


The Transformation of the Qing's Geopolitics: Power Transitions between Tibetan Buddhist Monasteries in Amdo, 1644–1795

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Introduction

mdo lies on the border between northwestern China and central Tibet. The geographical location of Amdo made it a flourishing junction of diverse cultures and a critical point of military strategy. As a pivot of East and Inner Asian cultures, Amdo has been included in Gansu and Qinghai provinces cohabited by various ethnic groups, such as the Tibetan, Mongol, Monguor, Chinese and Turkic Muslims etc. Precisely, the Tibetan Amdo region has been included within southwestern Gansu province and the east of Kokonor (Qinghai) in modern China. Although Gansu and Kokonor have both been regarded as parts of the Tibetan Amdo region traditionally, there was a significant distinction between them after the 1660s.¹ The fact is that the Tibetan monasteries in Gansu and Kokonor developed inversely during the 17th to 18th centuries. According to documents regarding Tibetan Buddhist monasteries in Amdo

* A part of this paper is based on my preliminary research of Amdo history published in Chinese in 2015. See: Ling-Wei Kung, "Taomin zang chuan fo si ru qing zhi xing shuai ji qi bei hou de menggu yin su," *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology Academia Sinica* 86.4 (2015), 855-910. I am grateful to Professors Gray Tuttle and Madeleine Zelin, as well as my colleagues Riga Shakya and Tezin Dongchung at Columbia University, for their comments on the draft of this paper, but of course any errors remain my own. This research was supported by a thesis award from the Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission of Taiwan.

¹ In this paper, I would like to use the geopolitical concepts of "Gansu" to designate the Luchu region (Tib. Tib. Klu chu; Ch. Taohe) and "Kokonor" (Qinghai) to refer to the Sungchu (Tib. Bsung chu; Ch. Daxiahe), the Tsongchu (Tib. Tsong chu; Ch. Huangshuihe), and the Julakchu (Tib. 'ju lag; Ch. Datonghe) regions. As this article investigates as follows, the geopolitical division of "Gansu/ Kokonor" gradually established by the Qing dynasty after the late seventeenth century provided different incentives to the development of local monasteries in Amdo.

from the 17th to 18th centuries, it is clear that the most influential monasteries were mainly located in eastern Amdo, namely modern Gansu,² and that they declined gradually from the late 17th century onwards. For instance, Chödé (Tib. Chos sde dgon; Ch. Chongjiao si)³ and Choné Monasteries (Tib. Co ne dgon chen; Zhuoni si), which were the most powerful monasteries in eastern Amdo, gradually lost their political status after the 1660s. In contrast, the political and economic centers of Amdo started to move westward from monasteries in the Luchu region (Tib. Klu chu; Ch. Taohe) to their counterparts in the Sungchu (Tib. Bsung chu; Ch. Daxiahe) and the Tsongchu (Tib. Tsong chu; Ch. Huangshuihe) regions. Kumbum and Labrang Monasteries are typical examples.⁴ This phenomenon is testament to the significant change in ethnic and frontier policies between the Ming and Qing dynasties.

What caused the difference between Gansu and Kokonor? Why did the shift happen after 1660s? What is the legacy of the transition of the 1660s? By combing through various materials concerning the political geography of the Amdo region, in Chinese, Manchu, Mongolian and Tibetan, this paper shows that the regional differences in the development of the Tibetan Buddhist monasteries in Gansu and Kokonor reflected the Mongolian and Muslim influences behind the frontier administration of the Qing court. Moreover, the Qing's frontier administration, which focused on Mongolians in Kokonor, was highly involved with Tibetan Buddhism as promoted by the Manchu emperors. For example, lots of Mongolian monks from western Amdo, such as the reincarnations of Sertri (Gser khri) and Zamtsa (Zam tsha), were invited to Beijing by the imperial family, and appointed to translate Buddhist scriptures from Tibetan and Mongolian into Manchu language.⁵ Therefore, the Mongols' religious influences

² The west part of Shaanxi Province was divided from and renamed as Gansu Province in 1663. In this paper, Shaanxi and Gansu are both referred to the eastern Amdo.

³ This article adopts the THL simplified phonemic system for transliterating Tibetan proper names in the body. Tibetan and Chinese forms are also given in the Wylie and Pinyin systems in the following parenthesis if they are less common.

⁴ The locations and the list of Amdo monasteries, see: Appendix. Although there were few monasteries built in Gansu province during the Qing period, most of them were on the borderlands between Qinghai and Gansu, and sponsored by Mongolian nobles from Kokonor.

⁵ The translation of Manchu Buddhist texts was an official cultural project that attempted to build up the common Buddhist identity of Manchus, Mongolians and Tibetans. Kung Ling-wei, "Comparative Research on Manchurian Translation of Diamond Sūtra: Manchu-Ethnocentrism and Official Translation of Buddhist Texts in Qing Dynasty," in Shen Weirong ed., *History through Textual Criticism: Tibetan Buddhism in Central Eurasia and China Proper* (Beijing: Chinese Tibetology Press, 2012), 455-496. Ibid., "The Convergence of Sūraṅgama Mantra and

not only shaped the frontiers in Amdo but also the imperial culture of the Qing court.⁶ Additionally, the ethnic and frontier policies of the Qing dynasty profoundly remodeled the local politics of Amdo included in Gansu and Qinghai after the mid-17th century.

In this article I will describe the development of the Tibetan monasteries in Amdo under the rule of the Qing dynasty and the transition between the Ming and Qing periods. By delving into Chinese, Manchu, Mongolian and Tibetan archival materials, such as *The Archives of the Grand Secretariat (Neigedaku dang)*⁷ and *The Manchu-Mongolian Routine Memorials of the Lifanyuan in the Early Qing*,⁸ I will examine the interaction between the Qing court and monasteries in Amdo.

Amdo Monks in Manchu and Chinese Archives

Since the 17th century, Amdo monasteries started building relations with the Qing dynasty. After that many Qing documents were made in the process of "tributary missions." In *the Archives of the Grand Secretariat*, there are bilingual edicts in Tibetan and Chinese. These edicts were issued by the Ming Xuande (r. 1425-1435) and Zhengtong (r. 1436-1449) Emperors in the early fifteenth century and can be considered as the official certificates delivered by the Ming court to the monasteries at that time. The Chinese parts of these edicts were seriously damaged, but Tibetan parts are still legible. I have discovered that three temples in Minzhou of Gansu were called Chaoding (Tib. Cha'u ting),⁹ Guande (Tib. Kwang de'),¹⁰ and Zhaoci Monasteries

Sitātapatrā Dhāraṇī in Da-Zang-Quan-Zhou: Study on Manchurian Transliteration of Tibetan Mantra and the Influence on Philology in Qing Dynasty," in Shen Weirong ed., *Sino-Tibetan Buddhist Studies: Texts, People, Images and History* (Beijing: Chinese Tibetology Press, 2013), 640-650.

⁶ Because many Mongolian women were married to the Manchu emperors, the imperial family was familiar with Mongolian language and culture. In addition to the political intention, this might be another reason the Qing emperors closely studied with lamas who were fluent in Mongolian.

⁷ *The Archives of the Grand Secretariat* are collected by the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Taiwan. The catalogue can be accessed on the website of IHP: <http://archive.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/mctkm2/index.html> (04/20/2015).

⁸ Wuyunbilige 乌云毕力格 (Oyunbilig) and Wu Yuanfeng 吴元丰 ed., *Qingchao qianqi lifanyuan manmengwen tiben* 清朝前期理藩院满蒙文题本 (Mg. *Dayicing gürün-ü ekin üy-e-yin γada γatu mong γol-un toru-yi jasaqu yabudal-un yamun-u manju mong γol ayiladqal-un debter-üid*) (Hohhot: Neimenggu renmin Press, 2010). These documents have been published in their original forms.

⁹ Dated in the 2nd year of the Xuande (1427). *The Archives of the Grand Secretariat*, Catalogue number: 038107-001.

(Tib. Ja'u tshi gzi)¹¹ together with Chongjiao mentioned later in the paper. They were recorded under a list of eighteen monasteries.

These edicts from the Ming dynasty in the archives of the Grand Secretariat of Qing provoke the question: Why these imperial edicts, which were granted to the temples in Minzhou by the Ming emperors in the 15th century, appear in the archives of the Grand Secretariat of the Qing dynasty after the 17th century? An entry of *Collected Supplementary Regulations and Sub-statutes of the Great Qing (Daqing huidian shili)*¹² may have the answers. In *Daqing huidian shili*, there is a list of Amdo monasteries that handed over their former edicts received from the Ming court, and received new ones from the Qing dynasty when they were asked to pay tribute to the Qing in 1663. The names of Chaoding, Guande and Zhaoci Monasteries were recorded on the list.¹³

After the 1650s, the monastic leaders in Amdo started to try to build relations with the Qing court by requesting official certificates to recognize their hereditary titles and the legal status of their monasteries. However, since the mid-seventeenth century the Qing court treated each monastic leader and monastery differently based on its geopolitical concerns. The Qing's geopolitical strategy significantly influenced the development of the monasteries by remodeling the hierarchical power structure in Amdo. That is to say, not every monastic leader could maintain his hereditary title, which would fundamentally decide his monastery's official status in the Qing's tribute system. For instance, Chongjiao Monastery was one of the most powerful monasteries in the Luchu region of eastern Amdo. Similarly, the edict to Chongjiao Monastery issued by the Ming court was also collected in *The Archives of Grand Secretariat*.¹⁴ However, instead of mere-

¹⁰ Dated in the 13th year of the Zhengtong (1448). *The Archives of the Grand Secretariat*, Catalogue number: 038109-001.

¹¹ Dated in the 13th year of the Zhengtong (1448). *The Archives of the Grand Secretariat*, Catalogue number: 038110-001. The Tibetan names of three monasteries given in the original Ming documents are obviously transliterations of Chinese. The other forms of their Tibetan names have not been discovered yet.

¹² *Huidian* (collected statutes) is one of the most essential sources to study the Qing law on state level. In addition to the part of collected statutes, it also includes many cases related to the statutes. The Qing court first edited *Huidian* in 1690 and expanded it for four times in 1732, 1764, 1818, and 1899. Since 1801, the editors separated the cases from the statutes and established an independent part named *Shili* to contain the cases related to the statutes. *Shili* (supplementary regulations and sub-statutes) includes many precious records related Tibetan monasteries and monks in Amdo and can be compared with other archival sources.

¹³ [Qing] Kun Gang et al., *Daqing huidian shili* (originally published in 1899) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1991), vol. 10, 1093.

