Waxing Moon Journal of Tibetan and Himalayan Studies

An 18th Century Textual Labyrinth: The Nature of Tibetan Buddhist Printing Network in Qing Inner Asia during the Kangxi period

Tenzin Yewong Dongchung, Columbia University

Introduction

Printing the Buddhist canon was a continuous imperial practice that transcended dynastic changes. As early as the Yuan dynasty (1271-1368), the ruling Khans supervised the printing of Xixia canon in Hangzhou.[1] Later, in the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), the Yongle emperor (r.1403-1424) printed the first Tibetan-language canon in 1410. In 1606, the Wanli emperor (r.1572-1620) edited this canon and produced a new copy.[2] Despite this precedence, records illustrate that it was under the Qing emperors Kangxi (r.1661-1722) and Qianlong (r. 1735-1796) that the frequency of canon printing reached its highest peak. Only under Kangxi, the canon was edited and printed five times: 1684, 1692, 1700, 1717 and 1720.[3] This was followed by further editions printed in 1737 and 1765 under the Qianlong emperor. Both the emperors also wrote prefaces for the canons.[4] Compelling statistics such as the one presented above have led historians to the consensus that patronage of Tibetan Buddhist printing projects under the Qing dynasty was unprecedented in its scale.

In this paper, I seek to map out the key institutions that undergirded this patronage in the form of a Tibetan Buddhist printing network. Conceptualizing the printing activities as a network allows us to see that while the imperial palace and the inner court were driving this patronage, temples in Beijing city and individual monasteries on the Inner Asian borderlands formed the main circuits through which texts were sold and distributed on a mass scale. Recognizing the role of the other institutions outside of the palace shows that the nature of Qing imperial patronage and authority was not absolute that operated solely out of a singular center. The imperial patronage created an environment that was conducive to prolific publishing. Smaller

---

1 Heather Stoddard, *Early Sino-Tibetan Art* (Bangkok: Orchid Press, c2008), 42.

2 Michael Hahn and Helmut Eimer, eds., *Suhṛllekhāḥ: Festgabe für Helmut Eimer*, Indica et Tibetica 28 (Swisttal-Odendorf: Indica et Tibetica Verlag, 1996), 155.

3 Hahn and Eimer, *Suhṛllekhāḥ,* 155.

4 David M. Farquhar, "Emperor as Bodhisattva in The Governance of The Ch'ing Empire," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 38, no. 1 (1978): 5–34, https://doi.org/10.2307/2718931, 23.

institutions in Beijing were able to fill the demands for religious texts for visiting monks by opening their own bookstores. Further away, individual monasteries emulated the model of imperial patronage and independently worked with local stakeholders to start printing projects. It would therefore be more fitting to see the nature of imperial authority as fluid with multiple mobile centers in different parts of the empire.

To demonstrate the High Qing emperors' personal interest and patronage of Tibetan Buddhism, I begin by first describing the institutional development of new workshops and printing offices that started under their reigns. I then take the case study of the 1667 Kangxi Dragon Canon to demonstrate the human and material resources such projects demanded. I will then move outside of the palace and explain how temples in Beijing and adjacent bookstores printed smaller religious texts for visiting Mongolian and Tibetan monks and nobles, who in turn took these texts home and expanded this network from Beijing to the Qing borderlands. Finally, I will touch on how local monasteries worked independently to start their own canon productions which would lead to an increasing number of permanent printing houses on the Sino-Tibetan borderlands.

Literature Overview

How did this topic of studying Tibetan Buddhism at the Qing court emerge? Broadly speaking, until the 1980s, the conventional narrative of Chinese history in the United States was told through the Sinicization thesis which assumed there was a uniform Chinese culture from time immemorial. The peripheral regions of China were assumed to have assimilated to the influence of the Imperial center.[5] The opening of central archives of the Imperial dynasties in the late 1980s and the availability of sources other than Mandarin, such as Manchu and Mongolian, led to an approach that was popularized as New Qing History.[6]

Calling for the importance of identity and ethnicity, these scholars saw that Qing was not just the last Chinese dynasty, rather it was a pluralistic and a multi-ethnic empire. Beginning with works that examined the Manchu identity of the Qing rulers, New Qing History has expanded to include studies of borderlands and Inner Asia.[7] It is

---

[5] Pamela Crossley, Helen Sui, and Donald Sutton, eds. *Empire at the Margins: Culture, Ethnicity, and Frontier in Early Modern China.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006.

