro ba'i lam yig bris nas yod pa la bltas te / po ta la'i lam yig bris nas khyer phyin nas / lho phyogs na phar grong dang ma bral bar zla ba drug phyin / Sönam Tsemo*, 2007: 164).

64 Song Lian, 1981: 392, 510, 620, etc.

65 *Fozu lidai tongzai*, T no. 2036, 49: 726a2. The crown prince Āyurparvata ordered the composition of Dampa's biography in 1308 (T no. 2035, 49: 435b26-b27), which should be roughly identical to the one in the *Fozu lidai tongzai* (T no. 2036, 49: 725c14-727a6). A hand scroll commonly known as the Stele of Dampa (*Danba bei* 膽巴碑), supposedly composed by Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫, also contains a condensed version of Dampa's biography. The biographical entry of Dampa in the *Yuanshi* does not go beyond these two sources. For an English translation of the official biography and the *Yuanshi* entry, see Franke, 1984: 158-174.

66 Zhao Mengfu, 2006: 11-12. Dampa's biography in the *Fozu lidai tongzai* provides some more detailed information, see T. 2036, Vol. 49: 0725c17-726a11.

A stele inscription titled “Inscription of the Imperial Edict Issued to Qilin Cloister” reports that Dampa was still the General Abbot (*duzhuchi* 都住持) of Shouning si, at least nominally as late as in 1297.⁶⁷ According to “The Stele of Miaoyan,” after Čingim became the crown prince in 1273, a lama named Youlinzhen 有隣真, identified as the second Imperial Preceptor Rinchen Gyeltsen (Rin chen rgyal mtshan; Yilianzhen 亦怜真) by Niu Chengxiu, was sent to Five-Peak Mountain to prepare for Čingim’s pilgrimage.⁶⁸ Also, the *Dynastic History of the Yuan* reports that in 1287 Kublai ordered Jianzang Wanbu busige 監藏宛卜思哥 (rGyal mtshan dbang po ‘phags?), together with other Tibetan monks, to perform Buddhist rites for him at various royal sites, including Five-Peak Mountain.⁶⁹ According to *The Red Annals*, the fourth Imperial Preceptor Yeshé Rinchen (Ye shes rin chen; Yishesi lianzhen 亦攝思. 連真; 1248 - 1294), who was one of Pakpa’s disciples and appointed in 1286 to succeed Dharmapāla Rakṣita, passed away while residing on Five-Peak Mountain in 1294,

The Kālacakra master Guru Yeshé Rinchen was sent by all Sakyapas to invite back Guru Pakpa who resided in Shingkun [i.e. Lintao 臨洮]. Then, Yeshé Rinchen arrived at China. Kublai Khan thought well of him and appointed him Imperial Preceptor (*ti shrī; dishi* 帝師). He died at the age of 47 on Five-Peak Mountain.⁷⁰

In the reign of Chengzong 成宗 (r. 1294-1307), an royal-sponsored monastery called Myriad-Saint Realm-Protecting Monastery (Wansheng youguo si 萬聖祐國寺) was built on Five-Peak Mountain between 1295-1297 (See Table 2 for the list of the known abbots).⁷¹

67 “Qilin yuan shenzhi beiji” 祁林院聖旨碑記, In Shen Tao, 1998: 16.26b-27b. The cloister Qilin yuan was located far off in nowadays Hebei; for the details of its affiliation with Shouning si on Five-Peak Mountain, see Zhang Guowang, 2008: 28-29.

68 Fu Jixiang, “Miaoyan dashi shanxing zhi bei” 妙嚴大師善行之碑, in Niu Chengxiu, 1979: 3.23a-28a.

69 Song Lian, 1981: 303. The busige 卜思哥 seems to be a misspelling of bugesi 卜哥思.

70 *bla ma dus 'khor ba ye shes rin chen / bla ma 'phags pa shing kun na bzhugs pa gdan 'dren pa la sa skya pa spyis rdzangs / phyis rgya yul du byon / se chen rgyal pos thugs la btags nas ti shrī mdzad / dgung lo bzhi bcu zhe bdun la rtse lngar gshegs* / (Tselpa Kūnga Dorjé, 1981: 51).