¹⁴ The edict to Chongjiaosi is now preserved in the National Museum of China in Beijing.

ly re-confirming the political status of the monasteries in Minzhou, the Qing dynasty did not recognize the existing title of state preceptor (Ch. Guo shi) formerly conferred to the abbot of the Chongjiao Monastery by the Ming government. The change of the titles significantly affected the influences of the monasteries in Amdo, because if the local religious leaders receive the official titles, they could maintain economic connections with China in the name of “paying tribute” (Ch. Chao gong). The rejection of previous Chinese titles actually reflected a fundamental change in the Qing government’s frontier policy that has rearranged the power structure in Amdo by re-ranking the titles of the religious leaders in the tributary system left by the Ming dynasty. Therefore, the Ming certificates submitted by the monasteries to the Qing court not only reflect the continuity of the tributary system but also power transition in late-seventeenth-century Amdo geopolitics.

In addition to the monasteries in Minzhou, primary monasteries in eastern Amdo including Taozhou and Hezhou, also began to build connections with the Qing court in 1650s.¹⁵ Beside the Ming edicts, there are several Manchu and Chinese documents related to Amdo monasteries in *The Archives of the Grand Secretariat*. Through these documents and *Collected Supplementary Regulations and Sub-statutes of the Great Qing*, it can be seen that monasteries in Kokonor, such as Drotsang (Tib. Gro tshang rdo rje 'chang; Ch. Qutan) and Zina (Tib. Zi na bsam 'grub gling; Ch. Xina) Monasteries,¹⁶ also started paying tribute to the Qing dynasty from 1653. And the Ministry of Rites (Libu) regularly took charge of tributary affairs regarding Amdo monks.

However, a century later, the Lifanyuan (Man. tulergi golo be dasara jurgan,¹⁷ the Board of Frontier Affairs) overtook the tributary affairs regarding Amdo monks in 1743. That is the reason the latest documents about the tribute of Amdo monks in *The Archives of the Grand Secretariat* was formed in 1741 and the earliest one in the routine memorial of the Lifanyuan was in 1744. That is to say, the related documents, which were formed after 1743 could only be found in *The Manchu-Mongolian Routine Memorials of the Lifanyuan*.¹⁸ Since the rou-

¹⁵ *The Archives of the Grand Secretariat*, Catalogue number: 035990-001.

¹⁶ The edict of Zina Monastery is now preserved in the National Museum of China in Beijing.

¹⁷ “Tulergi golo be dasara jurgan,” the name of the Lifanyuan in Manchu, literally means “the Board for the Administration of Outlying Provinces.” “Tulergi golo” can be translated as “frontier.”

¹⁸ Routine memorial, or “Ti ben” in Chinese, is a genre of Qing documents that was used to communicate ordinary affairs, such as tax collection, criminal punishment, and routine personnel matters, between the emperors, the Grand Secretariat and the Six Boards as well as the Lifanyuan. Routine memorials of the Li-

tine memorials of the Lifanyuan were all written in Manchu and Mongolian, it is needless to say that the Manchu and Mongolian materials are very important to study on the relations between Amdo monks and the Qing court, especially during the Qianlong reign.

Why did the Lifanyuan finally take over the tributary affairs, which were previously handled by the Ministry of Rites from 1743? According to the statement in *Daqing huidian shili*, since the Qing government considered that Mongolian monks were all administered by the Lifanyuan, the affairs of Amdo monks should also be managed by the Lifanyuan.¹⁹ This statement might reflect a Mongolian factor²⁰ in the frontier policy of the Qing dynasty, which intended to communicate with Khoshut Mongols through the monasteries in the Luchu, Sungchu, and Tsongchu regions.

Moreover, the tributary affairs, which were transferred from the Ministry of Rites to the Lifanyuan in 1743, also show that the legal status of Gansu's monasteries was totally changed. Before 1743, the Tibetan Buddhist monasteries in Gansu province were treated as a part of "foreign countries" (*Wai guo*), which included the Kingdoms of Chosŏn, Ryukyu, and Vietnam in the tribute system of the Qing dynasty. Therefore, when the Tibetan Buddhist monks from Gansu visited the Qing court in Beijing, they were received by the officials of the Ministry of Rites, the diplomatic institute for the tributary affairs of foreign countries. In 1743, after the Lifanyuan took over the tributary affairs related to the Tibetan Buddhists from Gansu, eastern Amdo was formally recognized as the direct-ruled territory of the Qing dynasty. This change was directly caused by the policy of "transforming chieftainships into district administration" (*Ch. Gai tu gui liu*)²² applied in eastern Amdo since 1726.

fanyuan contain many records of interactions between the Qing dynasty and the monasteries in Amdo.

¹⁹ *Daqing huidian shili*, vol. 10, 1192.

²⁰ Mongolian factors in Qing frontier policy are embodied in various aspects, such as noble ranks and religious culture. Some examples, see Dittmar Schorkowitz and Chia Ning eds., *Managing Frontiers in Qing China: The Lifanyuan and Libu Revisited* (Leiden: Brill, 2016). The Mongolian factor discussed here is specifically a strong inclination of the Qing court intending to win the military support of Khoshut Mongols in Kokonor through Buddhist leaders in the Luchu, Sungchu, and Tsongchu regions.

²² The policy of replacing native chieftains with state-appointed bureaucrats was initiated by the Ming dynasty in China's southwestern borderland. The main purpose of the policy was to substitute rotating-shift bureaucrats (*Ch. Liu guan*) for native chieftains (*Ch. Tu guan*) in order to promote the dynasty's control over borderland society. This policy was taken over by the Qing dynasty during the reign of the Yongzheng and was applied in eastern Amdo in 1726.

Material Culture in Manchu and Mongolian Archives

Besides the function of the institutions, the Manchu and Mongolian archives also provide critical details that explicate the interaction between material culture and political function. After Amdo monasteries paid their tribute to the Qing court from 1743, they received several kinds of gifts as rewards. In other words, the political relations between Amdo monasteries and the Qing government were based on the exchange of tribute and gifts. The gifts from the Qing court were imbued with specific symbolic meanings. However, it is hard to discover these special meanings in official Chinese historiography, as the compilers often abridged many key details in archival sources during the process of compiling.

For instance, according to *Daqing huidian shili*, the leader of Amdo monks who came to pay tribute to the Qing court would receive a pair of boots as the rewards. This record seems meaningless in *Daqing huidian shili*; however, the archives of the Grand Secretariat and the Lifanyuan may give more interesting details.

In Chinese archives of the Grand Secretariat, the name of the boots presented to Amdo monks was called "Lüxiepi yafeng caliang xue,"²³ which is very difficult to be understood in the Chinese context. However, according to the archives of the Lifanyuan in Manchu and Mongolian, these boots had a specific cultural meaning in Manchu. In fact, the name of the boots spell as "Šempilehe sarin i gūlha" in Manchu²⁴ and "köke sarisu qabiči γ san sarin γ utul" in Mongolian.²⁵ The Manchu word "Sarin" is a special term that means a kind of leather made from the skin of horse's button (Guzi pi).²⁶ Therefore, the Chinese word "Calian" cannot be literally understood as "wiping face."

But what does "Lüxiepi yafeng" mean? In Manchu and Mongolian languages, these words mean: "being sewed on grey marten." "Šempi" in Manchu refers to "grey marten" (Qingshu pi).²⁷ It was a kind of precious fur, which could be used only by emperors.²⁸ Since 1816, the

²³ *The Archives of the Grand Secretariat*, Catalogue number: 091400-001.

²⁴ *Qingchao qianqi lifanyuan manmengwen tiben*, vol.3, no.39, 365.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. 5, no. 72, 557.

²⁶ In terms of lingual origin, the Manchu word "Sarin" derived from "Sagari" in Mongolian (Tib. Sag ri < Persian. Sagrī) The English word "shagreen" was also from Sagrī in Persian. Berthold Laufer, *Sino-Iranica: Chinese Contributions to the History of Civilization in Ancient Iran* (Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History, 1919), 575.

²⁷ In the bilingual archive in Chinese and Machu, "Šempi" corresponded with "grey marten." *The Archives of the Grand Secretariat*, Catalogue number: 058796.

²⁸ [Qing] Wang Wenshao, *Wang wenshao riji* (The diary of Wang Wenshao)(Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1989), 465.

Grand Ministers of State in Qing dynasty wore boots with green marten as the symbol of their distinguished political status.²⁹ However, Amdo monks had worn these special boots since 17th century.³⁰ Interestingly, in addition to the imperial boots made of grey marten, prominent Tibetan Buddhists also received special gifts like yellow dragon robes from the Qing emperors,³¹ and were allowed to use imperial yellow tiles to renovate the Tibetan Buddhist temples in Wutai Mountain.³² The valuable presents, such as the boots with green marten and the yellow dragon robes, have been endowed certain meanings of power discourse and social structure. As French anthropologist Marcel Mauss (1872-1950) argues, a gift-exchange system actually reflects the building of power relationships and each present possesses “productive power” on its own. Namely, a gift is not a simple medium of economic exchange but also a symbol of power structure.³³ As a specific symbol in the context of Manchu political culture, the boots of green marten offered to the religious leaders in Amdo subtly reveal the Qing’s geopolitical concerns. Moreover, the cases of gift-exchange between the Qing court and Amdo monks shows that the Manchu and Mongolian archives can provide scholars a diverse optic through which we can reconsider the power relationships and geopolitical ties between the monasteries in Amdo and the Qing court. Before discussing the study on Manchu archives and Mongolian factor related to the transition of Amdo monasteries during the 17th -18th centuries, I would like to summarize previous studies, and then point out the possibility of improving existing studies, especially taking New Qing History as inspiration.

²⁹ [Qing] Liang Zhangju, *Shuyuan jilüe* (The narrative of the Grand Council)(Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1997), 97.

³⁰ Wang Wenshao (1830-1908), who served as the grand counselor in 1879, wrote a record about the boots with green marten: “in the inner court, only the ministers of the imperial presence, the grand counselors, and the ministers of the imperial household are allowed to wear the boots decorated by green marten. Other people are not allowed to wear [the boots] unless they have received special permissions. Because [the boots with green marten] are normally used by the emperors.” Wang’s observation shows that the boots with green marten were only used by the Manchu emperors and high-ranking officials in the inner court during the Qing period. Wang Wenshao, *Wang wenshao riji*, 465.

³¹ For instance, Rje bstun dam pa was presented a yellow dragon robe. [Qing] *Qianlongchao neifu chaoben lifanyuanze*, compiled in the 18th century, (Beijing, China Tibetology Press, 2006), 148, 191.