[6] Evelyn Rawski. *Early Modern China and Northeast Asia: Cross-border perspectives.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

[7] Mark C. Elliott, *The Manchu way: The Eight Banners and Ethnic Identity in Late Imperial China*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001.

in this context that Tibet finds an intellectual space in Chinese history, albeit through the discussion of Tibetan Buddhism. From the architecture of Tibetan Buddhist monasteries in Beijing to the Qing emperor's relation to Tibetan Buddhist hierarchs, Tibetan Buddhism became one of the topics through which the idea of a multi-ethnic Qing empire was expanded upon.[8] The study of Tibetan Buddhist printing network falls under the purview of this topic. However, as stated in the introduction, I will seek to use the imperial patronage as a way to better understand the nature of Qing imperial authority.

Development of Printing Institutions Under the Kangxi Emperor (r.1661-1722)

Beginning with Kangxi Emperor's reign, many new institutions and infrastructure were built to support the printing of Tibetan Buddhist works. By printing activities, I refer to three specific forms: carving, printing and dissemination. The first phase is most labor intensive for it is in this initial stage that wood is procured, artisans are recruited and then carving commences. Once the woodblocks are ready, the second stage involves the production of xylograph copies that are formed by pressing sheets of paper on the inked woodblock. In the final stage, compiled Buddhist texts circulate, either in the form of imperial gifts by the court or through purchases by monks for their monasteries. What these three stages demonstrate is the need for both material and human resources to complete such projects. Some of the texts such as Kangyur (Wylie: Bka' 'gyur) and Tengyur (Wylie: Bstan 'gyur) were each 108 and 226 volumes respectively and therefore would require significant investment.

The diagram below is a simplified form of Qing governance in which I have highlighted and categorized three main forms of institutions that were involved in the printing activities. First is the Imperial household department (Chin: *Neiwufu*) which was part of the palace and separate from the state. The palace usually comprises "the emperor, his immediate family, his empress and consorts, eunuchs and personal advisors."[9] Second is the state bureaucracy which contains six formal ministries. Based on the original bureaucratic framework from the Han dynasty, the ministries were sometimes known as Boards during the Qing. The ministries were involved in appointments of staff

---

[8] Ruth W., Dunnell, Mark C. Elliott, Philippe Foret, and James A. Millward. *New Qing Imperial History: The Making of the Inner Asian Empire at Qing Chengde*. New edition. Routledge, 2004. Patricia Ann Berger, *Empire of Emptiness: Buddhist Art and Political Authority in Qing China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2003).

[9] Endymion Porter Wilkinson, *Chinese History: A New Manual*, Rev. ed., Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series 84 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2012).Wilkinson, 270.

and division of revenue as required under their jurisdiction.[10] The last category includes semi-independent offices such as Censorate or the Court of Colonial Affairs.

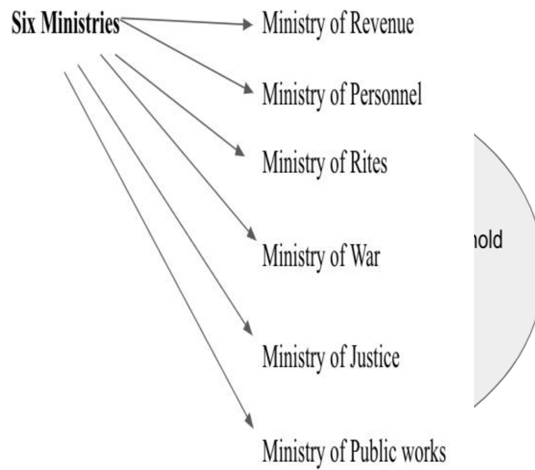

Figure 1: Three forms of Qing institutions

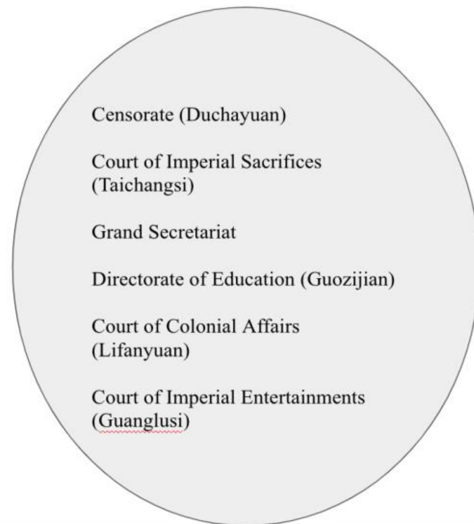

Figure 2 & 3: Six Ministries based on Jianze Song and Christine Moll-Murata's work cited below.