71 Nianchang, *Fozu lidai tongzai*, T no. 2036, 49: 725b28-c1.

Table 2: The abbots of Realm-Protecting Monastery

Tenure	Abbot	Source
1297-1302	Wencai 文才	Zhenjue's biography in the <i>Fozu lidai tongzai</i> .
1302- ?	Baoyan 寶嚴	Baoyan's biography in the <i>Fozu lidai tongzai</i> .
? - ?	Jin 金	
? - 1314	Yueyan 月岳	"The Stele of Miaoyan" in the <i>Dingxiang jinshi kao</i> .
1314-c. 1329	Huiyin 慧印	"The Stele Inscription of Master Yin" in the <i>Wutaishan Beiwen xuanzhu</i> .
c. 1329 -? (1337+)	Zhi' an 智安	

The first abbot Wencai 文才 (1241-1302), alias Master Zhenjue 真覺,⁷² was a Chinese monk recommended to the post by the fifth Imperial Preceptor Drakpa Özer (Grags pa 'od zer, Jialuosiba 迦羅斯巴; 1246- 1303).⁷³ After Wencai's death in 1302, his disciple Baoyan 寶嚴 (1272-1322), alias Master Huantang 幻堂, assumed the abbotship.⁷⁴ When Baoyan was promoted to the abbot of Great Universal Peace Monastery (Da puan si 大普安寺) in the capital Dadu 大都, his brother Jin 金 took over the abbotship of Realm-protecting Monastery, probably sometime between 1303-1308.⁷⁵ The next known abbot was Master Yueyan 月岳, alias Master Xuanjiao Guangguo 宣教光國, who was also appointed the Archbishop of Buddhism in the Wutai Archdiocese (Xuanshou wutai dengchu shijiao duzongshe 宣授五臺等處釋教都總攝),⁷⁶ according to "The Stele of Miaoyan" inscribed in 1310.⁷⁷ Then Huiyin assumed the abbotship of this royal monastery in 1314.⁷⁸ He was an initiate of Tibetan Tantric Buddhism.

72 For his biography ("Wutai zhenjue wencai guoshi" 五臺真覺文才國師), see *Fozu lidai tongzai*, T no. 2036, 49: 725b6-c12.

73 Nianchang, *Fozu lidai tongzai*, T no. 2036, 49: 725c2-c4.

74 For his biography ("Yushan puan baoyan jiangshi" 玉山普安寶嚴講師), see *Fozu lidai tongzai*, T no. 2036, 49: 734a6-a28.

75 Nianchang, *Fozu lidai tongzai*, T no. 2036, 49: 734a24-a26.

76 In 1297 the office was first created for Master Miaoyan 妙嚴, the abbot of Jinjie si 金界寺, and Master Fazhao 法照, the abbot of Zhenrong yuan 真容院. The Archdiocese included Zhending 真定, Pingshan 平陝, Taiyuan 太原, Datong 大同 and Wutai Shan ("The Stele of Miaoyan," 3.26b). Zhang Guowang suggests that Pingshan is a scribal error for Pingyang 平陽. It was also referred to as Wulu zongshe 五路總攝 ("Archbishop of the Five-Circuit Archdiocese"; see Niu Chengxiu, 1979: 3.10a). For more on this office, see Zhang Guowang, 2008: 30.

77 Niu Chengxiu, 1979: 3.25a. Note that Miaoyan (Śrī Zhi), Yueyan (Śrī Yan), and Baoyan (also Śrī Yan) were different figures.

78 Fahong 法洪, "Yingong beaming" 印公碑銘, in Cui Zhengsen & Wang Zhichao, 1995: 170-173.

延佑元年，詔殊祥院使伯顏帖木兒論旨，住持此寺。講說秘奧，為國延厘。六年夏，受秘密之法於帝師。又從上士僧吉學《六支秘要》。歲乙丑，帝師至此山，施以衣帽、鈔幣、白金五十兩。歲丙寅，又從上士管加受《時輪六支秘要》之法。

In 1314, by the edict issued by Commissioner of Special-Auspice Department Bayan Temür, he became the abbot of this monastery. He expounded the profound teachings and extended serendipity for the empire. In the summer of 1319, he received secret teachings from Imperial Preceptor (Kun dga' blo gros rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po; 1299-1327), and followed Lama Seng ge (Seng ge dpal of the 'Ba' rom lineage?) in studying the *Six-branched Secret Summary* (*rNal 'byor yan lag drug pa; *Saḍaṅgayoga).⁷⁹ In 1325, Imperial Preceptor (Kun dga' legs pa'i byung gnas rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po; 1308-1330) visited this mountain and donated garments, paper money, and fifty liang of silver [to this monastery]. In 1326, he again received teachings on the *Six-branched Secret Summary of the Kālacakra* from Lama Kūnga (Kun dga').⁸⁰