³² *Qingliangshan Zhi* (The gazetteer of Wutai Shan), vol. 7, 46-49. Gray Tuttle, “Tibetan Buddhism at Wutaishan in the Qing: the Chinese-language Register,” *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies*, 6 (2011): 163-214.

³³ Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. by W. D. Halls (New York: Routledge Classics, 2002), 56-59.

Literature Review: Inspiration of New Qing History

There are many studies on the monasteries in Amdo. However, most of them only specialized in the Ming or Qing periods instead of comparing the transition in Amdo between Ming and Qing. For instance, Chinese scholars mainly paid their attention to the development of Amdo monasteries in the Ming dynasty.³⁴ Although some Chinese scholars researched on Amdo monasteries in the Qing period,³⁵ these studies have much room for improvement, since the materials and methods were limited before the publishing of the related archives.

The textual materials in the Qing period can be divided as two categories by its forming procedures and intentions.³⁶ The materials of the first one, such as archives and documents, were formed as by-products of historical events. In contrast, official historiographical writings by Qing imperial historians are essentially different. They carried political purposes and intended to promote specific ideologies. The records of the second category, such as *The Veritable Records* (*Shi lu*) and *The Campaign History* (*Fang lue*) compiled by Qing imperial historians for specific political reasons, have been proved less reliable than their counterparts of the first category. By comparing original archival sources with the Qing historiography, scholars have pointed out that the Qing historiography intentionally censored and distorted the original records in the archives for political propaganda.³⁷ Therefore, it is essential to examine records in the Qing historiography critically by comparing their counterparts in the original archives, which were formed earlier than the historiography.

In *The Manchu-Mongolian Routine Memorials of the Lifanyuan* and

³⁴ Pu Wencheng, *Qinghai fojiaoshi* (Xining, Qinghai renmin Press, 2001). Xie chongguan, Baiwengu, *Zhongguo sengguan zhidu shi* (The Institutional History of Chinese Monastic Officers)(Xining: Qinhai Renmin Press, 1990), 266-271. Baiwengu, "Mingqing de fansenggangsi shulüe" (A Brief Narration of Tibetan Monastic Officers in Ming and Qing), *Journal of Chinese Tibetology* 1 (1992): 131-141.

³⁵ Yangjian, *Qingwangchao fojiaoshiwu guanli* (The Management of Buddhist Affairs in Qing Dynasty)(Beijing: Shehui Kexue Xinxian,2008), 437-473.

³⁶ Wuyunbilige (Oyunbilig), "Shiliao de erfanfajiqi yiyi—yisuoeweide zhaocheng-zhizhan de xiangguan shiliao weili" (The Dichotomy of Historical Materials and its Meaning: the Materials about the War of Joo), *Studies in Qing History* 1 (2002): 79-85.

³⁷ For instance, after comparing original documents in Manchu and the Qing historiography in Chinese, Zhuang Jifa points out that *The Veritable Records* seriously distorted the original records in the archival sources about the death of Galdan Boshugtu Khan (1644-1697) in order to signify the Qing's victory over Zunghar. Zhuang Jifa, *Gugong dang'an shuyao* (A synoptic description of the Qing archives in National Palace Museum)(Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1983), 68-69.

The Archives of Grand Secretariat, there are several Manchu and Mongolian documents related to monks and monasteries in Amdo. Unfortunately, limited by language, many scholars cannot access to Manchu and Mongolian materials, which are indispensable to this topic. As the archival materials, these detailed archives provide contain far more reliable and detailed information than *Daqing huidian shili*.

Moreover, some scholars often overemphasized the Chinese effects on Tibetan culture, and then overlooked the diverse factors, which actually related to the development of Amdo monasteries during the Qing period.³⁸ In fact, Mongolians and Muslims in Kokonor and Gansu deeply affected Amdo monasteries during the Qing period.

On the other hand, western researchers, who have been influenced by the pioneering scholarship of New Qing History, paid their attentions to the importance of multilingual materials, and highlighted the inspiration of non-Han factors. Scholars of New Qing History, who have challenged the Han centrism and brought the Qing history into the cross-cultural contexts, have changed the paradigm of the studies of the Qing history profoundly.

Although western scholars have done precursory surveys about Tibetan Buddhism in Amdo from diverse angles,³⁹ the historical images of the Tibetan monasteries in Amdo, the crossroad of four different cultures, Chinese, Tibetan, Mongolian and Muslim, contains numerous blanks as yet.

Through the outlook of New Qing History, western scholars have profoundly studied Chengde, a burgeoning Buddhist center, which was developed by the Qing dynasty.⁴⁰ Their works have successfully demonstrated the influences of non-Han factors, which also played key roles in Amdo in the Qing period, and finally made fundamental differences between the monasteries in Gansu and Kokonor.

³⁸ Zhangshuangzhi, "Qingdai gansu minzhou zhuang lang lama chaojin nianban" (The Tributary Rotation of Lamas from Minzhou and Zhuanglang of Gansu during Qing Period), *Journal of College of Tibetan Ethnology* 33-2(2012): 16-20.

³⁹ Paul K. Nietupski, *Labrang: A Tibetan Buddhist Community on the Inner Asian Borderlands, 1709-1958* (Lanham: Lexington books, 2010). Gray Tuttle, "Building up the Dge lugs pa Base in Amdo: The Role of Lhasa, Beijing and Local Agency," *Journal of Tibetology* 7 (2012): 126-140. Max Oidtmann, "A 'Dog-eat-dog' World: Qing Jurispractices and the Legal Inscription of Piety in Amdo," *Extrême-Orient, Extrême-Occident* 40 (2016): 151-182. Max Oidtmann, "Religion, Politics, and Ethnicity in Nineteenth-Century Qinghai," *Late Imperial China* 37-2 (2016): 41-91.

⁴⁰ James A. Millward and Mark C. Elliott et al., *New Qing Imperial History: The Making of Inner Asian Empire at Qing Chengde* (New York: Routledge Curzon, 2004); Philippe Forêt, *Mapping Chengde: The Qing Landscape Enterprise* (Honolulu : University of Hawai'i Press, 2000); Anne Chayet, *Les temples de Jehol et leurs modèles tibétains* (Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1985).

According to the summary above, I would like to stress the importance of Manchu-language archives and Mongolian factor on this topic by introducing Manchu, Mongolian and Tibetan archives. And then points out the influences of the Mongolian factor, which caused a profound change in the monasteries in Amdo during the Qing period.

Briefly, the decline of the Tibetan Buddhist Monasteries in Gansu and the rise of their counterparts in Kokonor between the 17th and 18th centuries are the meaningful issues that are worthy of further discussion. In order to realize the transition of the Tibetan monasteries in Gansu and Kokonor during the Qing period, it is necessary to make a preliminary outline of the background of Tibetan Buddhism in Gansu before the 17th century.

Tibetan Clans and Monasteries in Eastern Amdo before the 17th Century

Since the Mongolian Yuan ruled Tibet and authorized Tibetan clans to manage their people in the 13th century, some powerful Tibetan families became the dominant forces in Tibet. After the Ming army overthrew the Yuan dynasty and expelled Mongolians from China in 1368, the Chinese emperors continued to commission the Tibetan clans leaders to administer local affairs, and asked Tibetan monks to preside over religious celebrations. In the local societies of eastern Amdo, the Ming court recognized the privileges of powerful Tibetan clans previously supported by the Mongol Khans. Meanwhile, the Ming dynasty started giving Chinese surnames to Tibetan local leaders as the symbol of imperial authorities.⁴¹ These powerful Tibetan clans were therefore known as the Hou family in Minzhou (Minzhou houshi)⁴², the Yang family in Taozhou (Taozhou yangshi),⁴³ and the

⁴¹ Hongwu and Yongle emperors also gave Chinese surnames to Mongolians who submitted to the Ming dynasty. Here the Ming court applied the similar policy to Tibetans in Amdo. *Ming Taizong shilu* (Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1966), vol. 23, 427.

⁴² Although "Hou" is not a common Chinese surname, the author of *Minzhouzhi* (The gazetteer of Minzhou) compiled in 1702 said that the Hongwu emperor granted the surname of "Hou" to Rdo rje dpal, the Tibetan local leader in Minzhou, in 1369. Zhang Runping ed., *Xitian fozi yuanliu lu* (Beijing: Chinese Social Science Press, 2012), 205.

⁴³ The Chone king named Dbang phyug (Ch. Wangxiu) was granted the surname of "Yang" during the reign of Zhengde (1506-1521). According to the *Qing shi gao*, the great-great-grandfather of Dbang phyug submitted to Yongle emperor also in 1369, and his name was transliterated as "Xiedi" in Chinese. I found this man in *Ming shilu* and *Mdo smad chos 'byung*. His Tibetan name was actually "Spyang

Han family in Hezhou (Hezhou hanshi). In addition to local politics, these families also managed religious affairs in eastern Amdo. For instance, Penden Trashi (Tib. Dpal ldan bkra shis; Ch. Bandan zhashi, 1377-1452), the best-known Tibetan monk in Minzhou, was a descendant of the Hou family. According to the new-found *The Biography of Penden Trashi (Xitian fozi yuanliu lu*, literally “the history of the origins of the Buddha’s son from the West Heaven”),⁴⁴ Penden Trashi’s grandfather, father and elder uncles were all officers of Mongol Yuan, and his three younger uncles were all famous monks.

Similarly, the other primary monasteries in the eastern Amdo, such as Zhuoni Monastery (Tib. Co ne dgon) in Taozhou and Hanjia Monastery (Tib. Han kya zi) in Hezhou, were managed by the families of Yang and Han separately. All of the Tibetan clans had a special tradition that made their elder sons serve as secular rulers, while they sent younger sons to be monks. This tradition was the legacy of the Sakya lineage and the Yuan dynasty. Since Mongolian Prince Köden (1206-1251) met with Tibetan Sakya Pandita (Kun dga’ rgyal mtshan, 1182-1251) in 1247, Sakya monasteries had dominated eastern Amdo until the uprising of the Géluk sect in the 15th century. For example, Donyo Gyaltsen (Tib. Don yod rgyal mtshan; Ch. Duanyue jianzang),⁴⁵ the founder of Pugang Monastery and the Han family in Hezhou, was the nephew of Phagpa (Phag pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan, 1235-1280), the most influential leader of the Sakya lineage at the Court of Khubilai. According to *The Religious History of Amdo (Mdo smad chos ’byung)*, it is clear that the Tibetan Buddhists from these Tibetan clans were adherents of the Sakya tradition, and arranged

thi.” Moreover, *Mdo smad chos ’byung* called him the king of Chone (Cho ne’i gong ma). Usually, “gong ma” referred to the Manchu emperors or predominant lamas during the Qing dynasty. Brag dgon pa dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas, *Mdo smad chos ’byung* (Lanzhou: Gansu Remin Press, 1989), 630. Also: *Qing shi gao*, “Liezhuang,” vol. 517, 14307; *Ming Xuanzongs shilu*, vol 15, 394.