[10] Wilkinson, 273.

One of the main shifts that occurred during the transition from Ming to Qing was the transference of religious work from the state to the Imperial palace. Under the Ming, religious rituals inside the Forbidden City were handled by eunuchs attached to three Scripture Printing Workshops, which was under the Ministry of Rites.[11] By Qing, the responsibility shifted to the Imperial Household department.[12] Primarily responsible for manufacture of goods for palace use, the Imperial Household department was created in 1661. Using rents from court's own estates and tribute gifts as their income, the household probably spent at least 15,000 ounces of silver every year on regular religious expenses.[13] It was one of the most significant imperial infrastructures that facilitated the printing projects. Kangxi was initially a minor in the first five of his reign but beginning in 1667, he reordered and expanded the organization of the Imperial Household Department. Between 1662 and 1722, the total number of officials at the Imperial Household Department increased from 402 to 939.[14]

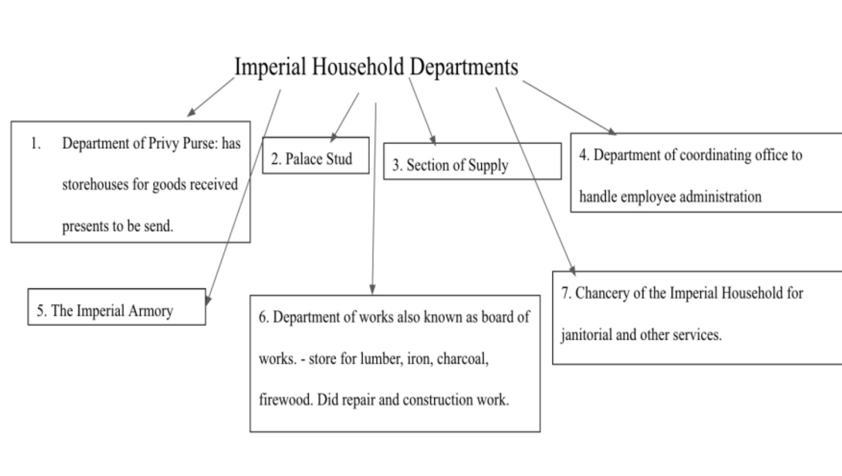

Figure 4: Based on The Chʻing Imperial Household Department: A Study of Its Organization and Principal Functions, 1662-1796 / by Preston M. Torbert, P30-37.

Under the Imperial household department, there were seven main sections. Guangchusi, which was the Section of Supply, administered craftsmen who manufactured goods for court use. Inspired by Joachim Bouvet (1656-1730) who was one of the six Jesuit sent by the King of France and a member of the Académie Royale des

---

[11] Naquin, *Peking,* 54.
[12] Naquin, *Peking,* 51.
[13] Naquin, *Peking*, 332.
[14] Preston M. Torbert, *The Chʻing Imperial Household Department : A Study of Its Organization and Principal Functions, 1662-1796 / by Preston M. Torbert* (Cambridge, Mass: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University : distributed by Harvard University Press, 1977), 28-29.

Sciences, Kangxi began establishing workshops in 1693 under the administration of the office of manufacture, Zaobanchu. He had craftsmen from all over China be brought to the capital to staff these factories.[15] The workshops were based on a number of buildings across western section of the forbidden city. One was Yangxindian which had 3,279 craftsmen/workers and 196 artisans. The second location was Wuyingdian, which Kangxi established around 1680 in the southwestern section of the forbidden city. Wuyingdian also housed the Imperial Household Department printing office, book binding office, storehouses and the imperial library Yushuchu.[16] These offices were famed for publishing the finest editions of scholarly works. For instance, the Imperial manuscript library had 36,000 volumes of Siku quanshu.[17]

The creation of these new workshops such as Wuyingdian was important because beginning in 1645, the system of hereditary artisan households was reported as abolished. During the Ming dynasty, the construction trades were under government control. Workers were registered as artisan households in the population registers and were obliged to do labor service. However, in the course of Ming, most artisans were relieved of their core obligations, and service was replaced by tax payment.[18] All construction work for the dynasty was assigned by contract to private workshops and enterprises. This meant that the ministries no longer had access to artisans who could be recruited to work on printing projects. The creation of palace workshops fulfilled the vacuum created by lack of skilled laborers in the government registry.