This stele was erected in 1339 by the abbot Zhi'an 智安, one of Huiyin's disciples. In Huiyin's tenure (1314-1337), this monastery witnessed the Buddhist services for the royal family in 1323, 1328, 1330 and 1331, according to the entries in the *Dynastic History of the Yuan*.⁸¹ On the last occasion, Emperor Wenzong 文宗 "sent Tibetan monks to Five-Peak Mountain and Wuling Shan 霧靈山 to perform rituals respectively for one month, on behalf of Prince Guṇadhara."⁸² There was also another royal-sponsored Puning si 普寧寺 built in 1309,⁸³ though it is not clear

79 It refers to the completion-stage (*sampannakrama*) teachings for the *Kālacakra Tantra*, of which the spread in the Wutai region is detailed in the *Kālacakra* section of *The Blue Annals*. "Further, there was one disciple of Byang sems rgyal ye's, a *kālyāṇamitra* born in Dar yul bye ma and named Stag lung rin po che Sang rgyas dpal. He was a second-generation disciple of Do ba dar she (i.e. Do pa dar sha)'s. He obtained the oral teachings of the *Saḍaṅgayoga* from Byang chub sems dpa' Rgyal ba ye shes (i.e. Byang sems rgyal ye) and then went Five-Peak Mountain and other places. He, renowned for his achievement of *siddhis* with meditation, spread the teachings of the *Saḍaṅgayoga* in the north. Yon tan rgya mtsho ba and Rin po che Shes rab 'bum pa together had two disciples, Seng ge dpal of the 'Bab-rom-pa lineage and Ratnakumāra born in 'Dam (an area northwest of Lhasa). The two spread the teachings of the *Saḍaṅgayoga* in the north" (Gö Zhönnupel, 1985: 916-917; For a somehow truncated translation, see Roerich, 1976: 783).

80 Cui Zhengsen & Wang Zhichao, 1995: 171-172.

81 Song Lian, 1981: 630, 720, 758, 782.

82 命西僧於五臺及霧靈山作佛事各一月，為皇太子古納答刺祈福。(Song Lian, 1981: 782). Guṇādhāra (古納答刺) was also known as El Tegūs (d.1340).

83 It was sponsored by Empress dowager Taji; the first abbot Liaoxing 了性, alias Master 弘教, was Wencai's disciple (Fozu lidai tongzai, T no. 2036, 49: 733c11-14).

what kind of Tibetan connections it enjoyed.

While the monasteries on Five-Peak Mountain were mostly staffed with Chinese monks, the appointment of the two most important administrative positions, namely Archbishop of Buddhism in the Wutai Archdiocese and Chief Magistrate of Buddhism on Wutai Shan (Wutai shan du sengpan 五臺山都僧判), was made by royal family members or the office of Imperial Preceptor.⁸⁴ The official-monks bore the special title Śrī (*jixiang* 吉祥) and were distinguished as “endowed with a saffron-robe” (*cihong* 賜紅). The later indicates that the robe-owner took an additional set of Mūlasarvāstivādin vows from a Tibetan preceptor.⁸⁵

6. Conclusion

The notion that Tibet-Wutai connections were established in the Tibetan imperial period seems, as I have argued, to rely on interpolated passages, *terma* texts, and sometimes a projection of a post-Pakpa awareness back to imperial history. Prior to the incorporation of Tibet into the Mongol Empire, when the place name “Ri bo rtse lnga” was brought up in mahāsiddha narratives on occasion, it was primarily imagined as a remote “achievement spot” for *siddhi*-seekers. Above all, Tibetan Buddhism had no presence on Five-peak Mountain prior to Pakpa’s visit in 1257.

In the Mongol-Yuan era, although important lamas visited Five-Peak Mountain at times and Realm-Protecting Monastery maintained ecclesiastic relationships with the lamas in the capital, the institutional presence of Tibetan Buddhism merely marked a modest beginning. The mountain had to wait for about another five hundred years to witness a bloom of Tibetan

84 For example, Master Yingwu 英悟 was appointed to Chief Magistrate of Buddhism on Wutai Shan by a certain State Preceptor (Rin chen rgyal mtshan?) in 1276 (See “Jixian’an chuangjian Guanyin tang gongde zhi bei” 集賢庵創建觀音堂功德之碑, in Niu Chengxiu, 1979: 3.10b). Referring to these official-monks, Wang Jinping coined the term “*huja’ur* monks” for “a group of Buddhist monks who attained personal connections to Mongol rulers and thereby gained official positions in the Buddhist administration” (Wang Jinping, 2016: 207). It seems to me that the liberal use of *huja’ur* here somehow mystifies the actual process. In a Mongol-Yuan political context, *huja’ur* referred to one’s hereditary entitlement based on his family’s imperial services in the past; the appointment of ecclesiastic positions in the Yuan had more to do with sectarian concerns and “spiritual” relationships than “hereditary entitlement”.