⁴⁴ Shakya Sri, *Xitian Fozi Yuanliu Lu* (1448), transcript in 1829. Modern reprint: Zhang Runping ed., *Xitian Fozi Yuanliu Lu*, 160. According to the preface of the Chinese version, the biography was originally written in Tibetan, but is still not found. Some parts of the Tibetan text were cited in *Mdo smad chos ’byung*. *Mdo smad chos ’byung* (Lanzhou: Gansu Remin Press, 1989), 640-645.

⁴⁵ In addition to *Mdo smad chos ’byung*, Chinese materials like *Mingshilu* and *Xunhuatingzhi* (The gazetteer of Xunhua ting) also mentioned him. Don yod rgyal mtshan closely interacted with the royal family of Ming. In 1396, Don yod rgyal mtshan presided the publication of Tibetan Tantric texts in the Shanxi Province. His work was supported by the Prince Jin Zhu Gang (1358-1398), the third son of the Hongwu emperor. According to the preface of these Tibetan texts, Zhu Gang was a pious Tibetan Buddhist. These texts are preserved in Museum of Chinese Art and Ethnography of Parma, Italy. See: Saerji, “The block edition of the Buddhist scriptures preserved in Chinese Art Museum of Parma, Italy,” *Chinese Tibetology*, 84(2008): 69-74.

their younger nephews to take over their religious careers, just as the Sakya 'khon family had done before.⁴⁶

Unlike other non-Han people, who were regarded as despicable foreign barbarians, eminent Tibetan Buddhists from eastern Amdo were respected as mentors of the imperial family by several Chinese Ming emperors, who patronized them with priceless treasures and assets. For instance, as one of the most famous Dharma Lords in the Ming court, Penden Trashi, who received the venerable title of "the Dharma Lord of Great Wisdom" (Ch. Dazhi fawang; Tib. 'jam dbyangs chos rje)⁴⁷ from the Ming emperor, had built Chödé Monastery, one of the most honorable monasteries in Minzhou of Gansu, under the order of the Yongle emperor in 1416. According to the Chinese version of *The Biography of Penden Trashi*,⁴⁸ The Ming emperors not only conferred high honors and good treatment to Penden Trashi, but also entrusted him to manage the religious affairs of the royal temples in Beijing and to preside over the translation of Tibetan scriptures.

Additionally, there were other celebrated Tibetan monks connected with the Amdo region during the reign of the Ming. For instance, Byams chen chos rje Shakya Yéshé (Ch. Daci fawang Shijia yeshi, 1352-1438) had close contact with the Ming emperors and senior eunuchs. According to *The Biography of Shakya Yéshé (Byams chen chos rje'i rnam thar)*,⁴⁹ Shakya Yéshé built several monasteries and spread Buddhist teachings in Amdo while he stayed there during his travels from Tibet to Beijing. After his death, under the order of the Ming emperor, his disciples constructed a monastery near Hezhou of Shaanxi province named Dzomokhar Monastery (Tib. Mdzo mo khar; Ch. Honghua si), in which his relics were interred and worshiped. Through the patronage of the Ming emperors, the successors of Penden Trashi and Shakya Yéshé formed powerful clans in Minzhou and Hezhou of Gansu.

An examination of the Chinese historiography and Tibetan biographies, I found that primary Tibetan Buddhist monasteries in eastern Amdo interacted closely with the imperial court during the Ming period. Moreover, the Ming emperors not only respected

⁴⁶ *Mdo smad chos 'byung*, 550.

⁴⁷ The Chinese title of "Great Wisdom" (Dazhi) is actually a Chinese alias of Mañjuśrī (Tib. 'jam dbyangs), because Mañjuśrī is regarded as a symbol of wisdom in Buddhism.

⁴⁸ Zhang Runping ed., *Xitian Fozi Yuanliu Lu* (Beijing: Chinese Social Science Press, 2012).

⁴⁹ *Byams chen chos rje'i rnam thar*, scanned by TBRC, Work number: W25577. Modern reprint: Labapingcuo (Lhagpa Phuntsog), *Daci fawang shijia yeshi* (Beijing: Chinese Tibetology Press, 2012)

Amdo monks as their spiritual mentors, but also authorized their relatives to govern secular affairs. As discussed above, influenced by the Sakya tradition of inheritance, the elder sons of the local Tibetan leaders in eastern Amdo would be selected as secular rulers, and their younger brothers would become the disciple of their younger uncles, who were the abbots of Buddhist monasteries. Interestingly, because Chinese names were the symbols of imperial power, the Tibetan lay leaders would be renamed in Chinese, whereas brothers taking over religious positions would still keep their names in Tibetan. For instance, according to *The Veritable Records of Ming* and *The Genealogy of the Hou Family*,⁵⁰ the uncle of Penden Trashi, named Hou Neng, was appointed as a local commander by the Ming court. Sometimes, elder sons became monks, and made their younger brothers take charge of secular affairs. For instance, Donyo Gyaltzen, the founder of the Han family in Hezhou, travelled to Nanjing and Shanxi in 1373, and served as the Buddhist mentor of royal family members. Meanwhile, his younger brother Han Karma (Ch. Han Jialima) was commissioned as the local governor of Hezhou. The Ming court even asked Han Karma to go to Central Tibet as the pacification envoy of the Ming.⁵¹ Considering the strategic importance and diverse cultures of the Amdo region, the Ming government employed a specific way to extend their rule in Amdo.

Different from the centralization of the imperial bureaucracy in Chinese regions, the Ming government commissioned the religious and military leaders of Tibetan clans as monastic officers (Ch. Seng gang) and local commanders (Ch. Duzhihui shi).⁵² Rather than administering the region directly, the Ming government delegated monastic officers and local commanders, who inherited their titles from their fathers or uncles, to ensure frontier security and to defend against Mongolians in Kokonor.⁵³

Considering the importance of the dominant clans, Ming emperors even gave them venerable titles, such as Dharma Lord (Ch. Fa wang) and State Preceptor (Ch. Guo shi), in order to enhance their official status and political influence. In this way, the development of the monasteries in Gansu during the Ming dynasty was not only due

⁵⁰ Hou Neng was very active in Minzhou during 1428-1458, and *Mingshilu* mentioned him more than ten times. *Ming Xuanzong shilu*, vol. 42, 1035. [Qing] *Houshi jiapu* (The Genealogy of the Hou Family), compiled in 1779, reprinted in *Xitian Fozi Yuanliu Lu*, 199-208.

⁵¹ See: Sa'erji, "The block edition of the Buddhist scriptures preserved in Chinese Art Museum of Parma, Italy," *Chinese Tibetology*, 84(2008): 72.

⁵² *Ming Taizu shilu*, vol. 60, 1173.

⁵³ *Ming shi* (History of the Ming Dynasty) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), vol. 330, 8539-8545.

to religious interaction, but also political considerations.

The Decline of the Tibetan Monasteries in Eastern Amdo after 1660s

According to the Chinese and Tibetan records cited above, the Tibetan monasteries located in eastern Amdo interacted closely with the Ming court. Since the monasteries in Shaanxi were on the boundaries of China, Tibet and Mongolia, the Ming government honored the religious leaders of Tibetan clans in Shaanxi as Dharma Lords or State Preceptors so as to acquire their support in maintaining security of the frontier against the Mongolians in Kokonor.⁵⁴

As soon as the Manchus began their conquest of China and its constituencies, they made contact with the Tibetan Buddhist monasteries in eastern Amdo. The new Qing government asked the monks of eastern Amdo to hand in their former edicts, cancelled them or issued new ones. In this process, the Qing court therefore had the chance to decide whether to maintain the former titles given by the Ming dynasty for political purposes. At first, the Qing government had generous attitude toward the monks of eastern Amdo in 1650s. The State Preceptors were all permitted to keep their official status when they recognized the reign of the Qing dynasty, and committed to paying them tribute.

However, the situation fundamentally changed after the 1660s. The Qing court began to deny the requests of monks from eastern Amdo to maintain their standing, which they had inherited from their ancestors since the 14th century.⁵⁵ At that time, the Qing government noticed that these eastern Amdo monks were less critical than their counterparts in Kokonor and changed its frontier policy accordingly.

In *Daqing huidian shili*, there are several fragmental records about the titles of Tibetan monks. Since *Daqing huidian shili* were compiled and abridged on the basis of Chinese archives, it is possible to find the original sources of these fragments. By sorting through these piecemeal fragments and further comparing them with archives, historians can reconstruct the development of the frontier policy of the Qing dynasty.

For example, *Daqing huidian shili* mentions that the first existing

⁵⁴ Ootosaka Tomoko, "A Study of Hong-hua-si Temple Regarding the Relationship between the dGe-Lugs-pa and the Ming Dynasty," *The Memoirs of the Toyo Bunko* 52(1994), p. 69-101.

⁵⁵ *Daqing huidian shili*, vol. 10, 1093.

record about the relations between monasteries in eastern Amdo and the Qing government was dated 1650. According to this entry, after the Qing troops contacted Tibetan Buddhists in Hezhou, the abbot of Dzomokhar Monastery named Han Jampal (Tib. Han 'jam dpal; Ch. Han Chanba), who was respected as a State Preceptor by the former Ming dynasty, handed in his edict and certificate issued by the Ming. In order to win his support to maintain local social order, the Qing government allowed Han Jampal to keep his title. Another example is that of the Great State Preceptor of Empowerment (Ch. Guanding da guo shi) from Xianqing Monastery named Dampa Gyatso (Tib. Dam pa rgya mtsho; Ch. Danpa jiancuo) who also asked to pay tribute to the Qing government in order to be authorized to keep his title.⁵⁶

This fragment in *Daqing huidian shili* only recorded the seals and edicts handed over from these Tibetan monks. Without further knowledge or background, it is impossible to make any conclusive statement from this informative record. Nevertheless, there are two critical clues. First, Honghua and Xianqing Monasteries were both near Hezhou, and presided over by the Tibetan families Han and Zhang, who were the inheritors of Donyo Gyaltsen and Shakya Yéshé respectively. Second, the Great State Preceptor of Empowerment was a relatively high title, which Shakya Yéshé once held. This evidence indicates Dampa Gyatso might have been the successor of Shakya Yéshé in the eyes of the Qing Emperor.