At the same time, this is not to delineate a clean separation between the state bureaucracy and the Imperial palace/court. For instance, the Ministry of Works, which was one of the main ministries under the state bureaucracy and thus used the fiscal budget of the Qing state, was in charge of buying up materials and objects for the use of the Imperial palace. Their works also include management of state-owned agricultural lands as well as exploitation of mountains and lakes.[19] For huge woodblock printing, there is a possibility that the ministry was involved. In fact, in the "Technical Instruction for

---

[15] Pagani, *Eastern Magnificence & European Ingenuity,* 182.

[16] Torbert, 32.

[17] Torbert, *The Chʻing Imperial Household Department*., 39.

[18] Song and Moll-Murata, "Notes On Qing Dynasty 'Handicraft Regulations and Precedents' (Jiangzuo Zeli), with Special Focus on Regulations on Materials, Working Time, Prices, and Wages," 102-103.

[19] Jianze Song and Christine Moll-Murata, "Notes On Qing Dynasty 'Handicraft Regulations and Precedents' (Jiangzuo Zeli), with Special Focus on Regulations on Materials, Working Time, Prices, and Wages," *Late Imperial China* 23, no. 2 (2002): 87–126, https://doi.org/10.1353/late.2003.0004, 89.

Handicrafts" which was compiled by Yunli (1697-1738), the 17th son of Kangxi, the team listed wages for different works. The report has 74 chapters, 27 of which focuses on different types of wood constructions. In the *gonggong zhenben congkan*, different types of wood such as pine timber, wei timber and pine timber are listed.[20]

Production Cost of Printing a Canon

Indeed, the first canon produced under Kangxi's reign exemplifies the involvement of multiple departments. Although Kangxi was only 14 in 1667, his grandmother, Borjigit Bumbutai (1613-1688), also known as Empress Dowager Xiaozhuang, ordered the production of what would later be known as the Kangxi Canon or the Tibetan Dragon Canon.[21] Below is the instruction that Empress Dowager gave on the Tibetan Dragon canon.

> "The Grand Empress Dowager Xiaozhuang gave imperial orders that it be produced; that it be inlaid with pearls and gems, be done on midnight-blue paper, be written in gold ink, and have the Tibetan Dragon Canon in western Tibetan script, making for a total of 108 volumes, including various scriptures orally transmitted by Buddha Shakyamuni."
>
> - First Edition of the Palace Collection of Religious Works (Juan 24)[22]

Of the 108 volumes, each volume had pages ranging from 300 to 500 leaves. This would be 50,000 leaves in 108 volumes. Moreover, each of the volumes would also have cover plans that were exquisitely designed with Buddhist miniature paintings.[23] The working team was divided into two groups. First was the lama team, who handled the scripture transcription. The three lamas at Imperial court: Emci, Mergen Corji and Coinpul Gelung led a group of 171 lamas. The laymen were high officials such as Imperial managers who instructed bureau directors and vice-directors of the Ministry of Works, supplies

---

[20] Jianze Song and Christine Moll-Murata, "Notes On Qing Dynasty 'Handicraft Regulations and Precedents' (Jiangzuo Zeli), with Special Focus on Regulations on Materials, Working Time, Prices, and Wages," 92-93.

[21] *馮明珠 and 盧雪燕, 殊勝因緣: 內府泥金寫本藏文龍藏經探索 = A wondrous occasion predestined : unveiling the kangxi kangyur (臺北市: 國立故宮博物院出版 : 國立故宮博物院故宮文物藝術發展基金總代理, 2015), 6.*

[22] *馮明珠 and 盧雪燕, 6.*

[23] *馮明珠 and 盧雪燕, 9.*

office and palace storehouses.[24] As the Empress Dowager decreed, the canon was to be written on blue paper with gold ink. Therefore, the monks had to first write on white paper with regular ink and only then could copy it on the blue paper. Records show that they took one meal and two tea breaks. The Ministry also had to arrange for food and drinks of monks on a daily basis.[25] Another less obvious cost of the canon came from clothing that would be used as a protective wrap for the canon. Empress Dowager instructed the Imperial manager Bake and Tuba to use gold and velvet thread to weave the silk wrappings. In total, 1080 curtains of fabric were sourced from Jiangnan. The satin curtains had flower patterns with Sanskrit script in gold thread.