85 In the biography of Daoxian 道賢, Hu Zhiyu 胡祇適 notices that “In 1272, a royal edict called for an assembly of [administrative] monks and preceptors in various circuits. [Daoxian] was awarded a religious garment and received [a different set of *prātimokṣa*] precepts from State Preceptor. Then he obtained the title Jixiang (Śrī) 九年聖旨集諸路僧受戒僧, 蒙賜法衣一襲, 受戒于國師, 加號吉祥。(Hu Zhiyu, 1973: 17.18a). According to the *Fozu lidai tongzai*, the monks “were awarded [Tibetan-style] red and yellow garments and granted the *prātimokṣa* of the Mūlasarvāstivādin lineage” 賜紅黃大衣, 傳授薩婆多部大戒 (T no. 2036, 49: 724c2-c3).

Buddhist-related activities under the auspices of the Manchu court⁸⁶. Nonetheless, the character of Five-Peak Mountain as a Sino-Tibetan site was largely shaped and determined in the Yuan, when the cultural “translation” of “Wutai shan” into “Ri bo rtse lnga” was achieved via poetry and mythology. On the one hand, Pakpa’s poetry represents attempts to approach the divine presence on site with a Tibetan framework; on the other hand, Tibetan religious writings, such as *The Testimony of Ba*, *The Lotus Testament*, *The Pillar Testament*, *The Rhinoceros Horn Book of the Lang Family*, mythologizes Five-Peak Mountain as an *ex postfacto* explanation for the transcultural reach of Tibetan Buddhism in the Mongol-Yuan era. The two modes of “translation” continued to be operational in the Ming, Qing and even modern periods,⁸⁷ and have formed a feedback loop with each other. The circulation of Wutai poetry composed by famous lamas sparked greater interests in devising and retelling Wutai mythology. Because of the growing celebrity of Five-Peak Mountain in Tibet and Mongolia, actual visits were in turn encouraged and accomplished. The visits made by Tibetans and Gelugpa Mongols inspired more poetry to be composed, especially in the “central period of poetic activity (circa 1760-1830).”⁸⁸ In this fashion, Five-Peak Mountain as a longed-for destination continues to be woven into Tibetan literature and Tibetan lives to date.

Lastly, Five-Peak mountain is also a window on identity construction in the post-Fragmentation era. In Tibetan religious writings, whereas Avalokiteśvara is identified as the patron deity of Tibet, Mañjuśrī is imagined as the patron deity of China. In the process of localizing central deities and re-calibrating sacred geography, Tibet, though once deemed “borderland” (*yul mtha' 'khob*) in classical Buddhist geography, established herself as a center.⁸⁹ By doing so, both Tibet and China became once again on a par with each other, just as they were in the imperial past.⁹⁰

86 For the promotion of the site in the Qing, see Charleux, 2015: 105-156.

87 For example, *Dungkar Dictionary of Tibetology*, a magnum opus by an exalted scholar-lama Dungkar, alludes to Pakpa’s poetry in describing the shapes of the five peaks, at one and the same time cites the mythical visits made by Tsongkapa and the Sixth Dalai Lama (1697–1706) in explaining its importance to the Gelugpa school. For the entry on Wutai Shan, see Dungkar Lozang Khrinlé, 2002: 1898b-1899a.

88 This is a phrase coined by Kurtis Schaeffer, who argues that Pakpa left an enduring legacy and “looms large over all Qing-period Tibetan Buddhist poets on Mt. Wutai” (Schaeffer, 2001: 219). For a list of Qing-era Tibetan poetry on Wutai Shan, see Schaeffer, 2001: 216-219.

89 For a similar effort to relocate Potala to Lhasa and the proliferation of Avalokiteśvara’s emanations in Tibet, see Kapstein, 2000: 144-155. For an indigenous effort to move Tibet to the geographical center in Bon histories, see Martin, 1994: 517-521.

90 This contrast is made clear in, for instance, *The Great Sino-Tibetan Archive*. The compiler starts the chapter “Royal Lineages in China” (*rgya nag gi rgyal rabs*) with a hymn to Mañjuśrī of Five-Peak Mountain and then the chapter “Royal Lineages in Tibet” (*bod kyi rgyal rabs*) with a hymn to Avalokiteśvara (Penjor Zangpo, 1985: 99, 121). Or as Gö Zhönnupel puts it, “Just as the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī took over China, in the same manner the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Ārya Avalokiteśvara protected Tibet” (Roerich, 1976: 126).

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