Fortunately, there is a noteworthy original document conserved in the archives of the grand secretariat. It is a memoir sent to the Grand Secretariat written by Meng Qiaofang (1595-1654), the Governor-general of Shaanxi (Ch. Shaanxi zongdu) from 1645 to 1654.⁵⁷ In his memoir, Meng disclosed that Dampa Gyatso, who presided over Honghua and Xianqing Monasteries in Hezhou, expressed his submission and requested the Qing government to recognize his title from the former dynasty. His memoir recorded the statement of Dampa Gyatso, who claimed he was the successor of Shakya Yéshé and in order to justify his religious lineage, he described the origin of his monasteries in detail.

This document is very valuable for solving disputes about the mysteries of Shakya Yéshé's life. For example, the Tibetan biography of Shakya Yéshé supposed that he passed away in Amdo while he returned Tibet from Beijing in 1435.⁵⁸ However, *The Gazetteer of Xunhua* (Ch. *Xunhua ting zhi*) indicates he passed away in Beijing in

⁵⁶ *Daqing huidian shili*, vol. 10, 1092-1093.

⁵⁷ *The Archives of the Grand Secretariat*, Catalogue number: 035990-001.

⁵⁸ *Byams chen chos rje'i rnam thar*, 15-a. Labapingcuo, *Daci fawang shijia yeshi*, 44.

1439.⁵⁹ According to the statement of Dampa Gyatso, Shakya Yéshé passed away in Beijing in 1438. Since the Tibetan biography apparently intended to accentuate the miracle of his death, the record in this memoir is comparatively more reliable.

Moreover, it is worth noting that Meng's memoir is the original source of the fragmented record in *Daqing huidian shili*. That is to say, the fragment in *Daqing huidian shili* was an abridgement of the memoir. As a result, this memoir provides many informative clues, which do not exist in *Daqing huidian shili*. For instance, the fact that Meng Qiaofang, the Governor-general of Shaanxi, wrote the memoir is an indicator that implies the connection between the titles of Tibetan monks and the frontier policy of Qing government.

The Qing court approved the request of monks from the Sungchu and Tsongchu regions, who requested to inherit their established titles in 1650. In contrast, the Qing government denied the petition of Hou Chokyi Tendzin (Tib. Hou Chos kyi bstan 'dzin; Ch. Hou zhiji danzi), the abbot of Chödé Monastery (Ch. Chongjiao si) in the Luchu region and the successor of Penden Trashi, when he asked for the recognition of his title in 1660.⁶⁰ In 1675, because he and his people fought against the army of Wu Sangui, Hou Chokyi Tendzin eventually received the title of state preceptor as a reward for his "contributions to pacify the revolt" (Ch. gong zei you gong) to the Qing court.⁶¹ It should be noticed that the idea of "contribution" defined by the Qing court here is actually the military service of the Hou family, who maintained not only social order but also Qing authority in eastern Amdo. Therefore, religious leaders in the Luchu region without extraordinary military contributions to the Qing dynasty could not receive the honorific title of state preceptor as their ancestors in the Ming period. Consequently, when Hou Chokyi Tendzin's grandson Hou Gyaltsen Nyingpo (Tib. Hou Rgyal mtshan snying po; Ch. Hou jiancai ningbu)⁶² requested to inherit his grandfather's honorific title, the Kangxi Emperor directly refused his request directly in 1710. As the Kangxi Emperor said, "the honor of state preceptor is consid-

⁵⁹ *Xunhua ting zhi* quoted by Chen Nan, who tries to use the Chinese gazetteer to investigate when Shakya Yéshé died, is actually a relatively late source dated in 1792. Chen Nan, *Mingdai daci fawang yanjiu* (Research on the Dharma Lord of Great Mercy in Ming Period) (Beijing: Zhongyang minzhi daxue, 2005), 190-195.

⁶⁰ *Daqing huidian shili*, vol. 10, 1092-1093.

⁶¹ *Daqing huidian shili*, vol. 10, 1093.

⁶² The edict to Rgyal mtshan snying po was collected in the archives of the grand secretariat. This edict recorded his lineage. *The Archives of the Grand Secretariat*, Catalogue number: 104527-001; *The Genealogy of Hou's Family* also provided precious information about the lineage of Hou's family "The Genealogy of Hou's Family," in *Xitian Fozi Yuanliu Lu*, 190, 201.

erably great. No one should receive this honorific title without having made any contributions to the court."⁶³ By this time, the title of state preceptor conferred by the Qing government to the religious leader in the Luchu region was actually political instead of religious in nature.

Why did the Qing government modify its attitude toward the monks of eastern Amdo between 1650 and 1660? What happened between 1650 and 1660, and who and what made the Qing court change its policy? These interesting issues are keys that can allow us to further probe into the Mongolian and Muslim factors behind the shift of imperial frontier policy in the early Qing period.

Mongolian and Muslim Factors in the Frontier Policy of the Qing

As discussed above, Meng Qiaofang, the Governor-general of Shaanxi, was a critical figure. As a mediator between the Qing court and the monks in western Shaanxi (later separated as a part of Gansu in 1663), the tasks of Meng Qiaofang can be an important hint for us to connect the honorific titles of Amdo monks and the frontier policy of the Qing Empire.

Since Meng Qiaofang played an essential role, it is necessary to investigate his major task commissioned by the Qing court in 1650. According to the record in *The Veritable Records*, Meng Qiaofang was promoted as the Minister of War in 1650, as reward for suppressing Muslim rebels (Ch. Hui zei).⁶⁴ This record clearly indicates that one major mission of Meng Qiaofang was to subdue the rebellion of Muslims on the northwestern boundary of the Qing Empire.

In 1648, Chinese Muslims headed by Milayin and Ding Guodong, two local Muslim military officers in Ganzhou, rebelled against the Qing government and killed the provincial governor in Shaanxi. They supported the Yanchang King (Ch. Yanchang wang) named Zhu Shichuan as the symbol of the former Ming dynasty in order to call people to fight against the Qing government. Moreover, they even allied with Turkish Muslims in Kumul (Ch. Hami) and Turpan (Ch. Tulufan) to reinforce their power. The ethnic components of the Muslim power led by Milayin and Ding Guodong were very complicated. In fact, the Muslim group, which was composed of Uygur, Mongolian, Salar and Chinese people, seriously threatened the Qing

⁶³ *Daqing huidian shili*, vol. 10, 1094.

⁶⁴ *The Veritable Records of Shunzhi* (Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 1986), vol.48, 382.

sovereignty in northwestern China.⁶⁵

Joseph Fletcher and Frederic Wakeman argue the causes of the Muslim revolt of 1648 were not only the commercial restrictions regulated by the Qing dynasty but also the religious conflict between Muslims and non-Muslims.⁶⁶ Through this perspective, the policy chosen by the Qing government can be further understood.

Considering the religious factor and the clash of civilizations behind the revolt, the Qing government finally decided to cooperate with the Khoshut Mongolians, who were the most powerful Mongolian tribe in Kokonor. It is noteworthy that most Khoshut people were faithful Tibetan Buddhists, who were considered infidels by Muslims. In 1638, Gūshi Khan (1582-1655), the leader of the Khoshut tribes, met the 5th Dalai Lama Lobsang Gyatso (Tib. Blo bzang rgya mtsho, 1617-1682) in Lhasa. This event led to Tibetan Buddhism, especially the Géluk lineage, becoming dominant in the spiritual world of Khoshut and Oirat Mongolians.⁶⁷ With the support of Khoshut Mongolians, the Qing army eventually pacified the Muslim revolt in 1650.⁶⁸

In addition to the alliance with the Khoshut Mongolians, the Qing government also attempted to win the support of the Tibetan clans in Gansu in order to repress the Muslims. For instance, there is an inscription on the stone tablet in memory of the rebuilding of Xianqing Monastery in 1650.⁶⁹ The writer of the inscription was a general of the Qing military, but his name is unclear because the tablet has been damaged. According to the inscription, this general donated a huge amount of money for reconstructing Xianqing Monastery, which was utterly destroyed by the Muslims revolt in 1648. On behalf of Buddhists, he blamed the rebellion of Muslims and praised the merits of Buddhism.

This inscription and the letter written by Meng Qiaofang in 1650 show that Meng Qiaofang or his subordinate Zhang Yong, the Commander of Gansu (Ch. Gansu zongbing), supported the rebuilding of

⁶⁵ [Qing] Qiyunshi, *Huangchao fanbuyaoliüe* (The Synopsis of the Qing's Outlying Prefectures), published in 1846, (Beijing: Xueyuan, 2009), vol. 15, 173.

⁶⁶ Joseph F. Fletcher, "The Naqshbandiyya in Northwest China," in *Studies on Chinese and Islamic East Asia* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1995), XI, 1-46. Frederic E. Wakeman, *The Great Enterprise: The Manchu Reconstruction of Imperial Order in Seventeenth-Century China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 795-805.

⁶⁷ Peter C. Perdue, *China March the West: the Qing Conquest of Central Eurasia* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2005), 197.

⁶⁸ [Qing] "The Biography of Namjar and Tsering Dhondup," printed in 1795, in *Menggu wang gong biao zhuan* (The Biographies of Mongolian Dukes and Princes) (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2006), vol. 84 & 85.

⁶⁹ [Qing] Gong Jinghan, *Xunhuating zhi* (The Gazetteer of Xunhua ting), compiled in 1792, (Nanjing: fenghuang, 2008), 551-552.

Xianqing Monastery in Hezhou, and then helped the Tibetan monks of Xianqing Monastery, the inheritors of Shakya Yéshé, to be protected by the Qing court.

We know the context in which the Qing court took a positive attitude towards the monasteries in eastern Amdo, and allowed them to maintain their honorific titles in 1650. Since the Muslim revolt had just been pacified, the Qing government needed the support of the Tibetan monasteries to control the local society. These Tibetan Buddhist monasteries in Hezhou, such as Xianqing Monastery, were managed by religious leaders from influential Tibetan families with Chinese surnames, who also controlled local politics, and had retained their independent privileges of judicial power and tax collection since the 14th century.⁷⁰ In order to win the support of these Tibetan clans for pacifying the remnants of the Muslim revolt, Meng Qiaofang donated and renovated the Tibetan Buddhist monasteries ruined by the Muslim rebellion in 1648. As a result, the stele of Xianqing Monastery was erected. Meanwhile, Meng Qiaofang also tried to build up the regular connections between the Tibetan clans and the Qing court. Therefore, he asked Tibetan religious leaders, such as Han Jampal and Dampa Gyatso, to hand in the edicts previously issued by the Ming court, and pay tribute to the Qing dynasty. This is the reason the memoir was written in 1650, the same year of the renovation of Xianqing Monastery.