Perhaps, the most expensive part of Imperial canon production was the use of expensive raw materials. In the memorial submitted by Imperial manager Misihan on December 12, 1667, he estimated that the sum of gold powder required for the canon cost 371, 175 taels (forty grams) and 5 mace (four grams). This calculation was based on the number of flying gold pieces, which was a thin gold foil mixed with glue to make gold ink.

Pieces	**Amount**
108 pieces of front cover plank	540 pieces of flying gold
50,3000 pieces of paper	37,725 pieces of flying gold
756 Buddhist miniature on the cover plank	1,782 pieces of flying gold

Table 1: Breakdown of flying gold cost

The Tibetan canon was produced three more times by the imperial court: 1684, 1692 and 1700. Given the huge scale of each canon production, these projects also led to more infrastructure and institutional changes. For instance, between 1684 and 1692, a new set of wooden blocks were carved in Beijing for Kangyur.[26] This could either signify that the earlier wood blocks were well used or that the new blocks would allow for multiple productions to commence simultaneously. In 1690, Imperial Household Department created a new office called the Sutra Recitation office in Zhongzheng Dian, a

[24] The Imperial managers were named as Misihan, Baka, Tuba, and Hailasun. *馮明珠* and *盧雪燕*, 8.

[25] *馮明珠* and *盧雪燕*, 8.

[26] Evelyn Sakakida Rawski, "Book Culture in Qing Inner Asia," in *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China*, ed. Kai-wing Chow, Studies on China 27 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).

hall in the northwestern corner of Forbidden city. The office became the emperor's primary office for dealing with Tibetan Buddhist matters. One name that was featured in the directory of this office was Gombojab, a polyglot who was born to a Mongol noble family in southern Mongolia and is known for writing a book on the spread of Buddhism in Mongolia. He headed the Tibetan language school under the Court of Colonial Affairs. He was one of the officials who supervised the Beijing edition of Tibetan Buddhist canon translation.[27] It is possible that similar to the 1669 Kangyur, there were other court lamas actively involved in transcribing the scriptures. Susan Naquin writes that there were six Buddhist halls in the Imperial palace, six in the Imperial city and seven in suburban villas.[28] The growth of Buddhist institutions signifies that they were plenty of lamas that the court could recruit for the projects.

The Role of Temples and Monasteries in Printing:

The printing of Tibetan Buddhist texts also occurred in languages other than Tibetan. One prime example is the Mongolian canon that Kangxi produced between 1718 and 1720.[29] It was originally translated from Tibetan in the seventeenth century and the main sponsor was Emperor Ligdan.[30] In 1718, the Kangxi emperor decided to revise and edit it. The text was first collated in Dolonor in Mongolia, which was the seat of Lcang skya reincarnation line. Kangxi is believed to have recruited a commission of scholars from all the banners.[31] Banners were the main socio-political unit created by the Qing to rule over Mongols, which was led by a "Jasagh," a title given to Mongol nobles who had surrendered to the Manchus.[32] In terms of the wood blocks required to print the copies, this occurred in Beijing at the famous Miaoying Si or the White Stupa. Kangxi wrote the preface for the Kanjur.[33] Once the 108 volumes of Kangyur were printed in the Imperial city, it was stored at Songzhu Si.

---

27 Wu, 157.

28 Susan Naquin, *Peking : Temples and City Life, 1400-1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, c2000), 309.

29 Vladimir Uspensky, "The 'Beijing Lamaist Center' and Tibet in the XVII-Early XX Century," in *Tibet and Her Neighbors* (Berkeley, Calif: University of California Press, 1937), 109.

30 Farquhar, "Emperor as Bodhisattva in The Governance of The Ch'ing Empire," 17.

31 Rawski, *The Last Emperors [Electronic Resource]*, 255.

32 Frédéric Constant, "The Legal Administration of Qing Mongolia." *Late Imperial China* 40, no. 1 (2019): 154-155.

33 Patricia Berger, Preserving the Nation: The Political Uses of Tantric Art in China. In *Latter Days of the Law: Images of Chinese Buddhism, 850-1850*, 1st ed (Lawrence, KS : Honolulu, Hawaii: Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas ; University of Hawaii Press, 1994), 112.