However, the threat to the rule of the Qing dynasty in eastern Amdo did not disappear. The remnants of the Muslim rebellion escaped to Kokonor and submitted to the leaders of a Khoshut tribe, who desired to utilize the Muslims' knowledge of firearms.⁷¹ To the Qing government, Khoshut cavalymen equipped with Muslim firearms could be very dangerous. Consequently, Khoshut Mongolians eventually became a potential threat to the Qing Empire, because they attempted to occupy the pastures on the boundary between Kokonor and Gansu.

After the disintegration of the Ming dynasty in 1644, a Khoshut prince called Gonbo Tayiji (<Tib. Mgon po tha'i ji) started to attack and destroy Chinese fortresses on the borderlands between Kokonor and Shaanxi. Later Gonbo Tayiji started to collect the remnants of the Muslim army defeated by the Qing in 1648, who were known for their musket skills. Gonbo and his cousins Qorolai and Dorjijab (<Tib. Rdo rje skyab) promptly dominated two important places, Sira

⁷⁰ Ootosaka Tomoko, "A Study of Hong-hua-si Temple Regarding the Relationship between the dGe-Lugs-pa and the Ming Dynasty," *The Memoirs of the Toyo Bunko* 52 (1994), p. 69-101.

⁷¹ [Qing] Liangfen, *Qinbian jiliu* (An account of the Frontier of Shaanxi), written in the early 18th century, (Beijing: Xueyuan, 2003), 121.

Tala and the Hongshui Town.⁷² Hongshui Town, which was previously controlled by the Ming government, was a very important Sino-Tibetan marketplace during the 14th to 17th centuries. After the Qing government restarted Sino-Tibetan trade in Hongshui Town in the 1650s, Khoshut princes monopolized Sino-Tibetan commerce and accumulated much wealth. Additionally, they occupied Siratala (literally “yellow prairie” in Mongolian), which was not only a great pasture in the north of Qilian Mountains but also the northern entrance to Central Tibet. When Ligdan Khan was defeated by the Manchu army in 1634, he attempted to escape to Central Tibet through Siratala, where he died of illness.

Meanwhile, the Qing troops allied with the Tibetan clans in eastern Amdo, and were able to control Shaanxi province after pacifying the Muslim revolt in 1650. The Qing government gradually realized the strategic importance of Siratala, and sought to expel Khoshut Mongolians from there. Therefore, the Qing troops marched to the borderlands between Kokonor and Shaanxi. However, Khoshut Mongolians were reluctant to leave, and declared they also had rights to divide the territory of the Ming dynasty. In order to solve the problem, Khoshut people and the Qing court requested that the 5th Dalai Lama mediate the territorial conflict. Why did Khoshut princes and the Qing court request the 5th Dalai Lama to serve as a mediator? It seems that both Khoshut and Manchu people recognized the authority of the Dalai Lama. Furthermore, Khoshut princes like Gombo Tayiji (literally the prince of [Dharma] protector) and Dorjijab (the refuge of Vajra) possessed Tibetan names with Buddhist meanings. Actually, they were all Tibetan Buddhists. According to *The Biographies of Mongolian Dukes and Princes*,⁷³ Qorolai, Gonbo Tayiji and Dorjijab were all grandsons of Gūshi Khan, who built the Tibetan Buddhist alliance with the 5th Dalai Lama after 1638. After Khoshuts collaborated with the Géluk lineage in 1638, the prominent monks of the Yellow Hat, such as the 5th Dalai Lama, had served as the messengers of peace for Mongolians. According to *Mdo smad chos 'byung*, the 5th Dalai Lama made an interesting declaration: “Kokonor is the borderland among the Chinese, Tibetans and Mongols. Today's situation is different from the eras of Pakmo Drupa (Phag mo gru pa) and Tsangpa (Gtsang pa). The reason our yellow hats can build a close relationship with the northern patrons (Khoshuts) is the peace of Kokonor.”⁷⁴ Since Khoshuts had close relations with the Fifth Dalai Lama, the Qing court decided to ask the Géluk monks to serve as in-

⁷² See the map of Appendix 1.

⁷³ *Menggu wang gong biao zhuan*, vol. 79, 231.

⁷⁴ *Mdo smad chos 'byung*, 48.

intermediaries.

Instead of suppressing the Khoshut people by military force, the Qing government designed a special religious policy, which kept friendly relations between Manchus and Mongolians in the 1650s. The Qing court decided to support the Tibetan monasteries in Kokonor instead of their counterparts in eastern Amdo. Then the Qing government forbade the monks from the monasteries in eastern Amdo to travel in the Mongol region, and then cut their connection with the tribes of Jasagh Mongol (Ch. Waifan menggu). For instance, both the Kangxi and Yongzheng emperors deprecated Tibetan monks from Gansu, and said these bad Amdo monks usually deceived Mongolian people by sorcery. Therefore, in 1712, the Kangxi emperor ordered two imperial envoys to arrest monks from eastern Amdo travelling in Mongolia, and sent them to Hangzhou to be the slaves of Manchu soldiers. If poor Mongolian people arrested monks from eastern Amdo and sent them to the envoys, they could appropriate the fortunes of the arrested monks. If these lamas attempted to escape back to eastern Amdo through official passes, officers should arrest them immediately and send them to the government.⁷⁵ In 1725, the Yongzheng emperor also ordered the arrest and expulsion of lamas in Mongolia, since they usually deceived Mongolians.⁷⁶ Moreover, in 1743, the Board of Frontier Affairs restated that Amdo monks could not travel in Mongolia; no matter whether they were Chinese or Tibetans.⁷⁷

In addition to segregating Gansu's monks from Mongolians, it is clear that the intention of the Qing government was to ingratiate Khoshut Mongolians, who were pious Tibetan Buddhists and strong protectors of the Géluk lineage in Kokonor, by promoting the monasteries in Kokonor to replace the status of the monasteries in Gansu. As a result, the Mongolian monks of the monasteries in Kokonor became more and more influential.

The Rise of Mongolian Monks in Kokonor after 1650

In order to build the connections with Khoshut Mongols, the Qing court paid great respect for the Tibetan Buddhists of the Géluk lineage in Kokonor and even invited them to Beijing. Some of them were known as "the Eight Prominent Reincarnations in Beijing." Actually, all of the prominent reincarnations (Mg. Qutu γ tu) had close rela-

⁷⁵ *Qianlong chao neifu chaoben lifanyuan zeli*, 328.

⁷⁶ *Qianlong chao neifu chaoben lifanyuan zeli*, 332.

⁷⁷ *The Archives of the Grand Secretariat*, Catalogue number: 071705.

tions with Mongols, and five of them were from Kokonor.

| <i>The Eight Prominent Reincarnations in Beijing</i> | | |
|--|--|--------------------------|
| Incarnation | Monastery | Region |
| Lcang skya ho thog thu | Dgon lung byams pa gling | Kokonor |
| Gser khri rin po che | Sku 'bum byams pa gling | Kokonor |
| Smin grol ho thog thu | Btsan po dgon dga' ldan dam chos gling | Kokonor |
| Rta tshag rje drung rin po che | Kun bde gling | Central Tibet |
| Zam tsha gser khri | Bla brang bkra shis 'khyil | Gansu ⁷⁸ |
| A gya ho thog thu | Sku 'bum byams pa gling | Kokonor |
| La kho rin po che | Sku 'bum byams pa gling | Kokonor |
| Ca γ an Darqan Qutu γ tu | Beijing Cidu Si | Inner Mongolia & Beijing |

These Tibetan Buddhist incarnations had various Mongolian names and honorific titles, which implied the ethnicity of their main audience. Moreover, they were proficient in Mongolian language, and some of them were even born into Mongolian families. For instance, Sertri Rinpoché (Tib. Gser khri rin po che; Mg. Galdan siregetü qutu γ tu), Mindröl Hotoktu (Tib. Smin grol ho thog thu; Alias. Btsan po no mon han), Tatsak Jédrung Hotoktu (Tib. Rta tshag rje drung ho thog thu) and Zamtza Sertri (Tib. Zam tsha gser khri) all had several Mongolian reincarnations. Although the other incarnations like Changkya Hotoktu (Tib. Lcang skya ho thog thu) were not Mongols, they could teach Buddhism in Mongolian and communicate with Mongolian leaders proficiently. Therefore, the Manchu emperors asked these monks of the Géluk lineage in Kokonor to serve as the intermediaries between Khoshut people and the Qing court.

In contrast to the decline of their peers in Gansu, the influence of the monks in Kokonor rose significantly after 1650. After pacifying the Muslim rebellion, the Qing court began contacting the monasteries in Xining of Kokonor. It should be noticed that the attitude of the

⁷⁸ Labrang Monastery was built on the borderland between Gansu and Kokonor in 1709 with the support of Mongolian nobles from Kokonor.

Qing government toward the monasteries in Kokonor was relatively generous. The Qing court not only recognized their honorific titles conferred by the Ming dynasty previously, but also promoted the ranks of their titles. In 1653, many senior monks from Kokonor were promoted by the Shunzhi emperor. For instance, Kunga Tendzin (Tib. Kun dga' bstan 'dzin; Ch. Gongge danjing),⁷⁹ who had been the state preceptor of Qutan Monastery in Xining, was promoted to the great state preceptor. Moreover, Sherab Puntsok (Tib. Shes rab phun tshogs; Ch. Shela pengcuo) and Peljor Puntsok (Tib. Dpal 'byor phun tshogs; Ch. Banzhuer pencuo), two monks who came from the monasteries in Xining, were both raised to the position of State Preceptor.⁸⁰

When it came to the reign of Kangxi, the difference in official status between the monks of Gansu and Kokonor became more and more obvious. While Hou Gyaltsen Nyingpo, the monk in Gansu who asked the Qing emperor to return his title of state preceptor in 1710, was rejected by the Kangxi emperor, the monks of Kokonor received completely different treatment. In 1718, two monks of Kumbum Monastery (Ch. Ta'er si) were conferred the titles of Nom-un Qan (Ch. Nuomen han), which means Dharma lord in Mongolian. One of them was exactly Lobsang Tanpe Nyima (Tib. Blo bzang bstan pa'i nyi ma, 1689-1762), who was the Mongolian reincarnation of the 2nd Galdan siregetü qutu γ tu (Tib. Gser khri rin po che).

It should be noticed that the incarnations of Galdan siregetü were specifically related to the nobles of Khoshut and Khalkha Mongolians. During the Qing period, the incarnations of Galdan siregetü served as important mediators and conciliators between Mongolians and Manchus, and they were even born of the families of Mongolian nobles.⁸¹

Considering the relations between the Tibetan masters in Kokonor and Mongolians, such as Galdan Siregetü and Khoshut Mongolians, it is clear that the rise of the monasteries in Kokonor actually reflected the Mongolian factor in the frontier policy of the Qing dynasty. That is to say, the rise of Mongolian monks in Kokonor reflected concerns about the nomadic power of Khoshut people. Moreover, after the revolt of Muslims was suppressed by the Qing military and

⁷⁹ The edict conferred by Emperor Shunzhi to him was collected in the archives of the grand secretariat. The edict was written in Manchu, Tibetan and Chinese. *The Archives of the Grand Secretariat*, Catalogue number: 038183-001.

⁸⁰ *Daqing huidian shili*, vol. 10, 1092.

⁸¹ Wakamatsu Hiroshi, "Garudan Shiretoû Futokutou Kô: Sindai no Chû Kyô Futokutou Kenkyû (A Study on the Galdan siregetü qutu γ tu)," *Tôyôshi Kenkyû* 33, no.2 (1974): 171-203.

Khoshut Mongolians, the monasteries in Gansu gradually lost their strategic importance to the Qing Empire. Since the Tibetan monks in Gansu became useless to the Qing court, as the Kangxi emperor changed the frontier policy in 1710, they not only lost their honorific titles but also the patronage from the Qing Empire. It is clear that the rise of Khoshut Mongolians in Kokonor profoundly influenced the frontier policy of the Qing dynasty during the 17th century, which caused the decline and elevation of Tibetan Buddhist monasteries in eastern and western Amdo. However, why did Khoshut Mongolians become so important to the Qing dynasty? What was the role of the Khoshut tribe in Qing's frontier policy? Furthermore, is it possible to realize this subtle shift in the local society of Amdo from a macroscopic perspective? In order to answer these questions, particularly those pertaining to the relations between the Qing Empire, Khoshut, and Tibet it is essential to discuss the rise of Khoshut Mongolians in Inner Asia.

Khoshut Mongolians between China and Central Eurasia

It is widely known that Khoshut were the strongest Mongolian tribe in Kokonor since 1642, but actually Khoshut Mongolians had not appeared in Kokonor until 1730s. This raises several questions: where were they from originally? How did they come to dominate immense steppe in Kokonor within twenty years?

In fact, the ancestors of Khoshut Mongolians dwelled in east Mongolia including parts of Manchuria and the Amur region. After the Yuan dynasty collapsed in the late 14th century, the Khoshut tribe was nominally incorporated into Ming's tributary system, and started to appear in Chinese documents frequently. At that time, the name of Khoshut was transliterated as "Wozhe" in Chinese, and the Khoshut tribe was treated as a part of Uriyanqa people in East Mongolia and Manchuria.⁸² In Mongolian historiography in the 17th century, such as *The Golden Summary* (Mg. *Altan Tobči*), the ancestors of Khoshut was named "Üjiyed."⁸³ Clearly, the word of "Wozhe" is the Chinese transliteration of "Üjiyen" (the singular form of Üjiyed) in Mongolian.

In the early 15th century, the power of Oirat people in west Mongolia suddenly grew up. The ambitious leaders of Oirat Mongolians,

⁸² Hidehiro Okada, "Origins of the Dörben Oyirad," *Ural-Altische Jahrbücher* 7(1987): 181-211.

⁸³ Wulan (Ulaan), *Menggu yuanliu yanjiu* (Studies on Erdeniin Tobchi) (Shenyang: Liaoning minzu chubanshe, 2000), 312.

such as Toγan (?-1439) and Esen Tayiř (?-1454), invaded east Mongolia several times. A part of Üjiiyen people surrendered to Oirat and migrated to West Mongolia, and the origin of the name of “Khoshut” was occurred under this historical background. According to historiography in Mongolian Todo script, a young leader of Üjiiyed disputed with his elder brother when they divided their property. The young man thought his brother was greedy and selfish, and he therefore selected a pair of people in each ten in order to organize his own tribe. Since his tribe was based on the unit of “a pair” of people, it was named “qošiyad” (a pair, each two) in Mongolian.⁸⁴ According to *The Biography of Zaya Pandita*, during the 15th to the early 17th centuries, Khoshut people were active between north Xinjiang and east Kasakstan.⁸⁵ After the process of longstanding expanding, the Khoshut tribe eventually became one of the most formidable political entities in Central Asia during the 16th to late 17th centuries.

However, in 1630s, because of environmental factors and conflicts between Khoshut and other Mongolian tribes, such as Zunghar and Khalkha, Khoshut people began to search for new pastureland outside Xinjiang. Some Khoshut people moved south and finally arrived Kokonor. Meanwhile, they gradually made contact with Tibetan Buddhism, especially the Géluk lineage, which was eager to find a strong military protector. At that time, there was a serious religious struggle in Tibet. The Kagyü sect was officially supported by the Tsangpa dynasty (1565-1642), which had violently oppressed the Géluk sect since 1618. In 1634, since the political situation became very harsh to the Géluk sect, the Fifth Dalai (1617-1682) and the Fourth Panchen Lamas (1570-1662) secretly invited Gūshi Khan (1582-1654), the prominent Khoshut leader, to provide military supports. The invitation from the Géluk sect gave Khoshut people an excuse to enter Kokonor and Tibet. In 1636, Gūshi Khan slipped into Lhasa, where he met the Dalai and Panchen Lamas. After making an agreement with the leaders of Géluk, Gūshi Khan initiated a series of military actions in Kokonor and Tibet. He consequently eliminated the Kagyü alliance composed of Čoγtu Tayiji (1581-1637) in Kokonor, Béri Dönyö Dorjé (Tib. Be ri Don yod rdo rje, ?-1641) in Kham and Karma Tenkyong Wangpo (Tib. Karma Bstan skyong dbang po, 1606-1642), who were all the great patrons of the Kagyü lineage.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ Wuyunbilige (Oyunbilig), “Heshuote de mingcheng yu qiuyan,” *Qinghai shehui kexue yuekan* 5(1988): 103-107.

⁸⁵ Wuyunbilige (Oyunbilig), “17 shiji weilate ge bu youmudi yanjiu,” *Xiyu yan jiu* 1 & 2 (2010): 35-51, 63-68.

⁸⁶ Peter Schwieger, “Towards a Biography of Don-yod-rdo-rje, King of Be-ri,” *Studia Tibetica et Mongolica: Festschrift Manfred Taube* (Swisttal-Oden: Indica et Ti-

Finally, in 1642, Güshi Khan and the Géluk leaders overthrow the Tsangpa dynasty and established the Khoshut Khanate in Kokonor and Tibet. In order to justify the new regime, the Géluk leaders conducted a series of cultural projects. For instance, in 1643, the Fifth Dalai Lama wrote a comprehensive chronicle entitled *Tibetan History: the Song of Cuckoo Birds* (Tib. *Bod kyi deb ther dpyid kyi rgyal mo'i glu dbyangs*) in order to legitimize the reign of Güshi Khan. In the end of his work, the Fifth Dalai Lama depicted Güshi Khan as the reincarnations of Songtsen Gampo (Tib. *Srong btsan Sgam po*, 605-649), the greatest Tibetan emperor that had sponsored Buddhism.⁸⁷ Herein the Buddhist alliance of Khoshut Mongolians and Tibetans was formally built.

Meanwhile, the Manchu leaders had also noticed the dramatic change of political situation in Kokonor and Tibet, especially the rise of Khoshut/Géluk and the failure of Tsangpa/Kagyü, before they breached the Great Wall and replaced the Ming dynasty in 1644. In 1637, Hong Taiji intended to send envoys to invite the Fifth Dalai Lama.⁸⁸ In 1639 and 1642, the Fifth Dalai Lama dispatched Mongolian monks, such as the Second Caγan Nomun Khan (Blo gros rgya mtsho, 1610-1659) and Ilaγuγsan qutuγtu (? -1646) to Manchuria respectively.⁸⁹ After the exchanges of envoys, the Manchu leaders gradually realized the political struggle between Khoshut and Tsangpa in Tibet. In 1643, Hong Taiji heard that Güshi Khan had defeated Karma Tenkyong Wangpo, the last Tsangpa Khan, and therefore sent envoys to them separately for strategic considerations.⁹⁰ However, Tsangpa Khan had already been killed. Therefore, the Qing government eventually recognized that the Khoshut Khanate and the Géluk sect had already replaced the Tsangpa dynasty and the Kagyü sect as the real rulers in Tibet. When Khoshut Mongolians and the Géluk sect became the dominant power in Tibet in 1642, the Qing army entered North China in 1644. After gradually controlled the Chinese territory and eliminated the remnants of the Ming dynasty, the Qing emperor decided to formally invite the Fifth Dalai Lama to the court. In 1653, young Shunzhi Emperor finally fulfilled his father's plan and met the Fifth Dalai Lama in a suburb near Beijing.⁹¹ In

betica, 1999), 247-260.

⁸⁷ Blo bzang rgya mtsho, Liu Liqian trans., *Xizang wang chen ji* (Lhasa: Xizang ren min chu ban she, 1997), 122-123.

⁸⁸ *The Veritable Records of Taizong*, vol. 38, 497-498.

⁸⁹ Zahiruddin Ahmad, *Sino-Tibetan Relations in the Seventeenth Century* (Rome: Istituto Italiano per lo Studio e la Ricerca del Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1970), 157-158.

⁹⁰ *The Veritable Records of Taizong*, vol. 64, 888-889.

⁹¹ Gray Tuttle, "A Tibetan Buddhist Mission to the East: The Fifth Dalai Lama's Journey to Beijing, 1652-1653," *Tibetan Society and Religion: The Seventeenth and*

the climax of the meeting, the Shunzhi Emperor presented honorific titles to the Fifth Dalai Lama and Gūshi Khan, and proclaimed himself as a Buddhist protector.⁹²

According to the discussion above, the Qing dynasty had chosen to collaborate with the Buddhist alliance of Khoshut and Kagyü since 1640s. In addition to the military power of Gūshi Khan, there was another reason the Qing dynasty decided to make connections with Géluk instead of Kagyü. In fact, Ligdan Khan, the last successor of Genghis Khan and the most threatening enemy of Hong Taiji, was the patron of the Kagyü lineage. Moreover, Ligdan Khan also had political connections with the Kagyü alliance, which was the sworn foe of Khoshut and Géluk. As a result, in *The History of Kokonor* (Tib. *Mtsho sngon gyi lo rgyus*) by Sumpa Yéshé Penjor (Tib. Sum pa ye shes dpal 'byor, 1704-1788), Ligdan Khan was listed as the enemy of the Géluk sect together with Čo γ tu Tayiji, Dönyö Dorjé and Tsangpa Khan.⁹³ Also, there is direct evidence can prove that Ligdan Khan and Čo γ tu Tayiji were close allies. For instance, *The Religious History of Mongolia* (Tib. *Hor chos 'byung*) by Lozang Tsépel (Tib. Blo bzang tshe 'phel) in 1819 contains a related quote. According to *The Religious History of Mongolia*, Čo γ tu Tayiji once invited Ligdan Khan to oppress the Géluk sect in Kokonor. In his letter to Ligdan Khan, Čo γ tu Tayiji said, “we should destroy the Géluk sect.”⁹⁴ After that, Ligdan Khan's army marched to Central Tibet in order to join the force of Tsangpa Khan Püntsok Namgyel (Tib. Phun tshogs rnam rgyal, 1586-1621); however, Ligdan Khan fell sick and died in Siratala in Kokonor on his way to Tibet in 1634. Although *The Religious History of Mongolia* did not mention, Ligdan Khan attempted to meet the Kagyü alliance in Tibet because he had been defeated and chased by the Manchu troop.