What the Mongolian Kangyur demonstrates is that apart from the Imperial Household Department and the Ministry of Works, temples and monasteries also played a key role in the printing process. This was even more common for smaller texts that would not require extensive budgets. For instance, a new version of a Buddhist guidebook to Mount Wutai and its temples was edited by Blo bzang bstan pa in 1701. The blocks were cut at a government financed monastery at Mount Wutai, the Pusating and later carried to Beijing.[34] At the same time, the use of temples as printing workshops does not appear to be a new phenomenon. In fact, the site of the Songzhusi Temple had been the location of printing workshops in Ming dynasty, called Hanjing Chang (Chin.: 漢經廠) (Eng: Han canon) and Fanjing Chang (Chin.: 番經廠) (Eng: Barbarian, Tibetan canons).[35]

One of the main differences between canon and other Buddhist production was also in terms of its dissemination. Given the scale of the project, the canons were usually printed by the Imperial printing center at Wuyingdian or by big monasteries such as Derge, Narthang or Chone. The books on the other hand were often made at smaller temples and monasteries. Vladimir Uspensky has written that while the temple bookstores in Beijing had a strong market in Mongolia, the copies of the Buddhist canon were not for sale and were only distributed as imperial gifts. Although the canon was fewer in number and not sold, it does not necessarily imply that it did not travel widely. Using the Emperors' wide network, copies of the canon were distributed throughout its geographical reach and also reached Central Tibet.[36] For instance, two editions of 1410 Yongle canon was given to Chos rje Kun dga' bkra shis (1349-1425), head of lha khang of Sakya in 1414 and Byams chen chos rje shkya ye shes (1325/54-1435), founder of Sera monastery in 1416.[37] Evelyn Rawski had found through a twentieth century survey that Tibetan, Mongolian and Manchu Tripitakas were present at eight great temples built by the Qianlong emperor at Rehe.[38] The survey also found Narthang imprints of Kangyur and Tengyur at Chengde. This points to the active gift making of canon that was happening across the Inner Asian network and also possibly points to the political currency of canon as gift making among powerful stakeholders.

---

34 Farquhar, "Emperor as Bodhisattva in The Governance of The Ch'ing Empire," 30.

35 "Lamas-and-Emperors - Canon Printing," accessed October 24, 2018, https://lamas-and-emperors.wikischolars.columbia.edu/Canon+Printing.

36 Uspensky, "The 'Beijing Lamaist Center' and Tibet in the XVII-Early XX Century," 110.

37 Silk, *Suhṛllekhāḥ*, 156.

38 Rawski, 7.

The Tibetan Buddhist book market, on the other hand, functioned as a market in its original sense. Expansion of Tibetan Buddhism had already led to a demand for religious works. As Mongol groups were incorporated into the Qing banner system, schools were established in each jasagh, the administrative banner unit and in centers such as Beijing, Urga, Uliastai and Kobdo, students learned to read and write Mongolian and Manchu.[39] The Mongolians learned Tibetan during their schooling at Tibetan Buddhist monasteries. Given that there were more than 2,000 monasteries and temples in Mongolia and Qinghai province, the audience for religious books was vast to say the least.[40] With 221 Mongol language books published, Beijing was the center of Mongol language publishing. The books printed in Songzhusi Temple also had an adjacent bookstore called Tianqi. The Mahakala miao also printed religious texts. Mongolian books, along with Manchu and Chinese were also sold at Longfusi and Huguosi.[41] As the temples and their book stores played a pivotal role in the distribution and sale of these books, they were often bought by either visiting Mongolian lamas for their home monasteries or by Mongol nobles.[42]

Moving Beyond the Center: Printing outside of Imperial involvement

In studying the Inner Asian printing network, Beijing was undoubtedly an important center. However, not all religious works coming out of Beijing were directly related to the imperial court. Some of the texts found from Tianqi bookstore or the Mahakala miao had individual carver names written on them. Similarly, Lan Wu has shown that important Buddhist texts were also printed in Inner Asian centers farther from Beijing. For instance, In 1721, a monk called Jingjue, who came from a Tusi family in Gansu called the Yang was the abbot of Chone (Chin: Chanding) monastery. During his abbotship, he ordered the production of Kangyur from engraving to final printing. He employed 100 Buddhist scholars, craftsmen, painters and staff.[43] The Chone Kangyur took ten years to complete.