Herein we can clearly see that Ligdan Khan and Čo γ tu Tayiji were actually the common enemies of the Qing dynasty and Khoshut tribe. And this is also the reason Khoshut Mongolians played a huge role in Qing's policy in the early 17th century. Moreover, because the Khoshut Khanate, which was jointly established by the Khoshut tribe and the Géluk sect, had become the dominant political entity in Tibet and Kokonor since 1642, the Qing court was eager to seek any possibilities to ally with the Khoshut Khanate. Consequently, Mongolian

Eighteenth Centuries (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 65-87.

⁹² *The Veritable Records of Taizong*, vol. 74, 586-587.

⁹³ Sum pa mkhan po, Ho-Chin Yang trans., *The Annals of Kokonor*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1969), 30.

⁹⁴ Blo bzang tshe 'phel, Chen Qingying & Wuliji trans., *Hor chos 'byung* (Tianjin: Tianjin gu ji chu ban she, 1991), 20.

monks of the Géluk lineage in Kokonor, who built a political and religious network between the Qing dynasty and the Khoshut Khanate, were largely promoted and patronized by Manchu and Mongolian leaders.

Conclusion

From the 1660s, the Qing government gradually eliminated the honorific titles of the monks in Gansu, whose ancestors had received them in the Ming period.

In 1650, the monks in Gansu still possessed their existing titles because the revolt of Muslims had just been pacified. However, the strategic importance of the Gansu monks to the frontier policy of the Qing Empire finally decreased. As a result, the Qing emperors dismissed their requests for retrieving honorific titles, and blamed them for making no contribution to the empire.

On the other hand, with the rise of Khoshut Mongolians in Kokonor, the Qing government switched their attention swiftly. In order to earn the support of Khoshut people, the faithful Tibetan Buddhists and powerful protectors of the Géluk sect, the Qing government took a generous attitude toward the monasteries in Kokonor. The Tibetan Buddhists in Kokonor acted as mediators between Manchus and Mongolians; hence they were valued by the Qing government. As a result, they were conferred honorific titles and even promoted by the Qing court. With the close interactions with the Khoshut people, the incarnations of the senior monks in Kokonor were even born in the families of Mongolian nobles. Under the support of the Qing dynasty, these Mongolian monks in western Amdo finally replaced Tibetan monks in eastern Amdo, and played critical roles in the Qing court.

Glossary

Bandan zhashi 班丹扎釋 [Tib. Dpal ldan bkra shis]

Banzhuer pencuo 班珠兒盆錯 [Tib. Dpal 'byor phun tshogs]

Chaodingsi 朝定寺 [Tib. Cha'u ting gzi]

Chongjiaosi 崇教寺 [Tib. Chos sde dgon]

Daci fawang Shijia yeshi 大慈法王釋迦也失 [Tib. Byams chen chos rje Shakya Ye shes]

Danpa jiancuo 丹巴堅錯 [Tib. Dam pa rgya mtsho]

Da Qing huidian shili 大清會典事例

Datonghe 大通河 [Tib. 'Ju lag]

- Daxiahe 大夏河 [Tib. Bsung chu]
 Dazhi fawang 大智法王 [Tib. 'jam dbyangs chos rje]
 Ding Guodong 丁國棟
 Duanyue jianzang 端月監藏 [Tib. Don yod rgyal mtshan]
 Duzhihui shi 都指揮使
 Fa wang 法王
 Gaitu guiliu 改土歸流
 Gongge danjing 公葛丹淨 [Tib. Kun dga' bstan 'dzin]
 Guangdesi 廣德寺 [Tib. Kwang de' gzi]
 Guanding daguoshi 灌頂大國師
 Guo shi 國師
 Guzi pi 股子皮
 Hami 哈密 [Ug. Qumul]
 Han Chanba 韓禪巴 [Tib. Han 'jam dpal]
 Hanjialima 韓加里麻 [Tib. Han Karma]
 Hanjiasi 韓家寺 [Tib. Han kya zi]
 Hezhou hanshi 河州韓氏
 Hezhou 河州
 Honghuasi 弘化寺 [Tib. Mdzo mo khar]
 Hou jiancai ningbu 后尖菜寧布 [Tib. Hou Rgyal mtshan snying po]
 Hou zhiji danzi 后只即丹子 [Tib. Hou Chos kyi bstan 'dzin]
 Houneng 后能
 Huangshuihe 湟水河 [Tib. Tsong chu]
 Hui zei 獮賊
 Jinwang Zhu Gang 晉王朱橐
 Libu 禮部
 Lifanyuan 理藩院 [Man. tulergi golo be dasara jurgan]
 Lüxiepi yafeng calian xue 綠斜皮牙縫擦臉靴 [Man. Šempilehe sarin i
 gūlha; Mg. köke sarisu qabiči γ san sarin γ utul]
 Meng Qiaofang 孟喬芳
 Milayin 米喇印
 Minzhou houshi 岷州后氏
 Minzhou 岷州
 Neigedaku dang 內閣大庫檔
 Nuomen han 諾們汗 [Mg. Nom-un Qan]
 Qingchao qianqi lifanyuan Man Mengwen tiben 清朝前期理藩院滿蒙文題
 本 [Mg. Dayicing gürün-ü ekin üy-e-yin γ ada γ atu mong γ ol-un

toru-yi jasaqu yabudal-un yamun-u manju mong γ ol ayiladqal-un debter-üd]

Qingshu pi 青黍皮

Qutansi 瞿曇寺 [Tib. Gro tshang rdo rje 'chang]

Seng gang 僧綱

Shaanxi sanbian zongdu 陝西三邊總督

Shela pengcuo 舍拉朋錯 [Tib. Shes rab phun tshogs]

Shilu 實錄

Ta'ersi 塔爾寺 [Tib. Sku 'bum byams pa gling]

Taohe 洮河 [Tib. Klu chu]

Taozhou yangshi 洮州楊氏

Taozhou 洮州

Tulufan 吐魯番 [Ug. Turpan]

Waifan Menggu 外藩蒙古

Wai guo 外國

Wozhe / Wujiyete 我者 / 烏濟葉特 [Mg. Üjiyen/ Üjiyed]

Xianqingsi 顯慶寺

Xiedi 些的 [Tib. Spyang thi]

Xinasi 西納寺 [Tib. Zi na bsam 'grub gling]

Xining 西寧

Xitian fozi yuanliu lu 西天佛子源流錄

Yanchangwang Zhu Shichuan 延長王朱識鏞

Yang Wangxiu 楊旺秀 [Tib. Dbang phyug]

Zhang Yong 張勇

Zhaoci si 照慈寺 [Tib. Ja'u tshi gzi]

Zhuoni si 卓尼寺 [Tib. Co ne dgon chen]

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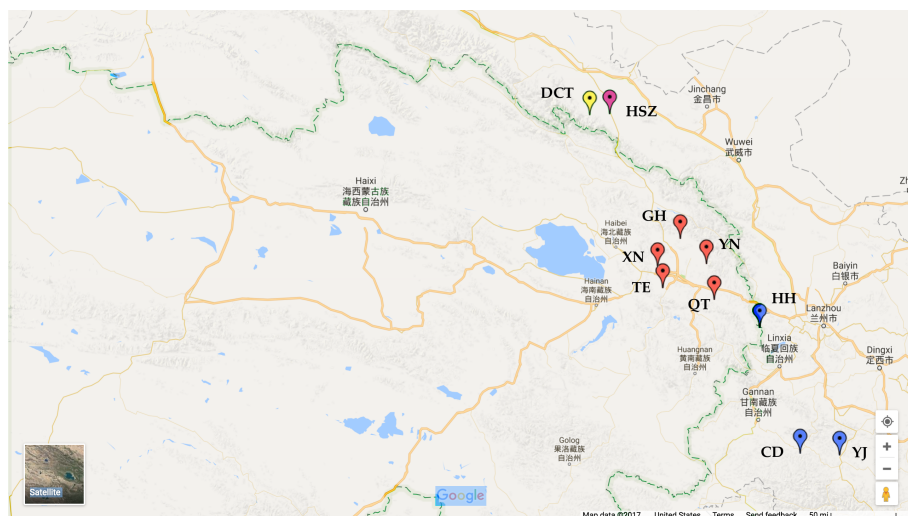
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Appendix: Locations of Amdo Monasteries



| Abbreviation | Chinese pinyin | Chinese character | Location | Tibetan |
|--------------|-----------------------|-------------------|-----------------|--|
| YJ | Yuanjue/ Chongjiao | 圓覺/崇 教 | East (Gansu) | Chos sde dgon/ Lhun grub bde chen gling |
| CD | Chanding/ Zhuoni | 闡定/卓 尼 | East | Co ne dgon chen/ Ting 'dzin dar rgyas gling |

| | | | | |
|-----|----------------|-------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| HH | Honghua | 弘化/紅花 | East | Mdzo mo mkhar |
| QT | Qutan | 瞿曇 | West (Kokonor) | Gro tshang rdo rje 'chang |
| TE | Ta'er/Gunbu | 塔爾/袞布 | West | Sku 'bum by-ams pa gling |
| YN | Youning/Guoluo | 佑寧/郭隆 | West | Dgon lung by-ams pa gling |
| XN | Xina | 西納 | West | Zi na bsam 'grub gling |
| GH | Guanghui | 廣惠 | West | Gser khog dga' ldan dam chos gling |
| DCT | Dacaotan | 大草灘 | The north entrance to Central Tibet | |
| HSZ | Hongshui zhen | 洪水鎮 | An important Sino-Tibetan marketplace | |