Similarly, in Mongolia, Charles Bawden has shown that many monastic printing houses developed that functioned without the patronage of Qing emperors.[44] In fact, just as the rich Mongol men and nobles bought the books in Beijing, they were the ones who also

[39] Rawski, "Book Culture in Qing Inner Asia," 304-305.
[40] Rawski, 305.
[41] Rawski, 5.
[42] Rawski, "Book Culture in Qing Inner Asia," 221.
[43] Wu, 156.
[44] Bawden, *Modern History Mongolia*, 23.

patronized local printing. For instance, between 1779 and 1783, Khorchin noblemens raised 140 taels of silver to pay for woodblocks of 130 texts of the collected works of the 18th century cleric called Mergen Gegen.[45]

As historical evidence clearly demonstrates the role of monasteries and temples in facilitating the Inner Asian printing network, it also helps us to reconsider these institutions and shift our perspectives on monasteries, which as Weiwei Luo articulately states, are not merely public spaces and recipients of patronage but also "active agents with political and social power." [46] They had their own bookstores, their workshops and often found local sponsors to build their influence as independent institutions. If the monasteries could exercise a certain degree of freedom and power, it also helps us to evaluate the implication of Qing sponsored Buddhist institutions and their impact on imperial authority. While this paper does not focus on construction of monasteries or conversion of existing institutions into Tibetan Buddhist sites, as briefly mentioned in the beginning, the sponsorship of monasteries was another important form of Imperial patronage. Of the 57 Imperial founded monasteries, 25 were of Tibetan Buddhists. The Kangxi emperor built monasteries in Wutaishan, Dolonor and Jehol.[47] Before him, Hong Taiji had built temples for Mahakala and Kalachakra in Shenyang. After him, Qianlong would build replicas of Potala and Tashilhunpo at Rehe.[48]

Sabine Daringhuas has argued that building of Tibetan monasteries was a way of turning Tibetan eyes towards China by symbolically transgressing cultural boundaries between Inner Asia and China.[49] Pamela Crossley, on the other hand, has written of imperial sponsorship and regulation as a political strategy to neutralize institutions that could challenge "the ideological, political, or financial preeminence of the court."[50] Crossley argument rests on the rationale that imperial institution opposed any formation of solidarities based on common features which she lists as below:

---

[45] Bawden, 84.

[46] Weiwei Luo, "Land, Lineage and the Laity: Transactions of a Qing Monastery," *Late Imperial China* 36, no. 1 (June 29, 2015): 88–123, https://doi.org/10.1353/late.2015.0003, 1.

[47] Xiangyun, "The Qing Court's Tibet Connection: Lcang Skya Rol Pa'i Rdo Rje and the Qianlong Emperor," 127.

[48] James Louis Hevia, "A Multitude of Lords: The Qing Empire, Manchu Rulership and Interdomainal Relations," in *Cherishing Men from Afar [Electronic Resource] : Qing Guest Ritual and the Macartney Embassy of 1793* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995), 251.

[49] Dabringhaus, *China and Her Neighbours*, 131.

[50] Crossley, *A Translucent Mirror [Electronic Resource]*, 228.

> "common descent, common age, common gender, common status, common habitat, common religion, common proximity, common skills, common pastimes, common occupation, common avarice, common security, common recreation, common indebtedness, or common dissoluteness."[51]

However, in studying the printing activities of monasteries and temples, it in fact shows that the Qing while sponsoring some of these monasteries did not have direct influence on them all the time. Thus, Jonathan Hay's description of Qing imperial authority fits better with the findings of this research. Hay writes that beginning from Kangxi, "imperial authority was reinvested in a mobile center, responsive to emperor's movements and to contingent political needs. Power was free flowing, crystallizing in specific places around the emperor's physical present."[52] His research is based on the emergence of multiple palace centers or the use of garden complexes as alternative seats of government.[53] Emergence of printing centers outside of the imperial palace in Beijing and in Inner Asian capital illustrate a wide and a complex network. This network was undoubtedly supported by the Qing emperors and spurred by their financial contribution but also had spaces and layers where smaller local powers could engage in printing activities independently.

Works Cited

馮明珠, and 盧雪燕. 殊勝因緣*: 內府泥金寫本藏文龍藏經探索 = A Wondrous Occasion Predestined: Unveiling the Kangxi Kangyur*. 臺北市: 國立故宮博物院出版 : 國立故宮博物院故宮文物藝術發展基金總代理, 2015.

Bawden. *Modern History Mongolia*. Independence, UNITED KINGDOM: Routledge, 2004. http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/columbia/detail.action?docID=1649078.

Chayet, Anne, Mark C. Elliott, Philippe Foret, and James A. Millward. "Architectural Wonderland: An Empire of Fictions." In *New*

[51] Crossley, *A Translucent Mirror [Electronic Resource]*, 228.
[52] Jonathan Hay, "The Diachronics of Early Qing Visual and Material Culture," *Lynn Struve Ed.The Qing Formation in World-Historical Time*, accessed October 16, 2018, https://www.academia.edu/25757962/The_Diachronics_of_Early_Qing_Visual_and_Material_Culture, 210.
[53] Hay, "The Diachronics of Early Qing Visual and Material Culture," 311.

Qing Imperial History: The Making of Inner Asian Empire at Qing Chengde. Richmond, UNITED STATES: Routledge, 2004. http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/columbia/detail.action?docID=200446.

Constant, Frédéric. "The Legal Administration of Qing Mongolia." *Late Imperial China* 40, no. 1 (2019): 133-173. doi:10.1353/late.2019.0004.

Crossley, Pamela Kyle. *A Translucent Mirror [Electronic Resource]: History and Identity in Qing Imperial Ideology*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.

Dabringhaus, Sabine. *China and Her Neighbours : Borders, Visions of the Other, Foreign Policy 10th to 19th Century*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997.

Farquhar, David M. "Emperor as Bodhisattva in The Governance of The Ch'ing Empire." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 38, no. 1 (1978): 5–34. https://doi.org/10.2307/2718931.

Hahn, Michael, and Helmut Eimer, eds. *Suhṛllekhāḥ: Festgabe für Helmut Eimer*. Indica et Tibetica 28. Swisttal-Odendorf: Indica et Tibetica Verl, 1996.

Hay, Jonathan. "The Diachronics of Early Qing Visual and Material Culture." *Lynn Struve Ed. The Qing Formation in World-Historical Time*. Accessed October 16, 2018. https://www.academia.edu/25757962/The_Diachronics_of_Early_Qing_Visual_and_Material_Culture.

Hevia, James Louis. "A Multitude of Lords: The Qing Empire, Manchu Rulership and Interdomainal Relations." In *Cherishing Men from Afar [Electronic Resource] : Qing Guest Ritual and the Macartney Embassy of 1793*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1995.

"Lamas-and-Emperors - Canon Printing." Accessed October 24, 2018. https://lamas-and-emperors.wikischolars.columbia.edu/Canon+Printing.

Luo, Weiwei. "Land, Lineage and the Laity: Transactions of a Qing Monastery." *Late Imperial China* 36, no. 1 (June 29, 2015): 88–123. https://doi.org/10.1353/late.2015.0003.

Naquin, Susan. *Peking : Temples and City Life, 1400-1900*. Berkeley: University of California Press, c2000.

. https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/004206886.

Perdue, Peter C. *China Marches West [Electronic Resource] : The Qing Conquest of Central Eurasia*. Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005.

Rawski, Evelyn Sakakida. "Book Culture in Qing Inner Asia." In *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China*, edited by Kai-wing Chow. Studies on China 27. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005.

———. *The Last Emperors [Electronic Resource] : A Social History of Qing Imperial Institutions*. Berkeley: University of California Press, c1998.

Song, Jianze, and Christine Moll-Murata. "Notes On Qing Dynasty 'Handicraft Regulations and Precedents' (Jiangzuo Zeli), with Special Focus on Regulations on Materials, Working Time, Prices, and Wages." *Late Imperial China* 23, no. 2 (2002): 87–126. https://doi.org/10.1353/late.2003.0004.

Stoddard, Heather. *Early Sino-Tibetan Art*. Bangkok: Orchid Press, c2008.

Torbert, Preston M. *The Ch'ing Imperial Household Department : A Study of Its Organization and Principal Functions, 1662-1796 / by Preston M. Torbert*. Cambridge, Mass: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University : distributed by Harvard University Press, 1977.

Uspensky, Vladimir. "The 'Beijing Lamaist Center' and Tibet in the XVII-Early XX Century." In *Tibet and Her Neighbors*. Berkeley, Calif: University of California Press, 1937.

Wu, Lan. "Refuge from Empire: Religion and Qing China's Imperial Formation in the Eighteenth Century." Columbia University, 2015. https://doi.org/10.7916/D8JS9Q58.

Xiangyun, Wang. "The Qing Court's Tibet Connection: Lcang Skya Rol Pa'i Rdo Rje and the Qianlong Emperor." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 60, no. 1 (2000): 125–63.